CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE. SPAIN.

AND

THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

BY SIR JOHN FROISSART.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS, FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS, AND A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY.

WITH AN

ORIGINAL INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

ON THE CHARACTER AND SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE AGES,

BY REV. JOHN LORD.

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CHARACTER AND SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY REV. JOHN LORD.

"Did you ever read Froissart?" said Claverhouse.

"No!" was Morton's answer.

"I have half a mind," returned Claverhouse, "to contrive you should have six months imprisonment, in order to procure you that pleasure. His chapters inspire me with more enthusiasm than even poetry itself. And the noble Canon, with what true chivalrous feeling he confines his beautiful expressions of sorrow for the death of the gallant and high-bred knight, of whom it was a pity to see the fall, such was his loyalty to his king, pure faith to his religion, hardihood toward his enemy, and fidelity to his lady love!"

OLD MORTALITY.

ONE of the last things to be expected in an essay like this, is a panegyric of those Chronicles which have stood the test of nearly five centuries, and, from the time they first appeared, have been the admiration of genius in every country of Europe. Who can add to the praises of St. Palaye, of Montaigne, of Gray, and sir Walter Scott! Froissart—"the Herodotus of a barbarous age, with his simple curiosity and religious credulity," has been the delight, for ages, of all who love to read

"Of bold men's bloody combatings and gentle ladies' tears."

He has presented a living picture of Europe in its boisterous spring-time, with all its tumultuous pleasures, its chivalric glories, and its magnificent superstitions. He has given us a type both of the splendor and the decline of the heroic world. He has transmitted to posterity brilliant examples of dauntless heroism, and perfect models of reproachless chivalry. With the sympathy and spirit of an eye-witness, and with the frankness of an old priest, anxious to entertain his noble patron with as good a story as was consistent with truth, he has detailed the most eventful exploits of our ancestors, in one of the most interesting periods of English history, and one of the most exciting epochs in the progress of civilization. He has described, with a most charming simplicity, even with dramatic power, all that can excite curiosity in the usages of feudal warfare, in the lives and fortunes of nobles, in the squabbles of priests, and in the amusements of that class with whom he associated. It is true, that his Chronicles chiefly pertain to battles and sieges, to marches and warriors, to tournaments and tilts, to loves and wassailings; but *his age* was *warlike*, and none for whom he wrote had an ear for anything but the martial and the romantic. He describes *the spirit of his age*, with fidelity and minuteness, without stopping to make philosophical generalizations, and ingenious theories on the progress of civilization. He did not pretend to be an historian in the modern sense, and he did not profess to reason concerning the interests of society with the spirit of a philosopher. He was a chronicler—a story-teller—a delineator of men and manners as *he saw* them—as he knew them. And it is his candor, his talent of observation, and his liveliness in detail, which give value to the book on which he spent his life. "It is history," says Montaigne, "naked and unadorned; every one may profit from it according to the depths of his understanding."

Nor are the subjects which he narrates with so much spirit, without interest. "The age of chivalry indeed is gone." We have piled away its helmets and its spears: and its blazonry is invested with a more poetic charm. Still we love the past—we love the heroic in man's history. We hate to divest it even of its fictions. Sir Walter Scott proved how deep the sympathy exists for the chivalric glories. The independent spirit of chivalry, bent on the accomplishment of lofty ends, without calculation of chances, or fear of failure, so generous in action, so munificent in courtesy, so frank in friendship, and so gallant in danger, ever must have rare attraction to the enthusiastic and the aspiring. There is something peculiarly delightful and exciting in those stories which represent the hero of the middle ages, loyal and brave, superbly mounted, cased in glittering steel, surrounded by his men-at-arms, and issuing forth from his lordly castle, in quest of adventures, or on an errand of love. Who does not love to read of the fair and haughty dames encouraging their champions at the tilt, and rewarding their valor with sacred banners and embroidered scarfs, worked with their own hands? Who does not dwell with delight on the gorgeous description of the tournament, where the place inclosed for combat "is surrounded with sovereigns and bishops and barons, and all that rank and beauty had ennobled among the fair; when the combatants, covered with shining armor, and only known by a device or emblazoned shield, issued forth, not without danger, to win the prize of valor, bestowed by the queen of beauty, amid the animating music of minstrels, and the shouts of the assembled multitude?"

The Chronicles of Froissart are not only a faithful mirror of his age, which is all we want in chronicles, but the age itself is one of the most interesting in the history of Europe. *It was an epoch.* Society was passing through a new transformation. It was the spring-time of European society, when the principles, which now agitate it, were then in the process of development, and when the institutions, which now are our pride and glory, were springing up amid chills and storms. A brilliant morning had dawned upon Europe, and the noxious vapors of a long night of one thousand years were vanishing away before the rising sun of modern civilization. In the fourteenth century, commenced the strife of new principles, the clash of new interests, and the rise of new powers. We behold a period of experiments, of combinations, and of reform. We see the conflict of factions, and orders, and interests, and new and grand developments of character and passion. We contemplate the conflict of faith with reason, of aristocracy with democracy, of monarchy with republicanism, and of papacy with dissent. In the whirl of contending principles and interests, we see the bursting forth of new and unknown energies. Commerce, manufactures, and agriculture received a new impulse. The fine arts attained the perfection of the antique models. Poetry became again inspired, and science sought for elementary principles. There was no monument of ancient genius which was not rivalled. There was no subject which philosophy did not investigate. There was no climate which adventurous curiosity did not explore. There was an unprecedented brilliancy of intellectual effort, and an unknown energy of moral purpose. Everywhere there was a vast expenditure of physical, intellectual and moral energies. To this era we trace the admission of commons into legislatures, the disfranchisement of slaves, and the freedom of cities. This was the period of popular insurrections, and of general fermentation. In this period Roman jurisprudence was revived, universities were established, the modern languages created, the Bible was translated, printing, gunpowder and the mariner's compass were invented, and religious and civil liberty dawned.

Since the introduction of Christianity, there have been, strictly speaking, but two great epochs in European society. The one was that just referred to, the other that which succeeded the dissolution of the Roman Empire. When the vices of self-interest had eaten out the vitals of the state; when there was left no longer a material on which either Christianity or literature could work, and both were equally corrupted; when luxury, egotism, sensuality and unreasonable pride characterized the privileged classes; while poverty, meanness and excessive degradation were the misfortunes of the millions; when all the wealth of the empire was concentrated among a few enervated aristocrats, and there was no longer a central power to preserve order or law in the provinces, or even to keep the emperors on their throne; when, in short, there was a dissolution of all the bonds of society, then God sent violence on the earth. The barbarians advanced from their forests, to conquer, to desolate, and to reconstruct. In the fifth and sixth centuries was that mixture of races and languages and institutions, when all the elements of the Roman and Barbaric world were mingled together that forms the first great epoch of European society. And this era was disastrous in the extreme. Society was depressed to a greater degree than at any other time in the history of Europe. There was incessant anarchy. The strong preyed upon the weak, and the law of brute force was terribly triumphant. Christianity was only "a dim taper which had need of snuffing." Moral power was weak.

Treachery, rapine, lust and murder were the characteristic vices of the times. Europe seemed destined to worse evils than those which disgraced the Roman world. But these evils passed away. Creation succeeded destruction. From the disordered elements of human strife, and the restless heavings of human passion, there was heard, at last, a "melodious birth-song," and in praise of *Him* who overrules disastrous changes for the *ultimate* good of man.

But the great evils and commotions incident to such a revolution did not pass away until Charlemagne, after a long reign of fifty years, had fulfilled his mission; until he had stopped Barbarian invasion, had centralized power, and had given to ecclesiastics authority, as a counterpoise to the power of nobles.

From his death, may be dated what historians have been pleased to call the "dark ages," the period of repose between two exciting epochs. Society settled down under the control of two great principles, the aristocratic and the autocratic, the government of nobles, and of priests. Then feudalism and the papacy were ripened into universal coercive systems.

Under the operation of these systems, society seemed both sluggish and torpid. During the 500 years in which they flourished, there is but little to interest the superficial or unreflecting mind. There were no great political events, no great military enterprises, except the Crusades, no brilliant discoveries, no great attainments, no striking advances in civilization. Society seemed to move round in a continual circle, as incapable of progression as it was of rest. Barons and priests shared between them the government and the wealth of Europe.

Neither of the systems, which form the chief object of our interest in the history of Christendom for 500 years, are to be praised or admired, except so far as they *were adapted to the times.* In view of the times, however, they both answered useful ends, and are never to be spoken of with unmitigated contempt or censure.

The feudal system prevented the people from roving robbers, and from the aggressions of powerful chieftains, except those who were licensed to oppress them. Oppression ever has been the fate of the poor man. It was less, however, under baronial rule than before feudalism was established. The serf was indeed compelled to labor like a slave. He was crushed beneath the iron weight of a martial aristocracy. His tears were often unheeded, and his sorrows received no sympathy. Feudalism begat in the breast of the haughty and isolated baron, the pride of birth, and the feeling of personal consequence. It developed all the selfishness of an uncultivated nature, and prevented the appreciation of the miseries of dependents; and it destroyed elevation of sentiment among the people themselves, led to mean servility, to poverty and dependence; and, for these reasons, the system was detestable, and the remembrance of it painful to the peasantry of Europe. But it had a bright side, if we consider the times in which it flourished, and that state of utter disorganization and wretchedness, from which it rescued society in the seventh century. It developed the character of woman, and led to the appreciation of her virtues. The Germanic nations had ever held woman in veneration. In their ancient forests they looked upon her as a superior being. But this natural veneration, which neither Greek nor Roman shared, even in the most brilliant periods of ancient civilization, even when Christianity had developed the heroism of the female martyr, was ripened into idolatry under the influence of feudalism. Woman, shut up in a castle with her lord, made her influence felt. The baron perceived her virtues, and honored them. He made her his equal companion. He made her the object of his devotion. In the feudal castle of the dark ages, woman's worth was first perceived, and first acknowledged; and the appreciation of this worth led to enthusiasm. Chivalry received its attractive form. "The love of God and the ladies, was enjoined as a simple duty, and he who was faithful to his mistress, was sure of salvation in the theology of castles, if not of cloisters." Women were present in tournaments, and in feasts, and in all amusements. A lady did not disdain to have a falcon on her wrist, and a grayhound following her. For her, the wandering minstrel sang the strains of heroism and love. Under her protection, sentimental poetry was cultivated. Not only were knights proud to utter her praises in the songs of Provence, but grave scholars forgot their studies in the composition of lyrics, whose pensiveness and devotion would have surprised and amused the amatory poets of antiquity. "You composed," said Eloise to Abelard, who had learned on the banks of the Seine the amorous dialect of Thoulouse, "many verses, so sweet both in their language and melody, that your name was incessantly in the mouths of all."

Feudalism not only led to the appreciation of woman's worth, and ripened respect for her into devotion and gallantry, but it developed, in the minds of the people, the sentiment of loyalty, attachment to country, attachment to friends, attachment to truth. This loyalty, applied to everything, was an antidote in the midst of prisons; in the minds of serfs; in the minds of barons. Treachery and hypocrisy became detestable. Courtesy, magnanimity, courage, hospitality, became the virtues of the age. Great deeds were done in obedience to this principle, by the fraternity of knights. The baron forsook his castle, and the peasant his hut, to maintain the honor of a family, or to preserve the sacredness of a vow. It was this sentiment of loyalty, which made the poor serf patient in his toils, and serene in his sorrows. It enabled his master to brave all physical evils, and enjoy a sort of spiritual romance. It bound the peasant to his master, and his master to his king. It was the principle needed to counteract the miseries of an infant state of civilization.

So of the other institution which exercised so powerful an influence in the middle ages: it is to be respected amid all its evills. No Protestant can love that system of ecclesiastical encroachment and fraud which the papacy encouraged, and no one would wish to see it restored; nor should its corruptions be excused, or denied. Still, the papacy fulfilled a noble mission in a turbulent and ignorant age. It was a paternal authority, congenial to the minds and circumstances of the Gothic races. They beheld, in the pope, their spiritual father, the vicegerent of the Invisible King, who held in his hands the keys of heaven and hell. When no earthly influence could restrain the lawless passions of the violent nobility, they were curbed by the power of a ghostly superstition. They could not see their children refused the rights of baptism: they could not behold their relatives refused admission into heaven: they could not stand before the terrors of that awful anathema which consigned them to the wrath of God. Priestly power is bad enough, especially when abused; but it is better than none. I question whether any other power than that which the Christian clergy exercised in the middle ages, though based on supersitious fear, could have restrained the outbreak of fiery and destructive passions in the breasts of the impetuous barons. Moreover, the papacy was a *great central power,* needed to control the princes of Europe, and settle the difficulties which arose between them. The popes, whatever may have been their personal character, were conservators of peace. They preserved unity amid anarchy, and restrained the impulses of passionate kings. Again, the papacy, in its best ages, is thought by many profound historians to have been democratic in its sympathies. It guarded the interests of the people: it preserved them from the violence of their oppressors: it furnished a retreat, in monasteries, for the contemplative, the suffering, the afflicted, and the poor. The monks and nuns were taught by their quiet and industrious life, that

> ——"There exists
> An higher than the warrior's excellence;
> That vast and sudden deeds of violence,
> Adventures wild, and wonders of the moment,
> These are not they which generate
> The *calm* and *blissful* and *enduring mighty.*"

From their "beehives of industry," probably disgraced by the vices of concubinage and the follies of asceticism, they only issued to relieve the helpless, to succor the distressed, to teach the ignorant, and to administer celestial consolation.

It is in this view that the civil and religious structure of society in the dark ages should be viewed—as full of defects, if it were applied to modern life, when the blessings it formerly bestowed now proceed from other sources: but, after all, as admirably adapted to the times, and as indicating that superintending power which only gradually renovates the condition of society. And, so long as this structure was adapted to the times, it is both uncharitable and unphilosophical to condemn it, certainly with wholesale abuse.

It is also in view of the evils attending the new structure which the barbarians, unenlightened by science, and uninstructed by the experience of past generations, erected upon the bleeding surface of the earth, so long disgraced with every crime, and marked by every calamity, that so many have denounced the middle ages as a period of such unmitigated darkness and gloom. The times were dark and gloomy enough, every one knows. No one, in this age, but a visionary rhapsodist of the olden time, would deny the despotism of an iron age, and the countless miseries of a second infancy of society. Who would cover up the cruelties of the feudal system, or excuse the impostures of papal Rome? But in a formative state of society we expect disasters. The objects of nature, moral as well as physical, are ever slow in arriving at maturity. Barbarians could not be civilized in a day, especially under the guidance of a corrupted Christianity. It is something if we discern in them the elements of a noble people. Time and the Gospel would develop their wasted energies. They were inexperienced, and could not be expected to erect upon the ruins of the old world a faultless structure. They were not to be absolved from the penalty of violating natural laws. They were ignorant, and hence could not but be exposed to the arts of designing priests. They were rude, and hence must endure poverty. They were obliged to develop from themselves the sleeping germs of a new civilization. They were doomed to many sufferings, and disgraced by many crimes in the days of their pilgrimage; but they were guided by the light of faith, and the impulses of generous youth. When, at last, they reached the promised land of liberty and light, they found many treasures which had escaped the wreck of the old classic world. And, then, of these well-preserved, but long-despised ruins, they erected a far nobler temple than pagan antiquity had seen, which, dedicated to the God of Love, still remains a proud monument of their native genius, and a glorious emblem of their Christian faith.

Christianity, in that dark age, while it shed a darkened light, while it introduced into Europe "the gloomy monk," "the military prophet," "the priestly despot," "the superstitious devotee," still preserved the beautiful flowers of humanity to more fortunate times. In the moral

power of learning and sanctity we are tempted to exclaim, with Digby, these surely "were ages of highest grace to man."

Again, the Germanic nations, with the profoundest respect for religious institutions, and for the ministers of even a corrupted Christianity, had also other most interesting qualities which should never be overlooked, even in their barbarism and superstition. They had a lofty sense of personal independence. They cherished the virtues of disinterestedness and fidelity. They loved social pleasures, the exercise of generous courtesies, and the exhibition of manly and heroic energies. They never desponded in adversity. They grew stronger after defeat and disaster. They were ever greater than their circumstances. There was an undying energy in their souls. Nor were they entirely deficient in intellectual force, as some historians, who did not sympathize with their physical and intellectual toils, would lead us to suppose. True, they made no valuable additions to physical science. Utility was *unto them* the perfection of wisdom. But did not the earlier schoolmen speculate on the highest truths of philosophy, and teach the most elevated lessons of moral wisdom, while the Norman and Provençal poets excited, by their romantic and allegorical songs, the enthusiasm of a passionate people? It was in the "*dark ages*," that twenty-five thousand students flocked to Oxford, and thirty thousand to Paris, to learn theology, and jurisprudence, and medicine. It was in these slandered ages that we perceive the "living, *precious germ of thought*," the most wonderful intellectual activity since the age of Pericles. The eighteen folio volumes of Thomas Aquinas were filled with much else besides mere barbarous wranglings. "The schoolmen," says Schlegel, "displayed not only the most subtle reasonings of the human mind, but the most refined tenderness of the enamored heart." Even Guizot admits "that they had merits as brilliant as they were varied, devoid of affectation and free from pedantry." And they were elevated in their solitary toil by the contemplation of boundless truth. Life, to them, was not in palaces and gardens, in velvets and wines, in chariots and horses. They made wisdom to consist in the triumph of the spiritual over the animal, and prized life for its simple pleasures, and devout contemplation. They may not have attained these exalted ends, but their respect for the spiritual in man was profound. In the chaos of a turbulent age, their minds acquired force and fire: they shone as morning stars in the intellectual and moral firmament of Europe.

But, after all, the middle ages can never be adduced to show a high state of humanity. It was a period in which great energies were preparing. It was a state favorable to grand developments, and to the birth of new ideas. It was not a period of revolution or excitement, but of repose. Everything was settled. There was no breaking the iron fetters which feudalism had forged. There was no resisting the spiritual despotism which the clergy exercised. The thraldom of opinions was too strong to be assailed. Those who were impatient and inquiring were persecuted. The church was opposed to reformation of any sort, and was particularly hostile to free inquiry.

But the age is instructing to contemplate, as a preparation for a great and new order of things, and for the gradual development of Christian ideas. It is only these ideas which can give grandeur to any history. Since these ideas are seen in all the struggles of our fathers in their long pilgrimage, let us be impressed with the morals which they teach. It may be sad to see so much human suffering, so many misdirected energies, such incessant blunders and follies. But then we are cheered with the view of the suffering poor man, gradually breaking his fetters, becoming civilized by art, enriched by industry, and powerful by association. We see him at length learning his duties from the Bible, and his politics from advancing civilization. His mind was soon to receive light from Heaven, and his soul to catch fire from the new impulses in action around him.

It is this awakening mercy in the prospects of the poor man, which constitutes the second grand epoch in European history. This is the epoch in which Froissart lived, and which he described, with so much beauty and so much fascination. As the high-born old canonist did not much concern himself with such vulgar affairs as commerce, and the revival of the spirit of liberty, and the progress of manufactures, or even the studies of old meditative monks; and as all these things are worthy of our attention in the history of the times, and indeed according to modern historians, the *most worthy*, because they are *based on great spiritual ideas*, I proceed to offer a few remarks on the spirit of activity, which in various ways, was developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A glance at the main points of interest, in this exciting era, especially after allusion to the sluggish and sleepy times which preceded it, may prepare the reader for the greater enjoyment of the inimitable Chronicler, whose writings are fortunately placed so easily within his reach.

It must be remembered the Crusades were ended. Five millions of men had been buried in the plains of Asia. No immediate trophies consoled Europe for the loss. These religious wars had proved an unmitigated calamity. The object of the brave warriors was not attained, although at one time, the bloody victors, amid the loud anthems of the clergy, had ascended the hill of Calvary, and bedewed with their tears the monument of their redemption. Never before, was such a waste of treasure and blood. For two centuries, Europe had precipitated itself into Asia, and had gained nothing but a few cities which were afterwards lost. Nor can these martial expeditions be justified on any principles, either of Christianity or enlightened reason. Their principle was a savage fanaticism and a deadly hate of Mohammedanism, because chiefly it did not encourage, and perhaps persecuted the pilgrims. Yet the power by which they were sustained, was grand, because it was spiritual. None but the Italian merchants ever dreamed of gain; those adventurers sought at the holy sepulchre, no religious consolations, but only the treasures connected with it. But the gallant, brave, old knights, though collected from every country of Europe, were bound together by a *spiritual* idea. It was to rescue the sepulchre from pollution; it was to get a sight of the holy places connected with the sufferings of the Saviour, not to get treasures and kingdoms, which sustained, for two centuries, the most disastrous wars recorded in history. The enthusiastic and chivalrous heroes of the middle ages were animated by loftier desires than avarice or ambition, or even glory can excite. They showed that material interests can never be so strong as spiritual cravings, even though they may be fanatical.

This is not the place to paint the history of the Crusades. But was there no good to result from them? Were such enthusiasm and heroism to be wasted, without accomplishing anything? Was the flower of European chivalry, led on by such princes as Godfrey and Hugh the great, and Raymond, and the valiant Bohemond, and the heroic Tancred; and, afterwards, by Richard Cœur de Lion, and Philip of France, and Frederic of Germany, the great Barbarossa—were all the vast forces which the great monarchs of Europe commanded in person, and inspired with all the enthusiasm which religion and chivalry and patriotism could excite—were these to be buried with the broken columns of Asia Minor for nothing? No. Providence is prodigal of courage, of virtues, of sacrifices, of men, in order to secure important ultimate good. From the graves of the Crusades there arose a spirit which gave the first great impulse to civilization. They gave the first shock to the political importance of the feudal aristocracy. The estates of the nobles were wasted in these wars, but the gainers were, first, the monarchs who gathered around their thrones despotic power; and, secondly, the people who secured their farms and their shops. The cities increased in population, in consequence of the impulse which arts and manufactures and commerce received, and then the people in the cities aspired to political independence. By clubbing together, they discovered they could cope successfully with any feudal force which could be arrayed against them. They formed political combinations as a counterpoise to the power of the barons. Europe passed from feudal vassalage to the dominion of centralized power, whether collected around the thrones of princes, or emanating from republics and free cities.

The Crusades encouraged commercial enterprise. The warriors needed ships, and the Italian merchants lent them and sold them. Every returning vessel from Asia brought the luxuries of the East. The silks and spices of India were thus exchanged, at the great European markets, for iron and flax and wool and skins.

Thus an active intercourse was soon established between the north and south of Europe. Intercourse brought wealth. It brought more than wealth, liberality of mind, intelligence, refinement of manners, courteous habits, generosity and faith. It is this liberality and enlargement of mind, which is the greatest moral effect of the Crusades, although, in many cases, it was indirect. It was the insulation of nations in the middle ages, which was a great cause of barbarism. But, by the Crusades, nations became intermingled, and learned each other's customs and laws. Not only were the minds of the Crusaders divested of many prejudices against each other, but also against the Saracens. Saladin was discovered to be as courteous and brave as Richard. The habits of the Musselmen were found to be more courteous and generous and refined, than even those of their invaders; and the Eastern warriors no longer appeared as monsters, but as elegant strangers, with a love of science and song, a taste for architecture, and an appreciation of the beautiful. The luxury of their tents, the richness of their dresses, the polish of their manners, the vivacity of their wit, and the munificence of their country struck the rude barbarians, at least, with surprise. They could not detest them as cordially as before. They saw much to admire. And then they ceased to exterminate them. The Crusades could not be sustained so soon as the European learned liberality of mind. Fanaticism had no element to feed on, and died. When the Crusaders returned, the storming of castles seemed a small affair. They longed for great conquests. As they could not subdue the Mohammedans, they resolved to subdue each other. Hence those wars between England and France which Froissart chronicled.

When Froissart appeared, then the Crusades had ended, but military enthusiasm was not extinct. Chivalry, as an institution, was at its height. A spirit of enterprise and restless excitement pervaded the European mind. The rust of barbarism was worn off, but a true civilization was not established. The Hermit's voice had not been heard in vain. He had inspired Europe with the passion he had felt Those passions, being fanatical, had led their victims into the fire. But, from the fire, there issued a voice proclaiming liberty to the poor man. Evil was succeeded by good. The "world-Phœnix" immolated herself in flame, that she might sing the clearer and soar the higher.

Having now alluded to those events which prepared the age for the great convulsion and agitation which Froissart witnessed and described, I proceed to offer a few observations on those agitations.

What were they? They were the conflict of spiritual agencies—of great principles, in government, and in religion, and in social life. What were these principles?

One of the most important was the principle of association. This taught the people their strength. They always had the power, but not the wisdom to combine it. Until after the Crusades, they had never dreamed how strong they were when united for the attainment of noble ends. Hence, formerly, they were oppressed and crushed and mocked—in Greece, in Rome, in Europe, under the feudal system. But, by combinations, they could resist a feudal army, they could equip a merchant fleet, they could establish a foreign factory. This idea of association became the soul of commerce and of manufactures. It even led to political liberty. It extorted from monarchs those charters which secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer. It restored a substance and a life to the people in all of their relations and transactions with superiors. This idea is at the basis of popular representation. Nothing could resist it. It contained a great source of power and popular improvement. The people, having learned the secret of strength, never for a moment forgot it, even though sometimes repelled by a superior force. Under Wat Tyler, they marched in a body to London, and, had they possessed a little more experience, would have extorted from the trembling monarch as great a charter of privileges as the barons obtained from John. It is singular to see how this idea has become more and more important, with the progress of society. Nothing now is attempted, of any magnitude in a free country, without a combination. It is seen in all the ramifications of business, in all the mazes of politics, and in all the movements of philanthropy. The mill, the rail-road, the insurance office, and the missionary station, prove its present and increasing agency. It breaks the chains of despotism, rebukes injustice, gives teachers to the people, and missionaries to the heathen. It gives strength to the people, so long crushed and mocked by their superiors, even as the hair of Samson enabled him to pull down, upon the heads of his exulting enemies, the ancient temple of the Philistines.

While, in the age of Froissart, the principle of association was building free cities, and encouraging commerce, and reviving arts, and breaking fetters, and securing wealth and political importance to the people, the idea that men had a right to think for themselves was agitated. It had not, indeed, become established, nor was political liberty established; but the idea was born which was afterwards to secure it. The old scholastics had emancipated human reason from the trammels of priestly authority. They did not seek so much to change religious opinions, as to secure the light of free inquiry; and this was the great point of dispute between the church and men of letters. As early as the first Crusade, the scholars of Abelard had requested him to give them "some philosophical arguments—such as were fit to satisfy their minds." "They begged," says Guizot, "that he would instruct them not only to repeat what he taught them, but to understand the same. Especially, said they, is it necessary that we should strengthen one another with all the powers of reason, so that in questions so difficult and complicated as compose the substance of the Christian faith, we may be able to hinder the subtilties of its enemies from too easily corrupting its purity." Thus, the scholastic philosophy endeavored to satisfy human reason, and to triumph over an imperious authority. Its whole tendency, therefore, was to lead to intellectual independence, and thus the old Doctors were the true precursors of the reformation in religion and philosophy. By the temerity of their speculations, they taught the human mind to think boldly, and raised an inquisitive spirit which it was impossible to repress. It is this inquisitive spirit which is the greatest glory of the age of Froissart. Not only did it seek to explore unknown seas, and discover new kingdoms, but incited students to pursue every department of literature and science. It was this which revived law, and medicine, and experimental philosophy. It sent scholars over every country of Europe to ransack libraries, and collect manuscripts, and study Greek. The whole lives of Italian scholars were spent in collecting and collating manuscripts, and the recovery of one was regarded almost as important as the discovery of a kingdom. Emanuel Chryolorus revealed to the enthusiastic crowds who flocked to his lecture-room in Florence, the richness and copiousness of the Greek language, as gloriously as Abelard taught his disciples in the wilderness of Paraclete, the depths of scholastic lore, when he was driven from Paris for his heresy and his crime. And even the early poetry of the moderns breathed the very spirit of free inquiry. The divine comedy of Dante is thought by some of the most distinguished critics to be merely allegorical of hatred to papal usurpation and love for intellectual freedom. Petrarch was as great an enthusiast in liberty as in love, and his alliance and sympathy with Rienzi are well known. During the time the Popes had retired to Avignon—their Babylonian captivity—the main pillars of their throne were assaulted with weapons which no power could ever resist, by the invisible power of ideas and truth. Men dared to speculate on their assumed right to impose their dogmas. The church, in this age, was still strong enough to put down open rebellion, but it could not extinguish the spreading fires of intellectual independence. It was the strife for this right, not the possession of it, which was a grand feature of the times. It was the idea that the church had no right to shackle the human soul in his lofty inquiries, which was the spiritual cause of some of the mightiest movements, if not of the fourteenth century, at least of the succeeding ones. It was like the mighty fire which was smouldering in the bosom of volcanoes. The fire was there, although repressed. Had this not existed, the volcano would not have burst forth, and its flames ascended to Heaven.

It was, however, not until the time of Luther, that the European mind was awakened to the noble idea that men have a right to think for themselves. The right of private judgment is the bequest of the Reformation, and to all coming time. That right may be disputed by some romantic lovers of the dark ages, and of papal superstition, but it can never be put down. It is an idea, not only congenial to the wants of an improving age, but the very genius of the German race.

It is astonishing what a stride Europe made in civilization so soon as the idea was agitated of the right of free inquiry, or rather as soon as it was established, which was not until the Reformation. Then new ideas, equally important, flashed upon the popular mind. The people, feeling that they had a right to *think* for themselves, soon felt that they had a right to *rule* themselves. This idea was at the basis of Puritan movements in England. The idea has never yet been realized as perfectly as the friends of freedom have desired. But it has prompted to the noblest struggles ever made by man. It has inspired the people with loftiness of ambition, and with the hope of a glorious destiny. Nor can it ever be relinquished, especially in a country like this, so long as Saxon blood flows in our veins; so long as such heroes as Cromwell and Washington are remembered, and so long as the spiritual in man shall be more honored than the clay.

It would be uncalled for in an essay like this, to show how the spirit of inquiry, in the exciting age of Froissart was directed to everything which can interest the human mind, or how this spirit, discouraged and opposed in his day, by a church ever hostile to it, was triumphant in succeeding centuries.

It is the object of the writer of this essay merely to hint to the two grand spiritual agencies which were in existence during the brilliant epoch to which the Chronicles of Froissart refer—the one applied to material life, the other to the intellectual. Other agencies might be mentioned, but those alluded to are sufficient to give the fourteenth century an unusual attraction. It was the forming period of modern civilization; and a new civilization was established, after one thousand years of suffering and disaster, on the ruins of the old, established by the beautiful union of native genius with the treasures of the old classic world which had escaped the wreck.

This new formation, after a lapse of so many years of preparation—this second grand epoch in European history—teaches one great truth. The new structure which arose from the old Gothic edifice shows that there is a *Providence*, and there is a *progress*. Progress is the central truth which all history reveals; not that all generations are better than that which immediately preceded them, but that society, on the whole, through a superintending power, is advancing, and will continue to advance until the consummation of human happiness. He who cannot see this sublime truth, amid the revolutions and sorrows which have been sent upon mankind, has no eye to the only thing that can cheer us amid the ruin of private hopes, and the wreck of immediate interests. Progress is seen in those systems of fraud and tyranny which succeeded the dissolution of the Roman world. The epoch of misfortunes passed, and was succeeded by eight hundred years' repose. Those sluggish times, disgraced by ignorance, superstition and imposture, were succeeded by a glorious awakening and uprising of disenthralled humanity in the fourteenth century. For five centuries, the European nations have been reaping the fruit of those ideas which were then advanced. There is now need of new combinations and reforms. Who shall say that Christendom is not now passing through a new transformation?

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FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

THE NEW WORLD.

PARK BENJAMIN,
EDITOR.

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PUBLISHER.

JEAN FROISSART'S

CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
AND THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES.

OFFICE 30 ANN-STREET, NEW-YORK.

A. B. Lawson.

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c. &c.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Chronicles of Sir John Froissart have, ever since their first publication, when they were circulated only through the medium of manuscripts, and deemed worthy presents to kings and princes, been so highly prized, as to make any apology for their reproduction in a novel, and it is hoped an improved form, unnecessary. England is particularly rich in MS. Froissarts, and from these stores most of the illustrations have been drawn. The reader should, however, be made aware that there scarcely exists one single MS. contemporary with the time of the author containing illustrations, and that the dresses, &c. displayed in the wood-cuts interspersed in these volumes, are almost all to be referred to a later date. The manners of the times had not undergone much alteration, nor was the costume materially different, and they at least approach very nearly to an exact representation of the scenes described in the history they illustrate. It is difficult to represent the exquisite finish of ancient illuminations, through the medium of a copy composed of black lines and contrasted lights; but the fidelity of the outlines, and the spirit of the execution, have been scrupulously observed, and it is hoped that the general effect does not discredit the originals.

It may be necessary to say a few words on the mode which has been adopted in the conduct of the present edition. The text of Johnes has been preferred to that of Lord Berners for several reasons: the more modern diction is better adapted for the extended circulation among all classes of readers, which it is the ambition of the proprietor of the Imperial Classics to achieve; the style and language of Lord Berners would probably be preferred by those who are familiar with our earlier writers, but notes and glossaries would be required to make clear to others many words and expressions which to them appear in no degree obscure. Again, Mr. Johnes has in several places introduced extensive additions, which are to be found in no other edition, French or English. If these were embodied in the text of Lord Berners, a proceeding necessary to make the edition complete, a very piebald piece of patch-work would be the result; and as the original of these additions was lost when Mr. Johnes's house and library were destroyed by fire, it is not possible to re-translate them in a style assimilated to that of the noble translator.

Another objection to adopting the text of Lord Berners, is that imperfection which induced Mr. Johnes to undertake his translation, viz., the inaccuracies in rendering the names of both men and towns, &c. Mr. Johnes did much to correct these, which are dreadfully mangled and disfigured in the original; and they have been still further improved in the present edition. It has not been thought necessary to point out all these emendations; where no doubt existed, the alteration has been made silently; but wherever there was any uncertainty, the emendation has been proposed as a query.

All Mr. Johnes's original notes have been preserved, and many more added on subjects which he had left unnoticed, or regarding which he appeared to be in error. A few of the best passages of Lord Berners's version have been appended as specimens of his style, such as the celebrated episode of Edward III. and the countess of Salisbury, p. 53.

The original divisions made by Froissart in his work are commented on and explained in the Essay by M. de St. Palaye, translated by Mr. Johnes, and appended to this edition, and it will therefore be sufficient in this place to explain the system here adopted. The four original divisions into volumes or books have been preserved, and the chapters of each book are separately numbered. No two editions or MSS. exactly agree in the arrangement of the chapters, and we have therefore adhered to that adopted by Mr. Johnes.

We will now take our leave of the reader in the words of Gray, who, in a letter to a friend, thus addresses him: "I rejoice you have met with Froissart; he is the Herodotus of a barbarous age; had he but had the luck of writing in as good a language, he might have been immortal! His locomotive disposition (for then there was no other way of learning things,) his simple curiosity, his religious credulity, were much like those of the old Grecian. When you have *tant chevaucé* as to get to the end of him, there is Monstrelet waits to take you up, and will set you down at Philip de Commines."

MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE OF FROISSART.

JOHN FROISSART, priest, canon, and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, historian and poet, was born in Valenciennes, a town in Hainault, about the year 1337. This date, which appears contradicted by one single passage in his Chronicle, is confirmed by a number of others, as well in his Chronicle, as in his Manuscript Poems.

However attentive he may have been to inform us of the minutest particulars of his life, he does not say one word relative to his family. One can only form a conjecture from a passage in his Poems, that his father's name was Thomas, and that he was a painter of arms. We find in his history a Froissart Meullier, a young knight from Hainault, who signalized himself by his valor at the siege of the castle of Fighieres in Spain, which the English and Gascons attacked in 1381. His country and name induce me to believe that our historian might be a relation of his, and, like him, sprung from a noble family. Froissart, is titled knight, in a manuscript in the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près; but as he has not this title in any other manuscript, though we have some of the most ancient and most authentic, it seems probable that the copyist has given it to him from his own authority.

His infancy announced what he would one day be; he early manifested that eager and inquisitive mind, which during the course of his life never allowed him to remain long attached to the same occupations, and in the same place. The different games suitable to that age, of which he gives us a picture equally curious and amusing, kept up in his mind a fund of natural dissipation, which during his early studies tried the patience and exercised the severity of his masters. He loved hunting, music, assemblies, feasts, dress, good living, wine, and women: all these tastes, which almost all showed themselves from twelve years of age, being confirmed by habitude, were continued even to his old age, and perhaps never left him. The mind and heart of Froissart being not yet sufficiently occupied, his love for history filled up that void which his passion for pleasure left; and became to him an inexhaustible source of amusement.

He had but just left school, and was scarcely twenty years old, when at the entreaty of *his dear lord and master, Sir Robert de Namur, knight, Lord of Beaufort*, he undertook to write the history of the wars of his own time, more particularly those which ensued after the battle of Poitiers. Four years afterwards, having gone to England, he presented a part of his history to queen Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III. However young he might then be, he had already travelled into the most distant provinces of France. The object of his visit to England was to tear himself from the pains of an attachment which had tormented him for a long time. This passion took possession of his heart from his infancy; it lasted ten years, and sparks of it were again rekindled in a more advanced age, *in spite of his bald head and white hairs.*

When poets sing their loves, they are not always believed on their word; as Froissart only mentions his in poetry, one may treat all he says as pure fiction; but the portrait he draws is so natural, that one cannot prevent one's self from acknowledging the character of a young man in love, and the simple expressions of real passion. He feigns, that when twelve years old, Mercury appeared to him followed

by the three goddesses whose difference Paris had formerly decided; that this god, calling to mind the protection he had given him from four years of age, ordered him to revise the dispute of these three divinities; that he had confirmed the judgment of Paris; and that Venus had promised him, as a recompense, a mistress more beautiful than the fair Helen, and of such high birth, that from thence to Constantinople there was not earl, duke, king, or emperor, who would not have esteemed himself fortunate to obtain her. He was to serve this beauty for ten years, and his whole life was to be devoted to the adoration of that divinity who made him such fair promises.

Froissart had been early attached to romances; that of Cleomades was the first instrument Love made use of to captivate him. He found it in the hands of a young maiden who was reading it, and who invited him to read it with her: he readily consented, for such complaisances cost little. There was soon formed between them a literary connection. Froissart lent her the romance of the *Baillou d'Amours*,* and took the opportunity of sending it to her, to slip into it a ballad, in which he first spoke of his love. This spark of love became a flame which nothing could extinguish; and Froissart, having experienced all that agitation which a first passion inspires, was almost reduced to despair on hearing that his mistress was on the point of being married; his excessive grief overwhelmed him, and caused him a fit of illness which lasted for three months. At last he took the resolution to travel, to dissipate his chagrin and to recover his health. As he travelled with a large company, he was forced to be attentive to himself, in order to hide his trouble. After two days' journey, during which he had never ceased making verses in honor of his mistress, he arrived at a town, which I believe to be Calais, where he embarked. During his passage, the weather was so tempestuous as to threaten an immediate wreck of the vessel: this however was not capable of suspending the application with which he was working to finish a rondeau to the honor of his love. The weather became calm, and the rondeau was completed, when he found himself on a coast, where, as he says, "they love war better than peace, and where strangers are very well received." He speaks of England; the reception they gave him, the amusements they procured him in the societies of "lords, ladies, and damsels," and the caresses they loaded him with; but nothing was able to calm the melancholy which overwhelmed him; so that, not being able longer to support the pangs of absence, he resolved to return nearer to the lady of his heart.

A lady, queen Philippa of Hainault, who detained him in England, learnt from a virelay, which he presented to her, the cause of his trouble; she took compassion on him, by ordering him to go back to his own country, on condition however of his promise to return, and furnished him with money and horses to perform the journey. Love soon conducted him to the lady of his affections. Froissart let no opportunity slip of being in the same places where she might be, and of conversing with her. We have before seen that she was of such high birth, that "kings and emperors might have sought her;" these words taken literally are only suitable for a person of blood royal, or to the issue of a sovereign prince; but how can we connect the idea of such high birth with the detail he gives us of the secret conversations, the amusements, and assemblies, which he was at liberty to partake of by day or by night? and, as if these traits were not sufficient to make her known at the time he wrote, he seems to have wished to have more clearly pointed her out by the name of Anne, in the enigmatical verses which make part of his manuscript poems. One may presume that this love, so passionate and so tender, had the usual fate of almost every passion.

Froissart speaks in one of his rondeaus of another lady, whom he had loved, and whose name, composed of five letters, was to be found in that of Polixena: this may be an Alix, which was formerly written Aelix. There is reason to believe he had a third flame called Margaret, and that it is she whom he indirectly celebrates in a poem† under the title, and in honor, of the flower which bears her name.‡ Perhaps he sought in these episodical amours some remedy for a passion, which, according to his own account, was unfortunate. At least we know that, in despair for the little success which had attended all his assiduities and attentions to his first mistress, he took the resolution of again absenting himself from her.

This absence was no longer than the preceding one; he returned to England, and attached himself to the service of queen Philippa. This princess, sister to the countess of Namur, wife of Robert, to whom Froissart seems to have been a servant, saw always with pleasure her countrymen from Hainault; she loved letters; the college which she founded, and which at this day is known at Oxford under the name of Queen's College, is an illustrious monument of the protection she granted to them; Froissart therefore united all the titles which could merit the affection of queen Philippa. The history which he presented to her, as I have before mentioned, whether at his first journey or the second (for it is not possible to decide which of the two,) was very well received, and probably gained him the title of clerk (that is to say secretary or writer) of the chamber of this princess, which he was in possession of from 1361.

In the age of Froissart, all the world was persuaded that love was the motive of the most brilliant actions of courage and virtue. Knights made a parade of it in tournaments. Warriors exposed themselves to the most perilous combats, to maintain the honor and beauty of their ladies. It was then believed that love might be confined to a delicate intercourse of gallantry and tenderness: it is almost always under this form that we see it represented in the greater parts of those efforts of the mind which have been handed down to us from that period; the ladies blushed not in feeling so pure a passion, and the most modest made it the ordinary subject of their conversations. The queen of England frequently amused herself by making Froissart compose amorous ditties; but this occupation must be considered solely as a relaxation that no way impeded more serious works, since, during the five years he was attached to the service of this princess, he travelled at her expense to various parts of Europe, the object of which seems to be a research after whatever might enrich his history. I draw this conclusion from a preface which is found at the head of the fourth volume in several manuscripts of the Chronicle of Froissart; and, as it is not to be found in the printed copies,* I thought the insertion of it would not be improper here.

"At the request, wish, and pleasure, of that most high and noble prince, my very dear lord and master Guy de Chatillon, count de Blois, lord of Avesne, of Chimay, of Beaumont, of Schonove, of Goude; I, John Froissart, priest, chaplain to my very dear lord above named, and at this time treasurer and canon of Chimay, and of Lille in Flanders, am again awakened, and entered into my work-shop, to labor and work at the grand and noble matters which, in former times, occupied my attention, which treat and examine the feats and events of the wars between France and England, and of all their allies and adherents, as it clearly appears from the treaties which have been made and completed until this very day of my again being awakened.

"Now, you that read, or shall read this history, consider in your own minds, how I could have known and collected such facts as I treat of, and of so many different parties. In truth, I must inform you that I began at the early age of twenty years, and came into the world at the time these events were passing, in the knowledge of which I have always taken greater pleasure than in anything else. God has been so gracious to me, that I was well with all parties, and of the household of kings; more especially of king Edward, and of the noble queen his lady, madame Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, lady of Ireland and Aquitaine, to whom in my youth I was secretary, and amused her with handsome ditties and madrigals of love; and through affection to the service of that noble and puissant lady to whom I belonged, all the other great lords, dukes, earls, barons, and knights, of whatever nation they might be, loved me, saw me with pleasure, and were of the greatest utility to me. Thus, under the protection of this good lady, and at her costs, as well as at the expenses of great lords, I have searched in my time the greater part of Christendom (in truth who seeks will find;) and wherever I came, I made inquiry after those ancient knights and squires who had been present at these deeds of arms, and who were well enabled to speak of them. I sought also for heralds of good repute, to verify and confirm what I might have heard elsewhere of these matters. In this manner have I collected the materials for this noble history; and that gallant count de Blois before mentioned, has taken great pains in it. And as long as through God's grace I shall live, I shall continue it, for the more I work at it, the greater pleasure I receive; like the gallant knight or squire enamored with arms, by perseverance and attention he perfects and accomplishes himself, thus by laboring and working on this subject, I acquire greater ability and delight."

Of all the particulars of Froissart's life during his residence in England, we only know that he was present at the separation of the king and queen in 1361, with their son the prince of Wales and the princess his lady, who were going to take possession of Aquitaine; and that he was between Eltham and Westminster in the year 1363, when king John passed on his return to England. There is in his poems a pastoral which seems to allude only to that event. With regard to his travels during the time he was attached to the service of the queen, he employed six months in Scotland, and penetrated as far as the Highlands. He travelled on horseback with his portmanteau behind him, and followed by a grayhound.

The king of Scotland, and many lords whose names he has preserved us, treated him so handsomely, that he could have wished to have returned thither. William, earl of Douglas, lodged him during fifteen days in his castle of Dalkeith, five miles from Edinburgh. We are ignorant of the date of this journey; and of another, which he made into North Wales, that I believe must have been made about the same time. He was in France, at Melun-sur-Seine, about the 20th of April, 1366; perhaps private reasons might have led him to take that road to Bordeaux, where he was on All Saints day of that year, when the princess of Wales was brought to bed of a son, who was afterwards Richard II. The prince of Wales setting out a few days afterwards for the war in Spain, Froissart accompanied

* M. St. Palaye, in a note, says he is not acquainted with the romance. Baillou signifies bailiff.

† Dittie de la fleur de la Marguerite, pages 70 and the following, of his Manuscript Poems.

‡ The English reader must be informed, that Marguerite is not only the name of a woman, but also of the flower called daisy, and of a pearl.

* M. de St. Palaye is not quite correct; for the beginning of this preface is in the printed edition of Verard, and in another printed edition which I believe was not known to Denys Sauvage nor to M. de St. Palaye. It will be more particularly mentioned hereafter. This preface in many printed editions is not so long as this, and is somewhat different. It is not mentioned in the editions of Denys Sauvage

nim to Dax, where the prince resided some time. He had expected to have attended him during the continuance of this grand expedition; but the prince would not permit him to go farther, and shortly after his arrival sent him back to the queen his mother.

Froissart could not have made any long stay in England, since in the following year he was at different Italian courts. It was this same year, that is to say 1368, that Lionel, duke of Clarence, son of the king of England, espoused Joland, daughter of Galeas the Second, duke of Milan. The marriage was celebrated the 25th of April; and Lionel died on the 17th of October following. Froissart, who probably was in his suite, was present at the magnificent reception which Amadeus count de Savoy, surnamed the count Verd, gave him on his return: he describes the feasts on this occasion, which lasted three days; and he does not forget to tell us that they danced a virelay of his composition.

From the court of Savoy he returned to Milan, where the same count Amadeus gave him a good cottehardie,* with twenty florins of gold; from thence to Bologna and Ferrara, where he received forty ducats from the king of Cyprus; and then to Rome. Instead of the modest equipage we have seen him travel into Scotland with, he was now, like a man of importance, travelling on a handsome horse attended by a hackney.

It was about this period that Froissart experienced a loss which nothing could recompense: Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, who had heaped wealth on him, died in 1369. He composed a lay on this melancholy event, of which, however, he was not a witness; for he says, in another place, that in 1395 it was twenty-seven years since he had seen England. According to several authors,† he wrote the life of queen Philippa; but this assertion is not founded on any proofs.

Independently of the employment of clerk of the chamber to the queen of England, which Froissart had had, he had also been of the household of Edward III., and even of that of John, king of France. As there are several other princes and lords of whose households he had been, or whom he calls his lords and masters, it is proper to observe, that by this mode of speech he means not only those princes and lords to whom he had been attached as a servant; but likewise all those who had made him presents or gratifications; or who, having received him in their courts or castles, had admitted him to their tables.

Froissart, having lost his patroness, queen Philippa, did not return to England, but went into his own country, where he obtained the living of Lestines. Of all that he performed during the time he exercised this ministry, he tells us nothing more than that the tavern-keepers of Lestines had five hundred francs of his money in the short space of time he was their rector. One reads in a manuscript journal of the bishop of Chartres, chancellor to the duke of Anjou, that, according to letters sealed on the 12th December, 1381, this prince caused to be seized fifty-six quires of the Chronicle of Froissart, rector of the parish church of Lestines, which the historian had sent to be illuminated, and then to be forwarded to the king of England, the enemy of France.

Froissart attached himself afterwards to Winceslaus de Luxembourg, duke of Brabant, perhaps in quality of secretary, according to the custom of princes and lords in those days, who employed clerks to manage their affairs, and in their correspondence, and who amused them by their knowledge, or their wit. Winceslaus had a taste for poetry; he had had made by Froissart a collection of his songs, his rondeaus, and virelays, who, adding some of his own pieces to those of the prince, formed a sort of romance, under the title of Meliador, or the Knight of the Sun; but the duke did not live sufficiently long to see the completion of the work, for he died in 1384.

Almost immediately after this event, Froissart found another patron: he was made clerk of the chapel to Guy, count de Blois; and he was not long in testifying his gratitude to his new patron, by a pastoral on the betrothing of Louis, count de Dunois, son of Guy, with Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry. Two years after, on the solemnization of this marriage at Bourges, he celebrated it in a sort of epithalamium, sufficiently ingenious for those times, entitled "The Temple of Honor." He passed the years 1385, 1386, and 1387, sometimes in the Blaisois, sometimes in Touraine; but the count de Blois having engaged him to continue the course of his history, which he had left unfinished, he determined in 1388 to take advantage of the peace which was just concluded, to visit the court of Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix and de Béarn, in order to gain full information in whatever related to foreign countries, and the more distant provinces of the kingdom, where he knew that a great number of warriors signalized themselves daily by the most gallant actions. His age and his health still allowed him to bear great fatigue; his memory was sufficiently strong to retain whatever he should hear; and his judgment clear enough to point out to him the use he should make of it.

He set out with letters of recommendation from the count de Blois to Gaston Phœbus, and took the road through Avignon. One of his pastorals informs us, that he resided in the environs of an abbey,* situated between Lunel and Montpelier, and that he gained the affections of a young person, who bewailed his departure: in the same poem he tells us, that he carried with him four grayhounds,† as a present to the count de Foix. Gaston was passionately fond of dogs, and had upward of sixteen hundred always with him: there exists a treatise written by him on hunting, which is preserved in manuscript in several libraries, and which was printed in 1520.

Froissart went from Carcassonne to Pamiers, of which he gives an agreeable description; he remained there for three days waiting for the chance of meeting some person with whom he might travel into Béarn. He was fortunate enough to meet with a knight from the country of Foix, who was returning thither from Avignon, and they journeyed together. Sir Espaign du Lyon, the name of the knight, was a man of high distinction; he had had considerable commands, and was employed all his life in negotiations as delicate as they were important. The two travellers agreed perfectly well together; the knight, who had served in all the wars in Gascony, was equally desirous to learn everything which related to those that Froissart was acquainted with; and Froissart, more in a situation to satisfy him than any one, was not less curious to be informed of those events in which the knight had borne a part: they mutually communicated all they knew, with a reciprocal complaisance. They rode side by side, and frequently only a foot's pace: their whole journey was passed in conversations; by which they mutually instructed each other. Towns, castles, ruins, plains, heights, valleys, defiles; everything awakened the curiosity of Froissart, and recalled to the memory of the lord Espaign du Lyon the different actions which had there passed under his eyes, or which he had heard related by those who had been engaged in them.

The historian, too exact in the recital which he gives us of these conversations, relates even the exclamations by which he testified his gratitude to the knight, for all the interesting intelligence he was so good to give him. If they arrived at a town before sunset, they profited by the remnant of day to examine the outworks of the place, or to observe those parts of it which had suffered from assaults. On their return to the inn, they continued the same conversations, either between themselves or with other knights and esquires, who might be lodged there; and Froissart never went to bed until he had put in writing every particular he had heard.

After a journey of six days, they arrived at Ortez. This town, one of the most considerable in Béarn, was the ordinary residence of Gaston, count de Foix and viscount de Béarn, surnamed Phœbus, on account of his beauty. Froissart could not have chosen a court more suitable to his views. The count de Foix, at the age of fifty-nine years, was the most vigorous, the handsomest, and best-made man of that period. Adroit at all exercises, valorous, an accomplished captain, noble and magnificent, he never suffered any warrior who waited on him to depart without carrying with him proofs of his liberality: his castle was the rendezvous of all those brave captains who had distinguished themselves in combats, or in tournaments. Their conversations solely ran on attacks of places, surprises, sieges, assaults, skirmishes, and battles. Their amusements were games of address and force; tilts, tournaments, and huntings more laborious and almost as dangerous as war itself. These details deserve to be read in Froissart: I can only imperfectly trace what he has so excellently painted.

The count de Foix having learnt from sir Espaign du Lyon the arrival of Froissart, who was well known at the court of Ortez by the first two volumes of his Chronicle, sent to seek for him at the house of one of his esquires, who had received and lodged him; and, seeing him at a distance, said to him smiling, and in good French, "That he was perfectly well acquainted with him, although he had never before seen him; but that he had heard much talk about him, and he retained him in his household."

This expression, as I have before said, does not mean that Froissart was lodged in the castle, but only that his expenses were defrayed by the count during the winter he passed at his court. His most usual occupation, in that time, was to amuse Gaston, after his supper, by reading to him the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him. Every evening he repaired to the castle at midnight, which was the hour the count sat down to table, and none dared to interrupt the reading. Gaston himself, who listened with the greatest attention, only spoke to ask questions concerning the book; and he never sent him away, before he had made him drink all the wine which had remained on the table, from his own bottle.

Sometimes this prince took pleasure to inform him of those particulars of the wars in which he had distinguished himself. Froissart did not gain less information from his frequent conversations with those knights and esquires whom he found assembled at Ortez; more especially from the knights of Arragon and England, attached to the household of the duke of Lancaster, who at that time resided at Bordeaux. They related to him all they knew of the battles of the kings John of Castile, and Denys of Portugal, and their allies. Among others, the famous Bastot de Maulion, in giving him the history of his own life, told him also that of almost all the wars which

* Or, as it is more often written, *cotardie*, a sort of coat, a dress common to men and women; here it means a pourpoint. This was one of the liberalities which great lords were accustomed to make; they put money, as one sees by this example into the purse which, according to the usage of that time, was attached to the coat.—St. Palaye.

† Vossius de Historicis Latinis, lib. iii. cap. iv. Bullart, Academie des Sciences, tom. I. p. 124.

*Probably St. Geniez, a monastery of nuns, one league and a half from the road which leads from Montpelier to Lunel.—St. Palaye.

† Their names were Tristan, Hector, Brun, and Rollant.—St. Palaye

had happened in the different provinces of France, and even in Spain, from the time of the battle of Poitiers, at which period he first bore arms.

Although he applied himself, without relaxation, in collecting historical memoirs, Froissart gave, however, some moments to Poesy. We have a pastoral by him, which he seems to have composed in the county of Foix, in honor of Gaston Phœbus. He says, that being

> En beau Pre sert et plaisant
> Par dessus Gave la riviere
> Entre Pau et Ortais seant.

he saw shepherds and shepherdesses, who were conversing of different lords, and the arms they bore. He adroitly makes use of this fiction, to name with praise all those from whom he had received any marks of liberality, and terminates his list with the count de Foix.

After a tolerable long residence at the court of Ortez, Froissart began to think of his departure. He was detained by Gaston, who gave him hopes that an opportunity would soon offer for him to travel in good company. The marriage of the countess of Boulogne, a relation of the count, having been concluded with the duke de Berry, the young bride was conducted from Ortez to Morlas, where the equipages of the duke, her husband, were waiting for her. He set out in her suite, after having received proofs of the generosity of Gaston, who warmly pressed him to return to him. He accompanied the princess to Avignon, and the remainder of the road which she took across the Lyonnois, la Bresse, le Forès, and the Bourbonnois, as far as Riom, in Auvergne.

The stay at Avignon was unfortunate to Froissart; they robbed him. This melancholy adventure was the subject of a long poem, in which he introduces several incidents of his life, and which I have made use of in this memoir. One sees, by this piece, that the desire of visiting the tomb of the cardinal de Luxembourg, who died in odor of sanctity, was not the sole motive which had induced him to repass through Avignon in the suite of the young princess; but that he was charged with a private commission from the lord de Coucy. He might, as he says, have endeavored to seek for redress for the loss of his money by seeking a benefice; but this resource was not to his taste. He laid greater stress on the generosity of the lord de la Riviere, and the count de Sancerre, who accompanied the duchess de Berry, and on that of the viscount d'Asci. He paints himself, in this poem, as a man of much expense: besides the revenue of the living of Lestines, which was considerable, he had received, since he was twenty-five years old, two thousand francs, of which nothing remained. The composition of his works had cost him seven hundred francs; but he regretted not this expense; for, as he says, "I have composed many a history which will be spoken of by posterity." The remainder was spent among the tavern-keepers at Lestines, and in his travels, which he always performed with a good equipage, well mounted, well dressed, and living well wherever he went.

Froissart had been present at all the feasts which were given on the marriage of the duke of Berry; celebrated the eve of Whitsunday at Riom, in Auvergne. He composed a pastoral for the morrow of the nuptials; then, returning to France with the lord de la Riviere, he went to Paris. His natural activity, and his ardor for information, with which he was incessantly occupied, did not permit him to remain there long. We have seen him in six months go from the Blaisois to Avignon; then to the county of Foix; from whence he returned again to Avignon, and cross Auvergne to go to Paris. One sees him in less than two years successively in the Cambresis, in Hainault, Holland, Picardy, a second time in Paris, at the extremity of Languedoc; then again at Paris and at Valenciennes; from thence to Bruges, Sluys, in Zealand, and at last in his own country.

He accompanied the lord de Coucy into the Cambresis to the castle of Crevecœur, which the king had just given to him. He relates to him all he had seen, and learns from him the different particulars of the negotiations between France and England. After having staid fifteen days in his own country, he passed a month in Holland with the count de Blois, entertaining him with the history of his travels. He then goes to Lelinghen, to learn the details of the negotiations for peace, which were carrying on at that place. He is present at the magnificent entry which Isabella de Bavière makes into Paris. The exactness with which he describes the ceremonies observed between the pope and Charles VI. at Avignon, seems to prove he was an eye-witness of their meeting: this is the more probable, because it is certain that Charles VI. went from Avignon to Toulouse, to receive the homage of the count de Foix; when Froissart was present, and heard their conversation.

Nothing of novelty passed, as one sees, but Froissart wished to be a spectator of; feasts, tournaments, conferences for peace, interviews of princes, their entries, nothing escaped his curiosity. It appears that, at the beginning of the year 1390, he returned to his own country, and that he was solely occupied in the continuation of his history, and in completing it, from the intelligence he had amassed from all parts with so much labor and fatigue. However, what he had learnt relative to the war in Spain did not satisfy him; he felt a scruple at only having heard one side; that is to say, the Gascons and Spaniards, who had been attached to the king of Castille. It was the duty of an exact and judicious historian to know also what the Portuguese had to say on this subject; and on the information he had, that numbers of that nation were to be found at Bruges, he went thither. Fortune served him beyond his hopes; and the enthusiasm with which he speaks of it, paints the ardor with which he was desirous of a perfect knowledge of facts. On his arrival, he learnt that a Portuguese knight, "a valiant and wise man, and of the council of the king of Portugal," whose name was Juan Fernando Portelet, had lately come to Middleburgh, in Zealand.

Portelet, who was on his road to Prussia to join in the war against the infidels, had been present in all the wars of Portugal. Froissart immediately sets out, in company with a Portuguese, a friend of the knight; goes to Sluys, embarks, and arrives at Middleburgh, where his fellow-traveller presents him to Portelet. This knight, "gracious, amiable, and easy of access," relates to him, during the six days they passed together, everything that had been done in Portugal and Spain, from the death of king Ferdinand until his departure from Portugal. Froissart, equally pleased with the recitals of Portelet, as with his politeness, took leave of him, and returned home; where, having arranged all the information he had acquired in his various travels, he composed a new book, which makes the third of his history.

The passage from whence these particulars are taken adds, that Froissart, on quitting Zealand, and before his return to his own country, went once more to Rome. Although, in this instance, the printed copies are conformable to the manuscripts, this journey, of which no other mention is made, seems to me quite improbable. Denys Sauvage assures us, in a marginal note, that, instead of Rome, one should read Bruges, Sluys, or Valenciennes: it is much more natural to read Damme, a port in the neighborhood of Sluys, where one has seen that the historian embarked.

One cannot say how long Froissart remained in Hainault; one only knows that he was again in Paris 1392, at the time when the constable de Clisson was assassinated by Peter de Craon; and at Abbeville toward the end of that same year, or the beginning of the next, during the conferences which were held there by the plenipotentiaries from France and England, when they at last established a truce for four years. From the year 1378, Froissart had obtained from pope Clement VII. the reversion of a canonship at Lille. One sees, in the collection of his poetry, which was completed in 1393, and in a preface, which is to be met with in several manuscripts at the beginning of the fourth volume of his history, composed about this time, that he titled himself canon of Lille; but Clement VII. dying in 1394, he gave up his expectations of the reversion, and began to qualify himself canon and treasurer of the collegial church of Chimay, which he probably owed to the friendship of the count de Blois, who respected him much; the lordship of Chimay being part of the inheritance which the count had had fallen in to him in 1381, by the death of John de Chatillon, count de Blois, the last of his brothers.

It was twenty-seven years since Froissart had left England; when, taking advantage of the truce between the French and English, he returned thither in 1395, furnished with letters of recommendation to the king and his uncles. From Dover, where he disembarked, he went to Canterbury, made his offering at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, and from respect to the memory of the prince of Wales, to whom he was perfectly well known, he visited his magnificent mausoleum. He saw there the young king Richard, who had arrived to return thanks to God for the success of his last campaign in Ireland; but, in spite of the good intentions of the lord Percy, high steward of England, who had promised to procure him an audience of the king, he could not be presented, and was obliged to follow this prince to the different places he visited, until he came to Leeds castle.* This time was not lost on our historian; the English were still full of their expedition to Ireland; and he got them to tell him both their own exploits, and the marvellous things they had seen there. Being yet at Leeds castle, he presented to the duke of York his letters from the count d'Hainault and the count d'Ostrevant.† "Master John," said the duke to him, "keep near to our person, and to my people; we will show you all love and kindness; we are bounden so to do from affection to former times, and to our lady mother, to whom you were attached; we well remember those times." He afterwards introduced him into the king's chamber, who received him with very distinguished marks of good will. Richard took the letters he had been charged with, and having read them, said, "that since he had been of the household of his grandfather, and of the queen his grandmother, he must be still of the household of England."

Froissart, however, had not yet been able to present to the king the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him; and Percy advised him to wait a more favorable opportunity. Two important objects occupied the mind of Richard; one was his intended marriage with Isabella of France; the other, the opposition of the people of Aquitaine to the donation which he had made of this province to his uncle, the duke of York. The prelates and barons had been summoned to Eltham, to deliberate on these two affairs; and Froissart had followed the court. He wrote down regularly all the news of the day, which he heard in his conversations with the different English lords; and Richard de Servy,‡ who was of the king's cabinet council, intrusted him, in confidence, with every resolution they had determined upon, begging him only to keep them secret until they should be publicly divulged. At last, on the Sunday which followed

* In Kent. † Afterwards earl of Holland and knight of the garter.
‡ Q. Was it Richard de Surry, lord Surry?

the holding of this council, the duke of York, Richard de Surry, and Thomas de Percy, finding the king but little occupied, mentioned to him the romance which Froissart had brought with him. The prince asked to see it; and the historian says, "he saw it in his chamber: for I had it always with me, and placed it upon his bed. He then opened and looked into it, and was greatly pleased: indeed, he ought to have been pleased; for it was illuminated, and the writing much ornamented: it was, besides, bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-gilt nails, with a golden rose, in the midst of two clasps gilt, richly worked with gold rose-trees. Then," continues Froissart, "the king inquired what subject it treated of; and I told him, of love. He was delighted with this answer, and looked into different parts of the book, and read therein: for he read and spoke French perfectly well. He then ordered one of his knights, named sir Richard Credon, to carry it to his cabinet; and he seemed much obliged to me for it."

Henry Castede, an English esquire, who had been present at this conversation, and who knew besides that Froissart was writing his history, coming up to him, inquired if he had been informed of the details of the conquest which the king had just made in Ireland. Froissart pretended to be ignorant of them, in order to engage the esquire in conversation, who took pleasure in recounting them to him. Everything the historian heard, among the rest the repast which the king of England gave in Ireland to the four kings after having conquered them, excited in him very great regret for not having come to England a year sooner as he was preparing to do, when the news of the death of queen Anne of Luxembourg, Richard's first wife, made him alter his intentions: he would not have failed to have gone to Ireland to have seen everything himself; for he was much interested in collecting the minutest circumstances of this expedition, in order to entertain "his lords" the duke of Bavaria and his son, who had on Friesland similar pretensions to those of the king of England on Ireland. After three months' residence in England, Froissart took his leave of the king. This prince, whom he had followed in his different excursions near London, ordered him to be given, as a last mark of his affection, 100 nobles* in a goblet† of silver, weighing two marcs.

The melancholy end of Richard, which happened in 1389, is related at the end of the fourth volume of Froissart's history, who acquits himself most gratefully to this prince by the affecting manner with which he laments his misfortunes. At the same time he remarks, that in this event he saw the accomplishment of a prediction which had been made on Richard, when he was born at Bordeaux; and also of a prophecy in the romance of Brutus,‡ which pointed out the prince who would dethrone him.

The death of Guy count de Blois happened soon after Froissart's return home: he mentions it in his Chronicle, under the year 1397. He was then sixty years of age, and must have lived at least four years more; for he relates some events of the year 1400.§ If one was to believe Bodin and la Popliniere, he would have lived to 1420; but these two writers have probably been deceived by these words, which begin the last chapter of his history: "En l'an de grace mil quatre cent ung moins;" instead of reading, "ung," as it is written in several manuscripts and in the black-letter editions, they must have read "vingt." Another passage in Froissart may also have given rise to a belief that he lived to about the middle of the fifteenth century. In speaking of the banishment of the count de Harcourt, who persuaded the English to make a descent in Normandy, he says, that the melancholy effects of this invasion were visible for more than a hundred years after. These terms must not be taken literally; the author wrote rather as foreseeing those evils to come which he dreaded, than as being a witness of these fatal effects. It is not, however, possible to decide in what year he died; it only appears that it was in the month of October, since his "obit" is indicated in that month in the obituary of the collegial church of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, from which I have added an extract at the end of this memoir. According to an old tradition of the country, he was interred in the chapel of St. Anne, in this collegial church; and, indeed, it seems very probable that he should end his days in his own chapter.

The name of Froissart was common to several persons who lived at the same time with our historian; besides the Froissart Meullier, the young esquire from Hainault, whom I mentioned in the beginning of this memoir, one finds in the Chronicle of our author a Dom Froissart, who had signalized himself at the siege which the count de Hainault had formed in 1340 against the town of St. Amand. This monk defended for a considerable time a breach which had been made in the walls of the abbey, and did not abandon it before he had killed or wounded eighteen men. One reads at the end of some charters of the count de Foix, a signature of J. Froissart, or Jaquinot Froissart: he was a secretary to the count, and perhaps a relation of the historian. There is also mention made in the registers of the "Trésor des Chartes," of a remission granted in 1375 to Philibert Froissart, esquire, who had been in the company of Gascons in the country of Guyenne, under the command of Charles d'Artois, count de Pezenas.

To avoid interrupting the thread of the narrative, I have deferred to the end of this memoir the examination of a passage in the poetry of Froissart, which points out, but in obscure terms, one of the principal circumstances of his life. He recalls the faults of his youth, and particularly reproaches himself for having quitted a learned profession for which he had natural talents, and which had gained him much respect (he seems to point at history, or poetry,) to follow another, which, though much more lucrative, was as little suitable to him as that of arms; and having failed in it, had made him fall from that degree of honor to which the first had elevated him. He says, he is determined to repair his fault, and returning to his former occupations, transmit to posterity the glorious names of those kings, princes, and lords, whose generosity he had partaken of.

In the whole course of the life of Froissart, I see no period in which this pretended change can be placed, nor that can point out this lucrative trade, and which he himself calls "*marchandise.*" The indecency of the expression will not suffer us to suppose it could be his cure of Lestines; although he has said in another part, that the rectory was of considerable value; could it be the profession of lawyer, or that of his father, who was, as we have before stated, a painter of arms? A singular meaning of the word "marchandise" in Commines, may perhaps give us a plausible explanation. Commines, born in the same country, and not very far from the time of Froissart, employs this word to signify a negotiation of affairs between princes. The business of a negotiator, or rather a man of intrigue, who seeks without any apparent character to penetrate the secret of courts, would perhaps be that which Froissart repents to have followed. The details in which we have entered respecting his various travels, the long residence which he has often made in critical times with several princes, and the talents which he had to insinuate himself into their good graces, seem to me to warrant this conjecture.

Extract from a manuscript taken from the archives of the chapter of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, in which are found the obits and pious foundations made to this chapter, and other antiquities. Folio 39 *and* 40.

"The obit of sir John Froissard, born at Valenciennes, canon and treasury of the aforesaid church, which flourished in 1364, may have place here according to his quality, as having been domestic chaplain to the renowned Guy de Chatillon, count de Soissons and de Blois, lord of Avesnes, Chimay, and Beaumont, &c., who has also been a very celebrated historiographer of his time, and has written the wars and chronicles, and the most remarkable events from the year 1335 until the year 1400; according as he himself relates in divers parts of his history, and more especially in the 52nd chapter of his 4th book, and as it is shown in the eulogium written in his praise in the following words:

Cognita Romanæ vix esset gloria gentis,
Pluribus hunc scriptis ni decorasset honos.
Tanti nempe refert totum scripsisse per orbem,
Quælibet et doctos sec'la tulisse viros.
Commemorent alios alii, super æthera tollam
Froissardum, historiæ per suo sec'la ducem;
Scripsit enim historiam mage sexaginta per annos,
Totius mundi, quæ memoranda notat,
Scripsit et Anglorum Reginæ gesta Philippæ,
Qui. Guilielme, tuo tutia juncta toro."

HONORARIUM.

Gallorum sublimis honos et fama tuorum,
Hic, Froissarde, jaces, si modo forte jaces.
Historiæ vivus studuisti reddere vitam,
Defuncto vitam reddet at illa tibi.

JOANNES FROISSARDUS,

Canonicus and Thesaurarius Ecclesiæ Collegiatiæ Sanctæ Monegundis Simaci, vetustissimo ferme totius Belgii oppido.

Proxima dum propriis florebit Francia scriptis,
Fania *dum ramos, Blancaque † fundit aquas,
Urbis ut hujus honos, templi sic fama vigebis
Teque ducem historiæ Gallia tota colet,
Belgica tota colet, Cymeaque vallis amabit
Dum rapidus proprios Scaldis obibit agros.

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* This sum may amount to about 25 guineas of our present coin. ST. PALAYE.

† This was called by our ancestors a Henepee, *id est*, hanap, full of money from whence comes the Hanaper office in the English treasury.—ST. PALAYE.

‡ See particulars of Wace, author of the romance of Brutus, in Mr. Ellis's Specimens of early English poets.

§ It does not seem probable that he lived long after completing the last chapters of his history. They appear to be rather notes for future revisal, than finished portions of the work, and the conclusion is singularly abrupt.—ED.

* The Faigne de Chimay, a small forest dependent on it.

† La Blanche Eau, a river which runs by Chimay.

AN ESSAY
ON
THE WORKS OF FROISSART.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. DE LA CURNE DE ST. PALAYE.

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

THE life of Froissart has been the subject of the preceding pages. I will now give you the history of his works, as well printed as manuscript, in verse and in prose; and I will, as faithfully as I am able, detail their contents. It may, perhaps, be thought I have pushed these details too far; but, I feel I owe a particular attention to an historian who alone is worth a number of others, by the importance of the subjects he treats of, and from the length of time his history continues. I have besides observed that the author has expanded, in the course of his work, many facts which serve to clear up many preceding facts; and that, for want of this information, it has often happened that I have been stopped in my reading, and have not profited so much by it as I otherwise should have done. It is this which has made me sensible of the want those who read Froissart would have of such an explanation. To smooth all difficulties, and to lay down such rules as may conduct them, I have attempted to do that, which I should have been glad to have found done, when I began to read this author: for, I do not simply propose to give an idea of our Historian, that may satisfy those whom curiosity alone may induce to peruse; my object is, that these Memoirs should serve as an introduction to those who may be induced to read him; and that they should render him, as much as may be possible, more easy, more interesting, and more instructive.

I. *General Plan of his History.*—The History which Froissart has left us extends from 1326 until 1400. It is not confined to the events which were passing in France during this long period; it comprehends, with almost as much detail, every considerable affair which happened in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in Flanders. It includes also an infinite number of particulars relative to the affairs of the popes of Rome and of Avignon; of Spain, Germany, Italy; sometimes even of Russia, Hungary, Turkey, Africa, and other places beyond sea; in short, of almost the whole known world. But this immense multitude of facts, so different from each other; whose chronological order is not very clearly made out, frequently presents to the reader but a confused mixture of events, passed at different times, and in different places, of which he cannot form any distinct idea, and whose memory cannot unite so many scattered objects, which have a necessary connection between each other.

II. *A more detailed Plan of Froissart's History.*—The History of Froissart is divided into four books, or volumes, as well in all the manuscripts, as in all the printed editions.

The first begins with the coronation of Edward III. king of England, in 1326, and with the accession of Philip de Valois to the crown of France in 1328: and closes with the year 1379 inclusively.

Froissart begins his second volume with the last three years of the preceding volume, and with more detail, having gained fuller information than when he first wrote it. He continues it until the peace of the men of Ghent with the duke of Burgundy, the treaty of which is in the last chapter but one of this volume, dated the 18th December, 1385.

The third volume goes back as far as the year 1382 inclusively, reciting several events, which had been mentioned in the second, from the 93rd chapter until the end. The events of these last four years, which had been already related, are so much expanded in the third volume, that they occupy the first twenty-nine chapters. The rest is employed in the history of the following years until 1389, ending with the truce concluded for three years between France and England, and with the preparations that were making for the entry of the queen Isabella de Baviere into Paris, of which the author promises to speak hereafter.

The fourth volume begins with a recital of all the feasts and magnificences which were made for this entry, and ends with the dethroning and death of Richard II. king of England, in 1400, and with the election which was made that same year of Robert, emperor of Germany. These events terminate the last two chapters of the whole work.

This manner of dividing the History of Froissart is the same in all the manuscripts and printed copies; but these divisions do not always begin or end at the same places in all the copies.*

III. *Division of the four volumes of Froissart into Chapters, and of the first volume into several Parts.*—The four volumes of the History of Froissart are each subdivided into a great number of chapters, which are differently placed, according to different manuscripts and printed copies; but, besides these divisions, in a great many manuscripts there is one which is particular to the first volume. Some have four books, or parts, others six, and some eight. I will speak more fully when I come to mention the manuscripts of Froissart.

It is in one of these four, six, or eight divisions of the first volume, that one must seek for the termination of that part of his History which Froissart carried to England, and presented to queen Philippa of Hainault.* It necessarily precedes those books, or parts, in which the death of this queen in 1369 is related: it even precedes, if I am not mistaken, everything one reads prior to 1367, when he was appointed clerk of the closet to the queen of England; for, I believe, it was the History which he presented to her that made him known, and gained him the office he held in the household of that princess.

One cannot doubt but that it was posterior to the recital of the battle of Poitiers in 1356, since it was but at that epocha he began to write. One must not seek for it either before or after the years 1357, 1358, 1359, or 1360; I would rather fix on the year 1360; for in that year was the treaty of Bretigny concluded, which gave peace to the French and English. This period agrees tolerably well with the time our author appears to have gone into England: the circumstance of the peace naturally intercepted a History which had apparently no other object than to treat of deeds of arms.

The second and third volumes are terminated at similar periods; one at the peace between the duke of Burgundy with Ghent in 1385, and the other between the French and English in 1387.

Froissart discontinued writing in 1392, and during the following years, which were passed in a succession of truces between France and England; of which Froissart took advantage, by going to England, where he had not been for twenty-seven years.

IV. *Did Froissart make these divisions?*—One may ask if Froissart himself divided his History in the manner we have related? I do not doubt but he was the author of the division into four volumes; for, besides that it is so in all the manuscripts, even of those of his own time, he sometimes cites facts in some of these volumes which had been related in a former, and makes use of these expressions, "as it is mentioned in another History;" or in these words, "as you have before heard related in the preceding book of this renowned excellent History." But as for the subdivisions of the first volume into four, six, or eight books, it is not to be found in the most ancient manuscripts; besides, it is not uniformly the same in those wherein it is seen: I therefore do not hesitate in attributing them to the copyists, who have made them of their own accord.

With regard to the chapters of each volume, and the titles of these chapters, they are only to be met with in the printed copies; and in the manuscripts of that time, and posterior to it, they are different, according to the different manuscripts or printed copies; and I see no probability that Froissart was the author of them. One single passage may create a difficulty on this subject. It is in the first volume, where the historian refers you to a preceding chapter; but this passage is evidently an interpolation. Notwithstanding it is in the three black-letter editions, and in those of Denys Sauvage, it is not to be found in any of the manuscripts which I have seen, with the exception of a single one in the National Library, No. 8321, which is of the date of the latter end of the fifteenth century, and one of the least authentic copies we have.†

V. *The time which Froissart employed in the composition of his History.*—The principal of these divisions, that which divides the history of Froissart into four volumes, serves to mark as many different epochs, at which he stopped in the course of his work; whether from want of materials, having carried his narration to the time of his writing; or whether he wished to take some repose himself, and allow the same to his readers; but these are not the only places where Froissart has suspended the course of his history; many have been pointed out, and I will endeavor to fix a date to them, as well as to others, to the utmost of my abilities.

Before entering on this examination, I shall explain the manner in which I understand Froissart discontinued to write his history. From all I have said of his life, he is seen continually occupied with this object: upward of forty years of his life, reckoning from the time he was twenty, were passed in this pursuit; but in such a great length of time, there is one part of it which more directly belongs to the composition of this work; I mean that, when, returning from his travels and laborious inquiries, he collected his materials, arranged them, and formed a connected history, such as we have it at this

* No two manuscripts of the first volume have been found exactly agreeing.

* There exist at Valenciennes a very curious MS., recently made public by M. Buchon in his excellent edition of Froissart, which there is reason to believe was the original of the book presented to queen Philippa. But as, on examination, it seems to be only the groundwork of the more expanded narrative of subsequent MSS., but some more minute details respecting the country of Hainault, of no general interest, and a variation in the account of Edward's investiture with the office of Legate to the Empire, an affair which he afterwards wished to suppress, make it very probable that the Valenciennes MS. was the original version of that of John le Bel, which was afterwards remodeled at the English court.—ED.

† The chapters of Froissart are very difficult to settle. We have retained Mr. Johnes's division into chapters, but not his notation, which he suited to his quarto or octavo volumes, without any attention to the original division into four volumes. We have restored the original division into books or volumes, without which the reader is confused; since, as has been shown by M. de St. Palaye, each was written and made public by the author as a separate history. There cannot be a stronger proof of this, and of Froissart's strong desire to relate the real truth without bias, than the fact, that the first book or volume, which was chiefly founded on the work of John le Bel, is that in which the greatest variation of copies is found: in fact no two MSS. of that book wholly agree. Froissart corrected it from time to time, and seemed never tired of emendation; the greater part of the original being hearsay, he was not satisfied until he had himself examined the best witnesses: and hence the various divisions and variations in the first book, which have embarrassed every editor.—ED.

day. As he worked at it at different times, I shall attempt to assign to each of the parts the suitable time for it; to fix when it was begun and finished; how many years he employed upon it, and the intervals during which he ceased to write: I think all these details necessary. Froissart travelled over large tracts of country, and made in several places long residences; he was attached, at different times, to courts whose interests were in opposition; he lived with a great number of princes and lords, of different parties It would have been very difficult for him not to have been biassed by prejudices, or influenced by affection for some, and hatred to others; and that he should always have steered clear of the illusions of partiality; for his candor alone would have served to have rendered him more susceptible of them.* If all the circumstances are recollected of the life of our historian, which have been related in the preceding pages, and they are connected with those times in which he worked at the composition of different parts of his history, not only the nature of the information he might be in a situation to collect will be manifest, as well relative to places, as to the persons he had seen; but those persons to whom he may be supposed to have leaned, will be pointed out. These grounds being once established, will be of very great assistance in enabling us to appreciate more justly the different degrees of authority he deserves, according to the various matters he treats of, and the times in which he treats of them. Without it being necessary for me to explain myself more at length on this subject, every reader may apply this rule as he shall advance in the reading of Froissart; it will serve him as a guide each step he takes; it will guard him from error or seduction; whether the historian shall have been ill-informed; whether he should wish to impose on his readers, supposing it true that he should be capable of so doing.

The first volume of Froissart comprehends, as I have said before, the history from 1326 to 1379. This period includes the time of his journey to England, when one may readily suppose he had discontinued the work; for he considered it then as being finished to that part, since he says he carried it to England, where he presented it to the queen. It ends, as I have already said, about the year 1360; and, as we have seen that it was completed in 1361, and that he had only begun on it about the year 1357, it is evident that Froissart scarcely employed more than three or four years in the composition of this part of his work; which nevertheless appears to me one of those with which he has taken the most pains.

A sort of connection which I find between several chapters of the remainder of this first volume, of which the first announces others at a great distance, convinces me that this remainder has been composed off-hand, and without interruption; and that, consequently, the author only began to write it toward the year 1379, since he closes it with the account of the events of this same year. In truth, I believe that, during the time he passed in the service of queen Philippa from 1361 to 1369, he was more occupied in writing, by her orders, poems on gallantry and love verses, than in laboring at his history; and that, although in his different travels, several of which were after the death of this princess, he was anxious to gain every information of the history of his own time, he had not, in the midst of an agitated life, either sufficient leisure, or a mind enough disengaged, to write it. He employed three or four years in composing the last half of his first volume; for we shall see, that the following volume, which he did not immediately begin on, was written from 1385 to 1388.

Notwithstanding Froissart may have written the first volume at two different times, it seems that the preface, which is at the beginning, was not done until the whole was finished; for the author speaks in it of his travels into Scotland, whither he did not go until after he had presented the first half of this volume to the queen of England.

No material interruption is met with in the course of the second volume. The author employs the first twenty-seven chapters in recapitulating the events of the last three years of the preceding volume, which had been too succinctly related. He adds new facts or new circumstances to those he had before told, or rectifies the narration, as having been better informed afterwards; and it is from this that I draw my proof, that there was some interval between the composition of the first volume, and that which followed. After these first twenty-seven chapters he resumes the thread of his history, which he follows until the peace the men of Ghent obtained from the duke of Burgundy, and of which he reports the original treaty, dated the 18th of December, 1385.

It is toward the year 1385 or 1386, that Froissart began to write his second volume: it was finished in 1388. This same year he visited the count de Foix; and in the account he gives of his travels he says, that different persons reminded him of events which he had related in his history; and these events are told in the second volume, which, according to appearances, was immediately written.

There is an interval of upward of two years between the composition of this volume and the ensuing one; for the author only began on the third in 1390. He then wrote it by order, and at the expense, of the count de Blois: this he expressly says in the beginning of the first chapter of this volume*. There is nothing to prevent us from believing that the preceding volume had been composed by the orders of the same nobleman, since I have shown, in the Memoirs of his Life, that Froissart had appeared to have been attached to his service from the year 1385.

The third volume, which returns to those events that had happened since the year 1382, and which gives a fuller account of them, had been, as I have just said, begun on in 1390, and was already finished in 1392. The author makes it so to be understood in that part where he speaks of the conventions entered into by the duke of Brittany with the king of France. He says, that at the time he was finishing this book, the duke had faithfully observed them, and had not done anything worthy of being noticed. We shall hereafter witness the disobedience of this duke in 1392; who having received Peter de Craon at his palace, at the time a state criminal, he refused to obey the orders which Charles VI. sent him to give him up. This whole volume seems to me to have been composed without interruption; at least there is a material connection between several chapters at a great distance from each other.

The interval there is between the third and fourth volumes, seems to have been caused more to give repose to the reader than to the historian; for Froissart, in ending the third, announces the events which are to be the materials of the fourth volume. I believe the historian, immediately on completing the third, wrote the first 50 chapters of the fourth volume, which close with the events of 1392. A great number of manuscripts, and black-letter editions, which only begin the fourth volume after these fifty chapters, form a very natural prejudice in favor of this opinion: besides, from the year 1392, when they end, two years passed in continual negotiations between the French and English; during which, several truces, but of short duration, were made; which, however, ended at last in a peace, or truce, for four years. One cannot doubt but that Froissart then interrupted his writing; since that was the time he performed his journey into England, where he resided three months. I believe this interval was considerable, because the remainder of the fourth volume, which seems to me to have been written without intermission, was composed, if I mistake not, but several years after this journey; that is to say, toward the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century. One finds in it those events which belong to the years 1399 and 1400. I find nothing that may lead us to form any judgment how long a time the author employed on this last part.

It is necessary to make one general observation on the subject of these intervals which I have just been speaking of, and of which I have attempted to determine the length. When our historian finished one of the parts of his history, he brought it down to the time when he was writing; and toward the end he related the events as they were passing: from whence it happens, as it seems to me, that there is much confusion, often omissions and mistakes, which he has been obliged to correct or alter in the following parts. It is probably these different supplements which have made him take in many places the title not only of "actor," that is to say, author, but in addition to it, that of augmentator, of this history; and that he says in other parts of it, "to have undertaken, continued, and augmented."

VI. *The inquiries Froissart made to compose his History, and the pains he took on this subject.*—It has been shown with how much pains and fatigues Froissart had visited the greater part of the courts in Europe. Admitted into the palaces of the greatest lords, he insinuated himself into their confidence to so great a degree, that they not only related to him many particulars of their own lives, and of those events in which they had had a share, or been eye-witnesses of; but they discovered to him sometimes the secret of the resolutions which had been entered into in the councils of the cabinet upon the most important affairs: he never failed to take advantage of his conversations with those with whom he could converse and interrogate with greater freedom. It seems that he had learnt many details of the court of France from the servants even of the king, and from those who were near to his person.

If in his travels at court, or in other places he visited, he met with any from whom he thought he could gain information, more especially captains, or heralds, who in those times were the most usual agents in negotiations, and in affairs of importance; he began a conversation with them, and insensibly led them to speak of those parts of history of which they ought to be best informed, whether in regard to the country where they were, or to other circumstances of their lives: and he never quitted them until he had made them tell all they knew; all of which he immediately set down in writing. Not content to collect all these precious authorities, and to compare very carefully, as he himself informs us, the information of persons who had been attached to different parties, he sought for proofs still less liable to suspicion. He consulted the treaties which princes had entered into with each other, their challenges or declarations of war, the letters they wrote to each other, and other papers of this nature. He expressly says, that he had seen many which he does not introduce, particularly those of the chancery of the king of England; and some of them are transcribed entire in the course of his history. It appears that he did not choose everything he found as chance offered them, but that he examined them critically, and laid aside all those whose authenticity did not seem to him fully proved.

* This is a very beautiful sentiment of St. Palaye's, and no less beautiful than true. But the earnest desire Froissart showed to acquaint himself with both sides of every question, searching out truth with greater diligence than has ever before or since been shown by any historian, attaches great weight to information given on his own authority: and wherever he is convicted of misstatements, it is upon the faith of another, which he honestly quotes.—Ed.

* Page 68, Vol. II. of the division of this edition.

VII. *What end Froissart proposed to himself in writing his history; and what rules he had laid down to himself in writing it.*—One may easily judge, from the detail of the attentions which Froissart himself tells us he took, that he was acquainted with the rules of sound criticism, and the true method which ought to be followed in writing history. He likewise informs us, that he had not the intention of making a dry chronicle, wherein facts are simply related with their dates, and in the order they happened, but that he was anxious to write what may be called in truth history, in which the events were presented with all the circumstances which had attended them. The details which lay open the secret springs by which mankind act, are precisely those which unveil the character and the very heart of the personages which history places on the stage; and this was one of the essential parts of the design which Froissart had proposed to himself in writing history. Many passages in his work indicate that he had a natural inclination for it, and that he found infinite pleasure in working at it; but another object, which does him much more honor, had greatly strengthened this natural taste: he proposed to preserve, for ages to come, the memory of those men who had made themselves renowned by their courage, or by their virtues; to give to their actions a value, which nothing can efface or alter; and, by amusing usefully his readers, to give birth to, or augment in their hearts, the love of glory, by the most brilliant examples.

This desire, which always animated him in his various inquiries, supported him during forty years of labor, in which he neither spared attention nor time, and for which he feared not expending very considerable sums of money. In effect, nothing can be more proper than the spectacle which Froissart places continually before the eyes of his readers, to inspire them with a love for war; that industrious vigilance, always on its guard against surprises, is incessantly active to surprise others; that activity, which counts as nothing pains and fatigue; that contempt of death which elevates the mind above the fear of danger; in short, that noble ambition which excites to enterprises of the greatest peril. He passes in review all the heroes which, nearly during a whole century, were produced by two warlike nations; one of which was encouraged by successes as flattering as they were uninterrupted; and the other, irritated by its misfortunes, was making exertions to revenge, at whatever price it may be, its own honor and its king. In so great a number of actions, of which many were extremely glorious to each party, it is not possible but that some were to be found of a quite different sort. Froissart does not take the less pains to paint these last, in order to give as much horror for vice, as he wished to inspire love for virtue: but, if all these pictures had been the fruits of his own imagination, they would not have been felt as much as he wished them. In order that their impression on the heart and mind should be perfectly sure and strong, it was necessary that their basis should be founded on the purest truth, disengaged from all flattery, as well as from partiality, or interest.

It is this truth which our historian piques himself with having sought after with the greatest care. However, all I have just said is taken from his own words, spread over an infinity of passages, in his history; and it is this alone that I guarantee. It remains to be seen if he has as faithfully observed this law which he imposes on himself as he has promised it. But before I enter into an examination of this question, I shall make some general observations on his chronology: I shall then speak of the first thirty years of his history, which are, properly speaking, but an introduction to the forty, and some years which follow them, until the end of the fifteenth century.

VIII. *The Chronology of Froissart.*—I observe in the chronology of Froissart two capital defects, which are the source of all the disorder found in it. The first is, that when he passes from the history of one country to another, he makes the history which he begins go back to a period anterior to what he has just spoken of, without having had the attention to inform his readers of it. The second, which is not less considerable, is, that he has not settled in his own mind the manner of counting the years; he makes them sometimes begin the 1st of January; at other times at Easter; others even at Palm Sunday. Froissart does not confine himself to date by years the events he relates; months, days, hours of the day, are often expressed in his different recitals. I remark, with regard to the days, that he only begins them when night is completely gone, and that daybreak begins to appear. With regard to the hours of the day, he gives them a division, of which some examples, but in a small number, are seen in our ancient authors, and to which he very particularly attaches himself. He divides them according to the canonical hours of *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, and *vêpres;* because, perhaps, he was in the ecclesiastical line himself. I observe, that he has not anywhere made use of the word *sexte:* what he means by *prime*, was the morning, the first hour of the day, or the hour which followed next after daybreak. *Tierce* seems to me to mark the intermediate time between the morning and midday, which he expresses either by the word midday, or by that of *none*. Afterwards comes *vêpre*, or, *la vêprée:* it was, as the word points out, the end of the day; after which was reckoned midnight. Sometimes he adds to these words of *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, *vêpres*, the epithet of *basse*, to mark that the time of these hours was near closing; and sometimes the word *haute*, which, in some instances, appears to have the same signification, and in others quite the contrary. He uses this mode of speech *à l'aube crevant*, to say, that the dawn of day has but just begun to show itself; *au soleil resconsant*, to express the setting sun; *à la relevée*, for the time which follows the hour of midday; and *à la remontée*, which seems to me synonymous to *la vêprée*, for the evening, the time at which the day approaches to its end.

IX. *Of the first thirty years which Froissart has treated of at the beginning of his History, after John le Bel; that is to say, from* 1326 *to* 1356.—The first thirty years of the history of Froissart are properly but a preliminary, which serves to give the reader some information relative to the wars which he was afterwards to give an account of. He describes the state of France and of England; and shows the cause of the quarrel between the two crowns, which was the origin of those bloody wars they carried on reciprocally against each other. Froissart cannot be reckoned a contemporary writer of these first thirty years; he was not born, or if he was, he was in his infancy, or of such an age that he could not make any great use of his reason. He therefore scarcely ever mentions these thirty years, as an author who has seen what he relates; and, without doubt, it must be to this period alone that one can refer what he says in the commencement of his history, that he wrote after another who had lived before: it is, as he tells us, "The true Chronicles of John le Bel, canon of Saint Lambert of Liege."* These chronicles have not been handed down to us; and I cannot discover anything more, either concerning the work or its author, but what Froissart tells us. He speaks of him as one who no longer existed; but he boasts his exactness, and the pains he took in comparing his chronicles, and the considerable expenses he was at on this subject. He represents him as the favorite and confidant of John of Hainault, in company with whom he might have witnessed several great events, which, says he, shall in the end be related; for the earl, who was nearly related to several kings, had played a principal part in many of these transactions.

Froissart, in these thirty years, which are anterior to the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, enters more into the detail of the history of the English than of the French, perhaps from having followed in this respect his original author, who had taken a much greater interest in the history of England, from its connections with the count de Hainault. This certainly is the cause why those manuscripts, which only contain the first years of the Chronicle of Froissart, are called Chronicles of England; and also has given rise to the reproach which has been made to him of being the partisan of England, and ill-inclined toward France; an accusation which I shall examine at the end of this criticism. I do not think Froissart could have chosen a better guide for the history of the thirty years than the author he says he followed. To judge of the information which this historian might have drawn from the intimacy with which he lived with John of Hainault, one must recollect the situation in which this earl then was. The queen of England, Isabella of France, had fled from England with the young prince of Wales, her son, afterwards Edward III., to free herself from the persecutions of the Spencers, and the other favorites of her husband, Edward II.

Charles le Bel, king of France, brother to this queen, was forced to order her to quit his kingdom, after he had afforded her an asylum for some time. The court of the count de Hainault, of whom we are speaking, was the only resource for the mother and son; not only was this open to them, but they found there powerful succors to carry with them to England, and to draw down vengeance on their enemies. The young prince had there met a virtuous and amiable princess (she was one of the daughters of the count,) who felt for him those first sentiments of a natural inclination which seem to foretell the most durable attachments: he conceived a strong affection for her, made her his bride, and afterwards she was placed with him on the throne of England. It is the same to whom Froissart presented his History.

Froissart wrote then after an author who was himself personally acquainted with all these facts, and from the persons the best informed; for it was their own history. The writer, who appears to have been brought up at the court of the count de Hainault, was living in the greatest familiarity with those, to whom all the circumstances of this court, which were then recent, would be in their recollection, and perfectly well known to them; and he wrote the history of it for queen Philippa, of Hainault, who had acted so principal a part in it: never was there a historian who had more undeniable witnesses of the facts he relates. Never was there one in whom greater confidence could be placed, than in Froissart in this part of his history. You will, however, recollect the faults which M. Lancelot has corrected in several articles which concern the history of England at this period. His criticism is founded on the original acts which he has had in his hands, and whose authority is unquestionable. I urge this example, because it seems to me more proper than any other, to make a truth, important to our history, more strongly felt, and which has been so much recommended by authors the most versed in this study; I mean the absolute necessity of accompanying the study of history with the comparing it with the original acts of those times. Some of them enlighten parts which are wanting, while others add to the testimonies of history a degree of authenticity of which they are but in too much need; and it is from this comparison that the certitude of these truths results as much as their nature is susceptible

* See note, p. vi.

with regard to us. I shall reserve for another opportunity to speak of those forty and some years following, which Froissart wrote as a contemporary historian, and as an eye-witness, I may say, of everything which was then passing in the world. But I shall first examine the different judgments which have been passed on this historian, and particularly the almost universal reproach which has been made to him, of being a violent partisan of the English, and a declared enemy to the French. I shall speak of his partiality in other respects, his credulity in certain articles, his exactness in others, and his mode of writing: I will then enumerate the detail of the editions which we have of his history; I will discuss the merits and faults of each of them; I shall more especially examine whether that of Sauvage has more corrupted and falsified the text than it has enlightened it.

In short, I shall give a summary account of upward of forty volumes, in folio, of manuscripts of this history, which I have collated with great attention.

A CRITICISM
ON
THE HISTORY OF FROISSART.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. DE LA CURNE DE ST. PALAYE,

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

I HAVE laid before you the views with which Froissart wrote his Chronicles, the care he took to be informed of all the events which were to make parts of it, and the rules he had imposed on himself in writing it. I shall at present examine if he has been exact in observing these rules; what are the defects and advantages of his history; what is the form and style of it. From thence I shall pass to the manuscripts and editions we have of it; then to the abridgments and different translations which have been published.

Froissart is accused of partiality; and this accusation is become so general, that it seems to have acquired the character of notoriety; whose privilege is to supersede proofs. Froissart is said to have sold his pen to the English, who paid him a considerable pension; and, by a necessary consequence of his affection for them, he is unfavorable to the French. Bodin, Pasquier, Brantôme, Sorel, la Popelinière, le Laboureur, decide against him in the most positive terms. It seems even that his readers, prejudiced by the connections which Froissart had with the English, may have some reason to distrust everything he relates to their advantage. In truth, he begins by saying, that he had written his history at the solicitations of Robert de Namur, a near relation of the queen Philippa, and a vassal of the crown of England, which he usefully served against France. In another part he informs us, that he was of the household of Edward III. the most cruel enemy of the French; and that his queen, to whom he was secretary, had not only, by her liberalities, enabled him to travel into various parts in order to enrich his history, but that she had generously paid him for his labors in it.

In short, the first twenty-six chapters of his Chronicle solely concern the history of England, which has been the reason why it has been called the "Chronicle of England" in several manuscripts. From thence it has been concluded that Froissart, from his intimate attachment to the court of England, must be a violent partisan of that nation, and the enemy of its enemies. Nothing more was wanted for the most innocent accounts, if given by any other historian, appearing as poisonous if issued from his pen; but, in order to judge if this suspicion has any foundation, I will run over the period of which he has transmitted to us the history, in examining successively the different situations he was in when he wrote the various parts of it.

Froissart cannot be suspected of partiality during the first years of the reign of Edward III. This prince never forgot that his uncle, king Charles le Bel, had given him an asylum in his kingdom; when, with his mother, Isabella of France, he had escaped from the persecution of the Spencers, who governed the mind of his father, Edward II. The court of France had not any misunderstanding with that of England during the reign of Charles. I pass over for a moment the forty years which followed from 1329, when the succession to the crown of France being opened by the death of Charles le Bel, the bonds which had united the kings of France and England became themselves the source of divisions and of the most murderous wars; and I come to the times which succeeded the death of queen Philippa in 1369, a period when Froissart, no longer residing in England, had attached himself to Winceslaus, duke of Brabant. This prince, brother to the emperor Charles IV., was, in fact, uncle to Anne of Bohemia, who was afterwards queen of England, by her marriage with Richard II.; but he was also in the same degree o relationship with Charles V. of France, the son of his sister, and preserving a strict neutrality between the two rival crowns, he was invited to the coronations of Charles V. and of Charles VI. He obtained even in the last of these ceremonies the pardon of the count de St. Pol, whom the king's council wished to put to death for the crime of high treason.

Froissart, who informs us of this circumstance, with which he must have been well acquainted, tells us another, which clearly shows that Winceslaus ever preserved the friendship of king Charles, as well as that of his council. During the time the war was carrying on with the greatest obstinacy, he obtained a passport for the princess Anne of Bohemia to go to England, where she was to marry Richard II. Charles and his uncles accompanied this favor with the most obliging letters, adding, they only granted it out of friendship to him. Froissart had not any interest to write against France during the time he passed with this prince; he had, shortly afterwards, still less, when he was secretary to the count de Blois, who crowned a life, completely devoted to the interests of France, by the sacrifice of the interests of his own family. The most trifling marks of ill-will against France would have exposed him to lose not only the good graces of his master, but the fruits of his historical labors, which he had induced him to continue, and which he so generously recompensed. The historian therefore, fearful of the reproaches which might be made him for being too good a Frenchman, reproaches very different from those which have been since made him, thinks himself bound to justify, in the following terms, what he relates of the inviolable attachment of the Bretons to the crown of France against the English, vol. iii. chapter lxv. p. 240, year 1387. "Let no one say I have been corrupted by the favor which the count Guy de Blois (who has made me write this history) has shown unto me, and who has so liberally paid me for it that I am satisfied, because he was nephew to the true duke of Brittany, and so nearly related as son to count Louis de Blois, brother-german to Charles de Blois, who, as long as he lived, was duke of Brittany: no, by my troth, it is not so; for I will not speak at all, unless it be the truth, and go straight forward, without coloring one more than another: besides, the gallant prince and court, who have made me undertake this history, had no other wish but for me to say what is true."

Since Froissart in all these times, which carry us almost to the end of his Chronicle, cannot be suspected of hatred to the French, nor of affection to the English; I return to those years I have omitted from 1329 to 1369, of which he passed a considerable part in England, attached to the king and queen, and living in a sort of familiarity with the young princes, their children: it is in respect to these years, that the suspicion of partiality to the English can subsist with the greatest force. It was difficult, in a court where everything breathed hatred to France, for him to preserve that perfect neutrality which the quality of an historian demands; and that he should not lean toward that passion of princes to whom he owed his present fortune, and from whom he expected more considerable establishments. One might find reasons to weaken this prejudice, in the sweetness and moderation which queen Philippa ever preserved in the midst of all these wars; who calmed the fury of her husband at the siege of Calais, and who obtained, by her instances, the pardon of the six generous citizens of that town whom he had condemned to death. I might add, that if Froissart was of the household of king Edward, he was also of the household of king John; and it seems he was attached to this prince even at the time when he was in England.

But, without seeking to combat these prejudices by others, I shall simply consult the text of Froissart, which must, in this respect, be the rule of our judgment. After having read him with all the attention I am capable of, without having marked one single trace of the partiality they reproach him with, I have examined with the utmost care some principal points, where naturally it ought to have been the most apparent.

The accession of Philip de Valois to the crown had incensed all England, who adopted the chimerical pretensions of Edward III. This was a delicate circumstance for an historian, who, living in the midst of a court, and a nation so strongly prejudiced, was determined not to quit the line of duty. Now, these are the terms in which Froissart relates this event, after having mentioned the deaths of the kings, Louis Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel: "The twelve peers and barons of France did not give the realm of France to their sister, who was queen of England, because they declared and maintained, and still resolve, that the kingdom of France is so noble, that it ought not to descend to a female, nor consequently to the king of England, her eldest son; for thus they determine, that the son of a female cannot claim any right of succession as coming from his mother, when the mother herself has not any right; so that, for these reasons, the twelve peers and the barons of France unanimously decreed the kingdom of France to my lord Philip, nephew to the good king Philip of France, before-mentioned, and took from the queen of England and her son the right of succeeding to the last king, Charles. Thus, as it appeared to many persons, did the kingdom of France go out of the straight line of succession, which occasioned very great wars in consequence," &c. This whole passage presents nothing but what must make one admire the courage and candor of the historian, when even he should have added these words, "it appeared to many persons;" since it is not any matter of doubt that the succession passed from the straight line to the collateral branch. Nevertheless, some malignant intention was thought to lurk beneath, and the words "took from" having offended some readers, they have added in the margin a sort of correction, which I have seen in two manuscripts in a hand almost as ancient as the manuscripts themselves: "They never could take away what they had never been in possession of, nor had any right to. They never took it away; for neither the foresaid lady, nor her son, had even a right to it; but Froissart shows he was partial to the English."

The homage which king Edward III. paid to the king of France, hurt exceedingly the delicacy of the English: they had disputed for some time, and with great warmth, on the form in which it was to be made; seeking to curtail it of all that was humiliating to them. As the king of France firmly supported the prerogatives of his crown, and obliged Edward to acquit himself of this duty according to the terms which had been practiced by his predecessors, an historian who was desirous of being complaisant would have slightly passed over this article. Froissart, however, insists upon it as much as he is able; he neither omits the difficulties which the English made, nor the authorities which king Philip opposed to them; and he accompanies these details with the original acts the most proper to confirm them; so that, if the kings of France should ever have occasion to verify their rights, the deposition alone of Froissart would furnish an authentic and incontestable title.

The English accuse the French of not being very scrupulous in observing treaties; and maintain, that sir Geoffry de Charni acted by the secret orders of the king of France, when, in contempt of a truce which had been made, he attempted to surprise Calais in 1349. Rapin embraces this opinion, and supports it by the testimony of Froissart whom he quotes in the margin. I know not from what copy, nor what manuscript, he has taken his authority; but, for my part, I read in all the printed and in all the manuscripts these words, which are quite contrary to his sentiments: "I believe, that Geoffry de Charni had never spoken of it to the king of France; for, the king would never have advised him to attempt it, on account of the truce." The English again impute to Charles V. the infraction of the treaty of Bretigny, which they first broke, if we believe the French. Far from finding anything in Froissart which favors the English pretensions, I believe that, if the terms in which he expresses himself were strictly examined, they would at least form a presumption against them. I do not despair but that one day a brother academician will give us all the proofs which a sound criticism, and a mature reading of the historical monuments of that age, can furnish on a point of history which is of equal consequence to the nation and to truth.

The single combat proposed in 1354 between the kings of France and of England, is still a matter of dispute between the historians of the two nations. According to the French, the challenge sent in the name of king John was not accepted by Edward; while the English say, their king dared the king of France to battle, but that he refused the combat: Froissart decides formally for the French. "The king of France," says he, "went after him as far as St. Omer, and sent to him (the king of England) by the marshal d'Authain, and by several other knights, that he would fight with them, if he pleased, body to body, or strength against strength, any day he would name: but the king of England refused the combat, and recrossed the sea to England; and the king of France returned to Paris."

To these examples I could add a great number of other passages where he gives praise, as well to the people, as to the lords who signalized themselves by their attachment to the party of the French, and wherein he neither spares those who had declared themselves against, nor those who had cowardly abandoned them. In addition to what he says of the fidelity of the Bretons, and of the counts de Blois, their legitimate sovereigns, he praises the zeal with which several lords in Scotland received the French fleet sent in 1385 to assist them against the English. The earl of Douglas, to whom he appears much attached, and in whose castle he had spent several days in his travels into Scotland, seems to be of this number. At the same time, he declaims against those whose bad faith and ingratitude rendered this armament fruitless. He speaks in the strongest terms of the presumption of the duke of Gueldres, who dared to declare war against the king of France (Charles VI.) in 1387, and of the insolence with which he expressed himself in his declaration of war. He applauds the just indignation which induced this monarch to march in person to chastise the pride of this petty prince.

In short, of all nations whom he speaks of in his history, there are but few whom he has not sometimes marked with odious epithets. According to him, the Portuguese are passionate and quarrelsome; the Spaniards envious, haughty, and uncleanly; the Scots perfidious and ungrateful; the Italians assassins and poisoners; the English vain-boasters, contemptuous, and cruel. There is not one trait against the French; on the contrary, this brave nation supports itself, according to Froissart, by the vigor and strength of its knighthood, which was never so totally overwhelmed by its misfortunes, as not in the end to find some marvellous resources in its courage. The historian also seems to have taken a pride in having been born a Frenchman, in telling us that he owed to this title the good reception which a French esquire gave him, when he lodged with him at Orthez.

It is true, that the king of England, and his son the prince of Wales, seem to have been, so long as they lived, the heroes of his history; and that, in the recital of several battles, he is more occupied with them than with the king of France. But, where is the Frenchman of candor, who will not find himself forced to give these princes the utmost praise? Besides, does not our historian render justice to the valor and intrepidity of king Philip de Valois, and of king John? Nothing can surpass the praises he gives as well to the wisdom as to the ability of king Charles V.; and above all, that glorious testimony which he makes no difficulty to put into the mouth of the king of England: "There never was a king who so little armed himself; and there never was a king who gave me so much to do."

I think I have fully established, by all that you have just read, that Froissart was not that partial historian that he has been accused of. Nevertheless, I think it will be more sure to read him with some circumspection, and that one ought, as much as may be possible, never to lose sight, I repeat it, of two objects which I have particularly endeavored to make observed in the preceding pages: I mean to say, on one hand, the details of his life, his different attachments to divers princes and to certain lords, the connections he had or the friendships he contracted with various persons; on the other, the situations in which he was placed when he wrote his history, what parts of it were undertaken at the solicitation of the count de Namur, a partisan of the English, and those which he composed by the orders of the count de Blois, a friend to France. For if one is determined to persuade oneself that he ought to be disposed to favor the English in all he relates until 1369, from the same reason he should lean to the French in all the ensuing years until the conclusion of his Chronicle. I ought not to neglect to mention that his prejudices are sometimes visible when he enters into the minuter details, as one may be convinced of by the praise he gives to the piety and other virtues of the count de Foix, strongly contrasted by those actions of cruelty he had just before related. But when an historian, disengaged from all passion, should hold an even balance between the different parties; when to this quality he adds that which cannot be refused to Froissart, I mean, a continual anxiety to be informed of every event, and of every particular, that may interest his readers; he will yet be very far from perfection, if to these acquirements he does not add sound criticism, which, in the multitude of discordant relations, knows how to separate everything that is distant from truth; or his work will otherwise be less a history, than a heap of fables and popular rumors.

Notwithstanding all Froissart tells us of the care he took to hear both sides, and to compare their different accounts with each other, often with the original pieces, I think he may be accused of some little negligence on this head. His manner of life allowed him but little leisure to make all the reflections and all the comparisons which such an examination would require. In those countries whither his active curiosity carried him, other attentions occupied his mind. Charged sometimes with secret commissions, he endeavored to insinuate himself into the good graces of those princes he visited, by compositions of gallantry, by romances, by poetry; and the love he ever had for pleasure took such possession of both his time and his heart, that his mind must have been often turned from the serious meditations of the cabinet, of which naturally it was not very capable. I am not afraid to say, that his manner of life is to be found in some sort retraced even in his Chronicles. One sees in them tumultuous meetings of warriors of all ages, degrees, and countries; feasts; entertainments at inns; conversations after supper, which lasted until a late hour; where every one was eager to relate what he had seen or done: after which the travelling historian, before he went to bed, hastened to put on paper everything his memory could recollect. One sees in them the history of events which happened during almost a century, in all the provinces of the kingdom, and of all the people in Europe, related without order. In a small number of chapters, one frequently meets with several different histories, begun, interrupted, recommenced, and again broken off; and in this confusion the same things repeated, whether in order to be corrected, contradicted, or denied, or whether to be augmented.

The historian seems to have carried even to his composition of the Chronicle his love of romances, and to have imitated the disorder which reigns in these sort of works; from which one might say he has affected even to borrow their style. Thus, for example, when he begins a narrative, he frequently uses this expression, "Now the tale says;" and when he speaks of the death of any one, or some other melancholy event, he adds, "but amend it he could not;" phrases which are to be met with in almost every page of the romances of the Round Table. However, all I say of this romantic taste of Froissart, which he seems to have preserved in his history, applies solely to the style he makes use of; for I have never once observed that he attempts to embellish it with the marvellous. The faults which are met with contrary to historical exactness, arise solely from the natural confusion of his mind, the precipitation with which he wrote, and the ignorance which he must necessarily have been in respecting many things, which would have escaped his inquiries. What he relates of distant countries, such as Africa, Hungary, Tartary, and, in general, the eastern parts of the world, is full of the grossest blunders. In his time commerce had not then formed any connection with those countries and our own: what was known of them, was founded on the faith of those whom accident had carried thither, and who had resided too short a time among them to gain sufficient information respecting the manners, customs, and history of these people. But if Froissart has committed many faults in what he relates to us, the greatest, without doubt, is to have spoken at all of what he could not but imperfectly know.

All these defects and imperfections do not prevent his Chronicle from being considered as one of the most precious monuments of our history; and that the perusal of it should not be as agreeable as instructive to those who, not confining themselves to the knowledge of general facts, seek in the details, whether of particular events, whether of the usages of that age, to develop the character of mankind, and of the centuries which have passed.

Froissart was born to transmit to posterity a living picture of an

age, enemy to repose; and which, amid the intervals of troubles with which it was almost continually agitated, found relaxation only in the most tumultuous pleasures. Besides the wars of so many nations which he describes, and in which he informs us of divers usages respecting the ban and arrier ban, the attack and defence of places, fortifications, detachments, skirmishes, orders of battle, marine, the armor of those on foot, and those on horseback; one finds in this history everything which can excite curiosity with regard to the nobility and knighthood, their challenges, their deadly combats, tilts, tournaments, entries of princes, assemblies, feasts, balls, the dresses of both sexes; so that his chronicle is for us a complete body of the antiquities of the fourteenth century. One must own that these details only attract attention from their own singularity; they are related without study, and without art: it is, in truth, the familiar conversation with a man of understanding, who has seen a great deal, and tells his story well. Nevertheless, this amiable story-teller knows how, at times, and in particular when he speaks of any grand event, to unite the majesty of history with the simplicity of a tale. Let any one read, among other things, among so many battles which he has so excellently painted; let him read the recital of the famous battle of Poitiers, they will there see in the person of the prince of Wales a hero, far greater by the generosity with which he made use of his victory, by his attentions to a conquered prince, and by the respect he always paid him, than by those efforts of courage which had made him triumph. I do not believe there is anything which can equal the sublimity of this morsel of history, nothing which can more elevate the heart and mind. Others, of a very different nature, have their value in their simplicity: such is the episode of the love of the king of England for the countess of Salisbury; the tender and affecting recital of which does not yield to the most ingenious and best-written romances. The historian sometimes takes a gay tone; as in the chapter wherein he speaks of the impatience of the young king Charles VI. to receive his new bride; and in that wherein he relates the jokes which this prince made on his uncle, the duke of Berry, who, at a time of life not very suitable for love, married a young and amiable wife.

The taste of the author is very visible in the manner which he treats these subjects; but as the age he lived in knew how to conciliate all things, this taste did not exclude the fund of devotion which runs through the course of this work. It is only to be wished that he had not degraded his religion by a credulity ridiculously superstitious; false miracles, prophecies, enchantments, have nothing in them so absurd as not to find in him an unbounded and blind belief. Every one knows the tale he tells of the demon Gorgon. One can scarcely comprehend how he can connect with Christianity the example which he draws from the fable of Actæon to justify the probability of an adventure of the same sort, which makes part of this tale. He has besides been reproached with having dishonored history by his too great minuteness. I agree that we readily would have dispensed with his telling us at what sign those lodged of whom he was speaking, and from pointing out the inns where he himself had sometimes taken up his quarters; but I cannot equally condemn the love adventures, the feasts, and ceremonies, of which he has left us descriptions. When his narrations shall not be of subjects sufficiently noble, yet he paints so agreeably and so truly the age of which he writes the history, that it would, I think, be ungrateful to make any complaints.

I have inserted summarily in this judgment a sketch of the opinions which different authors have given of him, and they may be consulted. I will add that of an author who knew better than any other the full value of a ready and natural genius. "I love," says Montaigne, "historians very unaffected or excellent: the unaffected, who have not wherewithal to add of their own, and who are only careful to collect and pick up everything which falls within their notice, and to put down everything without choice and without sorting, giving us the opportunity of wholly judging of their truth. Such for example is the good Froissart, who has gone on with his work with such frank simplicity, that, having committed a fault, he is no way ashamed of avowing it, and correcting it at the place he is informed of it; and who tells us the diversity of rumors which were current, and the different accounts that were told to him. It is history, naked and unadorned; every one may profit from it, according to the depth of his understanding."

I come now to the editions of Froissart. We have three black-letter ones, and two posterior to them: that which I believe to be the oldest, is by Anthony Verard, at Paris, without a date, three volumes in folio. The second is, Paris, by Michael le Noir, the 15th July, 1505, two volumes in folio, a handsome type. The third is, Paris, by Galliot du Pré, 1530, three volumes in folio. The fourth, Lyons, by John de Tournes, 1559, 1560, 1561, three volumes in folio, revised and corrected by Denys Sauvage. The fifth, which copies exactly the fourth, is Paris, by Gervais Mallot, 1574, three volumes in folio.* There is reason to believe, from the manner in which father Long expresses himself on the subject of the editions of Froissart, that there may be others where there have been united into one body his Chronicle, with the first continuation, by an anonymous writer, until the year 1498, and with a second continuation until the year 1513. But these works have never been printed together. This is not the only mistake which this learned librarian has made in the same article, as I will some time hence explain, when I speak of these continuations. He also speaks of an historical work, printed under this title: "Order of the entry and happy arrival in the city of Paris, of Isabella de Baviere, queen of France, wife of Charles VI. in the year 1389, extracted from the fourth book of the History of Froissart;" without noticing either the date or place of its impression. I am ignorant if this is not an old fragment of Froissart which Sauvage had consulted, that had been printed before the black-letter editions, and of which I have never been able to gain any knowledge. To return to those editions I have pointed out, I shall fix principally on that of Sauvage, and endeavor to show, at the same time, what opinion should be formed of the black-letter editions which preceded his.

If the historian has been accused of showing too great a hatred against the French in several parts of his Chronicle, the editor has been equally accused of showing too great an inclination to them, by suppressing everything which might displease them. Perhaps this charge is only made in consequence of the first; and readers, prejudiced on one hand that Froissart had been an enemy to the French, surprised on the other at not finding any traces of this pretended enmity in his history, may have judged, without further reason, that Sauvage had retrenched, through love of his country, all that the historian had written through hatred to it. The French, with whom Sauvage, according to this mode of reasoning, ought to have found favor, have not been less hard upon him on another head. According to several, he has altered and disfigured the proper names; he has changed the simple language of the times of Froissart to substitute his own; in which he has rather rendered the history more obscure than he has enlightened it, and has only caused those editions which were prior to his own to become more scarce, and more dear. We shall see if this is the recompense that all the trouble he gave himself deserved; but I ought first to speak of the manner in which he labored at his edition, and the assistance he had according to the account which he gives himself.

Sauvage, having first transcribed the printed copy of Galliot du Pré, compared it with the two other black-letter editions, when he found the difference between them so trifling, that he thought he ought to consider all three but as the same. He then collated his text with a printed fragment still more ancient; then with the third volume of "La Mer des Histoires," in which Froissart has been copied from the beginning until the 177th chapter; and lastly, with two abridgments in MS. which indicates not being acquainted with the authors, by the names of "La Chaux and de Sala," who had communicated them to him. The editor, in acknowledging that these abridgments, or manuscripts, were so much damaged, that he was frequently obliged to guess the meaning, have been at times very useful to him, gives notice that he did not follow their punctuation; but, persuaded that one cannot be too exact in religiously preserving the language of ancient authors, he follows, with a scrupulous attention, the orthography, the ancient modes of speech, although they were very different from what they were when the first copies came from the hands of Froissart. He, nevertheless, avows that, without derogating from the respect due to the ancient text, he has thought himself justified in making some changes, but solely, when he has been under the indispensable necessity of seeking the aid of better historians, to give a meaning to passages which were in want of it. Even in these cases, the only ones in which he has taken the liberty of making any change, he has had the precaution to place in the margin the original reading, however defective it might be; leaving, by these means, the reader the power of judging of the corrections he had made. With regard to proper names, and the names of places, he has not touched them, from the impossibility of correcting them with success. The editor addresses the four volumes of Froissart to the constable de Montmorency, by as many dedicatory epistles. One sees in the first, and by an advertisement to his readers, that the editions he had already given of several of our historians were but preparatory to a general history of the Gauls and of the kingdom of France, which he was then at work on.

Sauvage promises nothing relative to his edition of Froissart which he has not faithfully performed; as one may be convinced of by following the notes which he added. I do not say that he has always well chosen from the different texts he had under his eyes; but, if the corrections he proposes are not all equally just, there are many which offer a clear and very probable meaning of passages which, in the old editions, are a collection of words without connection, and without sense. With regard to the language, besides his attention never to change anything of the ancient words, he accompanies them with an explanation whenever he thinks them not sufficiently intelligible. His zeal in this respect is more praiseworthy than his intelligence. It is surprising that, after having published several of our

* M. de St. Palaye does not seem to have known all the editions of Froissart. I have three of different dates to those he mentions.

1. A most superb copy on vellum, in four volumes, which originally belonged to the Soubise library, purchased at the sale of the Bibliotheca Parisiana; printed in black letter, by Guillaume Eustace, at Paris, 1514.

2. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed by Michael Sonnius, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Secretary Craggs.

3. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed for Michael de Roigny, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Tyrwhitt.

[All Mr. Jobnes's MSS. were destroyed at Hafod by fire.]

old authors, he was not better acquainted with their language, and that he should add such unnatural explanations and etymologies.

As the chronology of Froissart was sometimes defective, Sauvage has reformed it in those places which appeared to him most in need of it. He has often recalled to the reader's memory distant passages, in order to conciliate them, or to show their contradiction; or, in short, to demonstrate the connection of certain facts to each other; but his attempt in this part is scarcely worth mentioning. Some genealogies, which regard persons of whom Froissart speaks, as well as some remarks on divers places, whose position he attempts to fix by relating the different names they are called by, show that the editor has not absolutely neglected these two objects. One must not be surprised that so many foreign names should not always be exactly correct; besides their having been changed since then, one should not impute as blame, either to the author or editor, the faults of copyists who have incorrectly read them, and who have written them according to the pronunciation or orthography of their language and age; for not only are the names read in as many different ways as there are manuscripts, but they often vary in the same MS. as often as they are met with. The only means to remedy this is to clear up Froissart by himself, in collating the various passages where the same name is found; and this is what Sauvage has done; and for greater security he has read over five times the text of his author; however, when he could not draw any advantage from this repeated reading, he has made use of every assistance from any quarter he could find. He appears, in fact, to have very carefully studied the maps and descriptions of those countries the historian speaks of, and also to have consulted the people of those countries. One observes, that, when he had retired to Lyons to give himself up more freely to study, he went to reconnoitre in that neighborhood the old field of battle of Brinay, or Brinais, in which the duke of Bourbon had been defeated in 1360 by the free companies. The description he gives of it is very instructive, and serves to clear up the circumstances of that event. An epitaph which he had read in a church at Lyons serves at another time to prove the falsity of a date in Froissart. In short, there is scarcely any historian of importance, of whatever country he might be, whom Sauvage had not seen, in order the better to understand on whom he was at work, and to make him better understood by others, and to confirm or to rectify his testimony. One may count nearly forty authors whom he cites in his margins, as well relative to the history of France, as to that of England, Scotland, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Italy, Hungary, and Turkey. I add, that he had consulted the original acts, since he has inserted in his annotations the ratification of the treaty of Bretigny, done by the prince of Wales at Calais, after having transcribed with his hand upon a copy from the same prince, collated by a "Trésorier des Chartes."

If, then, the edition of Sauvage is still very imperfect, it has not any defects but what the preceding editions have in common with it; to which, however, it is infinitely superior. The editor, well versed in our antiquities and our history, exact and indefatigable, proves, by the constant use he makes of the two manuscripts, by the judgment he bears of their insufficiency, and by the regrets he utters at not being able to meet with better, that he has been in greater want of assistance, than of good will, good faith, and capacity. In his time manuscripts, buried in the libraries of ignorant monks, or in the archives of private persons, and unknown to their possessors, were lost to the learned world. Times have since changed; thanks to the attention of ministers, who neglect nothing for the public good, there is scarcely a man of letters to whom manuscripts of all ages are not become a sort of property. Nothing would be wanting to the good fortune of this age, if, with such abundant succors, there could be found men as laborious as Sauvage to take advantage of them; for, I have not a doubt but that, if he had had the manuscripts we possess, he would have given us an excellent edition of Froissart.

The number of those known at this day is so considerable, that, after the Bible and the Fathers, I do not believe there is any work of which there have been so many copies; which shows the great esteem it has been held in during every age. In the Royal Library alone, there are upward of thirty volumes in folio, which contain separately some one of the four books into which this history is divided. The numbers 6760, 8317, 8318, 8319, 8320, 8324, 8331-2, 8332, 8334, 8335 and 36 joined together, 8344; and the numbers of the manuscripts of Colbert, united with those of the Bibliothèque du Roi, 15, 85, and 231, include the first volume. The numbers 8321, 8330, 8333, 8337, and 8338, added together with those of Colbert, 16 and 86, compose the second volume. The numbers 8325, 8328, 8337, and 8338, added to those of Colbert, 87 and 232, the third volume. The numbers 8329, 8331, 8341, 8344, added together, and that of Colbert, 17, compose the fourth volume.*

I should extend this essay to too great a length if I was to describe the form, the age, the titles, the omissions, or imperfections, and other singularities, which distinguish these manuscripts. In regard to other and more essential differences, I shall say in general, that the greater part consist in transpositions of some articles, changes, additions or retrenchments of words, of omissions sometimes considerable; abbreviations of several chapters, or of many events; vague transitions, useless recapitulations of the foregoing chapters; certain phraseology, which, like formulas, are repeated in every page; and some interpolations of the copyists, which, serving only to swell out the volume, have been wisely curtailed by Sauvage in his printed edition. I will not quote any other example but the passage where, speaking of the affection of Edward III. for the princess of Hainault, whom he married, he says, "A fine spark of love therefore struck him;" to which the copyist adds these words, "which madam Venus sent him by Cupid the god of love." However, among these frivolous additions there may have been some of importance, which it would be proper to search for in those parts that offer any difficulty, or in those articles which demand a serious discussion.

After these general observations, I will say one word of the principal singularities which I have noticed in some of these MSS. Those of the numbers 8317, and 15 of Colbert, are remarkable for the correction which has been put on their margins in the article that mentions Philip de Valois's accession to the crown of France. The same hand has also added to this last manuscript a note, which is written on one of the blank leaves which precede the Chronicle: "Two verses which the peers of France sent to king Edward of England, at the time he disputed the succession to the crown of France.

"Credo Regnorum qui cupis esse duorum
Succedunt mares huic regno non mulieres."*

In number 8318, one reads in the same hand-writing with the manuscript, that it was given to John duke of Berry the 8th November, 1407, by William Boisratier, master of requests, and counsellor to this prince. If it is the same which has since been given by M. de Chandenier to M. le Laboureur, as this last believed, it would be rendered the more precious from this circumstance, that there would be found in it very considerable differences, that he says he has observed in this manuscript, from the printed copies, and more especially from that of Sauvage; or it would convince us of the falsity of this imputation, which appears to me very suspicious. But as the copy of M. le Laboureur, as he himself informs us, contained miniatures representing the principal events of the history, and that the one which Boisratier presented to the duke of Berry does not contain any, it is certain that it cannot be the same. Although the miniatures, head-pieces, capital letters illuminated and embossed with gold, in the MS. 8319, are of great beauty; it must, nevertheless, yield in this respect to number 8320, from which much may be learnt regarding warlike customs, ceremonies, dresses, and other points of antiquity. The reverend father Montfaucon has taken from them the prints of the entry of queen Isabella of France, and the arrest of the king of Navarre, which he has inserted in his "Monuments François." Notwithstanding this I believe, that in these miniatures, which are not, at the most, earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, the painter has confounded the dresses of his own age with those of the times whose history he was painting.

One sees at the begining of several MSS. the author represented differently dressed, sometimes as a canon, with his surplice and *aumusse*†; sometimes in a purple robe, presenting his work to the king of France, or to some other prince, seated on his throne, and crowned. The king of England is known by his robe embroidered with leopards in the number 8331-2, and the queen of England in number 15 of Colbert's collections. The most ancient of all the manuscripts of the first volume are the numbers 8318 and 8331-2, which appear to me to be of the end of the fourteenth century: and though many things are deficient in each of them, their antiquity ought to give them the preference. I have the same opinion respecting the MS. 8333, being the most ancient of the second volume; though it does not seem to me to have been written earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century. The number 8321 is a continuation of number 8320; there are fewer miniatures, but they are equally beautiful; which is the only merit they have; for otherwise they are, properly speaking, but an extract of Froissart, and frequently many chapters are omitted together.

Number 16, which is the same writing as number 15, of which it is a continuation, contains, besides the second volume, a part of the third, as far as these words of the 44th chapter, page 151, of the edition of Sauvage: "Thus was broken off the expedition by sea at this time;" to which it adds, "which cost the kingdom of France c. m. francs, thirty times counted." Number 8330 has for title, "The third volume of the Chronicles of Froissart;" although it contains but the second. By a similar mistake one reads, at the end of number 8325, which concludes the third volume, "Here ends the second volume of the Chronicles of Froissart." This MS., which is but of the middle of the fifteenth century, is that in which the language of old times is the most preserved: perhaps it has been copied from some other more ancient and better than those which remain to us.

* M. Buchon, in his recent French edition, has made diligent use of all the MSS. which he could hear of; and has settled a text which frequently differs from his predecessors. He has not, however, admitted the additions made by Mr. Johnes from the MSS. in the Hafod Library.—Ed.

* To reëstablish the measure and the sense of the first verse, one must, I think, add the word Rex: regnorum qui Rex cupis esse duorum. And to make Edward feel the application, one may, instead of Credo, read Crede, or Credito, of which Credo is perhaps an abbreviation. With regard to the second, the number of syllables are there which an hexameter verse requires; and that should be sufficient not to quarrel with the measure.—St. Palaye

† "Aumusse" is a sort of bracelet of fur, which canons wear on their arms, when dressed. I cannot find any English word to translate it.

There is at the end some circumstances concerning Froissart, which are also in the MSS. 8328 and 232, and which are not in the printed copies. It is more from the antiquity of the style, that makes me consider the MS. 8329, although scarce earlier than the end of the fifteenth century, as the best we have for the fourth volume. One finds in it, as in the numbers 8331, 8341, 42, and 17, two important additions. The first is the preface, which I have noticed in the life of Froissart; the second terminates the whole of his Chronicle, when the author, toward the end, speaking of the death of Richard, that he would not enter into any detail of it, from want of having sufficient information. The addition is a sort of letter, true or false, which is addressed to him, and by which he is informed of all the particulars; such as had been written by a man worthy of belief, who was then in England. The manner with which this fact is related has not been forgotten by the English historians, who have mentioned the different rumors which had gone abroad on this subject. Number 17 seems to have been written by the same hand as 15 and 16, and the three added to the MS. of the third book, which is wanting, made perhaps the work complete.

Under the number 169 of the Coislin library, at present in that of St. Germain-des-Prés, are comprehended four volumes, three of which are of the same hand-writing; that is to say, of the middle of the fifteenth century, containing the first, the third, and last book of Froissart. The fourth, which is of the same writing, but more beautiful, is another copy of the last book, with the addition which I have just mentioned, concerning the death of Richard. M. Mahudel has communicated to me a MS. of the beginning of the fifteenth century, without a title, and which may have been thought written by Froissart; but it is only a very succinct abridgment, in which has been preserved, as much as possible, the original text of the historian until the end of the first volume, where the abridgment ceases. It is divided into six books, of which the first two end with these words, "Here finishes the first (the second) book of this second volume of the Chronicles of England, and consequently the seventh (the eighth) of the four volumes *parciaulx*." One reads also at the end of the sixth, "Here finishes the second volume of the Chronicles of England." This MS. probably made part of four volumes of a compilation of a history of England, divided each into six books; such nearly as our Chronicles of St. Denys. The first volume would have contained events anterior to Froissart; and as the second, which we have, includes an abridgment of his first volume, one may presume that the two following would, in like manner, have contained that of the three other volumes, and perhaps also the history of the times posterior to them. This abridgment, however, is the same as that of La Chaux, which Sauvage has made use of; I discover the marks by which he has pointed it out, with the exception of the first leaf, which may have been lost since that time.

To this great number of MSS. others must be added, which contain only very short abridgments of the Chronicle of Froissart; and which are to be found in the Royal Library, among the MSS. of the Colbert collection. Such are the numbers 169, which includes part of the first and second volumes abridged; 258, nearly conformable to the foregoing: but where they have added at the end four pages, containing "The tenor of the Letters of alliance of France with Scotland" in 1379, with the names of those lords, as well Scots as French, who signed the treaty; and 2444, which comprehends the abridgment of the four volumes. This is preceded by a preface, wherein the abbreviator having said he should follow Froissart "chapter by chapter," adds, "and because this same Master John Froissart has not made an index to his first book; and by means of the index to a book one may, at one glance, see those parts which one may be desirous to read; I have resolved to divide this first book into one hundred and twenty-seven chapters." We see nothing in these MSS. which either establishes the pretended enmity of Froissart against the French, nor which justifies the accusation brought against Sauvage of having altered the text of his historian. But a magnificent MS. at Breslaw furnishes, according to some writers, an incontestable proof of it. The learned world, say they, believe they have an entire Froissart; it has been grossly deceived by Sauvage, who has not preserved the tenth part of it in his edition. One may reply to this charge; 1st, That Sauvage will be always exempt from reproach, since he has given us the text of Froissart, such as he had seen it in the known copies of his time. 2dly, That the description they give us of the miniatures of this MS. of Breslaw, makes us believe that it cannot be much older than toward the end of the fifteenth century; and that, consequently, it is but of very moderate authority. In short, after the agreement of so many other MSS. of which many even have been written in England, or destined for that country, since the author is represented as offering his book to the king and queen of England, it will not be easy to persuade the world that the single MS. of Breslaw contains alone such very considerable differences. At least it becomes our prudence to suspend our judgment, until they shall have published the MS. itself, or some of those passages which are said to have been retrenched. One cannot too eagerly press the possessors of it to allow the public to participate of a treasure so infinitely precious to the lovers of history. If, hitherto, we have been in an error, we will cheerfully turn back; and there is not a man of letters possessing sense, who, laying aside all national interest, would not ardently desire to have the Chronicles of Froissart such as they came from the hands of the author. Many MSS. of Froissart are to be found in the libraries of foreign countries. There is one in the library of the cathedral of Tournay, according to the report of several Flemish librarians*; three in England, according to the catalogue of MSS. in that kingdom; which also mentions some manuscript notes collected by Mr. Ashmole; and others again, which may be seen in the new catalogue of MSS. by father Montfaucon.

Besides the ancient abridgments of Froissart, Sleidan, full of admiration for this historian, and anxious that the utility which may be drawn from him should be common to all ages and nations, made in 1537 a Latin abridgment, which was afterwards translated into French and English by P. Golin, in 4to. London, 1608. In a preface or epistle, which precedes the Latin edition, the author recommends the study of the History of France above all others, and particularly that of Froissart, whose candor he praises, and whom he only finds fault with for being sometimes too minute in his military details, and in his conversations with princes. Foreign writers have accused Sleidan of not having composed this abridgment with the disinterestedness and fidelity that was to have been expected from a man of so great a reputation, and to have wished to favor the French too much; to have passed over the most brilliant actions of the English, where he quits the sense of his author, in writing otherwise than Froissart had done: this last reproach does not seem to me founded. With regard to omissions, he has taken that liberty which an abbreviator ought to be allowed, to attach himself chiefly in extracting what he thinks suitable for his purpose; and that Sleidan, who at the time was living in France with Frenchmen, may, without any want of candor, have attached himself principally to those facts which concerned them. It will not be so easy to justify Belleforêt, who, giving a French abridgment of Froissart, has contented himself with translating literally Sleidan, without ever mentioning the author whom he translated.

The English, whom the reading of Froissart interests in so particular a manner, have in their language a translation of the Chronicles of Froissart, composed by sir John Bouchier, lord Berners, by order of king Henry VIII., and printed toward the end of his reign. There is also one in Flemish, printed by Guerrit Vander Loo, in folio; without counting that in the same tongue which Vossius had seen in manuscript.

I shall not say anything of these translations, not having met with either. That of Bouchier is, they say, more correct than the French editions, in regard to proper names;† this must, however, be understood to mean English names. The Flemish translation must have the same advantage with regard to proper names, and names of places in Flanders. They may both be of great utility to whoever should wish to give a good edition of Froissart.

* M de St. Palaye is ignorant how rich this country is in MSS. of Froissart. There are many magnificent ones in the British Museum, at Oxford, Cambridge, and in other public and private libraries. I have in my library not less than six; but not one is a complete history.

† I am sorry I must contradict M. de St. Palaye, in his opinion of lord Berner's translation. Had it been as he imagines, I should not have attempted to offer a new translation to the public; but, so far from being correct as to names, he mangles them nearly as bad as old Froissart. I cannot flatter myself with having succeeded to my own satisfaction, although I have taken every possible pains to make it as complete as the difficulties would allow me.

SIR JOHN FROISSART'S PREFACE TO HIS CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, &c.

HAT the honorable enterprises, noble adventures, and deeds of arms, performed in the wars between England and France, may be properly related, and held in perpetual remembrance—to the end that brave men taking example from them may be encouraged in their well-doing, I sit down to record a history deserving great praise; but, before I begin, I request of the Saviour of the world, who from nothing created all things, that he will have the goodness to inspire me with sense and sound understanding, to persevere in such manner, that all those who shall read may derive pleasure and instruction from my work, and that I may fall into their good graces.

It is said, and with truth, that all towns are built with many different stones, and that all large rivers are formed from many springs; so are sciences compiled by many learned persons, and what one is ignorant of is known to another: not but that everything is known sooner or later. Now, to come to the matter in hand, I will first beg the grace of God and the benign Virgin Mary, from whom all comfort and success proceed; and then I will lay my foundation on the true Chronicles formerly written by that reverend, wise, and discreet man, John le Bel, canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege; who bestowed great care and diligence on them, and continued them, as faithfully as he could, to his death, though not without much pains and expense: but these he minded not, being rich and powerful. He was also a man of courteous manners, generous, and a privy counsellor, well beloved by sir John de Hainault; who is spoken of in these books, and not without reason, for he was chief of many noble enterprises, and nearly related to several kings; and by his means the above mentioned John le Bel could see, as through a perspective, the many gallant actions recorded in the following sheets.

The true reason of my undertaking this book was for my amusement, to which I have ever been inclined, and for which I have frequented the company of many noblemen and gentlemen, as well in France as in England and Scotland, and in other countries, from whose acquaintance I have always requested accounts of battles and adventures, especially since the mighty battle of Poictiers, where the noble king John of France was taken prisoner; for before that time I was young in years and understanding: however, on quitting school, I boldly undertook to write and relate the wars above mentioned—which compilation, such as it was, I carried to England, and presented to my lady Philippa Hainault, queen of England, who most graciously received it from me, to my great profit. And perhaps as this book is neither so exactly nor so well written as such feats of arms require—for such deeds demand that each actor who therein performs his part nobly should have due praise—in order to acquit myself to all, as in justice is due, I have undertaken this present work on the ground before mentioned, at the prayer and request of my dear lord and master, sir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort, to whom I owe all love and obedience, and God give me grace to do always according to his pleasure.

THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE BRAVEST KNIGHTS OF THIS PRESENT BOOK.

To encourage all valorous hearts, and to show them honorable examples, I, John Froissart, will begin to relate, after the documents and papers of master John le Bel, formerly canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege, as followeth: That whereas various noble personages have frequently spoken of the wars between France and England, without knowing anything of the matter, or being able to assign the proper reasons for them; I, having perceived the right foundation of the matter, shall neither add nor omit, forget, corrupt, nor abridge my history: but the rather will enlarge it, that I may be able to point out and speak of each adventure from the nativity of the noble king Edward of England, who so potently reigned, and who was engaged in so many battles and perilous adventures, and other feats of arms and great prowess, from the year of grace 1326, when he was crowned in England.

Although he, and also those who were with him in his battles and fortunate rencounters, or with his army when he was not there in person, which you shall hear as we go on, ought to be accounted right valiant; yet as of these there is a multitude, some should be esteemed supereminent. Such as the gallant king himself before named; the prince of Wales, his son; the duke of Lancaster; sir Reginald lord Cobham; sir Walter Manny of Hainault, knight; sir John Chandos; Sir Fulke Harley; and many others who are recorded in this book for their worth and prowess: for in all their battles by sea or land, in which they were engaged, their valor was so distinguished that they should be esteemed heroes of highest renown—but without disparagement to those with whom they served. In France also was found good chivalry, strong of limb and stout of heart, and in great abundance; for the kingdom of France was never brought so low as to want men ever ready for the combat. Such was king Philip of Valois, a bold and hardy knight, and his son, king John; also John, king of Bohemia, and Charles, count of Alençon, his son; the count of Foix; the chevaliers de Santré, d'Arnaud d'Angle, de Beauveau, father and son, and many others that I cannot at present name; but they shall all be mentioned in due time and place: for, to say the truth, we must allow sufficient bravery and ability to all who were engaged in such cruel and desperate battles, and discharged their duty, by standing their ground till the discomfiture.

KNIGHTS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—From original authorities in the British Museum.

CHAPTER II.

OF SOME OF THE PREDECESSORS OF KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND.

The better to understand the honorable and eventful history of the noble king Edward of England, who was crowned in London on Christmas-day, in the year 1326, in the life time of the king and queen his parents, we must remark a common opinion of the English, of which there have been proofs since the time of the gallant king Arthur, that between two valiant kings of England there is always one weak in mind and body; and this is apparent in the example of the gallant king Edward, of whom I now speak; for true it is that his grandfather, called the good king Edward the First, was brave, wise, enterprising, and fortunate in war. He was much engaged against the Scots. He conquered them three or four times, without their being able to gain any advantage over him.

Edward the Second.—From a painting in the Bodleian Lib. Oxford.

When he died, his son by his first marriage succeeded to the crown, but not to the understanding or prowess of his father, for he governed his kingdom very unwisely, through the evil counsels of others, the ill consequences of which he afterwards suffered severely, as you will see; for, soon after his coronation, Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had given so much and such frequent trouble to king Edward above mentioned, and who well knew his valor, reconquered all Scotland, and took besides the good town of Berwick. He burnt and destroyed great part of the country, four or five days' march within the realm at two different times: he afterwards defeated the king and all the barons of England,* at a place in Scotland, called Stirling, in a pitched battle, when the pursuit lasted two days and two nights, and the king of England, accompanied with a few followers, fled to London. But, as this is no part of our matter, I shall here leave off.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE RELATIONS OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

King Edward the Second, father of our gallant king, had two brothers: one was the Earl Marshal, of a wild and disagreeable temper; the other was called lord Edmund of Kent: he was very wise and affable, and much beloved.

This king had married the daughter of Philip the Fair, king of France, who was one of the greatest beauties in the world. He had by this lady two sons and two daughters. The elder son was the noble and valiant king Edward, of whom this history speaks; the other was called John, and died young. The elder of the two daughters was called Isabella, and was married to the young king, David of Scotland, son of king Robert Bruce. They were affianced from their earliest youth, with the consent of the two kings of England and Scotland, as a bond to cement the peace. The other was married to the count Reginald, subsequently called duke of Guelderland, who had by this lady two sons; one named Reginald, the other Edward, who afterwards reigned with great power.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OCCASION OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

History tells us that Philip, king of France, surnamed the Fair, had three sons, besides his beautiful daughter Isabella, married to the king of England. These three sons were very handsome. The eldest, Lewis, king of Navarre, during the lifetime of his father, was called Lewis Hutin; the second was named Philip the Great, or the Long; and the third, Charles. All these were kings of France, after their father Philip, by legitimate succession, one after the other, without having by marriage any male heirs; yet, on the death of the last king, Charles, the twelve peers and barons of France did not give the kingdom to Isabella, the sister, who was queen of England, because they said and maintained, and still do insist, that the kingdom of France is so noble, that it ought not to go to a woman; consequently neither to Isabella, nor to her son, the king of England; for they hold that the son of a woman cannot claim any right of succession, where that woman has none herself. For these reasons the twelve peers and barons of France unanimously gave the kingdom of France to the lord Philip of Valois, nephew to king Philip, and thus put aside the queen of England, who was sister to Charles, the late king of France, and her son. Thus, as it seemed to many people, the succession went out of the right line, which has been the occasion of the most destructive wars and devastations of countries, as well in France as elsewhere, as you will learn hereafter; the real object of this history being to relate the great enterprises and deeds of arms achieved in these great wars, for from the time of good Charlemagne, king of France, never were such feats performed.

CHAPTER V.

HOW EARL THOMAS, OF LANCASTER, AND TWENTY-TWO OF THE GREATEST NOBLES IN ENGLAND WERE BEHEADED.

King Edward the Second, father to the noble king Edward the Third, of whom our history speaks, governed his kingdom very indifferently, by the advice of sir Hugh Spencer, who had been brought up with him from his youth.

This sir Hugh had managed matters so, that his father and himself were the great masters of the realm, and were ambitious to surpass all the other great barons in England; for which reason, after the great defeat at Stirling, the barons and nobles, and even the council of the king, murmured much, particularly against sir Hugh Spencer, to whom they imputed their defeat, on account of his partiality to the king of Scotland. The barons had many meetings on this matter, to consult what was to be done; the chief of them was Thomas, earl of Lancaster, uncle to the king. Sir Hugh soon found it would be necessary for him to check them; and he was so well beloved by the king, and so continually in his presence, that he was sure of gaining belief, whatever he said. He soon took an opportunity of informing the king, that these lords had entered into an alliance against him, and that, if he did not take proper measures, they would drive him out of the kingdom; and thus operated so powerfully on the king's mind, that his malicious intentions had their full effect. The king caused all these lords to be arrested on a certain day when they were met together, and, without delay, ordered the heads of twenty-two of the greatest barons to be struck off, without assigning any cause or reason. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, suffered the first. He was a discreet and pious man; and since that time many miracles have been performed at his tomb in Pomfret, where he was beheaded. The hatred against sir Hugh Spencer was increased by this deed, particularly that of the queen and of the earl of Kent, brother to the king; which when he perceived, he fomented such a discord between the king and the queen, that the king would not see the queen, or come to any place where she was. This quarrel lasted some time; when the queen and the earl of Kent were secretly informed that, if they did not speedily quit the court, they would repent it, for sir Hugh was endeavoring to stir up much mischief against them. Then the queen, having made preparations for passing secretly to France, set out as if to go on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury; whence she went to Winchelsea, and that night embarked on board a vessel prepared for her reception, accompanied by her young son Edward, the earl of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer. Another vessel was loaded with luggage, &c., and, having a fair wind, they landed the next morning at Boulogne.

CHAPTER VI.

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND GOES TO COMPLAIN OF SIR HUGH SPENCER TO HER BROTHER THE KING OF FRANCE.

When the queen Isabella landed at Boulogne, with her son and her brother-in-law, the earl of Kent, the governor of the town and the abbot waited on her, and conducted her to the abbey, where she and her suite were joyfully received and remained two days; on the third she continued her route toward Paris.

King Charles, her brother, being informed of her coming, sent some of the greatest lords at that time near his person to meet her; among whom were, sir Robert d'Artois, the lord of Crucy, the lord of Sully, and the lord of Roy, and many others, who honorably received and conducted her to Paris, to the king her brother. When the king perceived his sister (whom he had not seen for a long time) entering his apartment, he rose to meet her, and taking her in his arms, kissed her, and said, "You are welcome, my fair sister, with my fine nephew your son;" then taking one in each hand, he led them in. The queen, who had no great joy in her heart, except being near her brother, would have knelt at his feet two or three times, but the king would not suffer it, and holding her by the right hand, inquired very affectionately into her business and affairs. Her answers were pru-

* By batel arengyd the day of Saynt John Baptyst, in the 7th yere of ye reigne of the same kyng Edward, in the yere of our Lorde 1314. The chase of this discofeture endured 2 dayes and two nyghts. And the kyng of Ingland wet w a small company to London. And on Mydlent-sonday in the yere of our Lorde 1316 the Scottis wan agayne the cite of Berwyk by treason."—Lord Berners.

This passage of Lord Berners', though given in his text, appears to be an interpolation of his own, correcting the error of Froissart, whose statement leads to the idea that the capture of Berwick was immediately subsequent to the battle, whereas two years intervened. The battle spoken of was that of Bannockburn.

dent and wise; and she related to him all the injuries done to her by sir Hugh Spencer, and asked of him advice and assistance.

When the noble king Charles had heard the lamentations of his sister, who with many tears had stated her distress, he said, "Fair sister, be appeased—for, by the faith I owe to God and to St. Denis, I will provide a remedy." The queen then kneeled down, in spite of the king, and said to him, "My dear lord and brother, I pray God may second your intentions.* The king then taking her by the hand, conducted her to another apartment, which was richly furnished for her and her young son Edward; he then left her, and ordered that everything should be provided becoming the state of her and her son from his treasury.

Queen Isabella's Visit to her Brother at Paris.—From an illumination in a MS. Froissart.

In a short time afterwards Charles assembled many great lords and barons of his kingdom, to have their advice what was most proper to be done in the business of his sister, the queen of England. Their advice was, that the queen should be allowed to purchase friends and assistance in the kingdom of France, and that he should appear ignorant of this enterprise, lest he should incur the enmity of the king of England, and bring a war upon his country—but that underhand he should assist her with gold and silver, which are the metals wherewith the love of gentlemen and poor soldiers is acquired.

The king acceded to this advice, and caused his sister to be informed of it by sir Robert d'Artois, who was at that time one of the greatest men in France.

CHAPTER VII.

SIR HUGH SPENCER CAUSES THE QUEEN ISABELLA TO BE SENT OUT OF FRANCE.

Now let us speak a little of this sir Hugh Spencer. When he saw that he had the king of England so much in his power, that he objected to nothing he said or did, he caused many noblemen and others to be put to death without law or justice, but merely because he suspected them of being ill-inclined to him. His pride was also become so intolerable, that the barons who remained alive in England, neither could nor would suffer it any longer. They required and entreated that all private quarrels should be made up; and sent secretly to inform the queen (who had at this time remained in Paris three years,) that if she could collect about a thousand men-at-arms, and would come at the head of them herself, with her son, into England, they would immediately treat with her, and obey him as their lawful sovereign.†

The queen showed these private letters that she had received from England to the king, her brother, who replied, "God be your help! your affairs will prosper so much the better. Take of my subjects as many as your friends desire; I freely give my consent, and I will order the necessary sums of money to be distributed among them." The queen had already been active, and what with entreaties, gifts, and promises, had gained over many great lords, young knights, and esquires, who had engaged to carry her back to England with a great power.

The queen made all her preparations for her expedition very secretly, but not so much so as to prevent its coming to the knowledge of sir Hugh Spencer, who thought, that his most prudent plan would be to win over to his interest the king of France; for this effect he sent over trusty and secret messengers, laden with gold, silver and rich jewels. These were distributed among the king and his ministers with such effect, that the king and his council were in a short time as cold toward the cause of Isabella, as they had before been warm. The king disconcerted the expedition, and forbade any person, under pain of banishment, to aid or assist the queen in her projected return to England.

Sir Hugh also endeavored to get the queen into his and the king's power, and to this effect made the king write an affectionate letter to the pope, entreating him to order the king of France to send back his wife, as he was anxious to acquit himself toward her before God and the world; since it was not his fault that she had left him, for he was all love and good faith toward her, such as ought to be observed in marriage. There were similar letters written at the same time to the cardinals, and many subtle means devised to insure their success, which it may not be so proper here to mention. He also sent plenty of gold and silver to many cardinals and prelates, the nearest relations of the pope, and those most in his councils, by able and adroit messengers, who managed the pope in such a manner, by their presents and address, that he wrote to the king of France to send back Isabella, queen of England, to her husband, under pain of excommunication. These letters were carried to the king of France by the bishop of Xaintes, whom the pope sent thither as his legate.

The king, on the receipt of them, caused his sister to be acquainted with their contents (for he had held no conversation with her for a long time,) and commanded her to leave the kingdom immediately, or he would make her leave it with shame.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE QUEEN ISABELLA LEAVES FRANCE AND GOES TO GERMANY.

When the queen heard this account, she knew not what to say, or what measures to adopt, for the barons had already withdrawn themselves by the king's command, and she had no resource or adviser left but in her dear cousin Robert of Artois: and he could only advise and assist her in secret, for, as the king had forbidden it, he could not act otherwise. He well knew, that the queen had been driven from England through malice and ill-will, at which he was much grieved. This was Sir Robert's opinion; but he durst not speak of it to the king, for he had heard the king say and swear, that whoever should speak to him in her behalf should forfeit his land, and be banished the kingdom. He was also informed, that the king was not averse* to the seizure of the persons of the queen, her son Edward, the earl of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer, and to their being delivered into the hands of the king of England and sir Hugh Spencer. He therefore came in the middle of the night, to inform the queen of the peril she was in. She was thunder-struck† at the information—to which he added, "I recommend you to set out for

* Lord Berners' version is more affecting, and is almost word for word with the original; it runs thus—

When the noble kyng Charles of France had harde his susters lamentation, who *weepyngly* had shewed hym all her nede and besynesse, he sayd to her, "Fayre suster, appease yourselfe, for, by the faith I owe to God and to saynt Denyce, I shall right well purvey for you some remedy." The queue then kneled down whether the kyng would or not, and sayd, "My right dyere lord and fayre brother, I pray God reward you." [Dieu vous en veuille ouir.]

† John le Bel, according to what M. Lancelot says in one of his memoirs respecting Robert d'Artois, has been much mistaken in the object of Isabella's journey to France, and the time she went thither. It related to the homage due from Edward the Second to Charles, king of France.

Charles had seized on parts of Guyenne, and the Spencers sent the queen of France to make up the matter with her brother, and also to keep her at a distance, as they knew she disliked them. There is a letter in Rymer, from king Edward to pope John XXII., dated March 8th, 1324, in which he says he is determined to send the queen to France to treat with her brother. This date is remarkable, because Froissart places the journey of the queen two years earlier: for he says the queen of England remained at Paris three years. Now it is certain she returned to England the 22nd of September, 1326: she must, therefore, have arrived in France in 1323. But Froissart is mistaken, her journey was posterior to the expedition against Guyenne, which lasted from May, 1324, to the end of September in the same year: consequently her residence in France and Hainault was only about eighteen months. The same historian mistakes the object of her journey. He supposes her sole motive for going to France was to demand protection from the king, her brother, against the Spencers; that her departure was secret; and that she carried the young prince of Wales with her. All the documents which remain prove this to be groundless.

She left England by the desire of Edward; she succeeded in her mission, and a treaty was concluded the 31st of May, 1325. The Spencers were afraid of suffering Edward to pay the homage in person, and therefore persuaded him to give the duchy of Guyenne and county of Ponthieu to the prince of Wales; which was done on the 2nd and 10th of September, 1325. The prince of Wales embarked at Dover the 12th of the same month, to pay the homage, upward of six months after the passage of the queen his mother.

It is true, that when he arrived at the court of Charles the Fair, she prevailed on him to stay longer than Edward and his favorites wished. She exerted herself as much as possible to procure men and money, which she intended to employ in forcing the king, her husband, from the hands of the Spencers. For further particulars, which, however, do not seem to me very material to this part of the history, I must refer to the Memoir itself in vol. x. des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c.

* Was in mynde & will *to make his suster to be taken*, &c.—Lord Berners.

† Then ye queue was greatly abasshed (ebahie) and required hym all wepyng of his good counsaile. Then he sayed, &c.—Lord Berners.

the empire, where there are many noble lords who will greatly assist you, particularly William, earl of Hainault, and his brother, who are both great lords, and wise and loyal men, and much dreaded by their enemies."

The queen ordered her baggage to be made ready as secretly as she could; and having paid for everything, she quitted Paris, accompanied by her son, the earl of Kent, and all her company, and took the road to Hainault. After some days she came into the country of Cambray. When she found she was in the territories of the empire, she was more at her ease, passed through Cambresis, entered l'Ostrevant, in Hainault, and lodged at the house of a poor knight called Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who received her with great pleasure, and entertained her in the best manner he could; insomuch that afterwards the queen of England and her son invited the knight, his wife, and all his children, to England, and advanced their fortunes in different ways.*

The arrival of the queen in Hainault was soon known in the house of the good earl of Hainault, who was then at Valenciennes. Sir John, his brother, was also informed of the hour when she alighted at the house of the lord of Ambreticourt. This sir John, being at that time very young, and panting for glory like a knight-errant, mounted his horse, and, accompanied by a few persons, set out from Valenciennes for Ambreticourt, where he arrived in the evening, and paid the queen every respect and honor.

The queen was at that time very dejected, and made a very lamentable complaint to him of all her griefs; which affected sir John so much, that he mixed his own tears with hers, and said, "Lady, see here your knight, who will not fail to die for you, though every one else should desert you; therefore will I do everything in my power to conduct you and your son, and to restore you to your rank in England, by the grace of God, and the assistance of your friends in those parts; and I, and all those whom I can influence, will risk our lives on the adventure, for your sake; and we will have a sufficient armed force, if it please God, without fearing any danger from the king of France." The queen, who was sitting down, and sir John standing before her, rose, and would have cast herself at his feet, out of gratitude for the great favor he had just offered her; but the gallant sir John, rising up quickly, caught her in his arms, and said, "God forbid that the queen of England should ever do such a thing! Madam, be of good comfort to yourself and company, for I will keep my promise—and you shall come and see my brother, and the countess his wife, and all their fine children, who will be rejoiced to see you, for I have heard them say so." The queen answered, "Sir, I find in you more kindness and comfort than in all the world besides, and I give you five hundred thousand thanks for what you have said and offered me. If you will keep what you have promised me with so much courtesy, I and my son shall be for ever bound unto you, and we will put the kingdom of England under your management, as in justice it ought to be."

After this conversation, sir John de Hainault took leave for the night, and went to Douay, where he slept at the abbey. The next day, after having heard mass and taken some refreshment, he returned to the queen, who received him with great joy. She had finished her dinner, and was going to mount her horse, when sir John arrived. The queen of England quitted the castle of Ambreticourt, and, in taking leave of the knight and his lady, she thanked them for their good cheer, adding, that she trusted a time would come, when she and her son would not fail to remember their courtesy.

The queen set off, accompanied by sir John, lord of Beaumont, who with joy and respect conducted her to Valenciennes. Many of the citizens of the town came out to meet her, and received her with great humility. She was thus introduced to William, earl of Hainault, who, as well as the countess, received her very graciously. Many great feasts were given on this occasion, as no one knew better than the countess how to do the honors of her house. This earl William had at that time four daughters, Margaret, Philippa, Joan, and Isabella: the young king Edward paid more court and attention to Philippa than to any of the others; the young lady also conversed more frequently with him, and sought his company oftener than any of her sisters. The queen remained at Valenciennes during eight days, with the good earl and countess Joan of Valois; in the mean time the queen made every preparation for her departure, and sir John wrote very affectionate letters unto certain knights, and those companions in whom he put the most confidence, in Hainault, in Brabant, and Bohemia, beseeching them, from all the friendship that was between them, that they would accompany him in his expedition to England.

There were great numbers in these countries who were willing to go with him from the love they bore him, and many who refused, notwithstanding his request; and even sir John himself was much reproved by the earl, his brother, and by some of his council, because it seemed to them that this enterprise was of much hazard, on account of the great divisions and enmities which at that time subsisted among the great barons and commons in England; and also because the English are always very jealous of strangers, which made them doubt whether sir John de Hainault and his companions would ever return. But, notwithstanding all their blame and all their advice bestowed upon him, the gallant knight would not change his purpose, saying, that he could die but once; that the time was in the will of God; and that all true knights were bound to aid, to the utmost of their power, all ladies and damsels driven from their kingdoms comfortless and forlorn.

* His son was one of the first knights of the garter. See Ashmole's History of the Garter.

CHAPTER IX.

QUEEN ISABELLA ARRIVES IN ENGLAND WITH SIR JOHN DE HAINAULT.

Thus was sir John de Hainault strengthened and encouraged in his resolution. He earnestly entreated the Hainaulters to be at Halle, the Brabanters at Breda, the Hollanders (of whom he had a few) at Dordrecht, and the Bohemians at Gertruydenberg, by a fixed and limited day. The queen of England took leave of the earl and countess, thanking them much for the honor and entertainment they had shown her, and kissed them at her departure. The queen, her son, and suite, set off, accompanied by sir John, who with great difficulty had obtained his brother's permission. He said to him, when he took his leave, "My dear lord and brother, I am young, and believe that God has inspired me with a desire of this enterprise for my advancement; I also think and believe for certain, that this lady and her son have been driven from their kingdom wrongfully and sinfully. If it is for the honor and glory of God, and of the world, to comfort the afflicted and oppressed, how much more so is it, to help and succor one of such high birth, who is the daughter of a king descended from royal lineage, and to whose blood we ourselves are related! I would have preferred renouncing every expectation I have here, and gone and served God beyond seas, without ever returning, rather than this good lady should have left us without comfort and aid. If you will permit me to go, and grant me a willing leave, I shall do well, and thereby better accomplish my purpose."

When the good earl had heard his brother, and perceived the great desire he had for this enterprise, and that possibly it might turn out not only to his own honor, but to that of his descendants; he said to him, "Dear brother, God forbid that there should be any hindrance to your wish: therefore I give you leave in the name of God!" He then kissed him, and squeezed his hand, in sign of great affection.

Sir John set out, and went that night to Mons, in Hainault, where he slept, as did the queen of England. Why should I lengthen my story? They travelled in such a manner as to arrive at Dordrecht by the time limited for their friends to meet them. At that place they provided themselves with vessels of different sizes, and having embarked their cavalry, baggage, &c., they set sail, having first recommended themselves to the care of the Lord. In this expedition there were the following knights and lords of Hainault; first, sir John de Hainault, lord of Beaumont, sir Henry d'Antoing, sir Michael de Ligne, the lord of Gommegines, sir Percival de Semeries, sir Robert de Bailleuil, sir Sanxen de Bouissoit, the lords of Vertaing, de Pocelles, de Villers, de Hein, de Sars, de Boisiers, d'Ambreticourt, de Sermuel, sir Oulphart de Guistelle, and many other knights and esquires, all eager to serve their master. When they left the harbor of Dordrecht, the fleet, considering the force, made a beautiful appearance, from its good order, and from the weather being clear and temperate. They came opposite to the dykes of Holland the first tide after their departure. The next day they cast anchor and furled their sails, intending to follow the coast of Zealand, and to land at a port which they had descried; but they were prevented by a violent tempest, which drove them so far out of their course, that for two days they knew not where they were. In this God was very merciful to them; for, had they landed at the port they intended, they would have fallen into the hands of their enemies, who apprised of their coming, waited for them at that place to put them to death. At the end of two days the storm abated, and the sailors descrying England, made for it with great joy, and landed upon the sands, having neither harbor nor safe port. They remained there three days at a short allowance of provisions, while they disembarked their cavalry, and landed their baggage. They were ignorant in what part of England they were, whether that part of the country was friendly to them or not. The fourth day they began their march, putting themselves under the protection of God and St. George, having suffered much from cold and hunger in addition to their late fears, of which they had not yet divested themselves. They marched over hill and dale until they came to some villages; soon afterwards they saw a large monastery of black friars, called St. Hamons, where they refreshed themselves during three days.*

CHAPTER X.

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND BESIEGES HER HUSBAND IN THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

The news of her arrival being spread abroad, soon came to the knowledge of those lords by whose advice she had returned; they got themselves ready as soon as possible to join her son, whom they wished to have for their sovereign. The first who came was Henry, earl of Lancaster, surnamed Wryneck, brother to the earl Thomas, who had been beheaded, and father of the duke of Lancaster, who makes so conspicuous a figure in the following history. This earl Henry was attended by a great number of men-at-arms. After him

* P. Vir. says that this company landed in the county of Suffolk, and mentions a village called Orwel, in which they refreshed themselves. The Chronicle of Flanders calls it Norwell, and adds that it is a sea-port.—*Annotations from* Denis Sauvage's *edition.*

came, from different parts, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, and with such an armed force, that they no longer thought they had anything to apprehend. As they advanced, their forces were still increased; so that a council was called to consider if they should not march directly to Bristol, where the king and the two Spencers then were.

Bristol was, at that time, a large town, well inclosed, and situated on a good port. Its castle was very strong, and surrounded by the sea. The king, and sir Hugh Spencer, the elder, who was about ninety years of age, and sir Hugh Spencer, his son, the chief governor of the king, and adviser of all his evil deeds, shut themselves up in it. The earl of Arundel, who had married the daughter of the younger Spencer, was also there, as well as divers knights and esquires, attending the king's court.

The queen, with all her company, the lords of Hainault, and their suite, took the shortest road for that place; and in every town through which they passed were entertained with every mark of distinction. Their forces were augmenting daily until they arrived at Bristol, which they besieged in form. The king, and the younger Spencer, shut themselves up in the castle; old sir Hugh, and the earl of Arundel, remained in the town.

When the citizens saw the queen's force, and the affections of almost all England on her side, alarmed at their own perilous situation, they determined in council to surrender the town, on condition that their lives and property should be spared. They sent to treat with the queen on this subject; but neither she nor her council would consent to it, unless sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel were delivered up to her discretion, for she had come purposely to destroy them.

The citizens seeing they had no other means of saving the town, their lives, and their fortunes, acceded to the queen's terms, and opened their gates to her. She entered the town, accompanied by sir John de Hainault, with all her barons, knights, and esquires, who took their lodging therein; the others, for want of accommodation, remained without. Sir Hugh Spencer, and the earl of Arundel, were delivered to the queen to do with them as it should please her. Her children were also brought to her—John and her two daughters, found there in the keeping of sir Hugh Spencer. As she had not seen them a long time, this gave her great joy, as well as to all her party.

The king and the younger Spencer, shut up in the castle, were much grieved at what passed, seeing the whole country turned to the queen's party, and to Edward, his eldest son.

CHAPTER XI.

SIR HUGH SPENCER THE ELDER, AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL ARE ADJUDGED TO DEATH.

As soon as the queen and the barons were lodged at their ease, they made their approaches to the castle as near as they could. The queen then ordered sir Hugh Spencer the elder, and the earl of Arundel, to be brought before her eldest son, and the barons assembled, and said to them, that she and her son would see that law and justice should be done unto them according to their deeds. Sir Hugh replied, "Ah! madam, God grant us an upright judge and a just sentence; and that if we cannot have it in this world, we may find it in another!" Then rose up sir Thomas Wager, a good knight, wise and courteous, and marshal of the army: he read, from a paper in his hand, the charges against them, and then addressed himself to an old knight, seated on his right hand, to decide the punishment due to persons guilty of such crimes. This knight consulted with the other barons and knights, and reported it as their opinion, that they deserved death for the many horrible crimes with which they had been charged, and which they believed to be clearly proved; that they ought, from the diversity of their crimes, to suffer in three different manners: first, to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, and afterwards to be hung on a gibbet. Agreeably to this sentence, they were executed before the castle of Bristol, in the sight of the king, sir Hugh Spencer, and all those within it. This execution took place in October, on St. Denis's day, 1326.

CHAPTER XII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR HUGH SPENCER ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE FROM THE CASTLE OF BRISTOL.

This act of justice performed, the king and sir Hugh Spencer, seeing themselves so closely pressed, and being ignorant whether any succor was coming to them, embarked one morning with a few followers, in a small boat behind the castle, intending, if possible, to reach the principality of Wales: they were eleven or twelve days in this small boat, and notwithstanding every effort to get forward, the winds proved so contrary, by the will of God, that once or twice a day they were driven back within a quarter of a league of the castle whence they set out. At length sir Henry Beaumont, son of the viscount Beaumont of England, espying the vessel, embarked with some of his companions in a barge, and rowed so vigorously after it, that the king's boatmen, unable to escape, were overtaken. The king and sir Hugh Spencer were brought back to Bristol, and delivered to the queen and her son as prisoners. Thus ended this bold and gallant enterprise of sir John de Hainault and his companions, who, when they embarked at Dordrecht, amounted to no more than three hundred men-at-arms. By their means* queen Isabella recovered her kingdom, and destroyed her enemies; at which the whole nation, except some few who were attached to the Spencers, was greatly rejoiced.

When the king and sir Hugh Spencer were brought to Bristol by sir Henry Beaumont, the king was sent, by the advice of the barons and knights, to Berkeley castle, under a strong guard. Many attentions were paid to him, and proper people were placed near his person, to take every care of him, but on no account to suffer him to pass the bounds of the castle. Sir Hugh Spencer was delivered up to sir Thomas Wager, marshal of the army.

The queen and all the army set out for London, which is the principal city in England. Sir Thomas Wager caused sir Hugh Spencer to be fastened on the poorest and smallest horse he could find, clothed with a tabart, such as he was accustomed to wear. He led him thus in derision, in the suite of the queen, through all the towns they passed, where he was announced by trumpets and cymbals, by way of greater mockery, till they reached Hereford, where she and her suite were respectfully and joyfully received. The feast of All Saints was there celebrated with the greatest solemnity and magnificence, out of affection to her son, and respect to the noble foreigners that attended him.

CHAPTER XIII.

SIR HUGH SPENCER JUDGED AND EXECUTED.

When the feast was over, sir Hugh, who was not beloved in those parts, was brought before the queen and knights assembled; the charges were read to him—to which he made no reply; the barons and knights then passed the following sentence on him: first, that he should be drawn on a hurdle, attended by trumpets and clarions, through all the streets in the city of Hereford, and then conducted to the market-place, where all the people were assembled; at that place he was to be bound upon a high scaffold*, in order that he might be more easily seen by the people. First, his private parts were cut off, because he was deemed a heretic, and guilty of unnatural practices, even with the king, whose affections he had alienated from the queen by his wicked suggestions. His private parts were then cast into a large fire kindled close to him; afterwards, his heart was thrown into the same fire, because it had been false and traitorous, since he had by his treasonable counsels so advised the king, as to bring shame and mischief on the land, and had caused some of the greatest lords to be beheaded, by whom the kingdom ought to have been supported and defended; and had so seduced the king, that he could not nor would not see the queen, or his eldest son, who was to be their future sovereign, both of whom had, to preserve their lives, been forced to quit the kingdom. The other parts of sir Hugh thus disposed of, his head was cut off and sent to London.

After the execution, the queen and all the lords, with a great number of common people, set out for London. As they approached it, great crowds came out to meet them, and received both her and her son, as well as those who accompanied her, with great reverence.

The citizens presented handsome gifts to the queen, as well as to those of her suite, where they thought them best bestowed. After fifteen days passed in feasts and rejoicings, the companions of sir John de Hainault were impatient to return home, for they thought they had well performed their duty, and acquired great honor. They took leave of the queen and of the nobles of the country, who besought them to tarry a little longer, to consider what ought to be done with the king, then a prisoner; but they had so great a desire to return home, that entreaties were of no avail. When the queen and her council saw this, they addressed themselves to sir John de Hainault, and requested him to remain only till after Christmas, and that he would detain as many of his followers as possible. That gallant knight, wishing to leave nothing undone that depended on him, courteously complied with the queen's request. He detained as many of his companions as he could; but small was the number, the greater part refusing to stay on any account, which angered him much.

Though the queen and her council saw that no entreaties could prevail on his companions to stay, they showed them every mark of respect. The queen ordered a large sum of money to be given them for their expenses, besides jewels of high price, which she presented to each according to his rank; so that all were perfectly satisfied. She also paid to each, in ready money, the value of their horses that they chose to leave behind, according to their own estimation, without any demur.

Sir John and a few of his companions remained in England, according to the queen's desire, and the English paid to him and his companions all the respect in their power.

There was at that time a great number of countesses and other noble ladies and damsels attendant on the queen, as well as others who came there daily, who were not behindhand in their attentions to sir John, thinking the gallant knight very deserving of them.

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* Lord Berners adds "& the lordes in Inglande," not thinking it right that all the praise should be given to the Hainaulters.

* Tyed on high upon a ladder (eschelle.)—LORD BERNERS.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CORONATION OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

Most of the followers of sir John de Hainault having returned home, the lord of Beaumont however remaining, the queen gave leave to many of her household, as well as others, to return to their countries, except a few of the nobles, whom she kept with her in council, expressly ordering them to come back at Christmas to hold court, which at that time she intended to hold. They took leave, promising to be there at the time appointed, as well as many others who had notice of the feast. When Christmas came, she held the court above mentioned, and it was very fully attended by all the nobles and prelates of the realm, as well as by the principal officers of the chief cities and towns. In this assembly it was determined, that the kingdom could no longer remain without a sovereign, and that all the acts of the king, then in prison, proceeding from his own will, or the evil counsel of others, and ill government of the realm, should be stated in writing, and read aloud to all the nobles and sages of the country, in order that they might take advice, and resolve how, and by whom, the country in future should be governed: and when all the acts done by the king, or having his consent, as well as his conduct in private life, had been read, the chiefs of the assembly consulted together, and agreeing, from their own knowledge, that the greater part of what they had just heard read was true, that such a man was not worthy to be a king, neither to bear a crown, nor the title of king, they unanimously resolved, that his elder son and true heir, then present, should be crowned instead of the father; and that he should take good and loyal counsel, that the kingdom might be henceforward better governed. They ordered that his father should be kept a prisoner, having every attention paid to his rank, as long as he should live. This was done, as agreed to by the chief nobles of the country and the principal officers of the great towns.

Edward the Third.—From the Tomb at Westminster.

The young king Edward, since so fortunate in arms, was crowned with a royal diadem, in the palace of Westminister, on Christmas-day, 1326. He completed his sixteenth year on the festival of the conversion of St. Paul following.

At this coronation, sir John de Hainault, and all his companions, noble or otherwise, were much feasted, and many rich jewels were given to him and those that stayed with him. He and his friends remained during these grand feasts, to the great satisfaction of the lords and ladies that were there, until Twelfth-day, when he received information that the king of Bohemia, the earl of Hainault his brother, and many great lords of France, had ordered a tournament to be proclaimed at Condé: sir John, therefore, would not [illegible] withstanding their entreaties, from the great desire he had to attend this tournament, to see his brother and the other princes, especially that gallant and generous prince, Charles, king of Bohemia.

When the young king Edward, his mother, and the [illegible] that it was not possible to detain him any longer, they gave him permission to depart very much against their will. The king, by the advice of the queen, granted him an annuity of four hundred marks sterling, hereditable rent, to be held of him in fee, payable in the city of Bruges. He gave also to Philip de Chateaux, his principal esquire and chief counsellor, a hundred marks sterling of rent, to be paid at the same time and place. He likewise gave a considerable sum to defray his expenses, and those of his attendants, on their return home. He ordered many knights to accompany him to Dover, and that his passage should be free of all cost. He presented the countess de Clermont, sister to the count de Bar, [illegible] ladies who had accompanied the queen to England, with many rich jewels, on their taking leave.

Sir John and his company immediately embarked on board the vessels prepared for them, to be in time for the tournament. The king sent with him fifteen young and hardy knights, to attend him at this tournament, there to try their skill, and to get acquainted with the lords and knights that were to be there. Sir John and his company paid them all the attention in their power, and on this occasion tournayed at Condé.

CHAPTER XV.

ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, DEFIES HIS [illegible].

After the departure of sir John de Hainault, king Edward and his mother governed the kingdom, by the counsels of the good earl of Kent, and of sir Roger Mortimer, who possessed vast estates in England, to the amount of 7000*l.* sterling a-year. Both of them had been banished with the queen. They also took the advice of sir Thomas Wager, and of others, who were esteemed the wisest in the land. This, however, created much envy, which never dies in England, but reigns there as well as in other places. Thus passed the winter and Lent in perfect peace, until Easter; when it happened that Robert, king of Scotland, who, though brave, had suffered much in his wars with England, having often been defeated by king Edward, grandfather of the young king, being at this time very old, and afflicted with leprosy, hearing that the king had been taken prisoner and deposed, and his counsellors put to death, thought it a favorable opportunity to send a defiance to the present king, as yet a youth, whose barons were not on good terms with each other, and to attempt the conquest of some part of England. About Easter, 1327, he sent a defiance to king Edward and all the country, informing them that he would enter the kingdom, and burn it as far as he had done before after the defeat of Stirling, in which the English suffered so much.

When the young king and his council received this challenge, they published it throughout the kingdom, and ordered that all the nobles and others should come properly accoutred and accompanied, according to their different ranks, to York, the day of Ascension following. He also sent a considerable body of men-at-arms to guard the frontiers of Scotland, and messengers to sir John de Hainault, begging him very affectionately to assist and accompany him in this expedition, and to meet him at York on Ascension-day, with as many companions at arms as he could bring with him.

When the lord of Beaumont received this request, he dispatched letters and messengers into Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, or wherever he thought he could collect good companions, praying them to meet him, well equipped, at Wissan,* there to embark for England. Such as he sent to came, as well as others that heard of it, in the expectation of gaining as large sums as those who had accompanied him in his former expedition to England.

When the lord of Beaumont came to Wissan, he found vessels ready to transport him and his company. They embarked with their [illegible] as expeditiously as possible, and crossed over to Dover, whence, without halting, they continued their march till they reached York. The king, his mother, and a number of other lords and barons were there assembled, as well to advise as to attend the king. They waited at York the arrival of sir John, of the men-at-arms and archers, and of the common people from the different towns and cities. As they came in large bodies, they were quartered in the villages around York, at the distance of two or three leagues, and thence marched toward the borders.

Sir John and his company reached York by the appointed time, and were welcomed and magnificently entertained by the king, queen, and all the barons. The handsomest suburbs of the city were assigned them for their quarters, and a monastery of white friars was allotted for him and his household. In company with the knight, came from Hainault, the lord of Anghien called sir Walter sir Henry, lord of Antoing, the lord of Seignoles, and the following knights: sir Fastres de Reu, sir Robert de Bailleul, sir William de Bailleul, his brother, the lord of Havereth castellan of Mons, sir Alart de Briseil, sir Michael de Ligne, sir John de Montigny the younger and his brother, sir Sause de Boussac, sir Percival de Severies, the lords of Gommegines, de Biaurien and de Folien. There came also from Flanders; first, sir Hector de Vilains, sir John de Rhodes, sir Vaufflat de Guistelle, sir James de Guistelle, his brother, sir Gossuin de la Muelle, and the lord of Tarces. Many came from Brabant; as the lord of Dusle, sir Thierry de Vaucourt, sir Rasses de Gres, sir John de Cassebegne, sir John Pilestre, sir William de Courterelles, the three brothers de Harlebeque, sir Walter de Hautebergue, and several others. Of the Bohemians were, sir John de [illegible], Henry his brother, sir Henry de la Chappelle, sir Hugh de Hay, sir John de Limies, sir Lambert des Prez, sir Gilbert de Hers. There came also other volunteer knights out of Cambresis and Artois in hopes of advancement; so that sir John had five hundred good men in his company, well apparelled and richly mounted.

* Wissan is a town in the Boulonois, opposite the cliffs of Calais. It is described by Cæsar (*Portus Iccius* from which Cæsar embarked for Britain) as the nearest point of approach from Morinia to Britain. See the volume of the Chronicles [illegible]

After the feast of the Pentecost, sir William, who was afterwards duke of Juliers, by the death of his father, and sir Thierry de Hamberque, since earl of Los, arrived with a gallant company, to do honor to sir John de Hainault.

CHAPTER XVI.

A DISSENSION BETWEEN THE ARCHERS OF ENGLAND AND THE HAINAULTERS.

The king of England, in order to entertain and feast the strangers and their company, held a great court on Trinity-Sunday, at the house of the Black Friars, where he and the queen were lodged, and where each kept their household separate; the king with his knights, and the queen with her ladies, whose numbers were considerable. At this court the king had five hundred knights, and created fifteen new ones. The queen gave her entertainment in the dormitory, where at least sixty ladies, who she had invited to entertain sir John de Hainault and his suite, sat down at her table. There, might be seen a numerous nobility well served with plenty of strange dishes, so disguised that it could not be known what they were. There were also ladies most superbly dressed, who were expecting with impatience the hour of the ball, or a longer continuance of the feast: but it fell out otherwise; for, soon after dinner, a violent affray happened between some of the grooms of the Hainaulters, and the English archers, who were lodged with them in the suburbs. This increased so much that the archers collected together with their bows strung, and shot at them so as to force them to retreat to their lodgings. The greater part of the knights and their masters, who were still at court, hearing of the affray, hastened to their quarters. Those that could not enter them were exposed to great danger; for the archers, to the number of three thousand, aimed both at masters and servants. It was supposed that this affray was occasioned by the friends of the Spencers, and the earl of Arundel, in revenge for their having been put to death through the advice of sir John de Hainault. The English also, at whose houses the Hainaulters lodged, barricaded their doors and windows, and would not suffer them to enter: nevertheless, some of them got admittance at the back doors, and quickly armed themselves, but durst not advance into the street, for fear of the arrows. The strangers immediately sallied from behind their lodgings, breaking down the hedges and inclosures, until they came to a square, where they halted, waiting for their companions, till they amounted to a hundred under arms, and as many without, who could not gain admittance to their lodgings. United thus, they hastened to assist their friends, who were defending their quarters in the great street in the best manner they could: they passed through the hotel of the lord of Anghien, which had great gates before and behind open into the street, where the archers were dealing about their arrows in a furious manner. Many Hainaulters were wounded with them.*

Here we found the good knights, sir Fastres de Rue, sir Percival de Séveries, and sir Sause de Boussac, who, not getting admittance into their lodgings, performed deeds equal to those that were armed. They had in their hands great oaken staffs, taken from the house of a carter: they dealt their blows so successfully that none durst approach them, and, being strong and valiant knights, beat down, that evening, upward of sixty men. At last the archers were discomfited and put to flight. There remained on the ground dead three hundred men, or thereabouts, who were all from the bishoprick of Lincoln. I believe that God never showed greater grace or favor to any one than he did in that day to sir John de Hainault and his company; for these archers certainly meant nothing less than to murder and rob them, notwithstanding they were come upon the king's business. These strangers were never in such great peril as during the time they remained at York: nor were they in perfect safety until their return to Wissan; for, during their stay, the hatred of the archers was so greatly increased against them, that some of the barons and principal knights informed the lords of Hainault, that the archers and others of the commonalty of England, to the number of six thousand, had entered into an agreement to massacre and burn them and their followers in their lodgings either by night or day, and there was no one on the part of the king, or of the barons, that could venture to assist them. The Hainaulters, therefore, had no other resource left than to stand by each other, and to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They made many prudent regulations for their conduct, were frequently obliged to lie on their arms, to confine themselves to their quarters, and to have their armor ready, and their horses always saddled. They were also obliged to keep detachments continually on the watch in the fields and roads round the city, and to send scouts to the distance of half a league, to see if those people, of whom they had received information, were coming, with orders, that, if they perceived any bodies in motion advancing toward the town, they were immediately to return to the detachments in the fields, in order that they might be quickly mounted, and collected together under their own banner, at an appointed alarm-post. They continued in the suburbs four weeks in this distressing situation, and none, except a few of the great lords, who went to court to see the king and his council, or to the entertainments to hear the news, ventured to quit their quarters or their arms. If this unfortunate quarrel had not happened, they would have passed their time very pleasantly; for there was such plenty in the city and surrounding country, that during more than six weeks, while the king and the lords of England, with upward of forty thousand men-at-arms, remained there, the provisions were not dearer; for as much was to be bought for a penny as before their arrival. Good wines from Gascony, Alsace and the Rhine, were in abundance and reasonable; poultry and other such provisions at a low price. Hay, oats, and straw, of a good quality, and cheap, were delivered at their quarters.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE MANNERS OF THE SCOTS, AND HOW THEY CARRY ON WAR.

After remaining three weeks from the time of this affray, the king issued a proclamation by his marshals, that every one in the course of the ensuing week should be provided with carts, tents, and everything necessary for their march toward Scotland: when every one was properly equipped, the king and all his barons marched out of the city, and encamped six leagues from it. Sir John de Hainault and his company were encamped near the king, as a mark of distinction, and to prevent the archers from taking any advantage of him, the king and this first division remained there two days and two nights, waiting the arrival of money for his expenses, as well as to examine whether anything were wanting. On the third day the army dislodged, and before daybreak marched till they came to the city of Durham, a long day's journey, at the entrance of a country called Northumberland, which is wild, full of deserts and mountains, and poor in everything except cattle. The river Tyne runs through it, full of flints and large stones. Upon this river is situated the town called Newcastle upon Tyne. The lord marshal of England was there, with a numerous army to guard the country against the Scots. At Carlisle was a considerable body of Welsh, under the command of lord Hereford and lord Mowbray, to defend the passage of the Eden; for the Scots could not enter England without passing one of these rivers. The English could get no certain information of the Scots until they arrived at this place: they had passed the river so privately, that neither those of Carlisle nor those of Newcastle had the smallest knowledge of it. These towns are said to be distant from each other four-and-twenty English leagues.

The Scots are bold, hardy, and much inured to war. When they make their invasions into England, they march from twenty to four-and-twenty leagues without halting,* as well by night as day; for they are all on horseback, except the camp followers, who are on foot. The knights and esquires are well mounted on large bay horses, the common people on little galloways. They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland; neither do they carry with them any provisions or bread or wine; for their habits of sobriety are such, in time of war, that they will live for a long time on flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink the river-water without wine. They have, therefore, no occasion for pots or pans; for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken them off: and, being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal; behind the saddle, a little bag of oatmeal: when they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paste upon it, and make a thin cake, like a cracknel or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs: it is therefore no wonder, that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers. In this manner the Scots entered England, destroying and burning everything as they passed. They seized more cattle than they knew what to do with. Their army consisted of four thousand men-at-arms, knights and esquires, well mounted; besides twenty thousand men, bold and hardy, armed after the manner of their country, and mounted upon little hackneys, that are never tied up or dressed, but turned, immediately after the day's march, to pasture on the heath or in the fields. This army was commanded by two valiant captains. The king of Scotland himself, who had been very brave, yet being old, and laboring under a leprosy, appointed for one that gallant prince, so renowned in arms, the earl of Moray, who bore upon his banner argent three pillows gules; the other was sir James Douglas, esteemed the bravest and most enterprising knight in the two kingdoms: he bore for arms azure on a chef argent. These two lords were the greatest barons, and most renowned for their prowess and other feats of arms.

* In Leland's Collectanea, there is a different account of this affray. Part second of volume first, p. 307.

" Anno Domini 1328, Hainaldi apud Eboracum combustio et dedecoratio hospitalis, fere unam perdiem quæ vocatur S. Nicholai in Ouse gate, propter concubinam dominæ inter burgenses et milites, quia reperiuntur uxores burgensium et filiæ et ancillæ, per eorum suburbia civitatis. Burgenses vero suburbia adjacentia de Ebor. tecum consentiunt cum Hainaldis contra belligeros et exercitum populi de tota armata gente de Marris *in Septembri* ante solis occasum Westeangate dormiente tota civitate simul cum eis. De eccasione rumoris de Hainaldis 327. Anglici enim ob latitudinem subsequentium et obscuritatem dictorum sequentis. De Anglicis interfectis 242. Scotorum autem, ut dicitur, illo die Hainaldi interfecti sunt 136."

* Wherever English leagues are mentioned, lord Berners translates them, and probably correctly, miles; it is incredible that a body of men armed at all points, should travel from sixty to eighty miles a day on horseback, which the Scots must have done if we are here to read leagues.—Ed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

KING EDWARD'S FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCOTS.

When the English king and all his host had seen the smoke of the fires, which the Scots had made, the alarm was immediately sounded, and every one ordered to dislodge and to follow his banners: they all, therefore, withdrew to the fields, armed for immediate combat. Three battalions of infantry were formed; each battalion having two wings, composed of five hundred men-at-arms, who were to remain on horseback.

It was said, that there were eight thousand men-at-arms, knights and esquires, and thirty thousand men armed and equipped, half of whom were mounted on small hackneys; the other half were countrymen on foot, sent by the towns and paid by them. There were also twenty-four thousand archers on foot, besides all the crew of followers of the army. Thus being drawn up, they marched in battle array after the Scots, toward the place from whence the smoke came, until it was night. The army halted in a wood, by the side of a small river, to rest themselves, and to wait for their baggage and provision.

Edward the Third's first Expedition against the Scots.—From an illuminated Froissart.

The Scots had burnt and pillaged all the country within five leagues* of the place where they were, without the English being able to come up with them.

At daybreak the next morning every one was armed, and, with banners displayed, marched in good order over mountains and through valleys, but could never approach the Scots, who were advanced before them; for there were so many marshes and dangerous places, that it was ordered, under pain of death, that no one should quit his banner, except the marshals. When it drew toward night, the cavalry, and those who attended the baggage, more especially the infantry, were so fatigued, that they could march no further.

The lords saw that they followed the Scots to no purpose; and that, if the Scots were willing to wait for them, they might post themselves on some mountain, or in some dangerous pass, where they could not be attacked but at extreme disadvantage.

The king then ordered the marshals to encamp the army there for the night, in order that they might consider what was to be done the next day. The army lay in a wood upon the banks of a small river, and the king was lodged in a poor monastery hard by. The men-at-arms, horses and baggage, were much fatigued. When each had chosen a spot of ground to encamp himself on, the lords retired apart, to consider what would be the best method to force the Scots to battle, considering the situation of the country in which they were. It appeared to them, that the Scots were sheering off to their own country, burning and pillaging as they went, and that it would be impossible to fight with them in these mountains, without a manifest disadvantage, supposing they should overtake them, which they could not; but, as they must repass the Tyne, it was determined in full council, that if they were to get themselves ready about midnight, and hasten their march next day, they might cut off the passage of the river, and force them to fight to a disadvantage, or remain shut up prisoners in England.

After this resolution had been entered into, each retired to his quarters, to eat and drink what he could find there; and they desired their companions to be silent, in order that the trumpets might be heard: at the first sounding of which, the horses were to be saddled and made ready; at the second, every one was to arm himself without delay; and, at the third, to mount their horses immediately, and join their banners. Each was to take only one loaf of bread with him, slung behind him after the manner of hunters. All unnecessary arms, harness, and baggage, were ordered to be left behind, as they thought they should for a certainty give battle the next day, whatever might be the consequences, whether they should win or lose all. As it had been ordered so was it executed, and all were mounted and ready about midnight. Some had but little rest, notwithstanding they had labored hard the day before. Day began to appear as the battalions were assembled at their different posts: the banner-bearers then hastened on over heaths, mountains, valleys, rocks, and many dangerous places, without meeting any level country. On the summits of the mountains, and in the valleys, were large marshes and bogs, and of such extent, that it was a miracle many were not lost in them; for each galloped forward without waiting for either commander or companion: those who fell into them found difficulty in getting any to help them. Many banners remained there, and several baggage and sumpter horses never came out again.

In the course of the day, there were frequent cries of alarm, as if the foremost ranks were engaged with the enemy; which those behind believing to be true, they hurried forward as fast as possible, over rocks and mountains, sword in hand, with their helmets and shields prepared for fighting, without waiting for father, brother, or friend. When they had hastened about half a league toward the place from which the noise came, they found themselves disappointed, as the cries proceeded from some herds of deer or other wild beasts, which abounded in these heaths and desert places, and which fled before the banners, pursued by the shouts of the army, which made them imagine it was something else.

In this manner, the young king of England, agreeably to the advice of his council, rode all that day over mountains and deserts, without keeping to any fixed road, or finding any town. About vespers, and sorely fatigued, they reached the Tyne, which the Scots had already crossed, though the English supposed they had it still to repass. Accordingly, they went over the ford, but with great difficulty, owing to the large stones that were in the river.

When they had passed over, each took up his lodging on its banks as he could; and at this time the sun was set. There were few among them that had any hatchets, wedges, or other instruments, to cut down trees, to make themselves huts; many of them had lost their companions, and even the foot had remained behind, not knowing what road to ask for. Those who were best acquainted with the country said, that they had travelled that day twenty English leagues* on a gallop, without stopping, except to arrange the furniture of their horses, when it had been loosened by the violent exercise. They were forced to lie this night on the banks of the river in their armor, and at the same time hold their horses by their bridles, for there was not any place where they could tie them. Thus the horses had nothing to eat, neither oats nor any forage; and the men had only their loaf that was tied behind them, which was wetted by the sweat of the horses. They had no other beverage but the water of the river, except some great lords, who had bottles among their baggage: nor had they fire or light, not having anything to make them of; except some few lords, who had some torches, which they had brought on sumpter horses. In such a melancholy manner did they pass the night, without taking the saddles from off the horses, or disarming themselves. And when the long-expected day appeared, when they hoped to find some comfort for themselves and horses, or to fight the Scots, which they very much wished for, to get out of their disagreeable situation, it began to rain, and continued all the day, insomuch that the river was so increased by noon, that no one could pass over, nor could any one be sent to know where they were, or to get forage and litter for their horses, or bread and wine for their own sustenance; they were therefore obliged to fast another night. The horses had nothing to subsist on but the leaves of the trees and grass. They cut down with their swords young trees, and tied their horses to them. They also cut down brushwood to make huts for themselves.

Some poor peasants, coming that way in the afternoon, informed them they were fourteen leagues from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and eleven from Carlisle, and that there was not a town nearer whence they could get any accommodation. When this intelligence was

* Lord Berners again translates "lieues" miles. Mr. Johnes's translation does not give so lively an idea of the audacity of the Scots, who destroyed the country as it were in bravado, as that of Lord Berners; his words are, "*And all that day* [et tout le jour] the Scottis had brent, and wasted and pilled ye country about within v myle of the Inglysshe oste, but the Inglysshmen coulde not overtake them [illegible] they coulde neur aproche nere to the Scottis, who went wasting the countrey before them."—Ed.

* Berners has "xxiv English miles," and D. Sauvage's edition, "*vingt-huit* lieues Anglesche."—Ed.

brought to the king and the principal lords, they directly sent off messengers with horses to bring them provision, and they caused a proclamation to be made in the king's name in Newcastle, that whoever wished to get money, he had only to bring provision, wine, &c., for which he would be instantly paid, and a safe conduct granted him. They were also informed, that they should not move from their present quarters, until they had information where the Scots were. The next day the messengers which the lords had sent for provision returned about noon with what they had been able to procure for them and their households; but it was not much: and with them came people of the country, to take their advantage of the situation of the army, and brought with them on mules and small horses bread badly baked, in baskets, and poor thin wine, in large barrels, and other kind of provision to sell, with which the army was tolerably refreshed, and their discontent appeased. This was the case during the seven days that they remained on the banks of this river, among the mountains, expecting the return of the Scots, who knew no more of the English than they did of them.

Thus they had remained for three days and three nights without bread, wine, candle, oats, or any other forage: and they were afterwards for four days obliged to buy badly baked bread, at the price of sixpence the loaf, which was not worth more than a penny, and a gallon of wine for six groats, scarcely worth sixpence. Hunger, however, was still felt in the camp, notwithstanding this supply; and frequent quarrels happened from their tearing the meat out of each other's hands. To add to their unpleasant situation, it had rained all the week, by which all their saddles and girths were rotted, and the greater part of the cavalry were worn down. They had not wherewithal to shoe their horses that wanted it; nor had they anything to clothe themselves, or preserve them from the rain and cold, but their jerkins or armor, and the green huts: nor had they any wood to burn, except what was so green and wet as to be of small service.

Having continued for a whole week, without hearing any tidings of the Scots, who they imagined must pass that way, or very near it, in their return home, great murmurs arose in the army: and many laid the fault on those who had given such advice, adding, that it was done in order to betray the king and his host. Upon which, the lords of council ordered the army to make ready to march, and cross the river seven leagues higher up, where the ford was better; and it was proclaimed, that every one was to be in readiness to march the next day, and to follow his banners. There was another proclamation made, that whoever chose to take pains and find out where the Scots were, and should bring certain intelligence of it to the king, the messenger of such news should have one hundred pounds a-year in land, and be made a knight by the king himself. When this was made known among the host, many knights and esquires, to the number of fifteen or sixteen, eager to gain such rewards, passed the river with much danger, ascended the mountains, and then separated, each taking different routes.

The next day the army dislodged; marched tolerably well, considering that they were but ill clothed; and exerted themselves so much, that they repassed the river, though with much danger, from its being swollen by the rains. Many were well washed, and many drowned. When they had crossed over, they remained there for that night, finding plenty of forage in the fields near to a small village, which the Scots had burnt as they passed. The next day they marched over hill and dale till about noon, when they came to some burnt villages, and some fields where there were corn and hay, so that the host remained there for that night. The third day they marched in the same manner; but many were ignorant where they were going, nor had they any intelligence of the enemy.

They continued their route the fourth day in this order; when, about three o'clock, an esquire,* galloping up hastily to the king, said, "Sire, I bring you news of the Scots: they are three leagues from this place, lodged on a mountain, where they have been this week, waiting for you. They knew no more where you were than you did of them: and you may depend on this as true; for I approached so near to them, that I was taken and led a prisoner to their army, before their chiefs. I informed them where you were, and that you were seeking them, to give them battle. The lords gave me up my ransom, and my liberty, when I informed them that you had promised one hundred pounds a-year to whoever should first bring intelligence of them, upon condition that he rested not until he brought you this information; and I now tell you that you will find them in the place I have mentioned, as eager to meet you in battle as yourself can be." As soon as the king heard this news, he ordered his army to be prepared, and turned his horses to feed in the fields, near to a monastery of white monks, which had been burnt, and which was called in king Arthur's time Blanche Land. Then the king confessed himself, and each made his preparations according to his abilities. The king ordered plenty of masses to be said, to housel such as were devoutly inclined. He assigned one hundred pounds value of land, yearly, to the esquire, according to his promise, and made him a knight with his own hands, in the presence of the whole army. When they had taken some repose, and breakfasted, the trumpets sounded; and all being mounted, the banners advanced as the young knight led them on; but each battalion marched by itself in regular array, over hill and dale, keeping their ranks according to order. Thus they continued marching, when about twelve o'clock they came within sight of the Scots army.

As soon as the Scots perceived them, they issued forth from their huts on foot, and formed three good battalions, upon the descent of the mountain on which they lodged. A strong rapid river* ran at the foot of this mountain, which was so full of large rocks and stones, that it was dangerous to pass it in haste. If the English had passed this river, there was not room between it and the mountain for them to draw up their line of battle. The Scots had formed their two first battalions on the two sides of the mountain, and on the declivity of the rock, which was not easy to climb to attack them: but they themselves were posted so as to annoy them with stones, if they crossed the river; which if the English effected, they would not be able to return.

When the English lords perceived the disposition of the Scots, they ordered their men to dismount, take off their spurs, and form three battalions as before. Many new knights were made; and, when the battalions were formed, some of the chief lords brought the young king on horseback along the lines, to encourage the men. The king spoke most graciously to all, and besought them to take every pains to do him honor and preserve their own. He ordered, under pain of death, that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals, or move without orders. Shortly afterwards, the battalions were commanded to advance toward the enemy in slow time, keeping their ranks. This was done; and each battalion moved on a considerable space, and came to the ascent of the mountain, where the Scots were posted. This manœuvre was intended in order to see whether the enemy would retire or make any movement; but neither one nor other was to be perceived: and the armies were so near each other, that they could see the arms on their shields. The army was ordered to halt to consider what was to be done; and some companions were mounted to skirmish with the enemy, and to examine the passage of the river and their appearance more clearly. They sent heralds to make an offer of retiring on the morrow, if they would pass the river, and fight upon the plain; or, if the Scots would not consent to this, that they would do the same.

When the Scots received this proposal, the chiefs retired to counsel, and returned for answer by the heralds, that they would do neither the one nor the other; that the king and his barons saw that they were in his kingdom, and had burnt and pillaged wherever they had passed; and that, if it displeased the king, he might come and amend it; for they would tarry there as long as it pleased them. When the council of the king of England heard the answer, he ordered it to be proclaimed, that each should take up his quarters where he was, without quitting the ground or his arms; they therefore lay that night very uncomfortably upon the hard ground, among rocks and stones, with their armor on; nor could they get any stakes for the purpose of tying their horses, or procure either litter, or forage, or any bushes to make fires.

The Scots, seeing the English thus take up their quarters, ordered part of the army to remain where the battalions had been drawn up; and the remainder retired to their huts, where they made marvellously great fires, and, about midnight such a blasting and noise with their horns, that it seemed as if all the great devils from hell had been come there. Thus were they lodged this night, which was the night of the feast of St. Peter, the beginning of August, 1327, until the next day, when the lords heard mass; afterwards, every one armed himself, and the battalions were formed as on the preceding day. When the Scots saw this, they came and lodged themselves on the same ground they had done before; and the two armies remained thus drawn up until noon, when the Scots made no movement to come toward the English, nor did these on their part make any advances, for they dared not to attempt it with so great disadvantage. Several companions passed the river on horseback, as did some of the foot, to skirmish with the Scots, who also quitted their battalions to meet them, and many on each side were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. In the afternoon the lords ordered every one to retire to their quarters, as it seemed to them that they were drawn up to no purpose; in this manner they remained for three days. The Scots, on their side, never quitted the mountain; but there were continued skirmishes on both sides, and many killed and taken prisoners; in the evenings they made large fires, and great noises with their horns and with shouting. The intention of the English lords was to keep the Scots besieged there; for, as they could not well fight with them, they hoped to starve them: they knew from the prisoners that they had neither bread, wine, salt, nor other provision, except cattle, of which they had plenty, that they had seized in the country—of these they might eat, indeed without bread, which would not be very palatable. But they had some little flour to make such cakes as have been before mentioned, and which some of the English use on their inroads beyond the borders.

The fourth day, in the morning, the English looked for the Scots on the mountain, but saw none of them, for they found they had decamped secretly at midnight. Scouts of horse and of foot were immediately dispatched through the mountains to know what was become of them; they found them about four o'clock posted upon

* In Rymer is an order for Thomas de Rokesby to receive half a mark at Michaelmas and Easter, £13 at the Exchequer, until he was provided with £10 a-year for his life. Signed by the king at Lincoln, Sept. 8, 1327.

* The Wear.

another mountain, much stronger than that they had left, upon the same river, near a large wood, to be more concealed, and in order more privately to advance or retreat at pleasure.

As soon as this was known, the English had orders to dislodge, and to march in battle array toward the place where the enemy was posted; and they encamped on a mountain opposite. They formed their battalions, and seemed as if they meant to advance to them. The Scots no sooner perceived this, than they sallied out of their quarters, and came and posted themselves by the side of the river, directly in front; but they were unwilling to advance or come nearer. The English could not attack them in such a situation without great disadvantage and loss; they remained full eighteen days in this situation upon this mountain, whence the lords sent frequent heralds to the Scots, to offer to give them full place of plain ground to draw up their battalions, or else they would accept the same from them; but they would not agree to either of these proposals.

The two armies had little comfort during the time they remained in this position. The first night* that the English were posted on this second mountain, the lord James Douglas took with him about two hundred men-at-arms, and at midnight crossed the river, at such a distance from the camp that he was not noticed, and fell upon the English army most valiantly, shouting, "Douglas for ever! Ye shall die, ye thieves of England!" He and his companions killed more than three hundred; and he galloped up to the king's tent, and cut two or three of its cords, crying, at the same time, "Douglas! Douglas for ever!" when he set off; and in his retreat, he lost some of his followers, but not many: he returned to his friends on the mountain. Nothing more of the sort was attempted from that time; but the English in future kept a strong and attentive guard, for they were fearful of another attack from the Scots, and had placed sentinels and scouts to give notice of the smallest movement of the enemy; the chief lords also slept in their armor There were frequent skirmishes, and many lives lost on both sides. The twenty-fourth day from the time they had received intelligence of the enemy, a Scots knight was taken prisoner, who sore against his will gave an account to the lords of the state of the enemy. He was so closely examined, that he owned his lords had given orders that morning for every one to be armed by vespers, and follow the banner of lord James Douglas; that it was to be kept secret; but he was not, for a certainty, acquainted with their intentions further. Upon this the English lords held a council; and they judged, from the information of the Scots knight, that the enemy might perhaps come in full force at night to attack them on both sides at once, and, from their sufferings by famine, which they could endure no longer, make it a very bloody and doubtful combat. The English formed into three battalions, and posted themselves before their quarters, on three separate spots of ground; they made large fires, in order to see better, and left their pages in their quarters to take care of their horses. They remained under arms all the night, and each was placed under his own standard or banner.

Toward daybreak two Scots trumpeters fell in with one of the patrols, who took them, and brought them before the lords of the council, to whom they said, "My lords, why do you watch here? You are losing your time; for we swear, by our heads, that the Scots are on their march home since midnight, and are now four or five leagues off—and they left us behind, that we might give you the information." The English said, that it would be in vain to follow them, as they could never overtake them; but, fearing deceit, the lords ordered the trumpeters to close confinement, and did not alter the position of the battalions until four o'clock. When they saw that the Scots were really gone, they gave permission for each to retire to his quarters, and the lords held a council to consider what was to be done. Some of the English, however, mounted their horses, passed the river, and went to the mountain which the Scots had quitted, and found more than five hundred large cattle, which the enemy had killed, as they were too heavy to carry with them, and too slow to follow them, and they wished not to let them fall into the hands of the English alive. They found there also more than three hundred caldrons, made of leather with the hair on the outside, which were hung on the fires full of water and meat, ready for boiling. There were also upward of a thousand spits with meat on them, prepared for roasting; and more than ten thousand pairs of old worn-out shoes, made of undressed leather, which the Scots had left there. There were found five poor English prisoners, whom the Scots had bound naked to the trees, and some of them had their legs broken; they untied them, and sent them away, and then returned to the army, just as they were setting out on their march to England, by orders from the king and council.

They followed all that day the banners of the marshals, and halted at an early hour in a beautiful meadow, where there was plenty of forage for their horses; and much need was there of it, for they were so weakened by famine, that they could scarce move.† The next day they decamped betimes, and took up their quarters still earlier, at a large monastery within two leagues of Durham. The king lay there that night, and the army in the fields around it, where they found plenty of grass, pulse, and corn. They remained there quiet the next day; but the king and lords went to see the church of Durham. The king paid his homage to the church and the bishopric, which he had not before done, and gave largesses to the citizens.

They found there all their carriages and baggage, which they had left in a wood thirty-two days before, at midnight, as has been related. The inhabitants of Durham finding them there, had brought them away at their own cost, and placed them in empty barns. Each carriage had a little flag attached to it, that it might be known. The lords were much pleased at finding them again.

The king and nobles reposed two days at Durham, and the army in its environs, for there would not have been sufficient room to lodge them in that city. They had all their horses well shod, and set out on their march toward York. They made such haste, that in three days they arrived there, and found the queen mother, who received the king and nobles with great joy, as did all the ladies of the court and city. The king disbanded the army, and gave permission for every one to return to his home, and made many acknowledgments to the earls, barons, and knights, for the services they had rendered him by their advice and prowess. He kept near his person sir John de Hainault and his company, who were much feasted by the queen and all the ladies. The knights made out their accounts for horses, which had been ruined or lost, or had died, and gave them in to the council; and also a statement of their own expenses, which sir John de Hainault took upon him as his own debt toward his followers, for the king and his ministers could not immediately collect such a sum as their horses amounted to; but he gave them sufficient for their own expenses, and to carry them back to their own country.‡ They were afterwards all paid within the year the full amount of their losses.

When the Hainaulters had received their demand for horses, they purchased small hackneys to ride more at their ease, and sent their carriages, sumpter horses, trunks, and servants, on board of two ships, which the king had provided for them, and which landed them at Sluys, in Flanders. They took leave of the king, queen, the earls of Kent and Lancaster, and of all the barons, who paid them many honors; and the king had them escorted by twelve knights and two hundred men-at-arms, for fear of the archers, of whom they were not well assured, as they must pass through the bishopric of Lincoln. Sir John and all his company set out, escorted as above, and by easy journeys came to Dover, where they embarked on board vessels ready provided for them. The English who had accompanied them took their leave and returned to their homes. The Hainaulters arrived at Wissan, where they tarried two days, in order to deck out their horses and the remains of their armor; during which time sir John de Hainault and some other knights, went on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. They returned together to Hainault, when they separated and each went to his own house; but Sir John went to his brother, who was at that time at Valenciennes: he was received by him with great joy, as he was much beloved by him. The lord of Beaumont then related to him all the above mentioned history.

CHAPTER XIX.

KING EDWARD MARRIES THE LADY PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT.

SHORTLY afterwards, the king, queen, the earl of Kent, his uncle, earl Henry of Lancaster, the earl of Mortimer, and all the barons who were of the council, sent a bishop,† two knights bannerets,‡ and two able clerks, to sir John de Hainault, to beg of him to be the means that the young king, their lord, should marry; and that the count of Hainault and Holland would send over one of his daughters, for he would love her more dearly on his account, than any other lady. The

* The first nyght that the englisshe ost was thus lodged on the second moutaigne, the lorde William Duglas toke with hym aboute .cc. men-at-armes, & past the ryver farre afro the oste, so that he was not parceyued: and sodenly he brake into the ongylysshe oste about mydnyght, crying, "Duglas! Duglas! we chall all dye, tnemys of Inglande." And he slewe or he seased of many some of their lordes, and some slan in their tentes, and he *strake his horse with the spurres so came to the kynges owne tentes*, alwayes crying Duglas, and stake a sondre all or the cordes of the kyng tent, & so departed.—L. BERNERS.

† Lord Berners here adds, "The englisshe cronycle sayth that the scottis had been fought withall if sir Roger Mortymer a lorde of Inglande had not betraied the kyng, for he toke mede and money of the scottis, to thentent they myght departe pryuely by nyghte unbeknowne with all."—ED.

‡ In Rymer there is an order from king Edward to his treasurer to pay sir John de Hainault seven thousand pounds, in part of fourteen thousand, the subsidy for himself and companions, dated York, June 28, 1327. In the same year, dated July 4, William d'Irland is ordered to provide carriages for sir John de Hainault and his company. This order, &c. is to continue in force until the following Michaelmas. There is another order to the treasurer from York, August 20, 1327, to pay sir John de Hainault on his arrival in London, four thousand pounds, on account of his loss in horses, and to pawn the jewels in the Tower, if there were not a sufficiency of money for the purpose. A passport, of the same date, commanding none to do any harm, &c. to sir John de Hainault. An order, signed by the king at Evesham, June 28, 1328, for seven thousand pounds to sir John de Hainault, as part of the fourteen thousand pounds.

† Dr. Roger Northborough, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.—ASHMOLE.

‡ On knights bannerets, translated from a manuscript which was in the Lamoignon library, but is now at Hafod: vol. iv. p. 227, first part:

"Knights bannerets were formerly gentlemen of great power, by landed possessions, and vassals, of whom they formed companies in times of war: they were called bannerets from their having the right of bearing banners.

"It was necessary, in order to obtain the prerogative, to be not only a gentleman by name and arms, but also to have for vassals gentlemen who would follow their banners to the wars, under the command of the banneret.

"Ducange cites an ancient manuscript ceremonial, which points out the manner of making a knight banneret, and the number of men he was to have follow him.

"Knights bannerets, according to father Daniel, do not appear in our history before Philip Augustus; they continued until the formation of companies of ordonnance by Charles the Seventh, and from that period there were no longer any banners or knights bannerets.

lord of Beaumont feasted and paid many honors to these messengers and commissioners from the English king. He then took them to Valenciennes, where his brother received them right honorably, and gave them such sumptuous entertainments as would be tiresome to relate. When they had told the cause of their mission, the count said he gave many thanks to the king, queen, and the lords by whose counsel they were sent thither, to do him so much honor; and who on such an occasion had sent such able men that he most willingly complied with their request, if the pope and the holy church of Rome were agreeable to the demand.

This answer was fully satisfactory to them, and they immediately dispatched two of the knights and the clerks to the pope at Avignon, to entreat his dispensation and consent to this marriage; for without the pope's dispensation it could not be done, on account of their near relationship, being in the third degree connected, for their two mothers were cousins-german, being the issue of two brothers. As soon as they came to Avignon their business was done, for the pope and the college gave their consent most benignantly.

When these gentlemen were returned to Valenciennes from Avignon with all their bulls, this marriage was directly settled and consented to on each side, and immediate preparations were made for the dress and equipage of such a lady, who was to be queen of England. She was then married by virtue of a procuration, which the king of England had sent thither, and went on board a ship at Wissan, and landed at Dover with all her suite. Her uncle, sir John de Hainault, conducted her to London, where she was crowned; and there were great crowds of the nobility, and feastings, tournaments, and sumptuous entertainments every day, which lasted for three weeks.*

After some days sir John took his leave, and set out with his company richly loaded with jewels, which had been presented to them from different quarters. But few of our countrymen remained with the young queen; among whom was a youth called Wantelet de Manny, to attend on and carve for her, who performed afterwards so many gallant deeds of arms, in such various different places, that they are not to be counted.

CHAPTER XX.

ROBERT, KING OF SCOTLAND, DIES.

After the Scots had in the night quitted the mountain, where the young king Edward and the nobles of England had held them besieged, as you have before heard, they marched twenty-two leagues from that desert country without halting, and crossed the Tyne pretty near to Carlisle, where by the orders of the chiefs all disbanded, and went to their own homes. Shortly afterwards some of the lords and barons so earnestly solicited the king of England, that a truce was agreed on between the two kings for three years.

During this truce, it happened that king Robert of Scotland, who had been a very valiant knight, waxed old, and was attacked with so severe an illness,† that he saw his end was approaching; he therefore summoned together all the chiefs and barons, in whom he most confided, and, after having told them, that he should never get the better of this sickness, he commanded them, upon their honor and loyalty, to keep and preserve faithfully and entire the kingdom for his son David, and obey him and crown him king when he was of a proper age, and to marry him with a lady suitable to his station.

He after that called to him the gallant lord James Douglas, and said to him, in presence of the others, "My dear friend lord James Douglas, you know that I have had much to do, and have suffered many troubles, during the time I have lived, to support the rights of my crown; at the time that I was most occupied, I made a vow, the non-accomplishment of which gives me much uneasiness—I vowed, that, if I could finish my wars in such a manner, that I might have quiet to govern peaceably, I would go and make war against the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the adversaries of the Christian faith. To this point my heart has always leaned; but our Lord was not willing, and gave me so much to do in my lifetime, and this last expedition has lasted so long, followed by this heavy sickness, that, since my body cannot accomplish what my heart wishes, I will send my heart in the stead of my body to fulfil my vow. And, as I do not know any one knight so gallant or enterprising, or better formed to complete my intentions than yourself, I beg and entreat of you, dear and special friend, as earnestly as I can, that you would have the goodness to undertake this expedition for the love of me, and to acquit my soul to our Lord and Saviour; for I have that opinion of your nobleness and loyalty, that if you undertake it, it cannot fail of success—and I shall die more contented; but it must be executed as follows:

"I will, that as soon as I shall be dead, you take my heart from my body, and have it well embalmed; you will also take as much money from my treasury as will appear to you sufficient to perform your journey, as well as for all those whom you may choose to take with you in your train; you will then deposit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, where he was buried, since my body cannot go there. You will not be sparing of expense—and provide yourself with such company and such things as may be suitable to your rank—and wherever you pass, you will let it be known, that you bear the heart of king Robert of Scotland, which you are carrying beyond seas by his command, since his body cannot go thither."

All those present began bewailing bitterly; and when the lord James could speak, he said,

"Gallant and noble king, I return you a hundred thousand thanks for the high honor you do me, and for the valuable and dear treasure with which you intrust me; and I will most willingly do all that you command me with the utmost loyalty in my power; never doubt it, however I may feel unworthy of such a high distinction."

The king replied, "Gallant knight, I thank you—you promise it me then?"

"Certainly, sir, most willingly," answered the knight. He then gave his promise upon his knighthood.

The king said, "Thanks be to God! for I shall now die in peace, since I know that the most valiant and accomplished knight of my kingdom will perform that for me which I am unable to do for myself."

Soon afterwards the valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, departed this life, on the 7th of November, 1337. His heart was embalmed, and his body buried in the monastery of Dunfermline. Shortly after died also the noble earl of Moray, who was one of the most gallant and powerful princes in Scotland; he bore for arms, argent, three pillows gules.*

Early in the spring, the lord James Douglas having made provision of everything that was proper for his expedition, embarked at the port of Montrose, and sailed directly for Sluys in Flanders, in order to learn if any one were going beyond the sea to Jerusalem, that he might join companies. He remained there twelve days, and would not set his foot on shore, but staid the whole time on board, where he kept a magnificent table, with music of trumpets and drums, as if he had been the king of Scotland. His company consisted of one knight banneret, and seven others of the most valiant knights of Scotland, without counting the rest of his household. His plate was of gold and silver, consisting of pots, basins, porringers, cups, bottles, barrels, and other such things. He had likewise twenty-six young and gallant esquires of the best families in Scotland to wait on him; and all those who came to visit him were handsomely served with two sorts of wine, and two sorts of spices—I mean those of a certain rank. At last, after staying at Sluys twelve days, he heard that Alphonso, king of Spain, was waging war against the Saracen king of Granada. He considered that if he should go thither he should employ his time and journey according to the late king's wishes; and when he should have finished there he would proceed further to complete that with which he was charged. He made sail therefore toward Spain, and landed first at Valencia; thence he went straight to the king of Spain, who was with his army on the frontiers, very near the Saracen king of Granada.

It happened, soon after the arrival of the lord James Douglas, that the king of Spain issued forth into the fields, to make his approaches nearer the enemy; the king of Granada did the same; and each king could easily distinguish the other's banners, and they both began to set their armies in array. The lord James placed himself and his company on one side, to make better work, and a more powerful effort. When he perceived that the battalions on each side were fully arranged, and that of the king of Spain in motion, he imagined they were about to begin the onset; and as he always wished to be among the first rather than last on such occasions, he and all his company stuck their spurs into their horses, until they were in the midst of the king of Granada's battalion, and made a furious attack on the Saracens. He thought that he should be supported by the Spaniards; but in this he was mistaken, for not one that day followed his example. The gallant knight and all his companions were surrounded by the enemy; they performed prodigies of valor; but they were of no avail, as they were all killed. It was a great misfortune that they were not assisted by the Spaniards.†

* The englisshe cronicle saith this marriage and coronation of the queen was done at Yorke with moche honour the sonday in the octyn of the conersion of sayut Paule in yere of our Lord mcccxxvii.—Lord Berners.

† *La grosse maladie*—leprosy.

* Thomas Randolph, first earl of Moray, was very eminent in the reign of Robert Bruce, who granted him the earldom of Moray, together with the seigniory of the Isle of Man, as a fief, and great estates in Scotland, about the year 1315. He was appointed by the parliament in 1315 governor of Scotland, in the probable event of the minority of the successor, and entered on that office on the death of Robert.

Lord Hailes says, in his Annals of Scotland, anno 1332: "Randolph, in consequence of the English preparations, assembled an army, and advanced to Colbranspath, on the frontier of East Lothian; but having received intelligence of the naval armament, he marched northwards, to provide for the defence of the interior parts of the kingdom. Amid the excruciating pains of a confirmed stone, he ceased not to discharge the duties of his office with activity and vigilance. He expired on the march (20th July.) A man he was to be remembered while integrity, prudence, and valor, are held in esteem among men."

I have quoted the above as a more probable reason for his death than the report of some of the chroniclers, who have said he was poisoned by a monk, with the knowledge of Edward III. Lord Hailes has added a note to this passage, vol. ii., p. 146, which completely disproves it.

† Mariana says, lib. xv. cap. 21, that the king of Arragon, although joined in alliance with the king of Castile against the Moors, did not bring his troops to the field.

Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland, anno 1330: "The detached troops fought with equal advantage, and the Moorish cavalry fled. Douglas with his companions eagerly pursued the Saracens. Taking the casket from his neck, which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him and cried. "*Now pass thou onward as thou wast want, and Douglas will follow thee, or die.*" The fugitives rallied—surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers, Douglas fell, while attempting to rescue sir William St. Clare, of Roslin, who shared his fate. Robert and Walter Logan, both of them knights, were slain with Douglas. His friend, sir William Keith, having had his arm broke

About this time many of the nobles and others, desirous of a settled peace between the Scots and English, proposed a marriage between the young king of Scotland and the sister of the king of England. This marriage was concluded and solemnized at Berwick, with great feasts and rejoicings on both sides.

CHAPTER XXI.

PHILIP OF VALOIS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.

CHARLES, king of France, son of Philip the Fair, had been thrice married, and yet died without heirs male. The first of his wives, a daughter of the count of Artois, was one of the most beautiful women in the world; however, she kept her marriage vow so ill, and behaved so badly, that she was long confined in prison at Chateau Gaillard, before her husband was king. When the kingdom of France devolved upon him, he was crowned by the twelve peers of France and all the barons, who were not willing that such a kingdom should be deprived of male heirs; they therefore strongly recommended his marrying again, with which he complied, and took to wife the daughter of the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, sister to the gallant king of Bohemia. His first marriage, with the lady in prison, was dissolved by the pope of that day. By this second wife, the lady of Luxemburgh, who was modest and prudent, the king had a son, who died very young, and the mother soon afterwards, at Issoudun, in Berry. The cause of their deaths was much suspected, and many were inculpated in it, and privily punished.

The king was afterwards married a third time, to the daughter of his uncle, Lewis, count of Evreux and sister to the king of Navarre. She was called queen Joan. She was soon afterwards with child, and at the same time the king fell sick on his death-bed. When he perceived that he could not recover, he ordered, that, if the child should be a son, Philip of Valois, his cousin, should be his guardian, and regent of the whole kingdom, until such time as his son should be of age to reign; that, if it should happen to be a girl, then the twelve peers and great barons were to assemble to take counsel together, and to give the kingdom to him who appeared to them to have the clearest right. About Easter 1326, the king died; and it was not long before the queen was brought to bed of a beautiful girl.

The twelve peers and barons of France assembled at Paris without delay, and gave the kingdom, with one consent, to Philip of Valois. They passed by the queen of England, and the king her son, although

PHILIP DE VALOIS, KING OF FRANCE—From an ancient picture, engraved in Mezeray's History of France.

she was cousin-german to the king last deceased; for they said, that the kingdom of France was of such great nobleness, that it ought not to fall by succession to a female. They crowned the lord Philip king of France, at Rheims, the Trinity Sunday following. Immediately he summoned his barons and men-at-arms, and went with a powerful army to Cassel, to make war upon the Flemings, especially those of Bruges, Ypres, and of the Franc,* who would not willingly obey their lord, the count of Flanders, but rebelled against him, and had driven him out of the country, so that he could reside nowhere but at Ghent, and there miserable enough.

King Philip discomfited full twelve thousand Flemings,† who had for their captain one Colin Dannequin, a bold and courageous man. The above mentioned Flemings had put the garrison of Cassel under the command of the aforesaid towns, and at their charges, to guard the frontiers at that place. I will inform you how the Flemings were defeated and all through their own bad conduct.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BATTLE OF CASSEL, IN FLANDERS.

THOSE that were in the garrison at Cassel set out one day, about vespers, with a design to defeat the king and all his army. They marched very quietly without noise in three divisions; the first of which advanced straight to the tents of the king, and was near surprising him, as he was seated at supper, as well as his whole household. The second went to the tents of the king of Bohemia, and almost found him in the same situation. The third division attacked the quarters of the count of Hainault, and nearly surprised him: they pressed him so closely, that he and his people had scarce time to arm themselves; and the lord of Beaumont, his brother, and his company, were in a similar situation. All the three divisions came so quickly up to the tents, that neither the lords nor soldiers had time to assemble or properly arm themselves, and they would all have been slain, if it had not been, as it were, a miracle of God: but by his grace, each of these lords defeated their enemies, and so completely, that, in the space of an hour, out of twelve thousand Flemings not one escaped. Their captain was also killed. Nor did any of these lords receive any intelligence of the other until the business was finished. Of all the Flemings not one turned his back; but they were all slaughtered on the spot and lay in three large heaps, one upon the other. This battle happened in the year of grace 1328, on St. Bartholomew's day.

The French then came to Cassel, and placed there the banners of France, the town having surrendered to the king. Afterwards Poperingue, and then Ypres, and all the castlewick of Bergues followed, and received the count Lewis their lord, and swore fidelity and loyalty to him for the time to come. The king soon after set out with his troops toward Paris, where, in the neighborhood, he staid some time. He was much praised and honored for this enterprise, and for the service he had rendered to the count Lewis, his brother. He lived in great prosperity and increased the royal power. No king of France, it was said had ever kept so royal a state as king Philip.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EARL OF KENT AND SIR ROGER MORTIMER PUT TO DEATH.

THE young king Edward of England was governed for a long time, as you have before seen, by the counsels of his mother, the earl of Kent his uncle, and sir Roger Mortimer; at last a jealousy arose between the earl of Kent and sir Roger, insomuch that sir Roger, with the consent of the queen mother, gave the king to understand that the earl of Kent would shorten his life by poison, if he was not upon his guard, to inherit the kingdom as the next heir; for the young brother of the king, called John of Eltham, was lately dead.‡ King Edward believed these tales but too readily, and ordered his uncle, the earl of Kent, to be arrested and publicly beheaded, before any could come to intercede for him. The whole country were much concerned at it, and bore an ill will to the lord Mortimer ever after. Not long after, great infamy fell upon the queen mother—whether with just cause or not I am ignorant, but it was commonly said, that she was with child, and in this was the lord Mortimer inculpated. The king was likewise informed, that the lord Mortimer had been the author of all the charges respecting the earl of Kent, and consequently was the author of his death, through jealousy; and that the whole country believed him loyal and honest.

The king then ordered the lord Mortimer to be arrested and brought to London, before him and a very great number of barons and nobles of the realm. A knight, by the king's command, recited all the deeds of the lord Mortimer, from a declaration which he held in his hand. Every one was then asked, by way of counsel, what sentence should be passed. Judgment was soon given; for each had perfect know-

was detained from the battle. His few surviving companions found his body in the field, together with the casket, and reverently conveyed them to Scotland. The remains of Douglas were interred in the sepulchre of his fathers, in the church of Douglas, and the heart of Bruce was deposited at Melrose.

"His natural son, Archibald Douglas, erected a marble monument to his memory: but his countrymen have more effectually perpetuated his fame, by bestowing on him the name of 'the good sir James Douglas.' Fordun reports, that Douglas was thirteen times defeated in battle, and fifty-seven times victorious.

"Perhaps my readers will not dislike to see the portrait of Douglas, drawn by Barbour, p. 13.

"In visage was he some deal gray,
And had black hair, as I heard say;
But then, of limbs he was well made,
With bones great, and shoulders braid;
His body well made and lenzie,
As they that saw him said to me.
When he was blyth, he was lovely,
And meek, and sweet in company;
But who in battle might him see,
Another countenance had he:
And in his speech he lispt some deal,
But that set him right wonder well."

* "Le Franc, Francenatus, Terra Franca. It is part of French Flanders, and was yielded to the French by the peace of the Pyrenees; it comprehends the bailiwicks of Bourbourg, Bergue, St. Winox, and Furnes, and besides the capital towns of these bailiwicks, those of Dunkirk and Gravelines."—*Dictionnaire Geographique*, par BALBRAN.

† Lord Berners here and in the previous chapter says sixteen thousand; Dr. Sauvage has twelve thousand in one place and sixteen thousand in another.

‡ Froissart mistakes. John of Eltham lived more than six years after the death of the earl of Kent. There were, besides his elder brother, Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, living, as well as the two sisters of the king, Joan and Eleanor.

ledge of the facts, from report and good information. They replied to the king's question, that he ought to suffer the same death as sir Hugh Spencer, which sentence had neither delay of execution or mercy. He was immediately drawn upon a hurdle through the city of London, and placed on a ladder in the midst of the market-place; when he had his private parts cut off, and cast into a fire, because he had thought and acted treasonably. His body was then quartered, and sent to the four principal cities in England; his head remained in London*. The king, soon after, by the advice of his council, ordered his mother to be confined in a goodly castle, and gave her plenty of ladies to wait and attend on her, as well as knights and esquires of honor. He made her a handsome allowance to keep and maintain the state she had been used to; but forbade that she should ever go out or show herself abroad, except at certain times, when any shows were exhibited in the court of the castle. The queen thus passed her time there meekly; and the king, her son, visited her twice or thrice a year.

CHAPTER XXIV.

KING EDWARD PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING OF FRANCE FOR THE DUCHY OF GUIENNE.

After king Edward had administered these two great acts of justice,† he took new counsellors, the wisest and best beloved by his people. About a year after the coronation of king Philip of France, when all the barons and tenants of the crown had done him fealty and homage, except the young king Edward, who had neither appeared, nor had even been summoned, the king of France, by the advice of his council, sent to him the lord of Ancenis, the lord of Beausault, and two clerks learned in the laws, and of the parliament of Paris, named master Peter of Orleans, and master Peter of Maisiers. These four left Paris, and travelled on to Wissan, where they embarked, passed over, and landed at Dover; there they remained one whole day, waiting for the disembarkation of their horses and baggage. Then they went forward and came to Windsor, where the king and queen resided. They sent to inform the king of the cause of their journey; when king Edward, to do honor to his cousin the king of France, invited them to his presence, and treated them with much favor. After they had delivered their message to the king, he replied, that he had not then his council with him, but he would send for them, and they might now return to London, where such an answer would be given to them as should be sufficient. Upon hearing this, and after they had dined, to their great satisfaction, in the king's apartment, they set out, and lay that night at Coldbrook: the next day they arrived in London.

The king did not delay long in following them, but came to his palace of Westminster, and ordered his council to assemble. They sent for the messengers from France, who, when they had told why they were come, and had given the letters sent by the king their lord, withdrew. The king having asked of his council what was to be done, it was resolved to give an answer according to the ordinances and style of his predecessors, and that the bishop of London should deliver it, which was done as follows: "Gentlemen, who are come hereby the orders of the king of France, I bid you welcome: we have heard your speech, and read your letters. We inform you, that we advise the king, our lord, to pass over to France to see his cousin, who so kindly has sent to him; and, moreover, to perform his homage and loyalty, for in truth he is bounden to it by his duty. You will tell the king, your lord, that our king and master will shortly be with him, and do all that is proper and right for him to do."

After the messengers had been well entertained, and received many rich presents and jewels from the king, they took their leave, and returned to Paris, where they found king Philip, to whom they related all that had passed. The king said, he should be very happy to receive his cousin, king Edward, whom he had never seen. When this news was spread over France, dukes, counts, and all the nobility, made great and rich preparations. The king of France sent letters to king Charles of Bohemia and the king of Navarre, to inform them of the day that the king of England was expected to appear, and to desire they would be present. Accordingly they came in very great magnificence. The king of France was advised to receive the king of England in the city of Amiens. There were great preparations made to get apartments, houses, and provision for him and his attendants, as well as for the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, who were provided for by him, and the duke of Burgundy. The dukes of Bourbon and Lorraine, and lord John of Artois, were to be there, with upward of three thousand horse; and the king of England's suite was to consist of six hundred horse.

The young king did not forget, in this journey to France, to equip himself becoming his rank: he set out from England, accompanied by two bishops with the bishop of London; ‡ four earls—Henry, earl of Derby, his cousin-german, son of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, his uncle, surnamed Wryneck, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Hereford; and six barons—lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Wager, the marshal of England, lord Percy, the lord of Manny, lord Mowbray, and more than forty other nobles and knights *

There were upward of a thousand horse attending on and provided for by the king. They were two days in passing from Dover to Wissan. Then the king and his company rode to Boulogne, where he staid one day—it was about mid-August when the king arrived at Boulogne. †

News being soon carried to king Philip, that the king of England was at Boulogne, he directly sent his constable, and a number of knights, to meet him; they found him at Montreuil sur Mer. After many congratulations and professions of love, the king of England rode on, accompanied by the constable, and he and all his company arrived at Amiens, where king Philip was in all pomp ready to receive him, attended by the kings of Bohemia, Majorca, and Navarre, and a number of dukes, counts, barons, and other nobles. The twelve peers of France were also present, as well to do personal honor to the king of England, as to be witnesses when he should perform his homage.

The king of England was most magnificently received, and he and his company remained there fifteen days, during which time many conferences were held and ordinances framed.

It appears to me, that king Edward at that time did homage by mouth and words, but without placing his hands in the hands of the king of France, or any prince, prelate, or deputy doing it for him. And the king of England, by the advice of his council, would not proceed further in this business, until he should be returned to England, and have examined the privileges of old times, to clear up this homage, and see by what means a king of England was a vassal to the king of France.

The king of France replied, "Cousin, we do not wish to deceive you; what you have hitherto done has been very agreeable to us, and we will wait until you shall have returned into your own country and seen, from the deeds of your predecessors, what you ought to do."

The king of England, taking a friendly leave of the king of France, and of the other princes who were present, returned to England. He journeyed on to Windsor, where the queen received him with much pleasure. She made inquiries after king Philip her uncle, and after her other relations in France. The king, her husband, related to her all that had passed, and the particulars of his magnificent reception, and the great honors that were paid to him in France; which were such that no other country could pretend to do the like.

It was not long before the king of France sent into England the following privy councillors: the bishops of Chartres and of Beauvais, the lord Louis de Clermont, the duke de Bourbon, the count de Harcourt, the count de Tancarville, and other knights and clerks learned in the laws, to attend the conference that was to be holden at London on the subject above mentioned. The king of England had examined in what manner his predecessors had done their homage for what they held in Acquitaine, of which they were styled dukes. Many in England murmured, that their king should do homage to Philip, who had not so near a right to the crown of France as himself. Neither the king nor his council was ignorant of this; however, a great parliament and assembly were holden on the subject of his homage. The embassadors from the king of France remained all the winter, till the month of May following, without being able to obtain any definitive answer. At last, the king of England, in conformity to his privileges, in which he put much faith, was advised to write letters in the manner of patents, sealed with his great seal, acknowledging what kind of homage he owed, and ought to pay to the king of France, which letters were in the following terms:

"Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Acquitaine, to all by whom these letters shall be seen and heard, greeting.

"We make known, that when we paid our homage to our excellent and well-beloved lord and cousin, Philip, king of France, at Amiens, it was required by him of us, that we should acknowledge such homage to be liege, and that we, in paying him such homage, should promise expressly to be faithful and true to him—which things we did not then do, as we were ignorant if they were due, and only paid him general homage in such terms, as saying, we entered into his homage in the same manner as our predecessors, the dukes of Guienne, had in former days entered into homage to the kings of France who for that time were, and being since better informed as to the truth, acknowledge by these presents, that the homage, which we paid to the king of France in the city of Amiens, by general words, was, is, and ought to be considered as liege homage, and that we owe him loyalty and truth, as duke of Acquitaine, peer of France, earl of Poitou, and Montreuil; and we promise to bear him loyalty and truth. That from henceforward no more disputes may arise, we promise for ourselves and our successors, dukes of Acquitaine, that the above mentioned homage shall be performed in the manner following:

"The king of England, as duke of Acquitaine, shall hold his hands

* This is not correct. His body, after hanging for two days and two nights by the king's special command, through his favor, was granted to the Friars Minors, or Gray Friars, in London, who buried him in their church, now called Christ Church; whence, many years afterwards, it was translated to Westminster.—Dodsley.

† Lord Berners says "executions," a fitter term. The death of the earl of Kent can scarcely be deemed an act of justice. The original text—"ces deux grans justices," which last word is properly rendered executions.

‡ Dr. Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London; Dr. John Stratford, bishop of Winchester, Dr. Henry Burwash, bishop of Lincoln.

† See Rymer, anno 1329, for the names of those who passed over to France with king Edward.

‡ In Rymer, under the same date, that the king embarked at Dover for France, at midnight the 2nd of May, 1329.

in the hands of the king of France; and the person who shall address his speech to the king of England as duke of Acquitaine, and who shall speak for the king of France, shall say thus: You become liegeman to the king my lord, here present, as duke of Acquitaine, and a peer of France; and you promise to bear him faith and loyalty —Say Yea: and the king of England, duke of Guienne, as well as all their successors, shall say Yea: and then the king of France shall receive the king of England, duke of Guienne, by faith and mouth, saving any other their reciprocal rights.

"Moreover, when the said king and duke shall enter upon his homage to the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou and Montreuil, he shall put his hands into the hands of the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou and Montreuil; and the person who shall speak for the king of France shall address these words to the king as earl, and say as follows: You become liegeman to the king my lord, here present, as earl of Poitou and Montreuil, and you promise to be faithful and loyal to him—Say Yea: and the king, as count of Poitou and Montreuil, shall say Yea: and then the king of France shall receive the said king and earl as liegeman by faith and mouth, saving any other his right. And in this manner shall all future homages be paid. For this cause we deliver, for us and our successors, dukes of Guienne, after homages done, letters patent, sealed with our great seal, if the king of France shall require it; and with this we promise to keep on our faith the peace and concord most amicably between the kings of France and the above mentioned kings of England, dukes of Guienne."*

These letters were carried to France by the aforesaid lords, and the king of France ordered them to be preserved in his chancery.

CHAPTER XXV.

ROBERT, COUNT D'ARTOIS, BANISHED FRANCE.

Robert, count d'Artois, was the man above all others who had most assisted king Philip to gain possession of the crown; he was one of the wisest and greatest barons in France, of the highest birth, being descended from kings. His wife was sister-german to Philip, whose special companion and friend he had been in all his fortunes; and for the space of three years he managed everything in France—so that nothing was done without his knowledge.

It happened afterwards, that king Philip took a violent hatred against the lord Robert, on account of a suit, which was brought before him, that regarded the county of Artois; and the said lord Robert was desirous of obtaining it by means of a letter that he produced, and which, by all accounts, was forged. Had he been arrested in the first movements of the king's anger, he would infallibly have been put to death; he therefore thought it prudent to quit the kingdom of France, and go to his nephew, earl John, at Namur. The king ordered his sister, wife of lord Robert, and her two sons, his nephews, John and Charles, to be arrested and shut up in a close prison, out of which he swore they should never come as long as he lived; and since that time, though many spoke in their behalf, they had not greater liberty, for which he was afterwards much blamed behind his back.

The king, in his warmth, sent to Raoul, bishop of Liege, begging of him to challenge and make war upon the earl of Namur, if he did not put away the lord Robert from his court.

The bishop, who loved exceedingly the king of France, and little respected his neighbors, did immediately as the king desired. The earl of Namur was therefore advised to send away the lord Robert, which he did much against his inclinations. Lord Robert then went to his cousin, the duke of Brabant, who received him with great joy, and gave him every comfort.

As soon as the king knew it, he sent to say, that, if he supported him, or suffered him to remain in his territories, he should not have a worse enemy than himself, and that he would oppress him by every means in his power. The duke, upon this, sent him very privately to Argentau, until he should know in what manner the king would take it. The king, who had spies everywhere, was soon informed of what had passed in Brabant; and was so vexed, that he stimulated by money the king of Bohemia, who was cousin-german to the duke, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis Juliers, the earl of Bar, the lords of Los and Fauquemont, and many other lords, who were soon allied together against the duke, whom they challenged, and entered his territories near Esbaing. They advanced as far as Hannut, and burnt the country at two different times, according to their pleasure. The king of France sent with them the earl of Eu, his constable, with a great company of men-at-arms. The earl William of Hainault then thought it time to interfere, and sent the countess, his lady, who was sister to king Philip, and the lord of Beaumont, his brother, to France, to intercede with the king for a respite and truce between him and the duke of Brabant. The king made many difficulties, but at last consented, upon condition that the duke should submit himself to whatever he and his council might judge proper for him to do toward the king of France, and toward those lords who had waged war against him. He was also ordered to dismiss the lord Robert from his territories within a certain time, which he was forced to perform, though much against his will.*

* See the copy of the original instrument of the homage and the witnesses to it, in Rymer, anno 1329. Also another, of which this in Froissart seems a copy, signed at Eltham, March 31, 1331.

CHAPTER XXVI.

KING EDWARD TAKES THE CITY OF BERWICK.

You have heard related all that passed between the English and Scotch, during the three years that the truce lasted: and for one year more the two nations were at peace. This had not happened before for two hundred years, during which they had been constantly at war with each other.

It fell out that king Edward was informed, that the young king David of Scotland, who had married his sister, kept possession of Berwick, which of right belonged to his kingdom, and which king Edward his ancestor had held, and the king his father also, very peaceably for a long time afterwards. He was also informed, that the kingdom of Scotland was dependent on his crown as a fief, and that the young king of Scots, his brother-in-law, had never acknowledged it, or done homage for it. The king of England therefore sent embassadors to the king of Scots, to request, that he would withdraw his people from the city of Berwick, and give him possession of it, as it was his just inheritance, and had always appertained to the kings of England his predecessors. They also summoned him to come and do his homage for the kingdom of Scotland, which he ought to hold from the crown of England as a fief.

Berwick upon Tweed—showing the remains of the old fortifications.

The king of Scotland took the advice and opinions of his council and chief barons, and made this reply to the embassadors:

"My lords, I and my barons marvel greatly at the claim you have preferred; for we do not find that any of our ancestors acknowledged the kingdom of Scotland as a fief, or in any ways subject to the crown of England, either by homage or otherwise: my lord, the king our father, of happy memory, would never do homage to any preceding kings of England, whatever wars may have been made on the subject—neither have I any intention or inclination to do it. As for the town of Berwick, king Robert, our father, conquered it from the late king of England by open war, and kept possession of it during his lifetime as his true heritage—I also hope and mean to keep possession of it, and shall do everything in my power for that end. I shall request of you, that you would have the goodness to entreat the king, whose sister we have married, that he would allow us to enjoy the same liberties as our ancestors have done, and to keep what our father won and held peaceably all his life; and that he would not listen to any evil counsellors; for, if any other prince should wish to do us wrong, he ought to aid and defend us, from the love he must bear to his sister, our queen."

The embassadors replied, "Sir, we have well heard your answer,

* For further particulars respecting Robert d'Artois, his crimes, trial, &c. see the 8th and 10th volumes of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c., where there are three interesting memoirs concerning him by M. Lancelot, very different from this account of Froissart, or rather of John le Bel. They are too long to be inserted as notes.

and will report it to the king, our lord, in the manner you have told it to us." They then took their leave, and returned to their king, to whom this answer was not very agreeable. He summoned to a parliament, to be holden at London, barons, knights, and councillors, from the chief towns in the kingdom, to have their advice in the present state of affairs.

During the term of parliament, the lord Robert of Artois arrived in England disguised as a merchant. The king received him very kindly, appointed him one of his councillors, and assigned to him the earldom of Richmond, which had belonged to his ancestors*.

When the day of the meeting of parliament came, and the chiefs of the country were assembled in London, the king ordered what he had written to the king of Scotland to be read, and the answer to it from that king. He then desired they would give him such advice that the dignity of his crown might be preserved. After they had consulted together, it appeared to them, that the king could no longer with honor endure the wrongs which the king of Scots did to him; and they offered him such advice, that he immediately gave orders for every preparation to be made, not only to enable him to regain the good town of Berwick, but to penetrate into Scotland with so powerful an army, that the king of Scotland should think himself happy, if permitted to do his homage, and make satisfaction. They added, that they were willing and desirous to accompany him in this expedition. The king gave them many thanks for their willingness to assist him, and begged of them to be ready, and properly prepared, according to their different ranks, to meet him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne by a day fixed. Each returned to his home to make preparations. The king was not idle; and sent other embassadors to the king of Scotland, his brother-in-law, to give him public notice, and, if he had not altered his mind, to bid him defiance.

The day fixed on drew near; king Edward and all his host came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and waited there three days for the rear and followers of his army. The fourth day he advanced with his whole army toward Scotland, and passed over the lands of the lords Percy and Neville, who are two great barons in Northumberland, and marched forward to meet the Scots. Lord Roos, lord Mowbray, and lord Lisle did the same. The king with his army drew toward the town of Berwick; for the king of Scotland had not sent any other answer by the second embassadors than he had by the first; therefore he had been publicly summoned and defied. The king advanced with his army, and entered Scotland. He was advised not to stop at Berwick, but to march forward and burn the country, as his grandfather had done before; he therefore marched and destroyed in this excursion all the plain country, and ruined many towns that were inclosed with dikes and palisades. He took the strong castle of Edinburgh, and placed his own garrison therein. He passed the second river in Scotland below Dunfermline; and his people overran the whole country as far as Scone, and destroyed the good town of Dunfermline, but touched not the abbey, for the king had strictly forbidden it. They conquered the country as far as Dundee, and took Dunbarton, a very strong castle on the borders of the Highlands, whither the king, and the queen his consort, had retired.† No one dared to oppose the English; for the Scots had all retreated to the forests of Jedworth, which are impenetrable, except to those well acquainted with the country. They had carried all their moveables with them, and placed them in safety, and held not what was left behind of any account. It was not to be wondered that the Scots were thus dismayed; their king was but about fifteen years old; the earl of Moray was still younger; and a youth, named William Douglas, nephew of him who was killed in Spain, was of a similar age; so that Scotland was destitute of good captains.

When the king of England had run over and scoured the plains of Scotland, and had remained there for three months, not seeing any come to oppose him, he garrisoned many castles which he had taken, and thought by their means to make war upon all that remained. He then made a handsome retreat toward Berwick, and in his way he took the castle of Dalkieth, which was the patrimony of the earl of Douglas, situate just five miles from Edinburgh; he appointed a governor, with a good garrison. By short marches he came before the good town of Berwick, which is situate at the end of Northumberland, at the entrance into Scotland. The king surrounded it on every side, and said he would never quit the spot until he had reduced it, or the king of Scotland came to force him to raise the siege at the head of his army. It was well supplied with provision, and had a good garrison of men-at-arms from the king of Scotland, and, besides, was partly surrounded by an arm of the sea. There were assaults and skirmishes every day before the walls of the town, for those of the garrison refused to surrender themselves unconditionally, expecting succor to arrive, in which however they were disappointed. True it is that some Scottish knights formed an expedition to attack the English camp in the evenings, or before daybreak; but they made little impression, for the English army was so much upon its guard, that the Scots could not make any attack with effect, or without loss of men.

When those who were within the town saw that they had not any hopes of assistance, that their provision began to fail, and that they were so closely besieged by sea and land that nothing could enter, they began to treat with the king; who was prayed to grant them a truce for one month upon condition that if, within that time, neither king David, their lord, nor any one from him, should come with a sufficient force to raise the siege, they should surrender up the town, upon having their lives and fortunes spared, and the soldiers liberty to return whither they would into their own country, without loss or hindrance. This treaty, however, was not immediately concluded, for the king was desirous of avoiding any conditions, to punish those who had held out so obstinately against him: at last he was persuaded to it, by the advice of his council, and particularly of the lord Robert d'Artois, who took a great deal of pains to bring it about. He had accompanied the king in this expedition; and being always near his person, had often told him, from the opinions of several lawyers, that the crown of France belonged to him by right of blood, as he was the immediate heir, by his mother, to the last king. The lord Robert was anxious for the king's leaving Scotland, in hopes that he would carry his arms into France. By these and such like speeches the king was induced to consent to the ratification of the treaty of Berwick.

The Berwickers made the king of Scotland and his council acquainted with their distressful situation, who, after much consideration, could not find any means to send them succors or assistance: the town of Berwick was therefore surrendered to the king at the end of the month, as well as the castle, which was very handsome and strong, and stood without the town. The marshals of the army took possession of them both, in the name of the king. The citizens then came out to swear homage and fidelity to king Edward, and to acknowledge that they held the town from him. The king made his public entry into Berwick with great pomp and sounding of trumpets, and tarried there twelve days. He appointed as governor thereof a knight, called sir Edward Baliol, with whom he left, when he quitted Berwick, many young knights and esquires, to assist him in keeping the conquests he had made from the Scots, and to guard the frontiers. The king and all his people then returned toward London, and he gave full liberty for every man to go to his own home. He himself went to Windsor, where he chiefly resided, and the lord Robert accompanied him, who never ceased, day or night, from telling him how just his right was to the crown of France; to which the king opened a willing ear, and thought of it with much satisfaction.

Thus ended the king's expedition against the king of Scots. He destroyed the greatest part of the country, and took many more forts than his people had achieved from the Scots for a long time. He placed in them several able and expert knights and esquires; among whom were sir William Montacute and sir Walter Manny, who made many severe skirmishes and attacks upon the Scots, and according to custom were always victorious. In order the better to secure their entrance and retreat from Scotland, and to harass the country, sir William Montacute fortified the tower of Roxburgh, upon the borders of Scotland, and made it a strong castle, able to resist any attack. He gained so much favor by his enterprises, that the king created him earl of Salisbury, and married him to a noble and honorable lady. The lord of Manny also, who was knighted on this expedition, was nominated a privy councillor, and highly advanced at court. True it is, that the Scots did greatly disturb the English; they kept themselves in the wild parts of Scotland, among marshes and forests, where no one could follow them, and harassed the English so constantly, that there were skirmishes almost every day; in one of which the earl of Salisbury lost an eye, by his too great boldness. In the same forests where the Scots now hid themselves, the gallant king Robert had been forced to seek refuge, when king Edward, grandfather to the present king, overran and conquered the Scottish realm; and many times was he so hard driven, that he could find none in his kingdom who dared to lodge him, or give him succor from any castle or fortress, through fear of this king Edward.

The gallant Robert, after the king had returned to England, collected his people together where he could find them, and reconquered his castles, fortresses, and cities, even as far as Berwick; some by force of arms, others by fair speeches, and through affection. When king

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* This seems to be a considerable mistake; for the earldom of Richmond, according to Dugdale, had been in the family of the dukes of Brittany a long time.

"In the 1st of Edward III., John, duke of Brittany, obtained leave to grant the earldom of Richmond, with the castle, and likewise the castle of Bowes, unto Arthur, his brother and heir. On the death of this John, John de Dreux, son of Arthur, did homage for this earldom of Richmond. He died the 16th of May, in the 15th of Edward III. John, duke of Brittany, and earl of Monfort, soon after this event did his homage for it. It continued in this family until John, surnamed the Valiant, united himself to the king of France, contrary to his allegiance, and forfeited it in the second year of Richard II."—Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i p. 46.

† "Edward appears to have been at Belford on his march northward, 7th May; Fœdera, tom. iv. p. 557. So that it is probable, that, in a day or two after, he came to Berwick. Froissart relates, that Edward, leaving Baliol with his forces before Berwick, invaded Scotland, wasted the country, penetrated as far north as Dundee, and from thence marched across the island to the neighborhood of Dunbarton; that he took the castles of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, and placed garrisons in them; and that, after having employed six months in this expedition, he returned to the siege of Berwick. This story has been transcribed by divers historians, who could not distinguish when Froissart was well informed, and when not.

"Froissart has placed in 1333, events which, as to many particulars, occurred afterwards. This *course of six months* is an impossibility; for Edward did not come to the siege of Berwick before May, and the place surrendered on the 20th of July. Besides, it appears from the Fœdera, tom. iv. pp. 558, 564, that Edward was in the neighborhood of Berwick, May 27th and 30th, the 2nd, 4th, 5th 6th, 8th, 26th June, and the 2nd, 6th, and 15th of July: so that he never could have been three weeks absent, and indeed, it is not probable that he was ever absent, from the siege. An invasion of Scotland at that time could have served no purpose of conquest, and, by dividing the army, might have had fatal consequences."—Lord Hailes's Annals.

Edward heard of this he was sorely vexed, and summoned his host, and never ceased until he had discomfited the Scots, and reconquered the kingdom. Thus it happened between these two kings: and I have heard it related, that king Robert recovered his kingdom five different times. In such manner did these two kings, who were looked upon as the two most gallant knights of their time, bear themselves, until the death of king Edward, at Burgh on the Sands.

When he perceived he could not recover, he called to him his eldest son, who was afterwards king, and made him swear, in presence of all his barons, by the Saints, that, as soon as he should be dead, he would have his body boiled in a large caldron until the flesh should be separated from the bones; that he would have the flesh buried and the bones preserved; and that every time the Scots should rebel against him, he would summon his people, and carry with him the bones of his father: for he believed most firmly, that as long as his bones should be carried against the Scots, those Scots would never be victorious. His son, however, did not fulfil what he had sworn; but had his father carried to London and buried—for which much evil befell him, as you have before heard.

CHAPTER XXVII.

KING PHILIP OF FRANCE AND SEVERAL OTHER KNIGHTS PUT ON THE CROSS.

About this time king Philip of France quitted Paris, accompanied by the king of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and a numerous company of dukes, earls, and other lords—for he kept a sumptuous table, and at a great expense—to visit his kingdom. After passing through Burgundy, he came to Avignon, where he was most honorably received by pope Benedict, and by all the college of cardinals, who treated him as magnificently as they could. He remained some time with the holy father and the cardinals, and was lodged at Villeneuve, out of the town. The king of Arragon came also at this time to the court of Rome, to witness these entertainments. There were great feasts and solemnities at their meeting, and they all remained there the whole of Lent.

While they were there, certain intelligence came to the court of Rome, that the enemies of God were marching in great force against the Holy Land, and had reconquered almost the whole kingdom of Rasse,* and taken the king, who had been baptised, and put him to the most cruel death. The infidels also threatened the holy church and all Christendom. The holy father preached, on the sacred festival of Good Friday, before these two kings, on the sufferings of our Saviour, and exhorted them greatly to put on the cross against these Saracens. The king of France was so much affected, that he took the cross, and entreated the pope to grant him his consent, which he did, and confirmed it by giving him absolution for all sins and faults, if confessed and truly repented of, and the same to all those who should accompany him in this holy expedition. The kings of Bohemia and Navarre, and the king of Arragon, put on the cross, as well as a number of dukes, barons, and other nobles, who were there: the cardinals of Naples, of Perigord, of Ostia, and the cardinal Blanc, adopted it also. The croisade was preached and published over the world, which gave much pleasure to many, especially to those who wished to spend their time in feats of arms, and who at that time did not know where otherwise to employ themselves.

After the king of France and the lords above named had passed a considerable time with the pope, and had settled and managed the business, they took their leave and departed. The king of Arragon returned into his own country. The king of France and his company went to Montpelier, where they remained a long time. During his stay there king Philip completed the peace which was in agitation between the kings of Arragon and Majorca. After having finished this, he set out on his return toward Paris, by short day's journeys, and at much expense, visiting his towns and castles, of which he had great numbers. He passed through the provinces of Auvergne, Berry, Beauce, and Gatinois, and came to Paris, where he was received with much joy.

The kingdom of France was at that time powerful, rich, and compact, the inhabitants at their ease, and wealthy, and no talk of war. This croisade, which the noble king of France had undertaken to lead beyond sea, and of which he had declared himself the chief, was followed by many lords, and by some of them through devotion. King Philip made the greatest and most magnificent preparations that were ever seen to pass the seas; those of the time of Godfrey of Boulogne, or any others, were not to be compared to them. He had engaged and placed in the different ports of Marseilles, Aigues-mortes, and Narbonne, and in the neighborhood of Montpelier, such a quantity of ships, carracks, galleys, and barges, as might transport forty thousand men-at-arms and their stores. He laid in a large stock of biscuit, wines, fresh water, salt meat, and all other provisions, in such plenty, that there might be sufficient, even if they remained there three years.

He sent embassadors to the king of Hungary, who was a right valiant man, to request that he would make himself ready, and open his country to the pilgrims of God. The king of Hungary consented to it, and very willingly returned him answer that he was prepared. In the same manner the king sent information of it to the king of Cyprus, Hugh de Lusignan, and to the king of Sicily, who made to this end the necessary preparations. The king sent also to the Venetians, to beg that their frontiers might be opened, and sufficient guards and provisions collected, which they complied with, as did the Genoese, and all that coast. He dispatched the great prior of France into the island of Rhodes to make preparations there; and the knights of St. John made an agreement with the Venetians for them to victual the island of Candia, which was under their dependence. In short, there were proper provisions made everywhere to receive the pilgrims of God; and upward of three hundred thousand persons put on the cross, to undertake this holy voyage beyond sea.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

KING EDWARD IS ADVISED BY HIS COUNCIL TO MAKE WAR AGAINST KING PHILIP OF FRANCE.

At the time when nothing but this croisade was talked of, the lord Robert d'Artois was in England, very near the king's person, whom he was continually advising to make war upon the king of France for wrongfully withholding his inheritance. The king held many councils upon this subject, and consulted with his most special and privy councillors by what means he could maintain his right, for he would gladly amend himself if he knew how. The question was argued, supposing he should demand his right, and it was refused, as it was probable it would be, and he afterwards to sit quiet and not support his claim, he would be more blamed than if he had never moved in it. He saw clearly that it was impossible for him, and all the force he could bring from his own country, to subdue such a great kingdom as that of France, if he did not obtain powerful friends and assistance in the empire, and in other parts, by means of his money; he therefore frequently demanded of his privy council what opinion they had on this subject.

They at length gave this as their unanimous answer: "Dear sir, the question is of such importance, that we dare not advise you definitively upon it, but recommend to you, dear sir, to send embassadors sufficiently instructed to the gallant earl of Hainault, whose daughter you have married, and to lord John, his brother, who has before so valiantly assisted you, to entreat their lordships to advise you how to act, for in such a matter they are better informed than we can be: if they agree with you in opinion, they will give you counsel who are the lords most able to assist you, and also point out the most proper means of gaining them to your interest." The king agreed to this proposal, and entreated the bishop of Lincoln to undertake this journey through affection to him, and desired two knights bannerets, and two counsellors learned in the law, to accompany him on the embassy. They set out as soon as they could, embarked and landed at Dunkirk; whence they rode through Flanders to Valenciennes, where they found William, earl of Hainault, so sorely afflicted with the gout and gravel that he could not move. The lord John, his brother, was there also, by whom they were much feasted: and to them they explained the object of their mission. Upon which the gallant earl said: "I vow to God, if the king can succeed in this, I shall be much rejoiced; for as you may easily imagine, I feel more interested for him who has married my daughter than for king Philip, who has never done anything for me although I am married to his sister. He also prevented, clandestinely, the marriage of the young duke of Brabant with my daughter; on which account I will not fail my dearly beloved son, the king of England, in any respect, if his council should advise the undertaking of it. I will also give him every aid, as will John, my brother, now present, who has before assisted him. But know, that you must seek for other supporters more powerful than we are, for Hainault is too small a territory to measure itself with the kingdom of France, and England lies too far off to be of help to it."

"Certainly, sir, you have given us very excellent advice, and testified great love and good will, for which, in the name of our lord and king, I return you my thanks," replied the bishop of Lincoln; "but, dear sir, tell us the names of those lords that you think can best help our master, that we may report them to him."

"Upon my soul," replied the earl, "I cannot think of any lords, that can so powerfully assist him as the duke of Brabant, his cousin-german, the bishop of Liege, the duke of Gueldres, who married his sister, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the lord of Fauquemont: these are the lords that can, in a short time, furnish greater numbers of men-at-arms than any I know; they are very warlike themselves, and, if they choose, can easily make up ten thousand men completely armed and equipped; but you must give them money beforehand, for they are men who love to gain wealth. If by your means the king, my son-in-law and your lord, could ally himself with the lords whom I have just mentioned, and were on this side of the sea, he might pass the river Oise to seek king Philip, and offer him battle."

The embassadors returned to London with the answer they had

* *Query*, if not Rascie, Rascia, which is a country in Turkey in Europe. It is the northern part of Servia, and takes its name from the river which empties itself into the Morawe. Its principal towns are Belgrade, Semendria, and Galombaz. This country had formerly kings of its own. Audran. Dic. Geo. Rasse may also be mistaken for *Lyas*, in Armenia, where Cassanus king of Tharsis, and seven thousand Christians, were slain by the Pagans about this period.—Barnes, p. 56.

received, which, when king Edward heard it, gave him much pleasure and comfort. News of what was going forward was soon carried to France, and by degrees magnified, so that king Philip grew very indifferent to this croisade which had been preached, and of which he had undertaken to be the chief. He countermanded his officers (who were making very great preparations,) and gave them directions not to proceed further, until he should see upon what footing the king of England meant to act, as he was incessantly employed in assembling men-at-arms.

The king of England ordered ten knights bannerets, and forty knights bachelors, in company with the bishop of Lincoln, who was a right valiant man, to cross the sea, and to go straight to Valenciennes, to treat with those lords of the empire, whom the earl of Hainault had named, and to act as he and his brother John might advise. When they were arrived at Valenciennes, all were emulous of the state they should hold, and spared no expenses; for if the king of England had been there in person, they could not have done more, by which they gained great renown and reputation. There were among them many young knights bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth so that they could not see with it. It was said they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye until they had personally performed some deeds of arms in France; nor would they make any reply to whatever questions were asked them; so that all marvelled at their strange demeanor. After they had been sufficiently feasted and honored at Valenciennes, the bishop of Lincoln and the greater number of them drew toward the duke of Brabant, by the advice of the earl of Hainault. The duke treated them magnificently, and agreed afterwards to promise his support and assistance to the king of England, to whom he was cousin-german, with all the means in his power, and to allow him to enter and quit his territories, armed or disarmed, as often as he pleased. He had also promised, by the advice of his council, and for a round sum of florins, that if the king of England, his cousin, would defy the king of France, and enter his territories with a sufficient force, and could obtain the aid of the lords before mentioned, he would defy him also, and join him with a thousand armed men.

The embassadors then returned to Valenciennes: by their negotiations and gold, they prevailed upon the duke of Gueldres, brother-in-law to king Edward, the marquis of Juliers for himself, and for the archbishop of Cologne, and his brother Waleran, and the lord of Fauquemont, to come to Valenciennes, to treat with them before the earl of Hainault, who was unable to ride on horseback; and before his brother John. They managed matters so well, by a plentiful distribution of florins among the principals and others, that they agreed to defy the king of France, and to go with the king of England whenever and wherever he pleased, and that each would serve him with a certain number of men-at-arms with helmets surmounted with crests. Now is the time come when we must speak of lances, swords, and coats of mail; and I inform you, that the above named lords promised the embassadors from England, that they would ally themselves with the lords on the other side of the Rhine, who had the power to bring a large number of men-at-arms, but they must first be furnished with the means to fix them. These lords from Germany then took their leave, and departed to their own country; the English lords remained some little time longer with the earl of Hainault. They sent many messages to Raoul, bishop of Liege, and would most willingly have drawn him over to their own party; but he would do nothing against the king of France, whose liegeman he was, and to whom he had sworn fealty. The king of Bohemia was not sent to, because they knew he was so connected with the king of France, by the marriage of John, duke of Normandy, with the lady Bona, daughter of that king, that he would never act against him.

CHAPTER XXIX.

JACOB VON ARTAVELD GOVERNS ALL FLANDERS.

During these times of which I am speaking, there were great dissensions between the earl of Flanders and the Flemings; for they would not obey him; nor could he venture to remain in Flanders without great danger to himself.

There was in Ghent a man that had formerly been a brewer of metheglin, called Jacob Von Artaveld, who had gained so much popular favor and power over the Flemings, that everything was done according to his will. He commanded in all Flanders, from one end to the other, with such authority, that no one dared to contradict his orders. Whenever he went out into the city of Ghent, he was attended by three or four-score armed men on foot, among whom were two or three that were in his secrets; if he met any man whom he hated or suspected, he was instantly killed; for he had ordered those who were in his confidence to remark whenever he should make a particular sign on meeting any person, and to murder him directly without fail, or waiting further orders, of whatever rank he might be. This happened very frequently; so that many principal men were killed; and he was so dreaded, that no one dared to speak against his actions, or scarce to contradict him, but all were forced to entertain him handsomely.

When his companions before mentioned had conducted him to his hotel, each went home to his dinner, and immediately after returned to the street before his house, where they remained making a noise and brawling, until he pleased to come out and go round the town, to pass his time and amuse himself; and thus was he escorted until he chose to go to supper. Each of these soldiers had four Flemish groats a day, as wages, and for his expenses, which he had paid to him very regularly every week. He had also in every town and castlewick, through Flanders, sergeants and soldiers in his pay, to execute his orders, and serve him as spies, to find out if any were inclined to rebel against him, and to give him information. The instant he knew of any such being in a town, he was banished or killed without delay, and none were so great as to be exempted, for so early did he take such measures to guard himself. At the same time he banished all the most powerful knights and esquires from Flanders, and such citizens from the principal towns as he thought were in the least favorable to the earl; seized one half of their rents, giving the other moiety for the dower of their wives and support of their children. Those that were banished, of which the number was very considerable, resided for the most part at St. Omer, and were called *les avolez*. To speak the truth, there never was in Flanders, or in any other country, count, duke, or prince, who had such perfect command as Jacob Von Artaveld. He collected the rents, the duties on wines, and other taxes belonging to the earl, though they were the earl's lawful revenue, in whatever part of the country of Flanders he might reside; he raised also extraordinary subsidies, which he spent and gave away, without rendering account to any one. When he said he was in want of money, he was immediately believed—and well it was for them who did believe him—for it was perilous to contradict him; and if he wished to borrow money of any of the citizens, there was no one who dared to refuse him.

Ghent.

The embassadors from England, and who kept such honorable state at Valenciennes, as you have before heard, thought among themselves, that it would give their king great comfort and assistance in what he was anxious to undertake, if they could get the aid of the Flemings, who at that time were ill with the king of France, and with the earl their lord. They consulted the earl of Hainault on the subject; who told them, that, in truth, it would be the greatest support they could get; but he did not see how it could be obtained, unless they previously could win the friendship of Jacob Von Artaveld. They replied, that they would directly do all in their power to obtain it, and soon after set out from Valenciennes for Flanders, by three or four different roads. One party of them went to Bruges, another to Ypres; but the largest went to Ghent, where they spent such sums, that gold and silver seemed to fly out of their hands. They sought friendship from all, promised largely to some, flattered others, where they thought it would have more effect in gaining their ends. The bishop of Lincoln, however, and his companions, acted their part so well in Ghent, that, by fine speeches and otherwise, they acquired the friendship of Jacob Von Artaveld, and great favor in the city, particularly with an old knight who lived in Ghent, where he was much beloved; he was called my lord le Courtisien,* was a banneret, and was looked upon as the most gallant

* "M. de Siger, a nobleman of Courtray; by allusion to his lands of Contressin, commonly styled the lord of Courtesy."—Carte. vol. ii. p. 429

knight and warlike man in all Flanders, who had served his lords right valiantly. This lord having kept company with the English lords, and much honored them (and every loyal knight should honor strangers,) he was criminally accused to the king of France for these distinctions he had paid the English, who instantly sent an order to the earl of Flanders, commanding him by some means or other to get hold of this knight, and to cut off his head. The earl, who dared not refuse obedience to this command, managed so that Courtisien, coming to the place which he had appointed, was immediately arrested and beheaded. This caused infinite grief to many, for he was much beloved by the gentry of the country, and it created much ill will against the earl. The English lords were so active in Flanders, that Jacob Von Artaveld assembled several times the chiefs of the principal cities to confer with them on the business they were come about, as well as on the franchises and friendship which the king of England offered to them. The matter being fully discussed, was brought to this conclusion; the chiefs of the principal towns gave their consent that the king of England and his army might pass through Flanders whenever he pleased; but as they were so much obliged to the king of France, they could not annoy him, or enter his kingdom, without suffering too heavy a penalty in a large sum of florins, and entreated the embassadors to be satisfied with this answer for the present. They returned to Valenciennes much pleased with what they had done. They frequently informed the king, their master, how things were going; and he sent them large sums of money, as well for their own expenses, as to distribute among the lords of Germany, who did not wish for anything more agreeable.

About this time, the gallant William, earl of Hainault, died on the sixth day of June, 1337. He was buried in the church of Cordeliers, at Valenciennes; the bishop of Cambray performed the funeral service, and sang the mass. There was a great attendance of dukes, earls, and barons, for he was exceedingly honored during his life by all ranks of men. After his decease, the lord William, his son, entered upon the countries of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand; he had to wife the daughter of duke John of Brabant; her name was Joan, heiress of the rich and valuable lands of Binch.* The lady Joan, her mother, went and resided at the monastery of Fontenelles, upon the Scheld, where she passed her days in a devout and charitable manner.

CHAPTER XXX.

CERTAIN NOBLES OF FLANDERS DEFEND THE ISLAND OF CADSANT AGAINST THE ENGLISH.

King Philip, informed of these alliances, and of the influence which the king of England had acquired on that side of the water, would most willingly have attached the Flemings to his party; but Jacob Von Artaveld had so entirely subjected them, that none dared to act contrary to his will; even the earl, their lord, could not remain there in safety, and had sent his wife, and Lewis, his son, into France. However, certain knights and esquires in garrison on the island of Cadsant, which lies between the havens of Sluys and Flushing, among whom were sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles, son of the lord de l'Estrief, kept possession of it as lords paramount, and defended the passage. They made war underhand upon the English, of which the lords that were in Hainault had information, and also, that if they passed that way into England, they might be encountered, the consequences of which would be disagreeable to them. Notwithstanding this, they rode over the country of Flanders according to their pleasure, and to all the large towns; but they were indebted for this to Jacob Von Artaveld, who showed them every honor and support. These lords went afterwards to Dordrecht, where they embarked to cross the sea, and to avoid the passage of the island of Cadsant, where the aforesaid knights and Flemings were in garrison, under the king of France and the earl of Flanders, as has been already related.

The Englishmen returned in the best manner and as privately as they could, to their own country, and to king Edward, who was right glad to see them, and happy in the success of their mission. When he heard how the garrison of Cadsant harassed his people, he said he would shortly settle that business, and immediately ordered the earl of Derby, sir Walter Manny, and some other English knights and esquires, to make themselves ready. They collected a number of men-at-arms and archers, and embarked them in vessels on the Thames at London: there might be six hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand archers. When they were all on board, they weighed anchor, and with that tide came to Gravesend, where they lay that first night. The next day they weighed and came to Margate. At the third tide they hoisted and set their sails, and took to the deep, and passed over to Flanders, when, having assembled and properly arranged their vessels, they approached near to Cadsant.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BATTLE OF CADSANT, BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FLEMINGS, ATTACHED TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS.

When the English saw the town of Cadsant, whither they were bending their course to attack those that were within it, they considered, that as the wind and tide were in their favor, in the name of God and St. George they would run close up to it. They ordered the trumpets to sound, and each made himself quickly ready; they ranged their vessels, and placing the archers on the prows, made full sail for the town. The sentinels and guards at Cadsant had plainly perceived the approach of this large fleet, and taking it for granted that it must be English, had already armed and placed themselves upon the dykes and the sands, with their banners in their proper position before them. They had also created a number of knights upon the occasion, as many as sixteen; their numbers might be about five thousand, taking all together, very valiant knights and bachelors, as they proved by their deeds. Among them were sir Guy of Flanders, a good knight, but a bastard,* who was very anxious that all in his train should do their duty; sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles de l'Estrief, sir Simon and sir John de Bouquedent, who were then knighted, and Peter d'Aglemoustier, with many other bachelors and esquires, valiant men-at-arms. There was no parley between them, for the English were as eager to attack as the Flemings were to defend themselves. The archers were ordered to draw their bows stiff and strong, and to set up their shouts; upon which those that guarded the haven were forced to retire, whether they would or not, for this first discharge did much mischief, and many were maimed and hurt. The English barons and knights then landed, and with battle-axes, swords, and lances combated their enemies. Many gallant deeds of prowess and courage were done that day; the Flemings fought valiantly; and the English attacked them in all the spirit of chivalry. The gallant earl of Derby proved himself a good knight, and advanced so far at the first assault, that he was struck down: and then the lord of Manny was of essential service to him; for, by his feats of arms, he covered him and raised him up, and placed him out of danger, crying, "Lancaster for the earl of Derby!" They then closed with each other; many were wounded, but more of the Flemings than of the English; for the English archers made such continual discharges, from the time they landed, that they did them much damage.

The battle was very severe and fierce before the town of Cadsant, for the Flemings were good men, and expert in arms; the earl had selected and placed them there to defend the passage against the English, and they were desirous of performing their duty in every respect, which they did. Of the barons and knights of England, there were, first, the earl of Derby, son of Henry of Lancaster, surnamed Wryneck; the earl of Suffolk, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Lewis Beauchamp, lord William, son of the earl of Warwick, the lord William Beauclerk, sir Walter Manny, and many others, who most vigorously assaulted the Flemings. The combat was very sharp, and well fought, for they were engaged hand to fist; but at length the Flemings were put to the rout, and more than three thousand killed, as well at the haven as in the streets and houses. Sir Guy, the Bastard, of Flanders, was taken prisoner. Of the killed, were sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John of Rhodes, the two brothers Bouquedent, sir Giles de l'Estrief, and more than twenty-six other knights and esquires. The town was taken and pillaged; and when everything was put on board the vessels with the prisoners, it was burnt. The English returned without accident to England. The king made the lord Guy of Flanders pledge his troth, that he would remain a prisoner; but in the course of the year he turned to the English, and did his homage and fealty to the king.

CHAPTER XXXII.

KING EDWARD MAKES GREAT ALLIANCES IN THE EMPIRE.

The news of the discomfiture at Cadsant was soon spread abroad; the Flemings said, that they were not sorry for it, as the earl had placed that garrison there without their consent or advice; nor was Jacob Von Artaveld displeased at the event. He instantly sent over embassadors to king Edward, recommending himself to his grace with his whole heart and faith. He signified to the king, that it was his opinion he should immediately cross the sea, and come to Antwerp, by which means he would acquit himself toward the Flemings, who were very anxious to see him; and he imagined, if he were on that side of the water, his affairs would go on more prosperously, and to his greater advantage. The king of England, upon this, made very great preparations; and when the winter was over, he embarked, accompanied by many earls, barons, and knights, and came to the city of Antwerp, which at that time was held for the duke of Brabant multitudes came thither to see him, and witness the great state and pomp in which he lived. He sent to the duke of Brabant, his cousin, to his brother-in-law, the duke of Gueldres, to the marquis of Juliers, the lord John of Hainault, and to all those from whom he expected support and assistance, that he should be happy to have some conversation with them. They all therefore came to Antwerp between Whitsuntide and St. John's day; and when the king had sufficiently entertained them, he was eager to know from them when they could enter upon what they had promised, and entreated them to make dispatch: for this was his reason of coming to Antwerp; and as he had all his preparations ready, it would be a great loss to him if they were tardy. These lords of Germany had a long consultation together, and finally made this their answer:

† A town in the Low Countries, three leagues from Mons, and four from Maubeuge.

* Guy de Rickenburg, bastard brother to the earl of Flanders.—Carte.

"Dear sir, when we came hither, it was more for the pleasure of seeing you, than for anything else; we are not yet in a situation to give a positive answer to your demand; but we will return home, and come again to you whenever you please, and give you so full an answer, that the matter shall not remain with us."

They fixed upon that day three weeks after St. John's day. The king of England remonstrated with them upon the great expenses and loss he should be at by their delays, for he thought they would all have been ready with their answers by the time he had come thither; and added, that he would never return to England, until he knew what their intentions were. Upon this the lords departed, and the king remained quietly in the monastery of St. Bernard: some of his lords stayed at Antwerp, to keep him company; the rest went about the country amusing themselves in a magnificent style, and were well received and feasted wherever they came. The duke of Brabant went to Louvain, and made a long stay there; thence he sent (as he had done before) frequently to the king of France, to entreat that he would not pay attention to any reports that were injurious to him, for he should be very sorry to form any connection or alliance contrary to his interests; but the king of England being his cousin-german, he could not forbid his passing through his country. The day came when the king expected the answers from the above-mentioned lords: they sent excuses, saying, they were not quite ready, neither themselves nor their men; that he must exert himself to make the duke of Brabant prepare to act with them, as he was much nearer to France, and seemed to them very indifferent in the matter; and that as soon as they should for a certainty be informed that the duke was ready, they would put themselves in motion, and be as soon in action as he should be.

Upon this the king of England had a conference with the duke of Brabant, and showed him the answers he had received, and begged of him, by his friendship and his kindred, that no delay might come from him, for he suspected that he was warmly inclined to the aid of these German lords. The duke replied, that he would summon his council. After long deliberations, he told the king, that he would be ready the moment the business required it—but that he must first see these lords; to whom he wrote, to desire they would meet him at whatever place was the most agreeable to them. The day for this conference was fixed for the middle of August, and it was unanimously agreed to be held at Halle, on account of the young earl of Hainault, who was to be there, as well as the lord John, his uncle.

When all the lords of the empire were assembled in the city of Halle, they had long deliberations together, and said to the king of England, "Dear sir, we do not see any cause for us to challenge the king of France, all things considered, unless you can procure the consent of the emperor, that he will command us so to do on his account, which may easily be done; for there is an ordinance of a very old date, sealed, that no king of France should take and keep possession of anything that belongs to the empire. Now king Philip has gotten possession of the castles of Crevecœur, in Cambresis, and of Arleux, in Artois, as well as the city of Cambray, for which the emperor has good grounds to challenge him through us, if you will have the goodness to obtain it from him, in order to save our honor." The king of England replied, that he would cheerfully conform himself to their advice.

It was then determined, that the marquis of Juliers should go to the emperor, and with him knights and counsellors from the king, and some from the duke of Gueldres: but the duke of Brabant would not send any; he lent, however, his castle of Louvain to the king for his residence. The marquis of Juliers and his company found the emperor at Nuremberg: they obtained by their solicitations the object of their mission; for the lady Margaret of Hainault, whom the lord Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, had married, took great pains and trouble to bring it about. The marquis was then created an earl, and the duke of Gueldres, who was but an earl, was raised to the dignity of a duke. The emperor gave a commission to four knights and two counsellors in the law, who were members of his council, investing them with powers to make king Edward his vicar over all parts of the empire; and these lords took out sufficient instruments, publicly sealed and confirmed by the emperor.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DAVID, KING OF SCOTLAND, FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH PHILIP, KING OF FRANCE.

About this time, the young king David of Scotland, great part of whose kingdom was seized by the English, which he could not recover from the power of the king of England, quitted Scotland, with his queen and a few followers. They arrived at Boulogne, and thence came to Paris, where the king magnificently received them, gave them one of his castles to reside in as long as they chose, and supplied them with money for their expenses, upon condition that the king of Scotland would never make peace with the king of England but with his consent; for the king of France knew well that king Edward was taking every measure to make war upon him.* The king of France detained the king and queen of Scotland a long time; they had everything they wanted delivered to them, for but little came from Scotland to support their state. He sent also embassadors to those lords and barons who had remained in Scotland, and were carrying on the war against the English garrisons, offering them assistance, if they would not consent to any pacification or truce without his approbation, and that of their king, who had already promised and sworn the same.

The Scottish lords assembled, held a conference on the subject, agreed most willingly to this request, and sealed and swore to what their king had before promised. Thus was this alliance first formed between the kings of France and Scotland, which lasted for many years. The king of France sent men-at-arms into Scotland to carry on the war, under the command of the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, afterwards marshal of France, the lord Garencieres, and many other knights and esquires. King Philip imagined that the Scots would find the English too much employment at home, for them to be able to cross the sea; or if they did, at all events in too small numbers to hurt or molest him.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND MADE VICAR OF THE EMPIRE OF GERMANY.

When the king of England and the lords, his allies, had quitted the conference at Halle, the king returned to the castle of Louvain, which he set about preparing for his residence; at the same time he sent to his queen, to inform her of his intentions, and that if she would come to him, it would give him much pleasure, for he should not be able to repass the sea this year. He sent back many of his knights to guard the country, particularly the borders of Scotland. While these things were going forward, the English knights remaining with the king in Brabant spread themselves all over the countries of Flanders and Hainault, living most sumptuously, and giving princely presents and entertainments to the lords and ladies, in order to acquire their good will and favor. Their behavior was such, that they were beloved by those of both sexes, and even by the common people, who were pleased with their state and magnificence. The marquis of Juliers and his company returned from the empire about All Saints day; and when he sent to inform the king of this, he congratulated him on the good success of his mission. The king wrote him for answer, that he should come to him on the feast of Saint Martin, and demanded of the duke of Brabant to name the place where he wished this conference to be holden, who replied at Arques, in the county of Los,* near to his own country. Upon this, the king gave notice of it, that all his allies might be there.

The town-hall of Arques was hung with rich and fine cloths, like to the presence-chamber of the king. His majesty was seated five feet higher than the rest of the company, and had on his head a rich crown of gold. The letters from the emperor to the king were publicly read, by which the king of England was constituted and established his vicar and lieutenant, and full powers granted to him to do all acts of law and justice to every one, in his name, and also to coin money in gold and silver. These letters commanded all those in the empire, and all his other subjects, to obey his vicar as himself, and that they should do fealty and homage to him as vicar of the empire. Several knights and lords swore fealty and homage before him, and some took advantage of the opportunity of pleading their causes, as if before the emperor, and they were judged as lawfully as if in his presence.

On this occasion an ancient statute was renewed and confirmed, which had been made in former times at the court of the emperor; it directed, that any one meaning to hurt or annoy another should send him a sufficient defiance three days before he committed any hostile act; and that whoever should act otherwise should be degraded as an evil doer. When all this was completed, the lords took their leave, and gave each other their mutual promises to be fully equipped, without delay, three weeks after the feast of Saint John, to sit down before the city of Cambray, which of right belonged to the emperor, but had turned to the French. The lords then set out each for his home, and king Edward, as vicar of the empire, returned to Louvain to his queen, who had lately arrived there with many of the nobility, and well accompanied by ladies and damsels, from England. The king and queen kept their courts there in great state during all the winter, and caused plenty of gold and silver coin to be struck at Antwerp.

The duke of Brabant, however, was not neglectful in sending frequent messages to king Philip of France by the Lord Lewis de Travehen, his special counsellor, to excuse himself; for which purpose this knight had made many different journeys; and at last he was commanded to remain near the person of the king, in order to exculpate his master, and contradict any reports that might be circulated against him. The knight did everything in his power, and becoming his duty.

* "In such circumstances, it became necessary to provide a safe place of refuge for the young king and his consort; Malcolm Fleming found means to convey them from the castle of Dunbarton into France, where they were honorably entertained."

"Whether David II. was conveyed into France, after the battle of Duplin, in 1332, or after the battle of Halidon, 1333, is a question of little importance. Our later authors have decided in favor of 1333, and not without probable reasons: the chief is, that Baliol, the 23rd November, 1332, offered to marry Johanna, the infant consort of David Bruce; Fœd. tom. iv. pp. 536–539; which he would not have done, had she been conveyed to France immediately after the battle of Duplin, 12th August, 1332. This is a more specious argument than anything drawn from the Chronicle of Froissart, where dates and facts are strangely misplaced and confounded, as the manner is in colloquial history."—Lord Hailes's Annals.

* The county of Los had formerly its particular counts, and made part of the territories of the bishopric of Liege.

CHAPTER XXXV.

KING EDWARD AND HIS ALLIES SEND CHALLENGES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

WINTER was now over, and the summer come, when the feast of St. John the Baptist approaching, the lords of England and Germany made preparations for undertaking their intended expedition. The king of France also made his preparations to meet them; for he was well acquainted with part of what they intended, though he had not yet received any challenge. King Edward collected his stores in England, where he made his armaments ready, and, as soon as St. John's day was passed, transported them across the sea to Vilvorde,* whither he went himself. He made all his people, on their arrival, take houses in the town; and when this was full, he lodged them in tents and pavilions in the fine meadows along the side of the river. He remained thus from Magdalen day until the feast of our Lady in September, expecting week after week the arrival of the lords of the empire, especially the duke of Brabant, for whom all the others were waiting. When the king of England saw that they came not, he sent strong messages to each of them, and caused them to be summoned to be at the city of Mechlin on St. Giles's day, according to their promises, and to give reasons for their delays.

EDWARD THE THIRD SENDING A CHALLENGE TO KING PHILIP—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century

King Edward was obliged to remain at Vilvorde, where he maintained daily, at his own cost, full sixteen hundred men-at-arms, that had come there from beyond sea, and ten thousand archers, without counting the other followers of his army. This must have been a heavy expense; not including the large sums he had given to the German lords, who thus paid him back by fair promises; and the great force he was obliged to keep at sea against the Genoese, Bretons, Normans, Picards, and Spaniards, whom king Philip supported at his cost, to harass the English, under the command of sir Hugh Quiriel, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, who were the admirals and conductors of this fleet, to guard the straits and passages between England and France; and these corsairs only waited for information of the war being commenced, and the English king, having challenged the king of France as they supposed he would, to invade England and ravage the country. The lords of Germany, in obedience to the summons, came to Mechlin, where, after many debates, they agreed, that the king should be enabled to march in a fortnight, when they would be quite ready; and, that their cause might have a better appearance, they determined to send challenges to king Philip. At the head of this defiance was the king of England, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, sir Robert d'Artois, sir John of Hainault, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blanckenburg, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, the archbishop of Cologne, his brother sir Waleran, and all the lords of the empire, who were united as chiefs with the king of England. These challenges were written and sealed by all, except the duke Jean of Brabant, who said he would do his part in proper time and place. They were given in charge to the bishop of Lincoln, who carried them to Paris, and performed his message so justly and well, that he was blamed by no one. He had a passport granted him to return to his lord, who, as said before, was at Mechlin.

* A small town in Brabant, between Brussels and Mechlin, on the river Senne.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SIR WALTER MANNY, AFTER THE CHALLENGES HAD BEEN SENT, MAKES THE FIRST INCURSION INTO FRANCE.

SIR WALTER MANNY, a week after the challenges had been sent, and when he imagined the king of France had received them, collected about forty lances, on whom he knew he could depend, and rode through Brabant night and day; so that he came into Hainault, and entered the wood of Blaton, before any of his followers knew where and why they were thus hastening: he then told some of his intimates, that he had made a promise in England, before the nobles and ladies, that he would be the first that would enter France, and take some castle or strong town, and perform some gallant deed of arms; and that his intention was to push forward as far as Mortaigne, to surprise the town, which was a part of the kingdom of France. Those to whom he thus opened himself cheerfully consented to follow him. They then regirthed their horses, tightened their armor, and rode in close order: having passed through the wood of Blaton, they came at one stretch, a little before sunrise, to Mortaigne, where luckily they found the wicket open. Sir Walter alighted with some of his companions, and having passed the wicket in silence, and placed there a guard, he then with his pennon marched down the street before the great tower, but the gate and the wicket were close shut. The watch of the castle heard their voice, and seeing them from his post, began to blow his horn, and to cry out "Treason! treason!" This awakened the soldiers and inhabitants, but they did not make any sally from the fort. Sir Walter, upon this, retreated handsomely into the street, and ordered those houses to be set on fire that were near the castle: full fifty houses were burnt that morning, and the inhabitants much frightened, as they concluded they must all have been taken prisoners; but sir Walter and his company marched away, and came straight to Condé, where they passed by the pond and river Haynes, taking the road to Valenciennes; leaving which on the right hand, they came to Avesnes, and took up their quarters in the abbey. They then pushed forward toward Bouchain, and managed matters so well with the governor, that the gates of the castle were opened to them: they crossed a river which empties itself into the Scheld, and which rises near Arleux. Afterwards they came to a very strong castle, called Thin-l'Evêque, that belonged to the bishop of Cambray, which was so suddenly surprised, the governor and his wife were taken in it. Sir Walter placed a strong garrison there, and made his brother, sir Giles Manny, governor, who gave much disturbance to the Cambresians, as this castle was but a short league from the city of Cambray. When sir Walter had performed these enterprises, he returned into Brabant toward the king, his lord, whom he found at Mechlin, and related to him all that he had done.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE FRENCH, AFTER THE CHALLENGES, INVADE ENGLAND.

UPON king Philip's receiving the challenges from king Edward and his allies, he collected men-at-arms and soldiers from all quarters; he sent the lord Gallois de la Bausme, a good knight from Savoy, to the city of Cambray, and made him governor thereof, in conjunction with sir Thibault de Marneil and the lord of Roye: they might be, includ.

ing Spaniards and French, full two hundred lances. The king seized the county of Ponthieu, which the king of England had before held by right of his mother; and he also sent and entreated some lords of the empire, such as the count of Hainault his nephew, the duke of Lorrain, the count of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the bishop of Liege, not to commit any hostile acts against him or his kingdom. The greater part of them answered as he could have wished; but the count of Hainault, in a very civil reply, said that although he should be at all times ready to assist him or his realm against any one, yet as the king of England made war in behalf of the empire, as vicar and lieutenant of it, he could not refuse him aid and assistance in his country, as he held lands under the empire. The king of France appeared satisfied with this answer, not however laying much stress on it, as he felt himself in sufficient strength to oppose his enemies.

As soon as sir Hugh Quiriel, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, were informed that hostilities had commenced, they landed one Sunday morning in the harbor of Southampton, while the inhabitants were at church; Normans, Picards, and Spaniards entered the town, pillaged it, killed many, deflowered maidens and forced wives; and having loaded their vessels with the booty, they fell down with the tide, and made sail for the coast of Normandy. They landed at Dieppe, and there divided the plunder.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

KING EDWARD BESIEGES THE CITY OF CAMBRAY.

The king of England from Mechlin went to Brussels to see the duke of Brabant: his people passed by without entering it. There a large body of Germans, at least twenty thousand men, joined the king, who asked the duke of Brabant what his intentions were—to go before Cambray or to desert his cause. The duke replied, that, as soon as he should know that Cambray was besieged, he would come thither with twelve hundred lances of good men-at-arms; which answer pleased the king much. The king took his departure, and lay that night at Nivelle; the next day he came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the young count of Hainault and his uncle, who received him joyfully. The lord Robert d'Artois was always with the king, and of his privy council. He was attended by sixteen or twenty great barons and knights from England, whom he carried with him by way of state, and also as his council. The bishop of Lincoln was among them, who was much renowned in this expedition for his wisdom and valor. The English pushed forward, and lodged themselves on the roads in the flat countries through which they passed, and found provision at hand for their money; but some paid and others not.

When the king had reposed himself two days at Mons, in Hainault, he came to Valenciennes, which he entered, taking with him but twelve knights. The count of Hainault was already arrived there, accompanied by the lord John, his uncle, the lord of Faguinelles, the lord of Verchin, and the lord of Havareth, with many others, who attended on the person of the count, their lord. The count took the king by the hand, and led him to the great hall, which was properly prepared to receive him, and as they were ascending the steps, the bishop of Lincoln, then present, raised his voice and said, "William d'Aussonne, bishop of Cambray, I admonish you, as proctor on the part of the king of England, vicar of the emperor of Rome, that you consent to open the gates of the city of Cambray; and if otherwise you shall do, you will forfeit your lands and we will enter by force." No reply was made, for the bishop of Cambray was not present. The bishop of Lincoln continued, and said, "earl of Hainault, we admonish you on the part of the emperor of Rome, that you come and assist the king of England, his vicar, before the city of Cambray, with all your forces." The earl made answer, and said, "Willingly." They entered the hall, and conducted the king to his chamber. Shortly after the supper was served up, which was sumptuous and splendid. The next day the king departed, and came to Haspre on the Selle. Having halted there two days, till the greater part of his forces had passed by, he set out and came before Cambray; when, having fixed his quarters opposite to it, he surrounded with his army the whole city, his forces every day increasing.

The young earl of Hainault came thither with a large body of men, accompanied by his uncle, sir John, and they took up their quarters near to those of the king. They were followed by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Saunes, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and all the other lords of the empire, allies of the king, with their forces. On the sixth day after the king and these lords had taken their position before Cambray, the duke of Brabant arrived with a fine army: there were full nine hundred lances, without counting the other armed men, of whom there were numbers. He took up his quarters at Ostrenant upon the Scheld, over which a bridge was thrown for the communication of one army with the other. The duke of Brabant was no sooner arrived, than he sent his challenge to the king of France, who was at Compiègne; at which sir Lewis de Travchen, who had hitherto exculpated him, was so confounded, that he would not return into Brabant, but died of grief in France.

During the siege of Cambray there were many skirmishes and combats; sir John of Hainault, and the lord of Fauquemont, as usual, made their excursions together, and burnt and destroyed much of the country of Cambresis. These lords, with five hundred lances, and a thousand other men-at-arms, came to the castle of Oisy, in Cambresis, and assaulted it so furiously, that it would have been taken, if the knights and esquires within had not most valiantly defended it for the lord of Coucy; so that little damage was done, and these lords returned to their quarters. The earl of Hainault and his forces came one Saturday to the gates of St. Quentin, and made a vigorous attack upon them. John Chandos, as yet but an esquire, (of whose prowess this book will speak much,) flung himself between the barrier and the gate, at the length of a lance, and fought very gallantly with an esquire of Vermandois, called John de Saint Dizier: each of them performed great deeds of valor; and the Hainaulters got possession by force of the barriers. The earl of Hainault and his marshals, sir Gerard de Verchin and sir Henry d'Antoing, were present, and advantageously posted, as well as many others, who ventured boldly in the pursuit of honor. The lords of Beaumont, Fauquemont, Anghien, sir Walter Manny, with their forces, were at a gate, called Robert's gate, upon which they made a brisk attack; but those of Cambray, and the soldiers whom the king of France had sent thither, defended themselves with so much valor and skill, that the assailants gained no advantage, but retreated to their quarters well beaten and tired. The young earl of Namur came to serve under the earl of Hainault, according to his request, and said that he would be of their party so long as they remained in the empire; but, the moment they entered France, he should go and join the king of France, who had retained him, and entreated him to do so. This was also the intention of the earl of Hainault, who had commanded his people, that none should dare to commit any acts of violence in the kingdom of France under pain of death.

While the king of England was besieging the city of Cambray with full forty thousand men-at-arms, and pressing it closely by different assaults, the king of France assembled his forces at Peronne, in the Vermandois. About this time the king of England called a council of those from his own country, and particularly sir Robert d'Artois, in whom he had much confidence, and demanded of them, whether it were best to enter the kingdom of France, and go to meet his adversary, or to remain before Cambray until he should have taken it. The lords of England, and his privy councillors, seeing the city was strong and well provided with men, provision, and artillery, and that it would take some time to conquer it—of which, however, they were not well assured, for no great deeds of arms had yet been performed—that the winter was fast approaching, and that they were there at a very great expense, gave their opinion, that the king should push forward into France; for he could there find plenty of forage, and a great supply of provision. This counsel was followed; and all the lords were ordered to dislodge and pack up their tents, pavilions, and baggage. They advanced toward Mont St. Martin, which is upon the borders of France, and they marched very regularly by companies, each lord with his own people.

The earls of Northampton, Gloucester, and Suffolk, were the marshals of the English host, and the earl of Warwick was the constable of England. They easily passed the river Scheld, not far from Mont St. Martin, for it is not very wide at that place. When the earl of Hainault had accompanied the king of England as far as the boundaries of the Empire, so that if he passed the Scheld he would be in the kingdom of France, he took his leave, saying he would not advance further with him at this time; for as he had been sent to, and his aid requested by king Philip, his uncle, whose ill-will he wished not to incur, he would go serve him in France, as he had served the king of England in the Empire. The king replied, "God assist you." The earls of Hainault and Namur then turned back, and went to Quesnoy with all their troops; the earl of Hainault disbanded the greater part of his, but desired of them to hold themselves in readiness, for he should shortly go to the assistance of the king of France, his uncle.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

KING EDWARD CREATES SIR HENRY OF FLANDERS A KNIGHT,* AND AFTERWARDS MARCHES INTO PICARDY.

As soon as the king of England had passed the Scheld, and had entered the kingdom of France, he called to him the lord Henry of Flanders, who was but a young esquire, and knighted him—at the same time giving him two hundred pounds sterling a year, properly secured in England. The king was lodged in the abbey of Mont St. Martin, where he remained two days; his troops were scattered round about in the country. The duke of Brabant was quartered at the monastery of Vaucelles. When the king of France, who was at Compiègne, heard this news, he increased his forces everywhere, and sent the earl of Eu and Guines, his constable, with a large body of men-at-arms, to St. Quentin, to guard that town and the frontiers against his enemies. He sent the lords of Coucy and of Ham to their castles, and a great number of men-at-arms to Guise, Ribemont, Bouchain, and the neighboring fortresses on the borders of his king-

* His name was Henry Eam. He was eight years afterwards knighted, or, more probably, made a banneret, by the prince of Wales, who settled on him one hundred marks for his life, payable from the manor of Bradenash in the county of Devon. He was also the twenty fourth knight of the garter.—Ashmole.

dom; and came himself to Peronne, in the Vermandois. During the time the king of England was at the abbey of Mont St. Martin, his people overran the country as far as Bapaume, and very near to Peronne and St. Quentin: they found it rich and plentiful, for there had not been any wars in those parts.

Sir Henry of Flanders, to do credit to his newly acquired knighthood, and to obtain honor, made one of a party of knights, who were conducted by sir John de Hainault. There were among them the lords of Fauquemont, Bergues, Vaudresen, Lens, and many others, to the number of five hundred combatants: they had a design upon a town in the neighborhood, called Hennecourt, whither the greater number of the inhabitants of the country had retired, who, confiding in the strength of this fortress, had carried with them all their moveables. Sir Arnold of Bacqueghen and sir William du Dunor had already been there, but had done nothing: upon which all these lords had collected together, and were desirous of going thither to do their utmost to conquer it. There was an abbot at that time in Hennecourt of great courage and understanding, who ordered barriers to be made of wood-work around the town, and likewise to be placed across the street, so that there was not more than half a foot from one post to another; he then collected armed men, provided stones, quick-lime, and such like instruments of annoyance, to guard them. As soon as the lords above-mentioned came there, the abbot posted his people between the barriers and the gate, and flung the gate open; the lords dismounted and approached the barriers, which were very strong, sword in hand, and great strokes were given to those within, who defended themselves very valiantly. Sir Abbot did not spare himself; but, having a good leathern jerkin on, dealt about his blows manfully, and received as good in his turn. Many a gallant action was performed; and those within the barriers flung upon the assailants stones, logs, and pots full of lime, to annoy them.

It chanced that sir Henry of Flanders, who was one of the foremost, with his sword attached to his wrist, laid about him at a great rate; he came too near the abbot, who caught hold of his sword, and drew him to the barriers with so much force, that his arm was dragged through the grating, for he could not quit his sword with honor. The abbot continued pulling, and had the grating been wide enough, he would have had him through, for his shoulder had passed, and he kept his hold, to the knight's great discomfort. On the other side, his brother knights were endeavoring to draw him out of his hands; and this lasted so long, that sir Henry was sorely hurt: he was, however, at last rescued—but his sword remained with the abbot. And at the time I was writing this book, as I passed through that town, the monks showed me this sword, which was kept there, much ornamented. It was there that I learnt all the truth of this assault. Hennecourt was very vigorously attacked that day; and it lasted until vespers. Many of the assailants were killed or wounded. Sir John of Hainault lost a knight from Holland, called sir Herman, who bore for arms a fess componé gules, and in chief, three buckles azure. When the Flemings, Hainaulters, English, and Germans, who were there, saw the courage of those within the town, and that, instead of gaining any advantage, they were beaten down and wounded, they retreated in the evening, carrying with them to their quarters the wounded and bruised.

On the next morning the king departed from Mont St. Martin, and ordered, under pain of death, that no damage should be done to the abbey, which was observed. They then entered the Vermandois, and at an early hour took up their lodgings on Mont St. Quentin. They were in a regular order of battle; and those of St. Quentin might have encountered them, had they chosen it, but they had no desire to issue out of the town. The scouts of the army went up to the barriers, and skirmished with those who were there. The constable of France and sir Charles le Blois drew up their people in order of battle before the barriers; and when the Englishmen, among whom were the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Northampton, sir Reginald Cobham, and many others, saw the manner in which it was done, they retreated to the main army of the king, which remained encamped on the hill until four o'clock the next morning. A council was then held, to consider whether they should march straight into France, or draw toward Tierache, keeping near the borders of Hainault. By the advice of the duke of Brabant, the latter plan was followed, as from that country they drew all their provision; and they resolved, that if king Philip should follow them with his army, as they supposed he would, they would wait for him in the plains, and give him battle without fail. They then set out from Mont St. Quentin, ranged in a regular order, in three battalions. The marshals and the Germans led the van, the king of England the centre, and the duke of Brabant the rear; they advanced not more than three or four leagues a day, halting early, but burning and pillaging all the country they passed through.

A troop of English and Germans crossed the river Somme, a little below the abbey of Vermans, to which they did much damage: another troop under the command of Sir John of Hainault, and the lords of Fauquemont and Bacqueghen, went by a different road, and came to Origny St. Benoit,* a tolerably good town, but weakly inclosed; so that it was soon taken by assault, robbed, and pillaged, an abbey of nuns violated, and the whole town burnt. They then marched forward toward Guise and Ribemont. The king of England came and lodged at Vehories, where he remained a whole day, while his people overran all the country thereabouts, and laid it waste. The king then took his road to la Flamengrie, in his way to l'Eschelle, in Tierache: the marshals, with the bishop of Lincoln, accompanied by upward of five hundred lances, crossed the river Trisagee, entered the Laonnois, near the estate of the lord of Coucy, and burnt St. Gouvin and the town of Marle. They lay one night at Vau, below Laon, and the next day returned to the main army, as they had learnt from some of their prisoners that king Philip of France was come to St. Quentin with one hundred thousand men, and there intended to cross the river Somme. They burnt in their retreat a very good town called Crecy-sur-Selle, with a great many others, as well as villages, in that neighborhood.

We must now speak of the expedition of sir John of Hainault, who had with him full five hundred fighting men. He came first to Guise, which he burnt, and destroyed the mills. In the fortress was the lady Jane, his daughter, wife of Lewis earl of Blois; she begged of her father to spare the lands and heritage of his son-in-law; but in vain, for sir John would not depart, until he had completed the purpose of his expedition. He then returned to the king, who was lodged in the abbey of Sarnaques, while his people overran the country. The lord of Fauquemont led six score German lances to Lonnion, in Tierache, a large level town; the inhabitants of which had almost all retired with what they could carry off into the woods, and there had fortified their position, by cutting down large trees. The Germans followed them, and being joined by sir Arnold Bacqueghen and his company, they attacked the people of Lonnion in the wood, who defended themselves as well as they could: but they were overpowered and obliged to flee. There were about forty killed and wounded, and all they brought there plundered. Thus was this country ruined without any hindrance; and the English acted as they thought proper.

* A small town in Picardy, three leagues from St. Quentin

CHAPTER XL.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND APPOINT A DAY FOR THEIR ARMIES TO ENGAGE.

King Edward set out from Sarnaques, and came to Montreuil, where he lay one day, and on the morrow to la Flamengrie, where he cantoned all his people near him: their numbers amounted to more than forty thousand men. He held a council, and resolved, that he would wait for king Philip and his army, and would there offer them battle. The king of France had left St. Quentin, where he was daily receiving reinforcements, with all his army, and advanced as far as Vironfosse, where he stopped, and ordered his army to halt, saying he would not move further, before he fought the king of England and his allies, who were not more than two leagues distant. As soon as the earl of Hainault, who had remained at Quesnoy with his men-at-arms, was informed that the king of France was at Vironfosse, in expectation of giving battle, he pushed forward and joined the army of France with about five hundred lances, and presented himself before his uncle, who did not receive him very graciously, because he had been with his adversary before Cambray; nevertheless the earl excused himself so handsomely, that the king and his counsellors were well enough satisfied. It was ordered by the marshals, that is to say, by the marshals Bertrand and De Trie, that the earl should be posted very near to the English army. The quarters of the two kings were on the plain between Vironfosse and la Flamengrie, without any advantage of ground; and in the memory of man there had not been so fine an assembly of great lords; for the king of France was there in person, and had with him king Charles of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and the king of Scotland, dukes, counts, barons, and knights without number, and they were daily increasing.

When the king of England had halted in the champaign country of Tierache, as you have before heard, he was informed, that the king of France was within two leagues of him, and eager to give him battle; he therefore summoned the chiefs of his army, and demanded of them the best method of preserving his honor, as his intention was to accept the combat. The lords looked at each other, and requested the duke of Brabant to give his opinion. The duke replied, that he was for fighting, as they could not depart honorably without it; and he advised, that a herald should be sent to the king of France, to offer him battle, and to fix the day. A herald, who belonged to the duke of Gueldres, and spoke French well, had this commission. After being informed what he was to say, he rode to the French army, and coming to the king and his counsellors, told them, that the king of England, having halted in the plains, demanded and required the combat of one army against the other. To this king Philip answered willingly, and appointed the Friday following for the day, this being Wednesday. The herald returned back, well clothed with handsome furred mantles, which the king and lords of France had given him for the sake of the news he had brought, and related the good cheer he had received. The day being thus fixed, information of it was given to the captains of either army, and every one made his preparations accordingly.

On the Thursday morning, two knights belonging to the earl of Hainault, the lords of Faguinelles and Tupegny, mounted their steeds; and these two leaving their own army, set out to view that of the

English. They rode on for some time boldly along the line of the English army; when it chanced that the horse of the lord of Faguinelles took fright, ran off in spite of all the efforts of his master, and carried him, whether he would or no, to the quarters of the enemy. He fell into the hands of the Germans, who, soon perceiving he did not belong to their party, surrounded him and his horse, and took him prisoner. He remained prisoner to five or six German gentlemen, who immediately ransomed him. When they found out that he was a Hainaulter, they asked him whether he knew sir John of Hainault; he replied, Yes, and begged of them, for the love of God, to carry him to him, because he was sure he would be security for his ransom. The Germans were delighted at this, and carried him to sir John, who pledged himself for his ransom. The lord of Faguinelles thereupon returned to the army of Hainault, to his earl and other lords. His steed was returned to him through the entreaties of the above lord of Beaumont. Thus passed that day, without any other thing occurring worthy of being recorded.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND DRAW UP THEIR ARMIES IN BATTLE ARRAY AT VIRONFOSSE.

When Friday morning was come, the two armies got themselves in readiness, and heard mass, each lord among his own people, and at his own quarters: many took the sacrament and confessed themselves. We shall speak first of the English order of battle, which was drawn out on the plain, and formed three battalions of infantry. They placed their horses and baggage in a small wood behind them, and fortified it. The first battalion was commanded by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blanckenburg, sir John de Hainault, the earls of Mons and Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, sir William du Fort, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the Germans. There were twenty-two banners and sixty pennons; and the whole consisted of eight thousand good men.

The second battalion was under the duke of Brabant, with whom were the barons and knights of his country. First, the lord of Kus, the lord of Breda, the lord of Berques, the lord of Rodas, the lord of Vauselaire, the lord Broguinal, the lord d'Estonnevort, the lord of Wyten, the lord d'Elka, the lord of Cassebegne, the lord of Duffle, sir Thierry de Valcourt, sir Rasse de Gres, sir John de Cassebegne, sir Walter de Hautebergue, the three brothers De Harlebeque, sir John Fitifee, sir Giles de Cotterebe, sir Henry of Flanders, whom we had before occasion to mention, and several other barons and knights of Flanders, who were under the banner of the duke of Brabant; that is to say, the lords of Hallain and Guiten, sir Hector Villains, sir John of Rhodes, sir Vauflart de Guistelles, sir William d'Estrates, sir Gossuin de la Muelle, and many more. The duke of Brabant had with him twenty-four banners and eighty pennons; the whole amounting to seven thousand men.

The third battalion, which was the greatest, was commanded by the king of England in person. With him were, his cousin, the earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, the earls of Northampton and Gloucester, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert d'Artois, who was called earl of Richmond, the earl of Hereford, sir Reginald Cobham, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, sir Lewis and sir John Beauchamp, the lord Delaware, the lord Lincoln, the lord Basset, the lord Fitzwalter, sir Walter Manny, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, and many others, whom I cannot name. The king created many knights; among whom was sir John Chandos,* whose numerous acts of prowess are recorded in this book. The king had twenty-eight banners and ninety pennons; and there might be in his division about six thousand men-at-arms, and the same number of archers. He had formed on his wing another battalion, under the command of the earl of Warwick, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Berkeley, the lord Molins, and some others, who were on horseback, in order to rally those that might be thrown into disorder, and to serve as a rearguard. When everything had been thus arranged, and each lord under his proper banner, as had been ordered by the marshals, the king mounted an ambling palfrey, and, attended only by sir Robert d'Artois, sir Reginald Cobham, and sir Walter Manny, rode along the line of his army, and right sweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preserve his honor, which they all promised. He then returned to his own division, set himself in battle array as became him, and ordered that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals.

We will now speak of the king of France, as it has been related by those who were present. There were eleven score banners, four kings, six dukes, twenty-six earls, upward of five thousand knights, and more than forty thousand common men. With Philip de Valois, king of France, were, the kings of Bohemia, of Navarre, and of Scotland; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorrain, and Athens; the earls of Alençon (the king's brother,) of Flanders, of Hainault, of Blois, of Bar, of Forets, of Foix, of Armagnac, the earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earls of Longueville, of Estampes, of Vendôme, of Harcourt, of St. Pol, of Guines, of Boulogne, of Roussy, of Dammartin, of Valentinois, of Auxerre, of Sancerre, of Geneve, of Dreux; and from Gascony and Languedoc so many earls and viscounts, that it would take up too much time to name them. It was a fine sight to see the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horses, the knights and esquires richly armed. The French were formed in three large battalions, each consisting of fifteen thousand men-at-arms, and twenty thousand men on foot.

* Neither Lord Berners nor Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas's edition make mention of this creation of knights, but speak of sir John Chandos as already a knight.—Ed.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE TWO KINGS RETIRE FROM VIRONFOSSE WITHOUT GIVING BATTLE.

It was a matter of much wonder how two such fine armies could separate without fighting. But the French were of contrary opinions among themselves, and each spoke out his thoughts. Some said it would be a great shame, and very blameable, if the king did not give battle when he saw his enemies so near him, and drawn up in his own kingdom in battle array, in order to fight with him according to his promise: others said it would exhibit a singular instance of madness to fight, as they were not certain that some treachery was not intended; besides, if fortune should be unfavorable, the king would run a great risk of losing his kingdom, and if he should conquer his enemies, he would not be the nearer to gain possession of England, or of the land of the allies. Thus the day passed until near twelve o'clock in disputes and debates. About noon a hare was started in the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting and noise, which caused those in rear to imagine the combat was begun in front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords. Several new knights were made, especially by the earl of Hainault, who knighted fourteen, and they were ever after called *knights of the hare*.

In this situation the two armies remained all Friday, without moving, except as has been mentioned. In the midst of the debates of the council of the king of France, letters were brought to the king from Robert king of Sicily addressed to him and his council. This king Robert was, as they said, a very great astrologer and full of deep science; he had often cast the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had found, by his astrology and the influence of the stars, that, if the king of France fought with the king of England in person, he would surely be defeated; in consequence of which, he, as a wise king, and much fearing the danger and peril of his cousin the king of France, had sent long before letters, most earnestly to request king Philip and his council never to give battle to the English when king Edward should be there in person. These doubts, and this letter from the king of Sicily, made many of the lords of France sore disheartened, of which the king was informed, who, notwithstanding, was very eager for the combat; but he was so strongly dissuaded from it, that the day passed quietly, and each man retired to his quarters.

When the earl of Hainault saw that there was no likelihood of a battle, he departed with all his people, and returned to Quesnoy. The king of England, the duke of Brabant, and the other lords, began to prepare for their return, packed up their baggage, and came that Friday night to Avesnes, in Hainault, where they took up their quarters, and in its neighborhood. The next day the Germans and Brabanters took their leave, and returned to their homes. The king of England went to Brabant with the duke, his cousin.

The king of France, the Friday afternoon that the two armies had been drawn out in order of battle, retired to his lodgings, very angry that the combat had not taken place; but those of his council told him he had acted right well, and had valiantly pursued his enemies, insomuch that he had driven them out of his kingdom, and the king of England must make many such expeditions before he could conquer the kingdom of France. The next day king Philip gave permission for all to depart, dukes, barons, knights, &c., most courteously thanking the leaders for having come so well equipped to serve and assist him. Thus ended this great expedition, and every man returned to his own house. The king of France went to St. Omer, and gave there his principal orders for public affairs. He dispatched a great number of men-at-arms into his garrisons, especially to Tournay, Lisle, and Douay, and to all the towns bordering on the empire. He sent sir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, and made him governor-general and regent of all the country thereabout, and sir Edward de Beaujeu to Mortaigne; and when he had ordered the rest of his business to his liking, he drew toward Paris.

CHAPTER XLIII.

KING EDWARD ASSUMES THE ARMS AND TITLE OF KING OF FRANCE.

When king Edward had departed from La Flamengrie, and arrived in Brabant, he set out straight for Brussels, whither he was attended by the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, the marquis of Blanckenburg, the earl of Mons, the lord John of Hainault, the lord of Fauquemont, and all the barons of the empire, who were allied to him, as they wished to consider what was next to be done in this war which they had begun. For greater expedition, they ordered a conference to be holden in the city of Brussels, and invited Jacob von Artaveld to attend it, who came thither in great array, and brought with him all

the councils from the principal towns of Flanders. At this parliament, the king of England was advised, by his allies of the empire, to solicit the Flemings to give him their aid and assistance in this war, to challenge the king of France, to follow king Edward wherever he should lead them, and in return he would assist them in the recovery of Lisle, Douay and Bethune. The Flemings heard this proposal with pleasure; but they requested of the king, that they might consider of it among themselves, and in a short time they would give their answer. The king consented, and soon after they made this reply:

"Beloved sire, you formerly made us a similar request; and we are willing to do everything in reason for you, without prejudice to our honor and faith—but we are pledged by promise on oath, under a penalty of two millions of florins, to the apostolical chamber, not to act offensively against the king of France in any way, whoever he may be, without forfeiting this sum, and incurring the sentence of excommunication: but if you will do what we will tell you, you will find a remedy; which is, that you take the arms of France, quarter them with those of England, and call yourself king of France. We will acknowledge your title as good, and we will demand of you quittance for the above sum, which you will grant us as king of France: thus we shall be absolved, and at liberty to go with you wherever you please."

The king summoned his council, for he was loth to take the title and arms of France, seeing that at present he had not conquered any part of that kingdom, and it was uncertain whether he ever should: on the other hand, he was unwilling to lose the aid and assistance of the Flemings, who could be of greater service to him than any others at that period. He consulted, therefore, with the lords of the empire, the lord Robert d'Artois, and his most privy councillors, who, after having duly weighed the good and bad, advised him to make for answer to the Flemings, that if they would engage, under their seals, to the agreement of aiding him to carry on the war, he would willingly comply with their conditions, and would swear to assist them in the recovery of Lisle, Douay, and Bethune; to which they willingly consented. A day was fixed for them to meet at Ghent, where the king and the greater part of the lords of the empire, and in general the councils from the different towns in Flanders, assembled. The above-mentioned proposals and answers were then repeated, sworn to, and sealed; and the king of England bore the arms of France, quartering them with those of England: he also took the title of king of France from that day forward, and maintained it, until he laid it aside by a certain agreement, as will be hereafter related in this book.

At this conference held at Ghent, the lords engaged the summer ensuing to make an active war in France, and promised to besiege the city of Tournay. The Flemings were much rejoiced at this, for they thought they should be strong enough to conquer it; and if it were once under the protection of the king of England, they could easily recover Lisle, Douay, Bethune, and all their dependencies, which of right belonged to the country of Flanders. The lords and the councils were still at Ghent, much wondering why those of the country of Hainault had not come to this conference; but such proper excuses were sent, that the king and the others were satisfied.

Things remained on this footing, when the lords took their leave, and set out for their own country. The king of England went to Antwerp; but the queen remained with her train at Ghent, where she was often visited and comforted by Jacob von Artaveld and other lords and ladies of Ghent. The king left in Flanders the earls of Salisbury and of Suffolk, who went to the town of Ypres, which they garrisoned, and thence harassed much those of Lisle and its environs. When the king's vessel was ready, he embarked with a numerous attendance at Antwerp, and sailed for London, where he arrived about St. Andrew's day, 1339, and was joyfully received by his subjects, who were anxious for his return. Great complaints were made to him of the ravages which the Normans, Picards, and Spaniards had committed at Southampton; upon which he answered, that, whenever it came to his turn, he would make them pay dearly for it—and he kept his word before the end of that year.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE FRENCH DESTROY THE TERRITORIES OF SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.

King Philip, after his return to Paris, had disbanded his army; but he had sent strong reinforcements to the navy which he had at sea, under the command of Quiriel, Bahucet, and Barbenoire. These three master corsairs had under them a number of Genoese, Normans, Picards, and Bretons, as soldiers, and had done this winter much damage to the English: they frequently came near Sandwich, Rye, Winchelsea, and Dover, upon the English coast, and were much dreaded, for they had upward of sixty thousand soldiers, and none durst leave the English ports, for fear of being pillaged and put to death. These seamen had gained considerably for the king of France during the course of the winter, and, in particular, had taken the ship Christopher, richly laden with money and wool, which the English were carrying to Flanders. This vessel had cost the king of England a very large sum. When taken by the Normans and others, it was pillaged, and all on board put to death. The French afterwards spoke much of this capture, and made great boastings respecting it.

The king of France was continually thinking how he could revenge himself on his enemies, and especially on sir John of Hainault, who had done him, as he had been informed, much mischief; such as conducting king Edward into the countries of Cambresis and Tierache, and burning and destroying all he passed through. He wrote therefore to my lord de Beaumont, lord of Bresne, to the vidame of Chalons, to the lord John de la Bone,* to the lords John and Gerald de Loire, ordering them to collect a body of men, and make an incursion upon the lands of the lord John of Hainault, and burn them without delay. These lords obeyed the king's command, and secretly collected so many, that they amounted to five hundred armed men, with whom they one morning came before the town of Chimay, entered it, and made a large booty; for the inhabitants never imagined the French would advance so far into the country, or venture to pass the forest of Tierache: however, they did so, and they burnt the suburbs of Chimay, and many villages in the neighborhood, indeed almost all the territory of Chimay except its fortresses. They then retreated to Aubenton, in Tierache, with their plunder. News and complaints of this were soon brought to sir John of Hainault, who at that time was at Mons with his nephew, at which he was very angry, and not without cause: the earl was also displeased, for these lands were held under him; but he was silent, and showed not any open design of revenge, upon the kingdom of France.

About the time of this disaster, it happened that some soldiers, who were garrisoned in Cambray, came to a small fortified house, beyond the walls of that town, called Relenques, that belonged to sir John of Hainault, and was guarded by a bastard of his, who might have with him about fifteen men; they attacked it one whole day, but it was valiantly defended. The ditches were frozen over, so that any one might approach the walls, which those within perceiving, packed up all they could, and leaving it about midnight, set it on fire. The next morning, when those from Cambray returned and saw it on fire, they destroyed the walls and everything remaining. The bastard and his companions retreated to Valenciennes. It has been before related how sir Walter Manny took the castle of Thin-l'Evêque, and placed his brother Giles Manny with a garrison in it. This brother made many incursions upon those of Cambray, and gave them much uneasiness, for he was every day skirmishing close up to the barriers. In this state he kept them for some time.

One morning very early he set out from the castle of Thin, with about six score men-at-arms, and came to the barriers at Cambray. The alarm was so great, that many were frightened. The garrison armed themselves as fast as they could, and mounted their horses with all haste, hurrying to the gate where the skirmish was, where, finding sir Giles had driven back those of Cambray, he instantly attacked their enemies. Among the Cambresians was a young esquire from Gascony, called William Marchant, who came to the field of battle mounted on a good steed, his shield hanging on his neck, his lance in its rest, completely armed, and spurring on to the combat. When sir Giles saw him approach, he spurred on to meet him most vigorously, and they met lance in hand, without fear of each other. Sir Giles had his shield pierced through, as well as all the armor near his heart, and the iron passed quite through his body. Thus he fell to the ground. This caused as great dismay to one party as joy to the other. The skirmish was very sharp, several were wounded, and many gallant actions performed; but at last those of Cambray kept their ground, and drove back their enemies. They returned into the town in triumph with the body of sir Giles, whom they immediately disarmed, and had his wound examined, and most willingly would they have preserved his life; but their wishes were vain, for he died the next day. They determined to send the body to his two brothers, John and Thierry, who were in garrison at Bouchain, in l'Ostrevant; for, although the country of Hainault was not in a state of war, all the frontiers toward France were strictly guarded. They ordered a handsome coffin,† in which they placed the corpse, and directed two monks to carry it to his brothers, who received it with much sorrow, and afterwards had it carried to the church of the Cordeliers, at Valenciennes, where it was buried. The two brothers came to the castle of Thin-l'Evêque, and made a very severe war against the Cambresians, in revenge for the loss they had suffered from them.

Sir Godemar du Fay at this time commanded for the king of France in Tournay and the fortresses in its neighborhood; the lord of Beaujeu, in Mortaigne upon the Scheld; the high steward of Carcassonne in the town of St. Amand; sir Aimery de Poictiers in Douay; the lord Gallois de la Bausme, the lord of Villars, the marshal of Mirepoix, and the lord of Marneil, in the city of Cambray. These knights, as well as the esquires and soldiers, desired nothing more ardently than permission to enter Hainault to pillage and destroy it. The bishop of Cambray, who had retired to Paris, being near the king's person, complained whenever he found a fit opportunity, of the damage the Hainaulters had occasioned him, and that they had burnt and destroyed for him more than any others would have done, so that the king at last gave his consent for the soldiers in the country of Cambray to make an invasion, and overrun the country of Hainault. Then the garrison of Cambray prepared six hundred men-at-arms for this incursion, and they sent out on a Saturday at

* De la *Boue.—D. Sauvage* and *Lord Berners*.—Ed.

† Lord Berners says, "they ordayned a *horse litter* right honorably, and put his body therein," &c.—Ed.

nightfall from Cambray those that were ordered for it. At the same hour those from Male-maison began their march. The two detachments met on the road, and came to the town of Haspres, which was a large handsome town, though not fortified: nor had the inhabitants any fear, for they had never received the smallest notice of war being declared against the country. The French, on entering the town, found every one within doors. Having taken and pillaged what they pleased, they burnt the town so completely, that nothing but the walls remained.

In Haspres there was a priory of black monks, that was dependent on that of St. Waas in Arras; the monastery was extensive, and had large buildings belonging to it, which they also pillaged and burned most villainously. They returned to Cambray after this excursion, driving all their booty before them. News of this was soon carried to Valenciennes, and earl William was informed of it as he was sleeping in his hotel, called La Salle. He immediately rose, and dressed himself in great haste, and summoned all the lords that were with him: at that time there were not many, only his high steward, sir Gerald de Verchin, sir Henry d'Antoing, sir Henry de Huffulise, sir Thierry de Walcourt, the lords of Flayon and Potrelles, and some few attached to his person, for the others were lodged at different houses, and were not ready as soon as the earl, who, without waiting for them, hastened to the market-place of Valenciennes, and ordered the alarm bells to be rung. This awakened all the inhabitants, who made themselves ready as quickly as possible to follow their lord, who was already out of the town, on horseback, pushing forward toward Haspres. When he had advanced about a league, he was informed that his efforts were in vain, for the French had retreated. He then went to the abbey of Fontenelles, where the lady his mother resided, who took all possible pains to appease and soften his anger; but he said, that for this robbery he would make the kingdom of France shortly pay dear. The lady his mother did all she could to appease him, and would most willingly have made excuses for the king of France in this disaster; but he would not listen to them, and said he must consider in what manner he could most speedily revenge himself, and burn part of the French territories. When he had remained there some little time, he returned to Valenciennes, and wrote letters to the knights and prelates, to have their advice what should be done under these circumstances, and to summon them to be at Mons by a fixed day.

When sir John of Hainault, who was at Beaumont, thinking how he could best revenge the burning of his land, heard these things, he mounted his horse, and came to his nephew, whom he found at La Salle. As soon as the earl perceived him, he came to meet him, saying, "Fair uncle, your absence has made the French very proud." Sir John replied, "God be praised! for although I am much vexed at the loss you have sustained, yet I cannot help being somewhat pleased with what has happened; for you now see what return you have had for the love and assistance you bore to the French: you must now make an incursion upon them on their own grounds." "Fix upon the place," said the earl, "and it shall be directly undertaken." When the day of the conference, which was to be holden at Mons, was arrived, all the councils from the different towns, as well as those of Holland and Zealand, were there.

Many proposals were made; and some of the barons were for sending persons properly instructed to the king of France, to demand if he had consented or ordered the invasion and burning of Hainault, or had sent his soldiers upon the lands of the earl, and upon what title this had been done, as there had not been any defiance or challenge sent to the earl or to the country. Upon these proposals there was much argument and debating, but it was at last determined, that neither the earl nor the country could get clear of this business without declaring war against the kingdom of France, as well for the burning of the lands of Chimay, as for their outrages committed at Haspres: it was therefore resolved, that a challenge should be sent to the king of France, and that afterwards they should enter his kingdom with a large body of men.

These letters of defiance were written and sealed by the earl and all the barons; and the abbot Thibaut de St. Crispin was ordered to carry them. The earl then returned thanks to all his lords for the good disposition he saw them in, for they had promised him aid and assistance in every situation. The abbot of St. Crispin carried this challenge to the king, who made but light of it, saying that his nephew was an outrageous madman, and was bargaining to have his country burnt and destroyed. The abbot, upon this, returned home, and related to the earl and his council what had happened to him, with the answers he had received. The earl immediately collected men-at-arms, summoned all his knights and esquires in Brabant and Flanders, as well as in his own country, and exerted himself so much, that in a short time he got together a large body of horsemen, well equipped. They set out from Mons, in Hainault, and that neighborhood, and advanced toward the land of Chimay, for it was the intention of the earl and his uncle to burn and destroy the territories of the lord of Bresne, as also Aubenton, in Tierache.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES AND DESTROYS AUBENTON, IN TIERACHE.

THE inhabitants of the town of Aubenton were much afraid of the earl of Hainault and his uncle, and had expressed their alarms to the high bailiff of Vermandois, who sent to their aid the vidame of Chalons, the lord of Beaumont, the lord de la Bone, the lord John of Loire, and many others. These knights, with their companions, marched into Aubenton, to the amount of full three hundred men-at-arms. The town was inclosed only by a palisade, which in many places was lately repaired. They had made every preparation to wait for the Hainaulters and defend the town, which was large, rich, and full of draperies.

The Hainaulters came on a Friday evening, and took up their quarters near Aubenton, whence they considered on what side the town was most easily to be taken. The next day they marched to attack it in three battalions, their banners well arranged in front, with their cross-bowmen. The earl of Hainault led the first battalion, having under him a multitude of knights and esquires of his own country. His uncle commanded the second, where there were many men-at-arms. The third was under the lord of Fauquemont, and composed of Germans. Each lord was with his own people, and under his proper banner. The battle began immediately on their advancing, and very sharp it was. The cross-bowmen shot from within and without, by which many were wounded. The earl and his battalion came to the gate, where there was a severe assault and much skirmishing. The vidame of Chalons, who was there, performed wonders; and on the spot he made three of his sons knights, who did many feats of arms worthy of their new honors: but the earl pressed them so closely, that he gained the barriers, and obliged his opponents to retire within the gate, where the assault continued very fierce. Sir John de la Bone* and sir John of Beaumont were posted at the gate leading to Chimay, which was gallantly attacked. The French were forced to retire within the gate, for they had lost their barriers, which the Hainaulters had carried, as well as the bridge. The combat was here renewed with double vigor, for those who had entered, mounting upon the gate, flung down upon their assailants logs of wood, pots full of lime and plenty of stones, by which those who had not very strong shields were very much hurt. Baldwin of Beaufort, an esquire of Hainault, received there so violent a blow from a large stone, that his shield was split by it, and his arm broken, which forced him to retire to his quarters; and owing to this accident, for a long time he could not give any assistance. The attack was pushed on with vigor, and the town defended by the garrison with much valor; which was indeed necessary, as their assailants were many; and, had it not been for the gentlemen who entered Aubenton, it would have soon yielded. However, at length the town was taken by force; the palisades, which were only of wood, were broken down. Sir John of Hainault and his banner first entered the town, with great shouting and noise of men-at-arms. Then the vidame of Chalons retired toward the church with some knights and esquires, where they formed themselves, with displayed banners and pennons, to the intent of combating as long as their honor demanded; but the lord of Bresne and his banner withdrew in a disorderly manner: for he knew well how much sir John of Hainault was enraged against him, and, if he had him in his power, would not admit of any ransom; so he mounted his steed, and galloped off.

When sir John of Hainault found that he who had done so much damage to his lands at Chimay was gone off toward Vervins, he pursued him, with part of his company; but the lord of Bresne made greater haste, and finding the gate of the town open, rushed in and saved himself. Sir John had followed him sword in hand; but when he found that he had escaped, he returned speedily by the great road to Aubenton: however, his people meeting those who were following the lord of Bresne, attacked them, and killed a great many. The combat continued obstinate before the cathedral, and many were killed and wounded. Among the first were the vidame and two of his sons: nor did any knight or esquire escape death or being made prisoner, but those who had followed the lord of Bresne. Upward of two thousand men were taken in the town, which was pillaged of all the riches it contained; many wagons and carts were laden with it and sent to Chimay. The town was afterwards burnt to the ground; and the Hainaulters took up their quarters on the river side.

After the destruction of Aubenton, they marched toward Maubert Fontaine, which they took on their arrival, for it was defenceless, and then pillaged and burnt it. They did the same to Aubencheul aux Bois, to Signy l'Abbaye, Signy le Petit, and all the villages thereabout, amounting to upward of forty. The earl of Hainault, after this, returned to Mons, where, he dismissed all his bands, after returning them his thanks in so gracious a manner for their assistance, that they all left him well pleased. He then formed the design of passing over to England to amuse himself, and at the same time form a strict alliance with the king, his brother-in-law, in order to strengthen himself; as he naturally imagined, that what he had done would not be taken quietly, but that the king of France, his uncle, would make some incursions into his country: for which reason he was anxious to have the support of the English, the Flemings, and the Brabanters, and summoned his council at Mons, to whom he declared his intentions. He nominated and appointed his uncle, during his absence, sir John of Hainault, governor of the three countries of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, and set out with a small company for Dordrecht, where he embarked and sailed over to England.

* D. Sauvage's edition reads *Bove*, but Lord Berners, in this place, has Bone.—ED.

We shall now leave the earl, to relate what happened to his country during his absence. Sir John of Hainault, as you have heard, remained master and governor of the three provinces, by order of the earl, and he was obeyed as if he had been their true lord. He took up his quarters at Mons, which he provisioned and strengthened, as well as all the forts in its neighborhood, especially those on the frontiers of France, with a sufficient number of men-at-arms. He sent four knights, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Waartang, the lord of Gommegines, and sir Henry Husphalize, to Valenciennes, as counsellors and advisers to the citizens and inhabitants. To Maubeuge, he sent the seneschal of Hainault, sir Gerard de Werthin, with a hundred good lances and men-at-arms. To Quesnoy, the marshal of Hainault, sir Thierry de Walcourt; and to Landrecy the lord of Potrelles. He placed in Bouchain three German knights, who were brothers, of the name of Conrad. Sir Gerard de Sassegnes was sent to Escaudavore, and the Lord of Fauquemont to Avesnes: all the other fortresses bordering on France were properly strengthened. He begged and entreated each captain to be attentive to his own honor, and careful of what was intrusted to him, which when they had all promised, they set out for their different stations. We will now return to the king of France, and speak of the expedition he was forming to invade and destroy Hainault, of which he made his son, the duke of Normandy, commander.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THOSE OF TOURNAY MAKE AN INCURSION INTO FLANDERS.

When the king of France had been informed that the Hainaulters had burnt the country of Tierache, had killed his knights, and destroyed his town of Aubenton, he ordered his son, the duke of Normandy, to collect a number of forces, make an incursion into Hainault, and destroy that country in such a manner, that it might never recover from it. The duke replied, he would cheerfully undertake this. The king then ordered the count de Lisle, a Gascon, who was at that time near his person at Paris, and whom he much loved, to collect forces, and march toward Gascony, as lieutenant for the king of France, with the intent of making some severe reprisals upon Bordeaux, in the Bourdelois, and upon all the places which held or belonged to the king of England. The count obeyed the king's orders, and left Paris for Toulouse, where he made his preparations to fulfil his commission, as you will see in its proper time and place. The king of France sent large reinforcements to the armament he had at sea, and ordered his captains to watch the coast of Flanders attentively, and upon no account to suffer the king of England to pass over or land in Flanders; for, if he did so by their fault, he would certainly punish them with death.

When king Philip heard that the Flemings had done honor to the king of England, he sent to them a prelate, as from the pope, to say, that if they would acknowledge him king of France, and abandon the king of England, who had enchanted them, he would forgive them all their misdoings, release them from the large sum of florins which, by an old obligation, was due to him; and moreover grant them, under his seal, many profitable franchises in France. The Flemings returned for answer, that they held themselves quit and absolved from everything which they owed the king of France. Upon this, the king made heavy complaints to to the pope, Clement VI., who issued so tremendous an excommunication against them, that no priest was daring enough to celebrate divine service there. The Flemings made remonstrances on this to the king of England; who, to appease them, said, that the first time he should cross the sea, he would bring with him priests from his own country, who should say mass for them, whether the pope would or not, as he had a power of so doing, and this satisfied them.

When the king of France saw that he could not make the Flemings retract their opinions, he commanded those in Tournay, Lisle, Douay, and the neighboring castles, to make war upon them, and overrun their country. Upon which sir John de Roye, at that time in Tournay, and sir Matthew de Trie, marshal of France, together with sir Godemar du Fay and many other knights, collected a thousand men, strongly armed and well mounted, with three hundred cross-bowmen, as well from Tournay as from Lisle and Douay: they set out from Tournay, one evening after supper, and marched so expeditiously, that they came before Courtray about daybreak, and before sunrise had collected all the cattle thereabouts. Some of their light-horse advanced to the gates of the town, and killed and wounded many in the suburbs: they then retreated without loss, and placed the river Lys, on their return, between them and the booty, which they had carried off that day. They brought into Tournay, more than ten thousand sheep, and of swine, beeves, and kine, as many more.

The Flemings were sore vexed at this; and Jacob von Artaveld, who was at that time at Ghent, swore that this expedition should be revenged on Tournay and its neighborhood. He gave immediate orders for the different towns in Flanders to collect forces, and to send them to him at a fixed day before Tournay; he also wrote to the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, who were at Ypres, to beg that they would draw toward that quarter to meet him. He then set out from Ghent, accompanied by great numbers, and came to a place called Geertsberg, between Oudenarde and Tournay, where he halted, to wait for the two earls, and for those of Franc and Bruges.

When the two earls received the letters, they would not for their honor's sake make any delay, but sent to inform von Artaveld, that they would be with him at the appointed time and place. They soon set out from Ypres with about fifty lances and forty cross-bowmen, and took the road where he was waiting for them. They continued their route; but, as they were forced to pass near the outskirts of Lisle, it was soon known in that town: accordingly, fifteen hundred horse and foot were secretly armed, and sent out in three divisions to lie in wait, so that these lords might not escape from them. The earls and their company followed the guidance of sir Vauflart de la Croix, who had long made war upon the people of Lisle, and still continued so to do whenever he had an opportunity: it was for this purpose that he was come to Ypres. He thought himself quite certain of conducting the earls in safety, as he was well acquainted with all the roads in those parts; and he would have succeeded now, if those of Lisle had not thrown up a great trench near their town, which was not there before.

When sir Vauflart came to this trench, and saw that their road was cut off, he was quite astonished, and said to the earls, "My lords, we cannot go further this way, without putting ourselves in the power of those of Lisle; on which account my advice is, that we turn about and seek another road." But the lords replied, "Nay, sir Vauflart, God forbid that we should go out of our way for those of Lisle! Ride on, therefore, for we have promised Jacob von Artaveld, that we would be with him some time this day." The English rode on without care. Sir Vauflart said to them, "It is true, my lords, that you have taken me for your guide in this expedition, and I have remained with you all this winter at Ypres, and have many thanks to give you and all your attendants; but if it should happen, that those of Lisle make a sally upon us, do not fancy that I shall wait for them, for I shall save myself as fast as I can. If by any accident I should be taken, my head would pay for it, which is much dearer to me than your company." The lords laughed heartily, and told him they would excuse him, if he should do so. And as he imagined, so it fell out; for, by not taking more precaution, they were surprised by one of the parties from Lisle, who cried out, "Stop! stop! you cannot pass here without our leave:" and immediately the lancemen and cross-bowmen fell on the English.

As soon as sir Vauflart saw what was going on, he took care not to advance further; but turning about as quickly as possible, galloped out of danger. The two earls fell into the hands of their enemies, and were taken as if in a net; for the ambuscade was placed between hedges and ditches in a very narrow road, so that they could neither advance nor retreat to gain the open country; however, when they saw their mischance, they dismounted, and defended themselves as well as they could, killing and wounding a great many of their opponents; but it was all in vain, for fresh forces from Lisle were continually pouring upon them. They were therefore taken prisoners; and a young brisk esquire of Limousin, of the name of Raymond, nephew to pope Clement, was killed for the sake of his beautiful armor, after he had surrendered himself, which made good men angry. The two earls were kept prisoners in the market-place at Lisle, and afterwards sent to the king of France, who promised, that those of Lisle should be well rewarded for the good service they had done him.* When Jacob von Artaveld received this information at Geertsberg, he was much enraged, and giving up all thoughts of his expedition, disbanded his Flemings, and himself returned to Ghent.

CHAPTER XLVII.

JOHN, DUKE OF NORMANDY, MARCHES INTO HAINAULT.

The duke of Normandy, eldest son of the king of France, issued a special summons of his intention to be at St. Quentin about Easter, in the year 1340. When he came thither he was attended by the duke of Athens, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Auxerre, the earl Raoul of Eu, constable of France, the earl of Sancerre, the earl of Porcien, the earl of Roussi, the earl of Bresne, the earl of Grandpré, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Graon, and a multitude of other nobles from Normandy and the Low Countries. On their being all assembled at St. Quentin and its environs, the constable and the two marshals of France, sir Robert Bertrand and sir Matthew de Trie, numbered them, and found there were six thousand men-at-arms, and eight thousand others armed with brigandines, besides followers of the army; which were fully sufficient, they said, to combat the earl of Hainault, or any force he could bring against them. They began their march, and took the road to Château-Cambresis, going near to Bohain; and advanced so forward that they passed Château-Cambresis, and took up their quarters at the town of Montay upon the river Selle.

Sir Richard Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, was informed by his spies, that the duke had halted at Montay. He asked those knights and esquires, who were with him, if they were willing to follow him; to which they consented. Accordingly, he set off from his hotel at

* This is a mistake. It was not the earl of Suffolk who was made prisoner, but his son, Robert de Ufford le Fitz, as he was called.—Dugdale, vol. ii.

Verchin, about sunset, accompanied by about forty lances, and pushed on till he came to Foretz, at the extremity of Hainault, a small league from Montay, when it was dark night. He made his company halt in a field to tighten their armor and regirth their horses. He then told them, he should like to give the duke an alert; at which they were all rejoiced, and said they would stick by him till death; for which he gave them many thanks. At that time there were with him, sir James du Sart, sir Henry de Phalise, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir John and sir Bertrand de Chatelet. Of esquires, there were, Giles and Thierre de Somain, Baldwin de Beaufort, Colebrier de Brule, Moreau de l'Escuyer, Sandrat de Stramen, John de Rebersat, Bridoul de Thiaux, and many others. They set forward in silence, and came to the town of Montay, which they entered, for the French had neglected to place guards there. The seneschal and his companions dismounted at a great hotel, where they thought the duke was; but he was lodged in another part of the town. In that hotel were two great lords of Normandy, the lords of Bailleul and of Beauté. The door was soon forced; and when these two knights saw themselves thus surprised, and heard the cry of Hainault from the seneschal, they were quite confounded: they, however, defended themselves in the best manner they could; but the lord of Bailleul was killed, and the lord of Beauté taken prisoner by the seneschal, to whom he pledged his faith to surrender himself to him within three days at Valenciennes.

The French then began to be in motion, and to issue from their quarters: they lighted great fires and torches, awakened every one, even the duke himself, whom they armed as quickly as they could, and displayed his banner before his hotel, to which people of all sorts repaired. The Hainaulters wisely retreated to their horses, which they mounted, and, when they were all collected together, they carried off ten or twelve good prisoners, and returned without the smallest loss or damage, for it was so dark they were not pursued. About daybreak they reached Quesnoy, where they reposed and refreshed themselves, and then went to Valenciennes.

The next morning the duke of Normandy gave orders for his army to dislodge and enter Hainault, and burn and destroy everything without exception. The baggage therefore began to move, and the lords of the advanced guard to proceed forward: they might amount to two hundred lances, and were commanded by sir Theobald de Marneil, sir Gallois de la Baume, the lord of Mirepoix, the lord of Raivenal, the lord of Sempy, lord John of Landas, the lord of Hangest, and the lord of Tramelles. The two marshals followed with full five hundred lances; then the duke of Normandy, attended by a crowd of earls, barons, and other lords. The advanced troops entered Hainault, and set fire to Fores, Bertrand, Vertigrieulx, Escarmain, Vendegyses-aux-Bois, Vendegyses upon the river Cinel. The next day they advanced further into the country, and burnt Avesnes-le-sec, Villiers-en-Cauchie, Gomegnies, Marchepois, Potel, Ansenoy, Perseaux, le Frasnoit, Andegay, the good town of Bavay, and all the country as far as the river Honneau. This second day a sharp attack was made on the castle of Verchin, and some skirmishing, by the division commanded by the marshals, but without success, as it was very well defended. The duke took up his quarters for that night upon the Selle, between Hausy and Sausoy.

Sir Valerian, lord of Fauquemont, commanded in Maubeuge, and with him were full one hundred lances of Germans and Hainaulters. As soon as he was informed of this incursion of the French, and how they were burning the country, and had heard the poor people lament and bewail their losses, he put on his armor, and ordered his people to get themselves in readiness. He gave up the command of the town to the lords of Beaurevoir and Montigny, and told his companions that he had a great desire to meet the French. He was on horseback all that day, and rode along the borders of the forest of Morinaulx. Toward evening he heard, that the duke of Normandy and all his host were lodged on the banks of the Selle; upon which he said he would awaken them, and rode on that evening, and about midnight he and his company forded the river. When they had all passed, they regirthed their horses, and set themselves to rights, and advanced in silence to the quarters of the duke. When they were near, they spurred on their horses, and at one rush drove into the middle of the duke's host, crying out, "Fauquemont!" They laid well about them, cutting down tents and pavilions, and killing or wounding all whom they met. The army then, being roused, armed as quickly as they could, and drew near to where the bustle was; but the lord of Fauquemont, seeing that it was time, collected his people, and retreated most handsomely. Of the French, there was killed the lord of Requigny from Picardy. The viscount du Quesnes, and Rouvroy with one eye, were made prisoners; and sir Anthony de Coudun was severely wounded. When the lord of Fauquemont saw nothing more could be done, he set off with all his people, and crossed the Selle without hindrance, for he was not pursued. They rode easily forward, and came to Quesnoy about sunrise, when the quartermaster-general, sir Thierry de Walcourt, opened the gates to them.

The duke of Normandy ordered his trumpets to sound the next morning at daybreak, for his army to prepare themselves, and to cross the Selle, and advance further into Hainault. The marshal of Mirepoix, the lord of Noysieres, sir Gallois de la Baume, and sir Thibault de Marneil, advanced first with four hundred lances, besides those armed with brigandines, and came before Quesnoy, even up to the barriers: they made a feint as if they intended to attack it; but it was so well provided with men-at-arms and heavy artillery, they would only have lost their pains. Nevertheless they skirmished a little before the barriers; but they were soon forced to retire, for those of Quesnoy let them hear their cannons* and bombards, which flung large iron bolts in such a manner, as made the French afraid for their horses—so they retreated and burnt Grand Wargny and Petit Wargny, Frelaines, Famars, Martre, Semery, and Artre, Sariten, Turgies, Estinen; and the Hainaulters fled from these towns to Valenciennes. The French afterwards encamped their battalions upon the hill of Castres near Valenciennes, where they lived in a rich and splendid manner. During their stay there, about two hundred lances, commanded by the lord of Craon, the lord of Maulevrier, the lord of Mathefelon, the lord of Avoir, and some others, went toward Main and attacked a large square tower, which for a long time had belonged to John Vernier of Valenciennes, but of late to John de Neufville. The assault was sharp and severe, and lasted the whole day; nor could they make the French retire before night, although five or six were killed. Those within defended themselves right valiantly, and did not suffer any loss.

A greater number of the French marched to Trie, intending, on their arrival, to pass over the Scheld; but those of the town had destroyed the bridge, and defended that passage: nor could the French ever have conquered it, if some among them had not been acquainted with the fords of the river and the country, who conducted upward of two hundred men to the foot-bridge at Prouvy. When these had crossed over, they came and fell upon the men of Trie, who, being few in number in comparison to them, were not able to resist; so they took to their heels, and many of them were killed and wounded.

The seneschal of Hainault left Valenciennes that day, accompanied, at the utmost, with one hundred men-at-arms, by the gate of Douzaing, to succor the inhabitants of Trie, who he thought would have enough to do. It happened that a little beyond St. Waast, he met about twenty-five light-horse of the French, commanded by three knights from Poitou—the lord Boucicault, who was afterwards a marshal of France, the lord of Surgeres, and sir William Blondel: they had passed over the bridge, very near to Valenciennes, which is called the bridge of La Tourelle, and is over the Vincel. When the seneschal perceived them, he stuck spurs into his horse, and with his lance overthrew the lord of Boucicault, made him prisoner, and sent him to Valenciennes. The lord of Surgeres saved himself by flight; but sir William Blondel surrendered himself to sir Henry d'Usphalise; and almost all the others were either killed or taken prisoners. This done, the seneschal hastened toward Trie; but he was too late, for the French had already conquered it before he came, and were busily employed in pulling down the mills, and destroying a small castle that was there. As soon as the seneschal arrived, they had not much leisure for such things, for they were driven back, killed, and cut down. Some were forced to leap into the river Scheld, and many were drowned. Thus was the town of Trie liberated. The seneschal afterwards crossed the Scheld, at a place called Denaing, and rode on with all his company to the castle of Verchin, which he entered in order to defend it, should there be any occasion.

The duke of Normandy still remained upon the hill of Castres, his army drawn out, the greater part of the day; for he thought that those of Valenciennes would come out and give him battle. This they would willingly have done, if sir Henry d'Antoing, who commanded in the town, had not prevented them. He posted himself at the gate that leads to Cambray, and had much pain and trouble to hinder them from going out. John de Vassey, provost of the town, who was there with him, appeased them as well as he could, and gave them such good reasons for their remaining quiet, that at last they were satisfied. When the duke of Normandy had staid for a considerable time on the hill, and saw that no one made any attempt to come out of Valenciennes to fight with him, he sent the duke of Athens, the marshals of France, the earl of Auxerre, and the lord of Chastillon, with about three hundred lances, well mounted, to skirmish close to the town. They advanced in good order, and came to that side of it opposite to the Tourelle at Gogueb, and even to the very barriers; but they did not stay long, as they were afraid of the shot hurting their horses. The lord of Chastillon, however, advanced so forward, that his horse was hit, fell under him, and he was obliged to mount another. This detachment then changed its course, and went toward the marshes, where they burnt and destroyed all the mills upon the river Vincel: they then made a circuit behind the Carthusian convent, and returned to their army. Some stragglers, however, remained behind at Les Marles, to forage more at their ease. When those who were guarding a neighboring town, which belonged to the heirs of Hainault, (though formerly to sir Robert de Namur, by the lady Isabella his wife,) perceived them,

* It has generally been supposed, that cannons were first used at the battle of Crecy, four years later, but as the same words are expressed in all my copies of Froissart, word for word, in manuscript, I cannot but believe they were employed when he mentions it. It is most probable, that artillery was first used in the defence of towns; and Edward, see the advantage that could be derived from cannons, employed them at the battle of Crecy.

and that the main body had retreated, they issued out of the town, attacked them, killed one-half, took all their forage, and reëntered it without any loss.

The army remained in battle array upon the mount of Castres until the afternoon, when the scouts returned from all sides. There was then a great council held; the chiefs said, that, everything considered, they were not in sufficient force to attack so large a town as Valenciennes; and it was at last finally determined, that they should retire to Cambray. They set out, therefore, and came to Main and Fontenelles, where they took up their quarters for that night, and kept a strong watch. The next day they marched away; but burnt Main and Fontenelles, and also the convent which belonged to madame de Valois, sister-german to the king of France. The duke was much vexed at this, and had those who set it on fire hanged. In their retreat, they completed the burning of the town of Trie and its castle; the mills were also destroyed. Prouvy, Rommency, Thyan, Moncheau, and all the flat country between Cambray and Valenciennes, suffered in the same manner. The duke this day came before Escaudoure, a strong and good castle, belonging to the earl of Hainault, situate upon the Scheld, which had been of great annoyance to Cambray. When the duke had been only six days before it, the governor, sir Gerard de Sassegines, who before this had never been reproached for anything, nor can I say by what means he was bewildered to do so, surrendered it undamaged, to the great surprise of all the country, who strongly suspected both the governor and his esquire, named Robert Marinaux, of treason. They were taken, inculpated, and both died afterwards in a miserable manner at Mons, in Hainault. The inhabitants of Cambray demolished this castle of Escaudoure, and carried the stone into their town, to repair their own dwellings and fortifications.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE GARRISON OF DOUAY MAKES AN INCURSION INTO OSTREVANT, DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE EARL OF HAINAULT IN ENGLAND AND IN GERMANY.

After the destruction of the castle of Escaudoure, duke John of Normandy retired to Cambray, dismissed the greater part of his army, and sent the rest to the castle of Douay, and to the other fortresses in the neighborhood. This week the garrison of Douay, in conjunction with those of Lisle, made a sally, in number about three hundred lances: they were commanded by sir Lewis of Savoy, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Villars, sir Gallois de la Baume, the lord of Waurain, and the lord of Vasiers; they burnt in Hainault all that fine country of Ostrevant; so that nothing remained but the fortresses. When those of Bouchain saw all this fire and smoke round about them, they were in a violent rage; the more so, as they were unable to prevent it; but they sent messengers to Valenciennes, to let them know what was going forward, and to inform them, that if in the night-time they would sally out with five or six hundred lances, they might attack the French to great advantage, who were lying at their ease in the flat country. But those of Valenciennes were not of the same opinion, and would not leave their town; so the French made a great booty, and burnt the town of Anich, one-half of Escoux, Escaudaing, Erin, Montigny, Santain, Varlain, Vargny, Ambreticourt, Laurche, Sauch, Roelt, Neufville, Lieu St. Amand, and all the villages which were in that country. They carried off with them immense wealth. When this detachment had retreated to Douay, those of Bouchain marched out, and burnt the other half of Escoux, which belonged to the French, and the French villages, even to the gates of Douay, and the town of Esquerchin.

I have before mentioned that all the towns on the frontier were well garrisoned; so that there were frequent skirmishings between the two parties, and many gallant deeds performed. It chanced, about this time, that there were some German soldiers, whom the bishop of Cambray had stationed at Male-maison, two leagues distant from Château-Cambresis, and bordering on the other side of Landrecy, where the lord of Potrelles, a Hainaulter, commanded; for the earl of Blois, although lord of it, had surrendered it to the earl of Hainault, at the time he was attached to the French interest, and the earl had kept possession of it. There were frequent quarrels between the Germans of Male-maison and those of Landrecy, who often came well mounted and armed up to the walls of the town. One day, as they sallied forth to make an excursion and collect pillage, news of it was brought to the lord of Potrelles, in Landrecy, who immediately armed himself and his companions, and mounted his horse to recapture the booty. The lord of Potrelles was followed by his men as fast as they could. He fixed his spear in the rest, and cried out to the French to turn about, as it was a disgrace to them to run away. Among them was a gallant esquire, named Albert of Cologne, who, being ashamed of this flight, instantly turned back, and couching his lance, spurred his horse violently against the lord of Potrelles, who struck him such a blow on the shield, that his lance was shivered to pieces; but the German esquire hit him so strongly with a firm spear, which broke not, but pierced through the plates of his shield, and even his armor, passing straight to his heart, that he knocked him off his horse, wounded to death; which when his brother Hainaulters, the lord of Bansiers, sir Gerard, and sir John Mastin, saw, and the rest who had come out of Landrecy with him, they attacked the French so roughly, in revenge for the loss of their captain, that they discomfited them. Few escaped death, or being made prisoners. The pillage was recovered and brought back with the prisoners to Landrecy, as was the dead body of the lord of Potrelles.

After the death of the lord of Potrelles, the lord of Floron commanded in Landrecy and its dependencies for a long time. He made frequent excursions upon those of Male-maison, Château-Cambresis, and other places on the frontiers. The Hainaulters did so one day, and the French returned the compliment the next; of course many mortal combats happened. The country of Cambresis was in great tribulation, for one-half of it was burnt or destroyed; the duke of Normandy was still on the frontiers, and it was not known what his next intentions were; nor had they any news of the earl of Hainault. True it is that he had been in England, where he was most honorably entertained by the king and barons, and had made a strong alliance with the king. He had left England, and gone into Germany, to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, which was the reason of his long absence. On the other hand, the lord John of Hainault was in Brabant and Flanders, and had remonstrated with the duke and Jacob von Artaveld, upon the desolation of Hainault, and entreated them on the part of his countrymen that they would give them aid and advice. They replied, that the absence of the earl could not be much longer; and the moment he returned, they would be ready equipped to follow him, wherever he should choose to lead them.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO THIN-L'EVEQUE.

During the time the duke of Normandy lay in Cambray, the bishop and the inhabitants of that place informed him, that the Hainaulters had taken by assault the strong castle of Thin; and they entreated him, out of love and honor, and by his regard to the country, that he would use his endeavors to regain it, as the garrison was a great annoyance to all the neighborhood. The duke then sent a fresh summons to his army, and got together a number of lords and men-at-arms, who were in Artois and Vermandois, and who had been with him in his former excursion. He set out from Cambray with all his host, and took up his quarters before Thin upon the river Scheld, in those fine meadows nearly opposite to Ostrevant, ordering many large engines to be brought from Cambray and Douay. Among these were six of an immense size, which the duke had pointed against the fortress, and which flung huge stones into it day and night, beating down the roofs and the tops of the towers; so that it was not safe to remain in the chambers, and the people were obliged to take refuge in the vaults.

This attack was severely felt, and none ever suffered more for their honor than this garrison. The captains, upon whom fell all the weight and trouble, were sir Richard Limousin, an Englishman, and two esquires of Hainault, John and Thierry, brothers to sir Walter Manny.* They encouraged their companions, by saying, "Gallant gentlemen, the earl of Hainault will surely come in a few days, and attack the French, to deliver us honorably out of our danger, and will give us his warmest thanks for having so boldly defended ourselves." The besiegers by their engines flung dead horses and other carrion into the castle, to poison the garrison by their smell; and this distressed it more than anything else, for the air was as hot as in the middle of the summer: they therefore having considered their situation, and that they could not long hold out, from the horrible stench, proposed a treaty for a truce to last fifteen days, during which time they would let sir John of Hainault, who was regent and governor of the country, be informed of their distress, and, if they were not then relieved, they would surrender the place. This treaty was accepted, which gave great comfort to those within the castle. The garrison sent off an esquire, named Estralart de Sommain, according to the terms of the treaty, who came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the lord of Beaumont, who had had intelligence from his nephew, the earl of Hainault, that he was returning to his own country, after having been in Germany, where he had made alliances with the emperor and other lords of the empire, who were friendly to the king of England.

The lord of Beaumont assured the esquire Estralart de Sommain, that the garrison of Thin should shortly be relieved, but that his nephew must first return. Before this truce expired the earl arrived in Hainault, which caused great joy to the inhabitants, as he had been impatiently wished for. The lord of Beaumont related to him all that had passed since his departure, and with what a powerful army the duke of Normandy had invaded his territories, burning and destroying all his villages and lands, as far as Valenciennes, except the fortresses. The earl answered, that he would have ample amends, and the kingdom of France was sufficiently extensive, to make him full satisfaction for all these ill deeds; but, first of all, he was anxious to go toward Thin-l'Evêque, to the relief of those good men, who had so loyally and so honorably defended it; he issued therefore his commissions, and sent letters of entreaty to his good friend Jacob von Artaveld, in Flanders, to the dukes of Gueldres and Juliers, and others in Germany, and went himself to Valenciennes with a large

* "Brethern to *therle of Namur*"—Lord Berners and D. Sauvage, but see chapter 41, where they are spoken of as brothers to sir Giles Manny.—Ed.

body of men-at-arms, knights, and esquires of his own country. His forces increased every day; and he set off with a grand army of tents, pavilions, and other ordinances and provisions, and encamped at Nans, upon the fine meadows and plains along the banks of the Scheld.

Of the lords of Hainault, there were, sir John of Hainault, the lord d'Anghien, the lord of Verchin, the seneschal of Hainault, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Barbenson, the lord of Lens, sir William de Bailleul, the lord of Havereth, governor of Mons, the lord of Montegny, the lord of Barbais, sir Thierry de Walcourt, marshal of Hainault, the lords of Almede and of Gommegines, the lord of Briseul, the lord of Roisin, the lord of Trasegmes, the lord of Lalain, the lords of Mastin, Sars, Vargny, Beaurieu, and many others, who encamped themselves near to the earl, their lord. Soon after the earl of Namur arrived, handsomely attended by two hundred lances, and posted himself upon the river Scheld, adjoining the army of the earl. The duke of Brabant came next with six hundred lances; and then the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Mons, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and many other lords and men-at-arms from Germany and Westphalia, who encamped themselves upon the river Scheld near each other, and opposite to the French. They were plentifully supplied with provision from Hainault, and from the adjacent countries.

When these lords had thus encamped themselves upon the Scheld between Nans and Illois, as just related, the duke of Normandy, who was on the opposite bank, and with him a great number of other gallant men-at-arms, sent to inform the king of France, his father, that the army of the earl was increasing every day. The king, who was at that time at Peronne, in the Vermandois, where he had been for six weeks with a great many nobles, issued out his special orders for raising a large body of men, and sent upward of twelve hundred good lances to the army of his son, and soon followed after himself as a simple solder, for he could not enter the empire with the command of an army without breaking his oath, which made him act thus. The duke was appointed chief of this enterprise; nevertheless nothing was done without the approbation of the king. When the garrison of Thin-l'Evêque saw the earl of Hainault arrive with so powerful an army, they were, as may be thought, mightily rejoiced. The fourth day after they had been there, those of Valenciennes came with a handsome body of men, led by John Boissy, who at that time was provost of the town. They were immediately ordered out to skirmish with the French upon the Scheld, to examine their forces, and to show themselves to the garrison. Many different skirmishes passed between each army, in which numbers were killed and wounded. Sir Richard Limosin and his companions in Thin-l'Evêque, perceiving them warmly engaged, quitted the castle and embarked on the Scheld in boats, which had been prepared for them, and passed over to the opposite shore; they were carried to the earl of Hainault, who received them most joyfully and honorably, for the good services they had done him; and for their sufferings in the castle. While these two armies were thus encamped upon the Scheld, the French on the side of France, and the Hainaulters near their own country, the foragers of each side scoured the country; but they never met, for the river was between them: the French, however, burnt that part of Ostrevant which had escaped before, as did those of Hainault that of Cambray.

Jacob von Artaveld came to the assistance of the earl of Hainault, according to his request, with upward of sixty thousand Flemings, all well armed, and posted himself strongly opposite to the French. Immediately after their arrival, the earl sent his heralds to his cousin the duke of Normandy, to say that he was ready for battle, and that it would be a very great shame, if such fine armies should separate without an engagement. The duke gave the herald for answer, that he would summon his council, and consider of it. This council lasted so long that the herald returned without any answer. Three days afterwards the earl sent again to the duke, to know positively what his intentions and those of his army were. The duke replied that he had not yet finally determined upon fighting, and could not therefore fix a day, adding, moreover, that the earl was too hasty. When this was told to the earl, he looked upon it only as an excuse for delay; he therefore sent for all the commanders of his army, explained to them his intentions and wishes, and also the answers he had received, and desired to have their opinions upon the subject. They looked at each other: at last the duke of Brabant, who was the principal commander, spoke for all, and said, that he objected to throwing a bridge over the Scheld and fighting the French, for, to his certain knowledge, the king of England would very soon pass the sea, in order to besiege Tournay; and he had promised him, upon his faith and love, to give him every aid and assistance in that enterprise. "Now," added he, "if we fight the French, and should be unfortunate, he cannot have that succor he expects from us; and, should it be otherwise, he will not give us much thanks; it is therefore my opinion that, as he is the chief of the war, we should never engage with the forces of France, but when the king of England is present. Now when we shall be before Tournay, and he there with us, it would give me much uneasiness that the French king and his army should depart without a battle; I therefore advise, dear son, that you decamp from this place, where you stay at a very heavy expense, and that all should return homeward, for within these ten days we shall hear from the king of England."

The greater part of the lords agreed to this opinion. But the earl of Hainault was much dissatisfied, and thought his honor would suffer, should the French retire without an action. He begged and entreated of them, and of all the barons in general, that they would not leave him, but consent to his wishes. After this the council broke up, and each returned to his quarters. Those from Brussels and Louvain would very cheerfully have returned home, for they were so worn down with fatigue, they could scarce support themselves; and they frequently complained to their captains, that they remained at a great expense and did nothing. When the earl found that the council differed in opinion, and were not unanimous to cross the Scheld and fight the French, he called his uncle to him, and said, "Dear uncle, will you take a ride along the river side, and call to you some man of honor from the French army, and tell him from me, that I will throw a bridge over the river; that I am willing and eager to fight at all events; but I ask a truce for three days to build it."

The lord of Beaumont, seeing the eagerness of his nephew, complied with his request, went home to prepare himself, and rode along the banks of the Scheld, accompanied with two other knights, the lord of Fagnoelez and sir Florens de Beaurieu, with his pennon alone borne before him. Perceiving on the opposite bank a knight from Normandy, whom he knew by his arms; he called to him—"My lord of Marbuisson, my lord of Marbuisson, I wish to speak to you." The knight, who knew him, stopped his horse, and asked what were his commands. "I shall beg of you," said the earl of Beaumont, "to have the kindness to go to the king of France and to his council, and say, that the earl of Hainault has sent me to ask a truce for the time necessary to throw a bridge over this river, in order that our armies may pass. You will bring me here the answer, and I will wait for you." "By my faith, that I will cheerfully do," said the knight: when, sticking spurs into his horse, he galloped up to the king's tent, where the duke of Normandy and a great many of the nobility were. He related his message, and had shortly this answer—"My lord of Maubuisson, you will tell him who has sent you hither, that it is our intention to keep the earl of Hainault in the same state in which he is at present; and we will make him mortgage his lands; for he shall be attacked on all sides, and, whenever we please, we will enter so far into his country, that we will burn the whole of it." The lord of Maubuisson brought back this answer, word for word, to the lord of Beaumont, who was waiting for him on the bank. He thanked him for the trouble he had given him, and returned to the earl of Hainault, whom he found playing at chess with the earl of Namur. As soon as he saw his uncle, he rose up, and asked what news he had brought him. "Sir," said sir John, "from what I see, the king of France takes much pleasure in making you keep up such forces at so great an expense, and declares he will make you expend and mortgage all your lands; and whenever it shall be his pleasure, and not yours, he will fight you." The earl was much angered at this, and swore it should be otherwise.

CHAPTER L.

THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH BEFORE SLUYS.

We will now leave the duke of Normandy and the earl of Hainault, and speak of the king of England, who had embarked for Flanders, in order to go to Hainault to assist his brother-in-law in his war against France. He and his whole navy sailed from the Thames the day before the eve of St. John the Baptist, 1340, and made straight for Sluys. Sir Hugh Quiriel, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, were at that time lying between Blanckenburgh and Sluys with upward of one hundred and twenty large vessels, without counting others: these were manned with about forty thousand men, Genoese and Picards, including mariners. By the orders of the king of France, they were there at anchor, waiting the return of the king of England, to dispute his passage.

When the king's fleet was almost got to Sluys, they saw so many masts standing before it, that they looked like a wood. The king asked the commander of his ship what they could be, who answered, that he imagined they must be that armament of Normans, which the king of France kept at sea, and which had so frequently done him much damage, had burnt his good town of Southampton, and taken his large ship the Christopher. The king replied, "I have for a long time wished to meet with them, and now, please God and St. George, we will fight them; for, in truth, they have done me so much mischief, that I will be revenged on them, if it be possible." The king drew up all his vessels, placing the strongest in the front, and on the wings his archers. Between every two vessels with archers, there was one of men-at-arms. He stationed some detached vessels as a reserve, full of archers, to assist and help such as might be damaged. There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, countesses, baronesses, and knights' and gentlemen's wives, who were going to attend on the queen at Ghent: these the king had guarded most carefully by three hundred men-at-arms and five hundred archers. When the king of England and his marshals had properly divided the fleet, they hoisted their sails to have the wind on their quarter, as the sun shone full in their faces, which

they considered might be of disadvantage to them, and stretched out a little, so that at last they got the wind as they wished. The Normans, who saw them tack, could not help wondering why they did so, and said they took good care to turn about, for they were afraid of meddling with them: they perceived, however, by his banner, that the king was on board, which gave them great joy, as they were eager to fight with him; so they put their vessels in proper order, for they were expert and gallant men on the seas. They filled the Christopher, the large ship which they had taken the year before from the English, with trumpets and other warlike instruments, and ordered her to fall upon the English. The battle then began very fiercely; archers and cross-bowmen shot with all their might at each other, and the men-at-arms engaged hand to hand: in order to be more successful, they had large grapnels, and iron hooks with chains, which they flung from ship to ship, to moor them to each other. There were many valiant deeds performed, many prisoners made, and many rescues. The Christopher, which led the van, was recaptured by the English, and all in her taken or killed. There were then great shouts and cries, and the English manned her again with archers, and sent her to fight against the Genoese.

This battle was very murderous and horrible. Combats at sea are more destructive and obstinate than upon the land, for it is not possible to retreat or flee—every one must abide his fortune, and exert his prowess and valor. Sir Hugh Quiriel and his companions were bold and determined men, had done much mischief to the English at sea, and destroyed many of their ships; this combat, therefore, lasted from early in the morning until noon, and the English were hard pressed, for their enemies were four to one, and the greater part men who had been used to the sea. The king, who was in the flower of his youth, showed himself on that day a gallant knight, as did the earls of Derby, Pembroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Gloucester; the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Felton, lord Bradestan, sir Richard Stafford, the lord Percy, sir Walter Manny, sir Henry de Flanders, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Chandos, the lord Delaware, Lucie lord Malton, and the lord Robert d'Artois, now called earl of Richmond. I cannot remember all the names of those who behaved so valiantly in the combat: but they did so well, that, with some assistance from Bruges, and those parts of the country, the French were completely defeated, and all the Normans and the others killed or drowned, so that not one of them escaped. This was soon known all over Flanders; and when it came to the two armies before Thin-l'Evêque, the Hainaulters were as much rejoiced as their enemies were dismayed.

After the king had gained this victory, which was on the eve of St. John's day, he remained all that night on board of his ship before Sluys, and there were great noises with trumpets and all kinds of other instruments. The Flemings came to wait on him, having heard of his arrival, and what deeds he had performed. The king inquired of the citizens of Bruges after Jacob von Artaveld, and they told him he was gone to the aid of the earl of Hainault with upward of sixty thousand men, against the duke of Normandy. On the morrow, which was Midsummer-day, the king and his fleet entered the port. As soon as they were landed, the king, attended by crowds of knights, set out on foot on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Ardembourg, where he heard mass and dined. He then mounted his horse, and went that day to Ghent, where the queen was, who received him with great joy and kindness. The army and baggage, with the attendants of the king, followed him by degrees to the same place.

The king had sent notice of his arrival to the lords that were before Thin-l'Evêque opposing the French, who, as soon as they heard of it, and of his victory over the Normans, broke up their camp. The earl of Hainault disbanded all his troops, except the principal lords, whom he carried with him to Valenciennes, and treated most nobly, especially the duke of Brabant and Jacob von Artaveld. Jacob von Artaveld, in the full market-place, explained the right king Edward had to the crown of France to all those lords that chose to hear him, and of what importance it was to the three countries, that is to say, Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, when closely united. He spoke so clearly, and with so much eloquence, that he was praised by all, who agreed that he was worthy to exercise the dignity of earl of Flanders.* These lords then took their leave, and agreed to meet in eight days' time at Ghent, to see the king. He received them all most courteously, as did the queen, who was but lately recovered from lying-in of a son, called John, afterwards duke of Lancaster, in the right of his wife, the lady Blanche, daughter of Henry duke of Lancaster. A day of conference was then appointed to be held at Vilvorde.

* There is some difference between this passage and the corresponding French of D. Sauvage's edition; and as Lord Berners has translated it almost verbatim, his version is subjoined: "And then Jaques Dartuell openly, and in the market-place, in the presence of all the lordes and of all such as wold here hym, declared what right the kying of Englande had to the crown of Fraice, and also what puyssaience the three countreis were of Flanders, Heynault and Brabant surely joined in one alyance. And he dyde so by his great wysdome and plesaunt wordes, that all people that harde hym praysed hym moche and sayd howe he had nobly spoken, and by great experyece. And thus he was greatly prayised, and it was sayd yt he was well worthy to *gouerne ye countte* of Flaunders." There is nothing said here of his exercising the *dignity of Earl of Flanders*, an expression which would seem to imply an intention of investing him with the title.—Ed.

CHAPTER LI.

ROBERT, KING OF SICILY, ENDEAVORS TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

When king Philip of France heard of the defeat of his fleet, and that the king of England was quietly landed in Flanders, he was much enraged; but as he could not amend it, he immediately decamped, and retreated toward Arras. He dismissed the greater part of his army, until he should receive other news: but he sent sir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, to advise them in any difficulties, and to see that the city was well provided, for he was more in fear of the Flemings than of any other people. He placed the lord of Beaujeu in Mortaigne, to guard the frontiers toward Hainault, and sent strong bodies of men-at-arms to St. Omer, Aire, and St. Venant; he also formed sufficient magazines in the countries bordering upon Flanders. At this time Sicily was governed by a king named Robert, who was much renowned as a great astrologer; he had prohibited the king of France and his council from ever engaging the English when commanded by their king, for in such cases he was ever to be unfortunate. This king was very desirous of bringing about a reconciliation between those of France and England, being so strongly attached to the crown of France, that he would have been much hurt at any calamity which might have impaired its lustre. The above-mentioned king went to Avignon to represent to pope Clement, and his college of cardinals, the great evils which might befal the realm of France from the quarrels of the two kings, and entreat of them to undertake the part of mediators in appeasing this disastrous war. The pope and the college replied, they would very willingly do their best endeavors, provided the two kings would listen to them.

CHAPTER LII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND HIS ALLIES HOLD A CONFERENCE AT VILVORDE.

The conference holden at Vilvorde was attended by the following personages: first, the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the earl of Hainault and his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blanckenberg, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord of Fauquemont, the lord William de Dunort, the earl of Namur, Jacob von Artaveld, and many other lords. Three or four men were sent by each of the principal towns in Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, by way of council from them. The three countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, there entered into a treaty, that thenceforward they would succor and assist each other in every possible case; they then formed an alliance, with covenants, that if either of the three were attacked by any one whatever, the other two should immediately come to his assistance; and if at any future period two of them should quarrel, then the third should settle the matters of difference between them; and if he should not be in sufficient force so to do, that then it should be laid before the king of England, in whose hands these covenants had been declared, and sworn to be duly maintained, as the power that should at last make peace between them. Many statutes were then sworn and agreed to, which afterwards turned out ill. But for a further confirmation of their love and friendship, they ordered coins to be struck, that should be current in these three countries, which were styled companions or allies. It was there also determined, that the king of England should put himself in motion about Magdalen tide, and lay siege to the city of Tournay; and all the lords present promised to be there, as well as the forces from the principal towns: they then set off for their homes, to get ready and prepare themselves properly for the business.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND BESIEGES THE CITY OF TOURNAY WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.

King Philip, soon after the departure of these lords, was informed of all that had passed, and what resolutions had been entered into at this conference, and how king Edward was to come to Tournay; he therefore determined to provide it so well with ammunition, &c., and with so many good knights, that the city should be well served and well advised. He sent directly to the city of Tournay the flower of his chivalry; the earl Raoul of Eu, constable of France, the young earl of Guines, his son, the earl of Foix, and his brothers, the earl of Aymery and Narbonne, the lord Aymery of Poitiers, the lord Geoffry of Chargny, the lord Gerard of Montfaucon, his two marshals, the lord Robert Bertrand and lord Matthew de Trie, the lord of Caieux, seneschal of Poitou, the lord of Chatillon, and sir John of Landas, who had with them many knights and esquires renowned in arms. The king entreated of them earnestly, that they would pay so much care and attention to Tournay, that nothing unfortunate might happen, which they all promised him. They took leave of the king of France, left Arras, and arrived at Tournay, where they found sir Godemar du Fay, who had been sent thither before them. He received them joyfully, as did those of the town; and, after having

well examined the purveyances which were there, as well of artillery as of provision, they ordered great quantities of corn, oats, and other articles of food, to be brought into it from the country round about, so that the city was in a good state to hold out for a long time.

To return to the king of England, who, when the time for being before Tournay approached, and the corn was nearly ripe, set out from Ghent, accompanied by seven earls from his own country, two prelates, twenty-eight bannerets, two hundred knights, four thousand men-at-arms, and nine thousand archers, without counting the foot soldiers. He passed through the town of Oudenarde, crossed the Scheld, and encamped before Tournay, near St. Martin's gate, on the road to Lisle and Douay. Soon after came his cousin, the duke of Brabant, with upward of twenty thousand men, knights and esquires, and the companies from the different towns. The Brabanters were

TOURNAY. As it appeared two hundred years since.

encamped at Pontaries upon the Scheld (a dependence of the abbey of St. Nicholas,) as you return from the fields by the gate Valentinois. The earl of Hainault came with the fine cavalry of his country, with many Dutchmen and Zealanders, who attended upon his person as their lord. The earl was encamped between the king of England and the duke of Brabant. Jacob Von Artaveld came next with more than forty thousand Flemings,* not reckoning those from Ypres, Poperingue, Cassel, and Bruges, who were ordered to another part, as you will hear presently. He was quartered near the gate St. Fontaine, on both sides of the Scheld, over which they had thrown a bridge of boats, that they might have free intercourse. The duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blanckenberg, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and all the Germans, were stationed on the side toward Hainault, so that the city of Tournay was very completely surrounded. Each division of the army had open communication with each other, and no one could enter or come out of the city without permission, or without being seen.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT DESTROYS THE TOWNS OF SECLIN AND ORCHIES.

THIS siege of Tournay lasted a long time. The army that lay before it was plentifully and cheaply supplied with all sorts of provisions, for they were brought to them from all the neighboring countries. Many gallant actions were performed; for the earl of Hainault, who was very bold and enterprising, took this war to heart, reflecting as he did that his country had suffered so much at its commencement, and headed every excursion. He set out one morning very early from the camp with five hundred lances, and passing below Lisle, burnt the good town of Seclin, and many villages in its neighborhood. His light-horse advanced even as far as the suburbs of Lens, in Artois. All this was related to his uncle, king Philip, at Arras, who, though very angry, could not at this time help it. After this excursion the earl took another route, and advanced toward the capital town of Orchies, which was taken and burnt, for it was not inclosed. Landas and Celle shared the same fate, as well as many considerable villages thereabout. They scoured the country, and took a very great booty, with which they retreated to the army before Tournay. At the same time the Flemings made frequent and strong assaults on Tournay; they built boats, moveable towers, and other machines of offence, with which they every day battered the town. Skirmishes very frequently took place, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides; and the Flemings exerted themselves to conquer or damage Tournay, so much had this war irritated them; and they say there is never any discord so bitter, as that between neighbors and friends.

Among these attacks there was one which lasted a whole day; much valor was shown, for all the knights that were in Tournay were present. It was intended, by means of boats and other machines, to have forced and broken the barriers of the bridge; but they were so gallantly defended, that the Flemings made no impression, but lost a vessel in which there were one hundred and twenty men, who were drowned; so they retreated toward evening, sorely tired. During this siege some soldiers made an excursion from St. Amand, where there was a strong body, and came to Hasnon, which belonged to Hainault, burnt the town, violated the nunnery, destroyed the monastery, and took with them all they could carry off to St. Amand. Shortly after these same soldiers set out again, and having passed through the wood of St. Amand, came to the monastery of Vicogne, with the intent to pillage and destroy it: they made a great fire before the gate in order to burn it. When the abbot perceived in what danger he was, he set off directly on horseback, and riding behind the wood, came to Valenciennes in great haste, where he requested the provost to let him have some cross-bowmen; whom having obtained, he led behind Raimes, and posted them in the wood looking toward Pourcelet, and upon the causeway. Thence they began to shoot upon the soldiers and Genoese, before the gates of Vicogne, who no sooner felt the arrows showering upon them from the woods, than they were panic-struck, and ran off as fast as they could. By these means was the monastery saved.

About this time the earl of Lisle was in Gascony, carrying on the war, by orders from the king of France. He had already taken and recaptured the country of Aquitaine, and kept the field with upward of four thousand horse; he had besieged Bordeaux by sea and land. The earl had with him the flower of the chivalry of the marshes of Gascony—the earl of Perigord, the earl of Cominges, the earl of Carmaing, the earl of Villernort, the viscount Brumquet, the lord de la Borde, and many other knights and barons, and nothing resisted them but the fortresses, which the English garrisons carefully guarded. Many gallant feats of arms were performed in this country, of which we shall speak in proper time and place; for the present we must return to Scotland, and see what is going on there during this siege of Tournay.

CHAPTER LV.

THE SCOTS RECOVER GREAT PART OF THEIR COUNTRY DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

THE reader should be informed, that Sir William Douglas, son of the brother of sir James Douglas, who was killed in Spain,* the earl of Moray, the earl Patrick of Dunbar, the earl of Sutherland, sir Robert Keith, sir Simon Fraser, and Alexander Ramsay, had remained as governors of the remnant of Scotland, that was not in the possession of the English. During the space of seven years they had secreted themselves in the forest of Jedworth, in winter as well as summer, and thence had carried on a war against all the towns and fortresses wherein king Edward had placed any garrisons, in which many perilous and gallant adventures befel them, and from which they had acquired much honor and renown. While king Edward was beyond sea before Tournay, the king of France sent over some forces to Scotland, which arrived safe in the town of Perth: and he entreated the noblemen above mentioned, to carry on so bitter a war in England, that king Edward should be obliged to desist from his present enterprise before Tournay, promising them every aid and assistance; in consequence of which these lords collected their forces, and made themselves ready. They quitted the forest of Jedworth, traversed Scotland, retook as many fortresses as they were able, passed by Berwick, and, crossing the river Tyne, entered Northumberland, which was formerly a kingdom of itself, where they found plenty of fat cattle. Having destroyed and burnt the whole country as far as Durham, and even beyond it, they returned by another road, doing the same to all the countries they passed through; so that all the country on the borders of England, to the extent of three days' journey, was completely ruined and destroyed. They then reëntered Scotland, and gained all the fortresses which the king of England held, except the good town of Berwick, and three other castles, which annoyed them much, and which are so strong, that you will

* Lord Berners says 60,000—ED.

* Celebrated in Scottish story under the name of the Knight of Liddesdale. Lord Hailes mentions him *alone* as being sent on the embassy to France. Robert the Steward was regent of the kingdom.

scarcely find their equals for strength in any country: one is called Stirling, the other Roxburgh, and the third, which may be styled the sovereign of Scotland, Edinburgh. This last is situate upon a high rock, commanding a view of the country round about; and the mountain has so steep an ascent, that few can go up it without stopping twice or thrice. The governor of it at that time was a gallant English knight, called sir Walter Limousin, brother-german to him who had so gallantly defended the castle of Thin-l'Evêque against the French.

A bold thought came into sir William Douglas's mind, which he mentioned to his companions, the earl of Dunbar, sir Robert Fraser, who had been tutor to king David of Scotland, and Alexander Ramsay, who all agreed to try to execute it. They collected upward of two hundred lances of Highlanders, went to sea, and purchased oats, oatmeal, coal, and straw, and landed peaceably at a port about three miles from the castle of Edinburgh, which had made a stronger resistance than all the other castles. When they had armed themselves, they issued forth in the night time; and having chosen ten or twelve from among them, in whom they had the greatest confidence, they dressed them in old threadbare clothes, with torn hats, like poor tradesmen, and loaded twelve small horses, with a sack to each filled with oats, meal, or coal; they then placed the rest in ambuscade in an old abbey, that was ruined and uninhabited, close to the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situate. At daybreak, these merchants, who were privily armed, took the road with their horses the very best way they could toward the castle. When they had got about half way up the hill, Sir William Douglas and sir Simon Frazer advanced before the others, whom they ordered to follow in silence, and came to the porter's lodge. They informed him, that they had brought, with many risks and fears, coal, oats, and meal, and, if there were any want of such articles, they should be glad to dispose of them, and at a cheap rate. The porter replied, that the garrison would thankfully have them, but it was so early, that he dared not awake either the governor or his steward: at the same time he told him to come forward, and he would open the other gate. They all then passed quietly through, and entered with their loads to the gate of the barriers, which he opened for them.

Sir William Douglas had remarked, that the porter had all the great keys of the castle gates, and had, in an apparently indifferent manner, inquired which opened the great gate and which the wicket. When the first gate was opened, they turned in their nags, and flung off the loads of two, which consisted of coal, directly upon the sill of the gate, so that it could not be shut, and then seized the porter, whom they slew so suddenly, that he did not utter a word. They then took the keys, and opened all the gates; and sir William Douglas gave a blast upon his horn, as a signal for his companions: they then flung off their torn clothes, and placed all the remainder of the coal between the gates, so that they could not be shut. When those in the ambuscade heard the horn, they sallied forth, and hastened forward to the castle. The noise of the horn awakened the watch of the castle, at that time asleep, who, seeing these armed men running up the castle hill, blew lustily on his horn, and bawled out, "Treason! treason! Arm yourselves, my masters, as fast as you can, for here are men-at-arms advancing to our fortress." They all roused themselves as quickly as they could, and when armed came to the gate; but sir William and his twelve companions defended the gate; so that it could not be shut. The combat then grew hotter; but those from without maintained their ground with great valor, until their ambuscade arrived. The garrison made a very gallant defence, killing and wounding many of their enemies; but sir William and his party exerted themselves so much, that the fortress was taken, and all the English killed, except the governor and six esquires, to whom they showed mercy. The Scots remained in the castle all that day, and appointed for governor a squire of that country, called sir Simon de Vesci, and left with him many of his countrymen. This news was brought to the king of England while he lay before Tournay.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE KING OF FRANCE ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY, IN ORDER TO RAISE THE SEIGE OF TOURNAY.

It has been before related in what manner the king of England had besieged the city of Tournay, and that he pressed it very close; for he had upward of one hundred and twenty thousand men, including the Flemings, who behaved very well in all their attacks. The commanders within the city, finding their provisions beginning to get low, sent out from it all those who had not laid in a proper quantity for the occasion. They were driven out about the middle of the day, and passed through the army of the duke of Brabant, who took compassion on them, and had them conducted in safety to king Philip at Arras; he had remained there all this time, while those within Tournay were in great distress, and had need of assistance and advice. The king of France published a special summons throughout his kingdom, and also in many parts of the empire, for levying of forces. It had so good an effect, that Charles, king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorrain, the earl of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the bishop of Verdun, the earl of Montbeliard, the lord John of Chalons, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Savoy, and the lord Lewis, his brother, came to serve under the king of France, with as many men as they could collect together. There came to him also the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the earls of Alençon, Flanders, Foretz, Armagnac, Blois, Harcourt, and Dammartin, the lord Charles of Blois, the lord of Coucy, and many other knights and barons. The king of Navarre afterwards came with a number of men-at-arms, to serve for the lands he held in France, and for which he was a homager to the king. The king of Scotland was also there, under the appointment of the king of France, and had a handsome body of men given to him.

CHAPTER LVII.

SOME OF THE GARRISON OF BOUCHAIN DEFEAT A BODY OF SOLDIERS FROM MORTAGNE,* BEFORE THE TOWN OF CONDE.

When all these lords above-mentioned, and many others, were come to Arras, the king of France advanced to a small river, which is about three leagues distant from Tournay. It was very deep, and the country about it so marshy, that it could not be crossed, but by a very narrow causeway, on which two men would have difficulty to pass abreast. The king and his army encamped in the fields, as they could not cross this river. The next day they remained there also; and the lords about the king held a council, on the best means of building bridges, to pass over this river and the quagmires in safety. They sent some knights and armed men to examine the passages, who, after having well considered them, reported that it would be pains thrown away, and that there was no other means of crossing this river and country, but by the Pont-à-Tressin. Everything, therefore, remained as before, and each lord took up his quarters among his own men. The news was soon spread abroad, that the king of France and his army were encamped between the bridges of Tressin and Bouvines, with the intention of giving his enemies battle; so that all men of honor, who were desirous of fame, went and joined one side or other, as pleased them best. Three German knights, who were in garrison at Bouchain, heard, as others had done, that the two kings were near each other, and it was thought they would fight. Upon which two of them urged and entreated their companion that he would consent to remain in Bouchain, to guard and preserve it until they returned, and that they would make an excursion as far as Tournay, to seek adventures, and to see how things were going on.

The two knights set out, whose names were sir Courrat d'Astra and sir Courrat de Lancenuch;† they rode till they came to Estampons, above Valenciennes, for they were desirous of crossing the Scheld at Condé. Between Fresnes and Estampons they heard a noise, and met many people running away; upon which they spurred their horses, and pushed on toward the place from whence the outcry came, with their whole company. They were altogether about twenty-five lances. They inquired of the first they met of the meaning of all the noise and flight: "Oh Lord, gentlemen," said they, "the soldiers from Mortagne have made an incursion upon us, and have collected a large booty in this neighborhood, which they are driving to their fortress, together with many prisoners they have taken." The two knights asked if they could conduct them to the road these soldiers were going? Upon their answering in the affirmative, they pursued the French of Mortagne, and followed these honest men, who showed them a way through the woods, so that they gained ground upon them, near to Nôtre-Dame-aux-Bois. The French were full one hundred and twenty men, and they were driving before them two hundred large cattle, with some peasants, prisoners. Their captain was a knight from Burgundy, called sir John de Frelais, under the orders of the lord of Beaujeu. As soon as the Germans perceived them they set up a loud shout, and rushed on full gallop. The combat was very sharp, for the Burgundy knight made a gallant defence, as well as some of his company, but not all, for several of them betook themselves to flight; but they were so closely pursued by the Germans and peasants of the country, who had armed themselves with stakes, that few escaped death. Sir John de Frelais was taken, and all the booty recaptured and given to the proprietors, who were very thankful to the Germans ever after. The knights then went forward to Tournay, where they were very well received.

CHAPTER LVIII.

SIR WILLIAM DE BAILLEUL AND SIR VAUFLART DE LA CROIX MAKE AN EXCURSION TO PONT-A-TRESSIN.

Soon after the king of France had taken up his quarters, with his army, near the bridge of Bouvines, a company of Hainaulters put themselves in motion by the exhortations of sir Vauflart de la Croix, who told them he knew all the country well, and he could lead them to a part of the French army which they would be sure of conquering. About one hundred and twenty of them, knights and esquires, set out one day through love to each other, to do some deeds of

* *Mortagne*—a small town in Flanders, near the confluence of the Scarpe and Scheld, three leagues from Tournay.

† Sir *Courrat* d'Astra and sir Courrat de Lancenuch. The names of these knights are, in the 46th chapter, said to have been *Conrad*. "Courrat" is found in both places, in Lord Berners and D'Sauvage; but in the latter it is corrected in a marginal note.—Ed.

arms, and advanced toward Pont-à-Tressin. They made the lord of Bailleul their captain, and it was under his banner that they were to enlist.

That same morning, some of the Liegeois made also an excursion, under the command of sir Robert de Bailleul, brother-german to the above-mentioned sir William de Bailleul, for he had made a promise to do this to the bishop of Liege, and was bound to execute it with his whole company. The Liegeois had passed Pont-à-Tressin, were foraging for their horses, and looking out to see if they could find any chance to profit by. The Hainaulters had rode on, and passed the bridge, without meeting with any one; for there was such a fog that they could not distinguish anything at the distance of a lance's length. When all had passed the bridge, they ordered sir William de Bailleul, and his banner, to remain there, and sir Vauflart de la Croix, sir Raflet de Monceaux, and sir John de Verchin, to advance as far as the quarters of the king of Bohemia, and bishop of Liege, which were near the bridge, and to attack them. The lord of Rodemach had had the guard that night of the army of the king of Bohemia, and was on the point of retiring, when the light-horse of the Hainaulters appeared. They attacked them, as they came up, very valiantly, and they were repulsed also by the Liegeois. The conflict was sharp, and the Hainaulters behaved themselves well. To secure a retreat, however, to their banner, the Hainaulters drew toward the bridge, where they were followed by those of Liege and Luxembourg, and the engagement was renewed. Sir William de Bailleul was advised to recross the bridge with his banner, for many of his people remained there; and many a gallant deed was performed, many a capture made, and many a rescue. Sir Vauflart unluckily was not able to gain the passage of the bridge, so he got out of the crowd, and saved himself the best way he could, by taking a road he was acquainted with, and hiding himself among thorns and quagmires, where he remained a considerable time. The rest still continued the combat; but the Liegeois, and those from Luxembourg, had overthrown sir William de Bailleul.

While this was passing, sir Robert's company, who had been out foraging, returned, and, hearing the noise, came to the bridge. Sir Robert ordered his banner to advance, which was carried by a squire called James de Forsines, crying out, "Moriennes." The Hainaulters, who were much heated, perceiving the banner of Morienne, which is quite straight, thought it was their own, which they had been ordered to rally under, for there is but very little difference between the two; the Morienne arms having bars counterbarred with two chevrons, gules, and the chevron of sir Robert had on it a small cross or. The Hainaulters made a sad mistake, and ran into the midst of sir Robert's troop, who received them most fiercely, repulsed and discomfited them. They lost, on their side, sir John de Vargny, sir Walter de Pont-à-l'Arche, sir William de Pipempoix, sir John de Soire, sir Daniel de Bleze, sir Race de Monceaux, sir Lewis Dampelu, and many other knights and squires. Sir William de Bailleul saved himself in the best manner he could, but he lost a great many of his men. Sir Vauflart de la Croix, who hid himself among the reeds in the marshes, hoped to have remained there until the night, but he was perceived by some troopers, who were riding through these marshes: they made such a shouting and noise, that sir Vauflart came out and surrendered himself to them, who led him to the army, and gave him up to their commander. He detained him a whole day in his quarters, and would willingly, through pity, have saved him, as he knew his head would probably suffer. But the king of France, having heard of it, wished to take cognizance of it himself; so sir Vauflart was given up to him, and the king sent him to Lisle, where, as he had done much harm to the inhabitants, they would not accept of any ransom, but put him to death.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT ATTACKS THE FORTRESS OF MORTAGNE IN VARIOUS MANNERS.

The king of France was much rejoiced at the arrival of sir Robert de Bailleul, and his defeat of the Hainaulters. Shortly afterwards, the earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle the seneschal of Hainault, with full six hundred lances, Hainaulters and Germans, set out from the siege before Tournay. The earl had sent orders for those of Valenciennes to take another route, and place themselves between the Scarpe and the Scheld, to attack the town of Mortagne. They came there in a large body, and brought with them many engines, to throw things into the place. I have before told how the lord of Beaujeu had been sent thither as governor: he had expected an attack, from the situation of Mortagne upon the Scheld, and bordering upon Hainault, and had driven upward of twelve hundred piles into the bed of the river, to prevent its navigation. It was not long before the earl and his Hainaulters arrived on one side of the town, and the Valenciennois on the other: they made preparations for an immediate attack. The Valenciennois ordered their cross-bowmen to shoot, and advance to the barriers; but they were unable to do so, for the wide and deep trenches which had been made before them. They then bethought themselves to cross the Scarpe at any rate below Château l'Abbaie, and passing near St. Amand, to make an assault upon the gate which opens toward Mande. This they executed; and full four hundred light troops armed crossed the river, and Mortagne's three gates were besieged. The weakest was certainly that leading to Mande; however, that was tolerably strong.

At that post the lord of Beaujeu placed himself; for he knew that all the rest were safe. He had armed himself with a very stout lance, having the head of tempered steel, and on the under side a sharp hook, so that, when he made his stroke, he could fix the hook into the jackets, or armor, of those who attacked, draw them to him, and make them fall into the river. By this means, in the course of the day, he caught and destroyed more than twelve of the assailants. At this gate, the conflict was much more severe than anywhere else, and the earl of Hainault was ignorant of it: he was hard by toward Brismal, drawn out in order of battle upon the bank of the Scheld. The lords took counsel how they might draw out the piles, either by force or ingenuity, from the bed of the river, so that they might advance upon it up to the walls of the town. They ordered an engine to be made in a large vessel, to draw them out one after another; and all the carpenters were directly set upon this business. This same day the Valenciennois, on their part, erected a handsome engine, which cast stones into the town and castle, and much annoyed the inhabitants of Mortagne. In this manner passed the first day, and the following night in assaulting and devising upon the best means to molest the town.

On the morrow, they returned to the attack on all sides. The third day the vessel and engine were ready to draw out the piles, and those ordered upon that duty were set to work, but they had so much trouble and labor in drawing out one, that the lords thought they should never accomplish it, and therefore made them desist. There was, at that time, a very able engineer at Mortagne, who, having considered the machine of the Valenciennois, and how much it annoyed the town, for it was perpetually in action, made another in the castle, which was not very large, but well made and tempered, and so well pointed, that it was used only three times; the first stone fell within twelve paces of the engine of the Valenciennois; the second was nearer to the box; and the third was so well aimed, that it struck the machine upon the shaft, and split it in two. The soldiers of Mortagne made a great shouting at this event. The Hainaulters were thus two days and two nights before Mortagne without conquering any part of it. The earl and his uncle thought it advisable to return toward Tournay, which they did; and the Valenciennois went back to their town, whence they had come.

CHAPTER LX.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES THE TOWN OF ST. AMAND DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

Three days after the earl of Hainault had been returned from before Mortagne, he made a request to his companions, that they would come with him to St. Amand; for he had received many complaints of the soldiers of St. Amand having burnt the monastery of Hanon, and of their attempt to do the same at Vicoigne, as well as of many other vexations which they had committed upon the borders of Hainault. The earl set out from the siege of Tournay, with three thousand combatants, and came before St. Amand by the way of Mortagne, which town was only inclosed with a palisade. A knight from Languedoc, and seneschal of Carcassonne, was governor of it, and he had told the monks of the abbey, as well as the inhabitants, that it was not tenable against any body of men; not that he meant to give it up, but on the contrary, to defend it as long as he could, and mentioned it merely as a piece of information. These words were not much attended to, or believed; however, he had some time before sent to Mortagne all the jewels of the monastery, and thither went also the abbot and his monks, who were not very well calculated to defend themselves.

The Valenciennois, who had been ordered by the earl their lord to be before St. Amand on a certain day, as he would be there to meet them, came with twelve thousand combatants, and posting themselves before the town, armed all the cross-bowmen, and made them advance toward the bridge over the Scarpe. The conflict was here very sharp: it lasted all that day, without the Valenciennois being able to make any impression; but they had a great many of their men killed and wounded, and the besieged, mocking them, called out, "Go your ways, and drink your good ale." Toward the evening they retired from before the town, much wearied and surprised that they had not heard any tidings of their lord; they called a council, and resolved to return back to their own town. On the morrow after their departure, the earl of Hainault arrived, as has been said, by the way of Mortagne, and he immediately began the attack: it was so violent, that the barriers were instantly won, and they advanced to the gate which opens toward Mortagne. The earl and his uncle headed this attack; they fought most valiantly, and spared none. Each of them at this place received two such blows, from stones thrown down upon them, that their helmets were split through, and themselves stunned. One present then said to the earl, "Sir, we shall never do anything effectual in this place, for the gate is very strong, the passage narrow, and it will cost you too many of your people to gain it; but if you will order some large beams of wood to be brought, and shod with iron in the manner of piles, and strike with them against the walls

of the monastery, I will promise you that you will make breaches in many places: if once we get into the monastery, the town is ours, for there is nothing to stop us between it and the town." The earl ordered this advice to be followed, for he perceived it was reasonable, and the shortest method of getting possession of the town. Great beams of oak were brought, formed, and sharpened like piles, and to each were ordered twenty or thirty men, who bearing it in their hands, retreated some paces, and then ran with it with great force against the wall, which they battered down in many places, so that they entered valiantly and crossed a small rivulet.

The seneschal of Carcassonne was there, with his banner displayed before him, which was gules, with a chef argent, three chevrons in chief, and an indented border, argent, and near him were collected many companions from his own country, who received the Hainaulters very gallantly, and fought as well as they were able, but it was in vain, as they were overpowered by numbers. It may be worth remembering, that, on their entering the monastery, there remained a monk, called sir Froissart, who did wonders, killing and wounding, at one of the breaches where he had posted himself, upward of eighteen, so that no one durst venture to pass through: at last he was forced to fly, for he perceived that the Hainaulters were entering the monastery by various other breaches; the monk, therefore, made off as fast as he could, and saved himself in Mortagne. As soon as the earl, sir John, and the knights of Hainault, had entered the monastery, the earl ordered no quarter to be given, so much was he enraged at the violences they had committed in his territories. The town was soon filled with soldiers, who pursued all they met from street to street, and from house to house; very few escaped being put to death. The seneschal was slain under his banner, and upward of two hundred men with him. The earl returned that evening to Tournay.

On the morrow, the men-at-arms of Valenciennes, and the commonalty, came to St. Amand, burnt the town, the monastery, and the great minster: breaking and destroying all the bells, of which there were numbers of very good and melodious ones. The earl of Hainault made another excursion from the siege of Tournay, with about six hundred men-at-arms, in order to burn Orchies, Landas, and Le Celle. He afterwards crossed, with his army, the river Scarpe above Hanon, and entering France, came before a large and rich monastery, at Marchiennes, of which sir Aymé de Vervaulx was governor, who had with him a detachment of cross-bowmen from Douay. The attack was violent, for the knight had strongly fortified the first gate, which was surrounded by wide and deep ditches, and the French and monks withinside defended themselves valiantly. The Hainaulters exerted themselves much; and, having procured boats, they by this means gained entrance into the monastery, but a German knight, attached to the lord of Fauquemont, was drowned; his name was sir Bacho de la Wiere. At the attack of the gate, the earl, his uncle the seneschal of Hainault, and many others, proved themselves such good knights, that the gate was gained, sir Aymé slain, and the greater part of the others. Many monks who were there were captured, the monastery pillaged, and burnt, as well as the village. The earl after this returned with his army to Tournay.

CHAPTER LXI.

SIR CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY, AND MANY OTHERS OF THE FRENCH, CAPTURED AT PONT-A-TRESSIN.

The siege of Tournay lasted a long time, and the town held out well; but the king of England thought he must gain it, for he knew that there were within it great numbers of men-at-arms, and a scarcity of provision, which would oblige them to yield through hunger. But others said, that they would find supplies through the country of the Brabanters, who permitted frequent and large quantities of provisions to pass through their army, and even to enter the town. Those from Brussels and Louvain were quite weary of remaining there so long, and petitioned the marshal of their army for leave to return to Brabant. The marshal replied, that he was very willing to consent to their departure, but they must leave their arms and accoutrements behind them. This made them so ashamed, that they never again repeated their request. During this siege, the Germans made an excursion toward Pont-à-Tressin, where sir Robert de Bailleul had defeated the Hainaulters. The lord of Rauderondenc, sir John of Rauderondenc his son, at that time a squire, sir John de Randebourgh, a squire also, and tutor to the lord of Rauderondenc's son, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, sir Reginald d'Escouvenort, sir Courrat d' Astra, sir Bastien de Basties, Candrelier his brother, the lord Strauren de Leurne, with many others, from the duchies of Juliers and Gueldres, held a conference together, and resolved to make an excursion on the morrow, by break of day; for which purpose they armed, and prepared themselves well that night.

Some knights-bachelors* from Hainault joined them; among whom were sir Florent de Beaurieu, sir Latas de la Haye, marshal of the army, the lord John of Hainault, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir Robert Glewes, from the county of Los, at that time only a squire, and many more; amounting altogether to upward of three hundred good men-at-arms. They came to Pont-à-Tressin, which they crossed without loss: they then held a council, on what would be the most advantageous plan for them to beat up and skirmish with the army of the French. It was determined, that the lord of Rauderondenc, and his son, sir Henry de Kalkren, a mercenary knight, sir Thilman de Saussy, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir l'Alleman bastard of Hainault, sir Robert Glewes, and Jacquelot de Thiaulx, should act as light-horse, and skirmish up to the tents of the French; that the rest of the knights and squires, who might amount to three hundred, should remain at the bridge, to keep and defend that pass, in case of any attack. This advanced body then set out: they were forty persons altogether, well mounted upon handsome and strong chargers: they rode on till they came to the French camp, when they immediately dashed in, and began to cut down tents and pavilions, and do every possible damage, by skirmishing with all that opposed them. That night, two great barons, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of Saulieu, had the watch, and were with their guard, when the Germans fell upon them. As soon as they heard the noise, they and their banners moved toward it.

When the lord of Rauderondenc saw them approach, he turned his horse about, and ordered his pennon and his party to push for the bridge, the French following him closely. In this chase, the French captured sir Oulphart de Guistelles, for he could not follow their track, his sight being indifferent. He was surrounded by the enemy, and made prisoner, as were two esquires, of the names of Mondrop and Jacquelot de Thiaulx. The French galloped after them, but the Germans escaped; and, being scarcely more than half an acre separated from them, they could plainly hear them crying out, "Ha, gentlemen, you shall not return as easy as you came." Then one of his party rode up to the lord of Rauderondenc, and said, "Sir, consider what you are about, or the French will cut us off from the bridge." The lord of Rauderondenc replied, "If they know one road to it, I know another;" and, turning to his right, led his party along a road tolerably well beaten, which brought them straight to the river before mentioned, which is very deep, and surrounded by marshes. On their coming thither, they found they could not ford it, so that they must return, and pass over the bridge. The French, thinking to cut off and take the Germans, went on full gallop toward the bridge. When they were come near to it, and saw the large body of men waiting for them, they said to one another, "We are making a foolish pursuit, and may easily lose more than we can gain." Upon which many turned back, particularly the banner-bearer of the lord of Saulieu, as well as that lord himself. But the lord of Montmorency would not retire, but pushed forward courageously, and, with his party, attacked the Germans. This attack was very fierce on both sides, and each party had many unhorsed. While they were engaged, the light troops made a circuit, and fell upon their flank: notwithstanding this, and the hard blows given, the French stood their ground. But sir Reginald d'Escouvenort, knowing the banner of Montmorency, under which the knight was, with sword in hand, dealing his blows about him, came upon his right hand, and, with his left hand seizing the reins of his horse, stuck spurs into his own, and drew him out of the combat. The lord of Montmorency gave many blows with his sword upon the helmet and back of sir Reginald, which at once broke and received them. However, the lord of Montmorency remained his prisoner, and the Germans fought so well, that they maintained their ground, and made fourscore gentlemen prisoners. They then repassed the bridge without hindrance, and returned to Tournay, where each retired to his own quarters.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE FLEMINGS ADVANCE TO ST. OMER DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

We will now relate an adventure which happened to the Flemings, under command of sir Robert d'Artois and sir Henry de Flandres. They amounted to upward of forty thousand, from the towns of Ypres, Poperingue, Malines, Cassel, and Castlewick of Bergues. These Flemings were encamped in great array in the valley of Cassel, to oppose the French garrisons which king Philip had sent into St. Omer, St. Venant, Aire, and other towns and fortresses in that neighborhood. By the king of France's orders, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lords of Kaleuhen, Montay, Rochefort, the viscount de Touars, and many other knights from Auvergne and Limousin, posted themselves in St. Omer. In St. Venant, and in Aire, there were also a great many knights. The Flemings frequently skirmished with the French; and one day, to the number of four or five thousand lightly armed, they came to the suburbs of St. Omer, pulled down many houses, and pillaged wherever they could. The alarm was instantly spread in the town: the lords who were there soon armed themselves and their men, and sallied out at the gate opposite to where the Flemings were. They might amount to about six banners, two hundred armed with helmets, and six hundred infantry. They made a circuit round St. Omer, as their guides, who were well acquainted with the road, led them, and came opportunely upon the

* The word *bachelor*, from whence has come *bachelier*, does not signify *bas chevalier*, but a knight who has not the number of *bachelles* of land requisite to display a banner; that is to say, *four bachelles*. The bachelle was composed of ten *maz* or *meix* (farms, or domains,) each of which contained a sufficiency of land for the work of two oxen during a whole year.—*Gloss. du droit. Fr. de Laurica.*

Bovatus terræ. Tantum esse quantum bos unus colat; sex bovatæ quantum sex. In vet. autem statutorum mess. ad compositionem mensurarum, sic notatur. Octo bovatæ terræ faciunt carucatam terræ, octo carucatæ faciunt unum feodum militis. xviii. acræ faciunt bovatam terræ.—*Spelmanni Glossarium.*

Flemings, who were busily employed in collecting everything they could find in the town of Arques, which is close to St. Omer, so that they were dispersed about, without officers, and without order. The French attacked them thus unawares, with banners displayed, and lances in their rests, in regular order, crying out, "Clermont, Clermont, for the dauphin of Auvergne."

When the Flemings heard this, they were sore alarmed; and, not attempting to rally in any order, they fled as fast as they could, throwing down all the pillage they had gotten. The French pursued them, and killed and knocked them down in great numbers. This pursuit lasted full two leagues: there were four thousand eight hundred slain, and four hundred captured, who were carried to St. Omer, and there imprisoned. When those few, who had escaped, arrived at their own army, and related what had happened to them, it soon came to the ears of their captains, who told them they had deserved what had befallen them, for they had done this without orders, and without a leader. About midnight, as these Flemings were asleep in their tents, so sudden an alarm and fright came upon them, that they all got up, and could not make sufficient haste to decamp. They directly pulled down their tents and pavilions, flung them into the baggage-wagons, and took to their heels; without waiting for any one, or keeping any order or regular road. When the two commanders heard of this, they got up in the greatest haste, and ordered large fires and torches to be lighted: they mounted their horses, and, galloping after the Flemings, said to them, "Sirs, tell us what has ailed you, that you fly thus, when no one pursues you; you ought to think yourselves very secure, and yet you are still going on. Return back, for God's sake: you are exceedingly to blame, to run away without being pursued." But, notwithstanding all their entreaties, they would not stop, and each took the nearest way he could find to his own home. These lords, perceiving they could not prevail with them, ordered their baggage to be packed up in the wagons, and came to the siege of Tournay, where they related to the chiefs what had happened to the Flemings, which surprised all: some said, they must have been bewitched.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY RAISED, BY MEANS OF A TRUCE.

The siege of Tournay had lasted a long time; eleven weeks all but three days: when the lady of John de Valois, sister to the king of France, and mother to the earl of Hainault, took great pains with both parties to make up a peace, so that they might separate without a battle. The good lady had frequently, on her knees, besought it of the king of France, and afterwards came to the lords of the empire, especially to the duke of Brabant, and the duke of Juliers, who had married her daughter, and to the lord John of Hainault. She at last so far prevailed, by the help and assistance of the lord Lewis d'Augimont, who was well beloved by both parties, that a day was fixed for a negotiation, when each of the parties was to send five well-qualified persons to treat upon the best means of bringing about a reconciliation, and a truce for three days was agreed upon. These commissioners were to meet at a chapel, situated in the fields, called Esplotin. On the day appointed, having heard mass, they assembled after dinner, and took the lady with them. On the part of the king of France, there came Charles, king of Bohemia, Charles, earl of Alençon, the king's brother, the bishop of Liege, the earl of Flanders, and the earl of Armagnac. On the part of the king of England, there came the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincoln, the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, and the lord John of Hainault.

When they had all entered this chapel, they saluted each other most politely, with every mark of respect: they then began on the business, and the whole day passed in discussing the best means to accomplish what they were met for. The lady Joan entreated of them respectfully, but with earnestness, that they would exert themselves to bring about a peace: this first day, however, passed away without anything being decided, when they all separated, promising to return on the morrow. The next day they came to their appointment, began upon the treaty as before, and fell upon some arrangements which seemed likely to end to their mutual satisfaction; but it was too late that day to put them in writing: so they separated, with a promise of returning on the morrow to complete and finish it. The third day these lords returned, and agreed upon a truce, to last for one year, between the two kings and all the allies that were present, as well as between those who were carrying on the war in Scotland, Gascony, Poictou, and Saintonge; and it was in these countries to take place forty days from that day. Each party was to inform their adherents of the truce, and that they sincerely meant to abide by it; but they were to be left to follow their own inclinations, adhering to it or not.

France, Picardy, Burgundy, and Normandy, agreed to it, without any exception; and this truce was to take place immediately in the armies of France and England. The two kings also were to send four or five noble personages to Arras, where the pope was to send as many legates; and to whatever these persons should determine upon they promised most faithfully to accede. One of the conditions of this truce was, that each person should retain whatever he had got in his possession. The truce was immediately proclaimed in each army, to the great joy of the Brabanters, who were heartily tired of the siege. The day after, at daybreak, tents and pavilions were struck, wagons loaded, and every one in motion to depart; so that any one who had been there before, and saw this, might have hailed a new era.

Thus the good city of Tournay remained unhurt, but it had a narrow escape; for there were at that time no more provisions in it than would have been sufficient for three or four days. The Brabanters began their march immediately, for they were very impatient to return. The king of England set out sore against his will, but it behoved him to consent to the will of others, and to agree to their counsels. The king of France could not well remain longer where he was, from the great stench of the dead cattle, and from the excessive heat of the weather. The French thought they had gained much honor in this business; giving for reason, that they had prevented the city of Tournay from being lost, and separated the large army which had lain before it and done nothing, notwithstanding the great preparations that had been made. The lords of the opposite party claimed the honor of this affair; because they had remained so long in the kingdom of France, and besieged one of the best towns the king had, burning and destroying his country before his eyes, and he not sending any succor or relief as he ought to have done: and lastly, because he had consented to a truce with his enemies lying before his city, burning and wasting his kingdom.

These lords then set out from Tournay, and returned to their own country. The king of England went to Ghent, where his queen was, and soon after crossed the sea with all his people, except those whom he left to attend the conference at Arras. The earl of Hainault returned to Valenciennes; and upon that occasion there were great entertainments, and a tournament at Mons in Hainault. Sir Gerard de Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, was there, and tilted at this tournament, at which he was mortally wounded. He left behind him a son, called John, who was afterwards a bold and hearty knight, though he enjoyed but indifferent health. The king of France disbanded his army, and went to amuse and refresh himself at Lisle, where the principal persons of Tournay came to see him. He received them with great joy; and, as a mark of favor for having so gallantly defended themselves against their enemies, so that they made no conquests from them, he granted them back their franchises, which they had lost for some time. This made them very happy; for sir Godemar du Fay, and many other knights, strangers to them, had been made their governors: they, therefore, immediately elected provosts and jurats from among themselves, according to their ancient customs. When the king had settled to his liking part of his business, he set out for Lisle, and took the road toward his good city of Paris.

The time approached for the meeting of the conference at Arras. Pope Clement VI. sent, as his legates, the cardinal of Naples, and the cardinal of Clermont, who came to Paris, where they were received most honorably by the king of France, and then proceeded to Arras. From the king of France, there came the earl of Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauvais, and the bishop of Auxerre. On the part of the king of England there were, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Warwick, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord John of Hainault, and the lord Henry of Flanders. At this conference, there were many subjects brought forward for discussion, and a great deal of talk during the fifteen days which it lasted, but nothing positively determined upon; for the English made large demands, which the French would not allow of; they agreed only to restore the county of Ponthieu, which had been given as a marriage portion with Isabella, to the king of England. This conference, therefore, broke up without doing anything, except prolonging the truce to two years, which was all that these cardinals could obtain. Every one returned homeward; and the cardinals took their road through Hainault, at the entreaties of the earl, who right nobly entertained them.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DIES WITHOUT HEIRS, UPON WHICH A WAR ENSUES FOR THE SUCCESSION.

As soon as the truce made before Tournay had been agreed to and sealed, the lords and all others set off for their own countries. The duke of Brittany, who had attended the king of France, with his army before Tournay, better accoutred than any other prince or lord, was, upon his return home, taken ill, insomuch that he was obliged to stop, and his disorder increased so fast, that he died.* The duke, at his death, had no child, nor had the duchess, his wife, any expectations of one. He had a brother by his father's side, called the earl of Montfort, then living, and who had married the sister of earl Lewis of Flanders. The duke had also another brother, who was dead, but had left a daughter, whom her uncle, the duke, had married to the lord Charles of Blois, younger son of Guy earl of Blois, by the sister of king Philip of France, then reigning, and had promised her, on her marriage, the duchy of Brittany, after his decease, though,

* John III. duke of Brittany died at Caen, 30th of April, 1341. His body was carried to the Carmelites of Ploermel. Charles de Louvier, who lived at that period, assures us, in his *Songe du Verger*, that duke John seeing himself without children, declared the earl of Montfort his heir.

at the time, he was doubtful if the earl of Montfort would not claim it, as being nearest of kindred, though he was not properly his brother-german. It seemed to the duke, that the daughter of his brother-german ought, by reason of her proximity, to have the duchy after his death, in preference to the earl of Montfort, his brother. And as he had long had his suspicions that the earl of Montfort would, after his decease, enforce his claim, to the prejudice of his young niece, with all his power, he had married her to the lord Charles of Blois, with the intent that the king of France, his uncle, might more powerfully assist him in preserving his rights, should the earl of Montfort attempt to encroach on them.

As soon as the earl of Montfort knew of the death of the duke his brother, he set off directly for the city of Nantes, which is the capital of Brittany, and exerted himself so much among the citizens and the inhabitants of the neighborhood, that he was received as their lord, as being the next relation to the duke just departed; and they all swore fealty and homage to him. Then he and his wife, who had the heart of a lion, took counsel together upon holding a solemn court, and a great feast at Nantes. Summons were ordered to be sent to all the barons and nobles of Brittany, and to the councils of the great towns, inviting them to attend this court, to do their fealty and homage as to their true lord, which was done. In the mean time, before the commencement of this feast, he set out from Nantes, with a great number of men-at-arms, and went toward Limoges, where he had been informed his brother had placed the large sums he had amassed. On his arrival he entered the town in a most splendid manner, and was nobly and honorably received by the inhabitants, clergy, and commonalty of the place. They all did him homage, as to their right lord; and the grand treasury was delivered up to him, by the consent of the lords and burgesses, whom he gained by the presents and promises he made to them. When he had feasted and remained at Limoges as long as was agreeable to him, he departed with all the treasure, and came directly to Nantes, where the lady, his wife, was expecting him. They continued there in private, with

THE ENTRY OF JOHN DE MONTFORT AND HIS DUCHESS INTO NANTES, from a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

much joy, until the day arrived for the grand court and solemn feast, and made great preparations for the celebration of it. On the day of the feast, no one appeared to the summons but one knight, sir Henry de Leon, who was a powerful and valiant man: nevertheless, they continued the feast for three days with the citizens of Nantes, and those near the city, in the best manner they could. It was then resolved to expend the great treasure in obtaining possession of the duchy, to collect a numerous body of soldiers, both horse and foot, and to force all that should rebel against him to ask his mercy. This council was attended by all who were at Nantes, knights, clerks, and citizens. Soldiers were enlisted from all parts, and well paid; so that they soon had a large body of horse, as well as foot, of those that were noble, as well as those that were not, and from all parts and countries.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF BREST.

WHEN the earl of Montfort found that he had men in plenty, he was advised to go and possess himself, either by violent or gentle means, of all the country, and to subdue his enemies. He sallied out, therefore, from Nantes, with a large army, and drew toward a very strong castle, situated upon the sea-coast, called Brest: sir Walter* de Clisson was governor of it, a most noble knight, and one of the greatest barons of Brittany. The earl, in his march toward Brest, so conquered all the country, except the fortresses, that the inhabitants followed him, on foot or on horseback, for they dared not leave him: he thereby had a numerous body of men-at-arms. When he and his army were come before Brest, he ordered sir Henry de Leon to summon the governor, and require of him, in obedience to the earl of Montfort, as duke of Brittany, to surrender to him the castle and town of Brest, as to his liege lord. The governor replied, he would do nothing in the business, until he should have received orders from the lord to whom of right it belonged. The earl then retreated to a small distance, and sent challenges to those of the town and castle. On the morrow, after he had heard mass, he ordered his men to arm, and make an assault upon the castle, which was very strong, and well provided with everything.

The governor, sir Walter de Clisson, on his part, was not inactive he armed all the garrison, who were full three hundred good fighting men, and sent every one to the post he had assigned them, taking with him about forty of the bravest, and advanced out of the castle,

* Sir *Garnier* de Clisson, Lord Berner's, and D. Sauvage's edit.—ED.

as far as the barriers. The assailants came there to make their attack, which was very sharp; and many of them were slain and wounded: the governor performed wonders; but at last, such numbers came upon him, the earl urged them on so sharply, and each exerted himself so much, that the barriers were won, and the defenders of them forced to retire toward the castle with great loss; for their opponents had fought lustily: many were killed. The governor, however, comforted them as well as he could, and conducted them in safety to the chief gate. When those who kept the ward of the gate perceived the defeat of the governor's party, they were afraid of losing the castle, and let fall the portcullis, which shut them out: the knight however defended himself valiantly, though most of his party were killed or wounded: the governor himself, though very badly wounded, would not surrender, in spite of all entreaties. Those within the castle exerted themselves with their cross-bows; and, by throwing large stones upon the assailants, forced them to retire, and gave an opportunity of raising a little the portcullis, so that the knight and the remnant of his detachment entered: all of them were dangerously wounded.

The next day, the earl of Montford ordered machines to be made, and got ready to attack the castle more vigorously; and he declared, that nothing should make him depart, until he had gained possession of it. On the third day he was informed that sir Walter de Clisson was dead of the wounds he had received, which was confirmed. Upon this the earl ordered his men to arm themselves, to renew the attack with vigor, and the machines which had been made to advance, and large beams of timber to be thrown across the trenches, in order to come to the walls of the castle. Those within defended themselves with their cross-bows, and by throwing down upon the assailants stones, firebrands, and pots of hot lime, till toward midday, when the earl again summoned them to surrender, promising them indemnity for what was past, on their acknowledging him as their lawful lord. Upon this they had a long consultation, and the earl ordered a cessation of arms. After they had fully considered this proposal, they freely surrendered themselves, their persons and effects being preserved inviolate. The earl then entered the castle, with a few attendants, and received the fealty of all those of the castlewick. He appointed a knight, in whom he had great trust, as the governor of it, and returned, very well pleased, to his camp.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE CITY OF RENNES.

When the earl had concluded this business, and had established proper guards and garrison in the castle of Brest, he was advised to advance toward the city of Rennes, which was at no great distance. He ordered his camp to be broken up, and his army to march toward Rennes: through all the country he passed, he made the inhabitants swear homage and fealty to him, as their liege lord, and took as many with him as he could, to help and assist his army. None dared to refuse him, for fear of their persons. When he was arrived at Arras, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and placed his army round the town and suburbs. Those of the town made a show of defending themselves; their governor was sir Henry de Spinefort, whom they much loved for his prowess and loyalty. He one day made a sally, with two hundred men, before the dawn, upon the enemy's camp, cutting down tents, and killing some few. Upon which the army cried out "To arms," and made ready for their defence: those who were upon guard, hearing these cries, and the stir, advanced to the place, and met those of the town returning home. An attack commenced, which was boldly fought on both sides; when the army had armed themselves, they advanced to the support of the guard; which the town's-people seeing, lost courage, and ran away as fast as they could, but many remained on the field, killed and prisoners. Among the last was sir Henry de Spinefort, who being brought to the earl of Montfort, he determined to send him to the inhabitants of the town, to demand their surrender, or he would hang the knight before the gates: for he had heard how very much he was beloved by them.

Upon this demand the commonalty had a long consultation. They loved sir Henry much, and greatly compassionated him: they had also made but very scanty provision for enduring a long siege, so that they wished to accept the terms offered: but the higher ranks of citizens would not agree to them, for they had laid in ample stores. This occasioned a quarrel among them; and as those of the higher ranks were nearly allied to each other, they withdrew themselves on one side, and said aloud, that all who were of this opinion should come to them: so many were of their way of thinking, and connected with them, that they amounted to full two thousand against accepting the earl's proposals. When the lower sorts saw this, they began to stir, and cried out against them, using many bad and villainous expressions, and at last fell upon them and killed many. The citizens perceiving their danger, begged for mercy, and promised to agree to whatever the people chose. Upon this the riot ceased, and the people ran to open the gates, and deliver up the city to the earl of Montfort. All the inhabitants, both great and small, did him homage and fealty, acknowledging him for their lord. This was done out of love to sir Henry de Spinefort, and he was made one of the earl's council.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF HENNEBON.*

The earl entered the town of Rennes in great triumph; and he quartered his army in the fields round about it. He made up the quarrel between the inhabitants, and then established bailiffs, provosts, sheriffs, sergeants, and other officers. He remained in the city three days, to repose himself and army, and to consider upon what steps he should next take. The fourth day he decamped, and marched to one of the best fortified castles, and the strongest town, without comparison, in all Brittany, called Hennebon. It is situated near the sea, and a river runs about it in deep trenches. When sir Henry de Spinefort was informed of his intentions, he began to be alarmed lest some mischance should befall his brother, who was governor of that place, and, taking the earl aside, said to him, "Sir, you have admitted me to the honor of your council, and I have sworn fealty to you. I perceive that you mean to sit down before Hennebon: I think it, therefore, my duty to inform you, that the town and castle are so strongly fortified, that it will not be so easily won as you may think. You may lie before it a whole year, and never conquer it by dint of force: but if you will put your confidence in me, I will point out a method by which you may gain it. It is proper to use artifice when strength is of no avail. You will give me, if you please, five hundred men-at-arms, for me to act with as I shall think proper: I will advance with them half a league before your army, with the banner of Brittany displayed. As soon as my brother, who is commandant of the town and castle, shall see the banner of Brittany, and distinguish me, I am sure he will open the gates, which I will enter and seize, as well as the town and castle, and arrest my brother, whom I will give up to your will, if he will not follow my advice, under your promise of honor that you will not do him any bodily harm." "No, by my head, I will not," replied the earl, "and you have hit upon a lucky expedient. I love you more than before for it, and shall be charmed with you, if you can bring it about that I may be master of the town and castle."

Sir Henry de Spinefort, and his party, amounting to full five hundred armed men, took leave of the earl, and, in the evening, came before Hennebon. As soon as Oliver de Spinefort knew of his arrival, he permitted him and his forces to enter the gates, and went down the street to meet him. When sir Henry saw him approach, he stepped forward, and taking hold of him said, "Oliver, you are my prisoner." "How is this?" replied Oliver: "I trusted in you, and thought you were come here to help and assist me in defending this town and castle." "Sweet sir," said sir Henry, "things do not go on in that manner. I take possession of this place for the earl of Montfort, who at this moment is duke of Brittany; to whom I, as well as the greater part of the country, have sworn fealty and homage; and you will, I am sure, do the same, for it will be more agreeable to do it out of love than through compulsion, and my lord the earl will think himself the more obliged to you for it." Oliver was so much pressed and entreated by his brother, that he consented to his proposals, and confirmed it to the earl, who entered the town triumphantly, which is a large place, and a good sea-port. After having taken possession of the town and strong castle, he placed in both, men-at-arms, for their garrisons. He then advanced toward Vannes, and was so active in treating with the inhabitants, that they surrendered it, and swore fealty and homage, as to their true lord. He established in that town all manner of municipal officers, and tarried there three whole days. When he departed, he marched to besiege a very strong castle, called La Roche Perion, the governor of which was the lord Oliver de Clisson, cousin-german to the lord of Clisson†.

The earl remained before it more than ten days, without being able to find out any means to gain this castle, it was so strong, nor obtain any parley or conference with the governor, so that he might attempt to gain him to his obedience, either by promises or by threats. He therefore left it until he should have a greater force, and went to besiege another castle, ten leagues off, called the castle of Aurai. Sir Geoffry de Malestroit was governor of it, and he had for his companion, sir Yves de Trisiguidi. The earl made two assaults upon it, but he saw he should lose more than he could gain: he consented to a truce, and a day of parley, through the earnest solicitations of sir Hervé de Léon‡, who at that time was with him. The parley was so managed, that everything was amicably adjusted, and the two knights swore fealty and homage to the earl, who immediately departed, after having appointed them as his governors of the surrounding country, and went toward a strong castle in that neighborhood, called Goy la Forest. He who was governor of it, perceiving that the earl had a strong force, and that all the country was submitting itself to him, by the advice and remonstrances of sir Hervé de Léon (with whom he had formerly been companion at arms in Prussia, Grenada, and in many other foreign countries) yielded it up to the earl, and swore fealty and homage to him, who continued him as governor of the place. He then went to Carhaix, a good town, with

*Situated upon the river Blavet, in the diocese of Vannes, thirty-seven leagues from Nantes.

† The Histoire de la Bretagne, by Père Morice, a Benedictine monk, says, that Oliver de Clisson was the true lord de Clisson.

‡ Called *Henry* de Leon in chapter 64. Both Lord Berners and D. Sauvage's edition read *Henry* throughout.—Ed.

a strong castle. The lord of it was a bishop, who at the time was there: he was uncle to sir Hervé de Léon, and by his advice and affection for him, he surrendered it to the earl, acknowledging him as his lord, until some other should come, and show a more just title to the dukedom of Brittany*.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND FOR THE DUKEDOM OF BRITTANY†.

Why should I make a long story of it? The earl of Montfort continued his conquests, gained the whole country, and was everywhere addressed as duke of Brittany. He advanced to a sea-port town called Roscoff, when he dismissed his troops, and sent them to garrison and preserve for him the different towns he had won. He then embarked, and landed in Cornwall, at a port called Cepsee, where, upon his inquiries after the king of England, he was informed that he was at Windsor. He set off for that place, and was received at Windsor, by the king, queen, and all the barons at that time there, with great joy. He explained to the king, the lord Robert d'Artois, and to the council, the manner of his seizing and taking possession of the duchy of Brittany, which had devolved to him, as next heir to his brother lately deceased. He suspected, however, that the lord Charles of Blois, and the king of France, would attempt to deprive him of it by force; for which reason he had come to hold the duchy of the king of England, and to do him homage for it, provided he should be secured against the king of France, or any others that should attempt to molest him in his rights. The king of England, considering that his war against France would be strengthened by this means—that he could not have a better entry into that kingdom than through Brittany—that the Germans and Brabanters had done nothing for him, but cost him large sums—and that the lords of the empire had led him up and down, taking his money, without making any return for it—was very happy to comply with the earl's request, and received his homage for the duchy by the hand of the earl, who was called and addressed by the title of duke. The king then gave his promise, in the presence of the lords who had accompanied him, as well as before those barons of England that were there, that he would aid, defend, and preserve him, as his liege man, against any one, the king of France, or any other, to the uttermost of his royal power. These promises and homage were written and sealed, and each party had a copy of them. After this, the king and queen made such rich presents of jewels, and other gifts, to the earl, and to those who had come over with him, that they pronounced him a gallant king, and fit to reign many years in great prosperity. They afterwards took leave, embarked, and landed at Roscoff, a town in Brittany, the place whence they had sailed; and thence he went to Nantes, where his countess had remained, who told him that he had done well, and had acted wisely.

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT SUMMONED BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS AT THE REQUEST OF THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS.

When the lord Charles of Blois, who, by right of his wife, looked upon himself as lawful duke of Brittany, was informed that the earl John of Montfort was conquering, by force of arms, all the country and fortresses which of right belonged to him, he went to Paris, and complained of it to king Philip, his uncle. King Philip called upon his twelve peers for their advice what was best to be done in this business. They recommended, that the earl of Montfort should be sent to and summoned, by properly qualified messengers, to appear at Paris, to be interrogated judicially; which was done. The messengers found the earl in the city of Nantes, keeping great feasts, which he made them partake of, and told them, he would be obedient to the king's commands, and would cheerfully attend them. He made very magnificent preparations, set out from Nantes, and journeyed on till he came to Paris, which he entered with more than four hundred attendants on horseback, and tarried there that day and night. On the morrow, about eight o'clock, he and his attendants mounted their horses, and rode to the palace, where king Philip was waiting for him, surrounded by his twelve peers, great numbers of other barons, and the lord Charles of Blois. When the earl of Montfort was arrived at the palace, he withdrew to the chamber where the king and his barons were: he was civilly regarded and saluted by them. He advanced toward the king, and making him a reverence, said, "Sir, I come here in obedience to your commands and good pleasure." The king replied, "Earl Montfort, I thank you for so doing; but I am much surprised how you could think or dare, of your own accord, to invade the duchy of Brittany, where you have no right, for there are nearer heirs than you, whom you attempt to disinherit: and, in order the better to strengthen your claim, you have been, as I am informed, to do homage for it to my enemy, the king of England."

The earl answered, "Oh dear, sir, do not believe it; for, in good truth, you have been misinformed: but, with regard to my claim of which you have just spoken, with all due deference to your grace, I believe you are quite mistaken; for I know of no nearer relation to the duke, my brother, lately deceased, than myself: and I shall not think myself a rebel, or be ashamed, for not giving up my right."* "Sir earl," said the king, "you say well; but I command you, by what you now hold, and expect to hold, from me, that you quit not the city of Paris for fifteen days, when the peers and barons shall try this claim of relationship; at which time you will know what your right is: and, if you act otherwise, you will incur my displeasure." "Your will shall be done, sir," answered the earl. He then left the court and returned to his hotel to dinner. When he was come there, he retired to his own chamber; and having well weighed and considered some suspicions he had conceived, he mounted his horse and set out for Brittany, accompanied by a very small number of attendants, and arrived at Nantes, before the king or any others, except his own particular friends, knew anything of the matter. It was imagined, ill health kept him within his hotel. He related to his countess all that had happened, and wrote, according to her advice, to all the towns and castles which had been surrendered to him; established in each able captains, with plenty of soldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, and paid them handsomely.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY ADJUDGED, BY THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, TO THE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.

It may be easily conceived, that the king of France, and lord Charles de Blois, were exceedingly enraged, on hearing that the earl of Montfort had escaped from them. However, they waited for the expiration of the fifteen days, when the peers and barons were to give their judgment to whom belonged the duchy of Brittany. They adjudged it wholly to the lord Charles de Blois, from the earl of Montfort, for two reasons. One was, because the wife of lord Charles de Blois, as the representative of her father (who after the last duke was the next brother, both by father and mother,) was a nearer relation than the earl of Montfort, who was the youngest of these brothers, by another mother; which mother had never been duchess of Brittany; so that he never could deduce any claim from her. Another was, that, supposing the earl of Montfort had any legal claim to the succession, he had forfeited it, because he had done homage for it to another lord than the king of France, to whom he owed it; and also, because he had transgressed the commands of the king of France, had broken his arrest, and had quitted Paris without leave. When the barons had publicly given their judgment in this affair, the king called to his nephew, the lord Charles of Blois, and said to him, "Good nephew, you have had adjudged to you a handsome and great heritage; make haste to take possession of it, and conquer it from him who wrongfully holds it; and entreat all your friends to aid and assist you in this undertaking. I will not fail you, but will lend you money in sufficiency, and will give orders to my son, the duke of Normandy, to take the command of the expedition." The lord Charles made a profound reverence to the king, and returned him many thanks. He soon after requested the duke of Normandy his cousin, the count d'Alençon his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, the count de Blois his brother, the duke of Bourbon, the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord James of Bourbon, the count d'Eu, at that time constable of France, the count de Guines his son, the viscount de Rohan, and all the princes and barons then present, to assist him to gain his right; which they all promised, and said they would cheerfully follow him, and their lord, the duke of Normandy, with all the forces they

* It was the bishop of Quimper, Alain le Gal, who was probably on his visitation round his diocese. The author of the History of Brittany before quoted, seems to doubt the relationship between the bishop and sir Hervé de Leon.

† Froissart seems to mistake this homage for the one the earl of Montfort paid to the king of England as earl of Richmond, which had fallen to the king on the death of earl John. But I cannot account for this, as Froissart before says, king Edward created Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond. Montfort positively denied having paid any homage, when he attended the king of France, at Paris, in obedience to his summons. The procuration to treat with the duke of Brittany, and the powers to receive his homage for the lands appertaining to the earldom of Richmond, are given to the archbishop of Canterbury, and sir Walter Scroop, both dated the 13th March, 1331.—Rymer.

* Lord Berners, whose account agrees with that in D. Sauvage's edition, represents Montfort as willing to submit to judgment, if given against him; and as this is a favorable opportunity for contrasting the style of Lord Berners' and Mr. Johnes's translations, we annex the whole passage.

"The next day, he (the earl of Montfort) and all his mounted on their horses, and rode to the kynge's palayse. Ther the kynge and his xii peres, with other great lordes of Fraunce, taryed his commying, and the lorde Charles of Blois with the. Than therle entred into the kynge's chambre: he was well regarded and saluted of every person. Than he enclyned hymselfe to the kyng, and sayd, Sir, I am come hyther at your comaundement and pleasure. Than the kyng sayd, earl of Mountfort, for your so doing I can you good thanke, howbeit, I have marueyle howe that ye durste undertake on you the duchy of Bretayne, wherein ye have no right, for there is another nerer than ye be, and ye wolde disinheryt hym; and to mentayne your quarell, ye have ben wt myne aduersary the kynge of Englande, and as it is shewed me ye haue done hym homage for the same. Than therle sayd, Sir beleue it nat, for surely ye are but yuell enformed in that behalf; but sir, as for the right that ye speke of, sauying your dispeasur, ye do me therein wrong, for sir, I knowe none so nere to my brother that is departed as I; *if it were iuged or playnly declaried by right that there were a nother nerer than I, I wolde not be rebell nor ashamed to leave it.* Well, sir, quoth the kyng, ye say well; but I comaund you, in all that ye holde of me, that ye depart not out of this cytie of Parys this xv dayes, by which tyme the xii peres and lordes of my realme shall iudge this mater, and tha ye shall knowe what right ye haue, and if ye do otherwyse, ye shall displease me. Than therl sayd, sir, all shal be at yor pleasure. Than he went fro the court to his lodgynge to dyner. Whan he came to his lodgynge, he entred into his chambre, *and ther satte and ymagined many doutes*, and finally, with a small company, he mounted on his horse, and retourned agayne into Bretayne, or the king or any other wyst wher he become. Some thought he had been but a lytell sicke in his lodgying."—Ed.

could collect together. Upon which every one set off for his own home, to make himself ready, and provide properly for the occasion.

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE LORDS OF FRANCE ENTER BRITTANY, WITH LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.

When all the lords of Normandy, the count d'Alençon, the duke of Burgundy, and the others that were to accompany the lord Charles de Blois, in his expedition to conquer Brittany, were ready, some of them set out from Paris, and the rest from different places, in order to meet together at Angers. From thence they proceeded to Ancenis which is at the extremity of the kingdom on that side. They remained there three days, for the purpose of arranging and ordering their army and baggage. Upon entering Brittany, they numbered their forces, and found them to amount to five thousand men-at-arms, without counting the Genoese, who were at least three thousand, under the command of three knights from Genoa: the name of one was Othes de Rae, and of another Charles Germanly.* There was a large body of foot soldiers and cross-bowmen, led on by sir Galois de Baume. When the whole army had marched out of Ancenis, they advanced toward a very strong castle, situated upon a high mountain, called Châteauceaux, on the borders of Brittany, which was very well provided with men and ammunition. It was under the command of two knights from Lorraine; one called sir Giles, and the other sir Valerian. The lords of France, on drawing near to this castle, were of opinion to besiege it; for if they left a place of such strength behind them, it would do them much harm. They therefore surrounded it, and made many assaults, particularly the Genoese, who were eager to show themselves at the onset, and lost many of their men; for those within made so gallant a defence, that these gentlemen remained a long time before it without any success. At last, however, they brought such quantities of great beams and faggots as filled up the ditches, so that they could get to the foot of the walls of the castle, and attack it with greater vigor. The besieged flung down upon them stones, hot lime, and brands of fire, notwithstanding which, their opponents advanced close to the walls, having secured themselves by means of large beams, so that they could mine the walls under cover. Upon this the castle was surrendered, the lives and effects of the garrison being spared.

When the lords of France had thus gained the castle, the duke of Normandy, as commander-in-chief, gave it up to the lord Charles de Blois, as appertaining to him of right, who placed a garrison there, with a sufficient force to guard it and the neighboring country, and also to conduct such troops after him as might arrive.† They then advanced toward Nantes, which is the principal town of Brittany, and where their enemy, the earl of Montfort, had fixed his residence. The marshals of the army, and the advanced guard, came to a tolerable good town, surrounded with ditches, which they immediately attacked. Those within were not very numerous, nor well armed; consequently the town was soon taken and pillaged: one half of it was burnt and the inhabitants slain. This town was called Carquefou, and is about four or five leagues from Nantes. The lords remained for the night in that neighborhood: the next day they advanced to Nantes, which they laid siege to, and pitched their tents and pavilions. The men-at-arms in the city, who were very numerous, and the citizens, having perceived this, hastened to arm themselves, and went to the different posts assigned them for defending their town. The army before it, having fixed upon their quarters, went out a foraging; and some of the Genoese and foot soldiers advanced, as far as the barriers, to skirmish. Several young men of the town with a few soldiers sallied out to meet them, and many were slain on both sides. Skirmishes were continually going on as long as the army remained before it.

One morning, some of the soldiers and citizens sallied forth, to seek adventures. They met about fifteen carts loaded with provisions, going to the army, conducted by sixty persons. Those from the town were two hundred. They fell upon them, seized the carts, and slew many. Those that escaped fled to the army, and related what had passed; when immediately a detachment was sent to rescue the prisoners. They came up with them near the barriers: the affray then became more serious; for those from the army multiplied so quickly, that the citizens had enough to do. However, they took the horses from the carts, and drove them into the town, that if their opponents should gain the field, they might not so easily carry off the wagons or provisions. Other soldiers came out from the town, to help their friends or relations: it became every moment more severe, and of a long continuance: many were killed and wounded on both sides. At length, Sir Hervé de Léon perceived it was time to retreat: for, by staying, they might lose more than they could gain; he therefore ordered those in the town to retire in the best manner they could; but they were so closely pursued, that numbers were killed, and more than two hundred burgesses of the town taken prisoners. The earl of Montfort was very angry at this, and blamed sir Hervé much for having ordered the retreat so soon. Sir Hervé took this to heart, and would never attend the councils of the earl, as he had formerly used to do; which conduct surprised many.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKEN PRISONER AT NANTES, AND THE MANNER OF HIS DEATH.

It came to pass, as I have heard it related, that the burgesses, seeing their property destroyed both within and without the town, and their children and friends thrown into prison, were fearful lest worse might happen to them: they therefore assembled privately, and, in their meetings, came to a determination to treat in an underhand manner, with the lords of France, about obtaining a peace, securing their property, and delivering their children and friends out of prison. Their proposals were acceded to; and their friends were to be set at liberty, upon condition that they would allow them to pass through one of the gates of the town, to attack the castle, and seize the earl of Montfort, without doing hurt, either to the city or to any of the inhabitants. There were some people who seemed to say, that this treaty was brought about through the solicitation of sir Hervé de Léon (who had formerly been one of the earl's chief advisers,) out of revenge for having been menaced and blamed by him, as before related. By this means they entered the city, accompanied by as many as they chose, went straight to the castle, broke down the gates, and took the earl of Montfort, whom they carried off to their camp, without injuring house or inhabitant in the city. This event took place in the year of grace 1341, about All-Saints day. The lords of France entered the city in great triumph; when all the burgesses and inhabitants did homage and fealty to the lord Charles de Blois, as to their true lord. They continued in the city for three days, keeping great feasts;* they advised the lord Charles to remain there, and in its neighborhood, until another season, and to employ the soldiers of the garrisons from the places he had won in the most advantageous manner. These lords then took their leave and departed, and rode on till they came to Paris, where the king was, to whom they delivered up the earl of Montfort, as his prisoner. The king confined him in the tower of the Louvre at Paris, where he remained for a length of time, and at last died there, as it has been told me for a truth.†

I wish now to return to the countess of Montfort, who possessed the courage of a man, and the heart of a lion. She was in the city of Rennes when she heard of the seizure of her lord; and, notwithstanding the great grief she had at heart, she did all she could to comfort and reanimate her friends and soldiers: showing them a young child, called John, after his father, she said, "Oh, gentlemen, do not be cast down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord: he was but one man. Look at my little child, here: if it please God, he shall be his restorer, and shall do you much service. I have plenty of wealth, which I will distribute among you, and will seek out for such a leader, as may give you a proper confidence." When the countess had, by these means, encouraged her friends and soldiers at Rennes, she visited all the other towns and fortresses, taking her young son John with her. She addressed and encouraged them in the same manner as she had done at Rennes. She strengthened her garrisons both with men and provisions, paid handsomely for everything, and gave largely wherever she thought it would have a good effect. She then went to Hennebon, near the sea, where she and her son remained all that winter; frequently visiting her garrisons, whom she encouraged, and paid liberally.

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* According to the Annals of Genoa, the Genoese [illegible] their names ought to be *Othes de Doria* and *Charles Grimaldi*. —DENNY-SAVAGE.

Valesio, who has Carenus [illegible] names Doria and Grimaldi, captains of the Genoese, at the battle of Crecy.—*Latom*.

† The historian of Languedoc says, the French [illegible] that king John gave it as an appanage to his son, Lewis count d'Anjou. Charles V. acknowledged that it belonged to the dukes of Brittany, and gave it back.

The French remained at Nantes until the 18th December, and the earl of Montfort surrendered the town himself to the duke of Normandy, on learning what were the real dispositions of the townsmen, and knowing he could not longer depend on them. It is said, he was deceived by the fine speeches of the duke, who promised, on oath, to deliver him again the town of Nantes, in the same state he received it, and granted him passports, &c.—*Hist. of Brittany*.

† Froissart has been misinformed. "It was about this time, (1445) that the earl of Montfort found means to escape from the tower of the Louvre, where he had been confined upward of three years. Some persons, touched with compassion, disguised him as a merchant, and assisted him in his escape. He went directly to England, and found king Edward at Westminster, who had just written to the Pope, to complain of the infractions Philip de Valois was making on the truce concluded at Malestroit, and to explain the reasons he had for declaring war against him. He was solely occupied with the great armament he was preparing against France, and the war he intended to carry on in Gascony. Nevertheless, he thought proper to grant some troops to the earl of Montfort, to support him against Charles de Blois; the command of which he gave to William Bohun, earl of Northampton, whom he had nominated his lieutenant-general, as well in Brittany as in France.

"The earl of Montfort, before he quitted England, paid homage liege to the king for the duchy of Brittany, at Lambeth, in the apartment of the archbishop, in presence of the earl of Northampton, and several other lords.

"He embarked with the troops for his duchy—made an unsuccessful attack on Quimper, which he did not long survive. He died the 26th September, 1345, in the castle of Hennebon, and was first buried in the church of the Holy Cross at Kimperlé, but was afterwards transferred to the church of the Dominicans, in the same town. Before his death he made a will, and appointed the king of England guardian to his son John of Brittany."—*Hist. de Bretagne*

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND, FOR THE THIRD TIME, MAKES WAR UPON THE SCOTS.

It has been mentioned before, how the lords of Scotland, during the siege of Tournay, had retaken many towns and fortresses from the English, which they possessed in Scotland. There only remained to them the castles of Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick. The Scots had laid siege to the castle of Stirling, assisted by some French lords, whom king Philip sent to aid them in their wars, and had pressed it so closely, that the English garrison found great difficulty in holding it out. When the king of England was returned into his own country, he thought it advisable to make an incursion into Scotland, which he immediately set about, and began his march between Michaelmas and All-Saints. He issued out his summons for all archers and men-at-arms to follow him to York. The English put themselves in motion to obey his commands, and came to the place appointed. The king arrived at York, where he remained waiting for his forces, who followed him very quickly. When the Scots heard of the king's arrival at York, they pushed on the siege of Stirling with the greatest vigor; and by engines and cannons so pressed the garrison, that they were forced to surrender it, preserving their lives, but not their effects. This intelligence was brought to the king, where he lay. He began his march toward Stirling, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where, and in the neighboring villages, he quartered his army, and continued upward of a month, waiting for their purveyances, which had been embarked between All-Saints and St. Andrew's day. Many of their ships were lost; and they had sustained such contrary winds, that they were driven upon the coasts of Holland and Friezeland, in spite of all their efforts, so that very few arrived at Newcastle. On which account the army of the king of England, which consisted of six thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry, were in very great distress, and provisions exceedingly scarce. They could not advance farther, as the winter was set in, and no forage or provisions to be had; for the Scots had secured all the cattle and corn in their fortresses. The Scottish lords, who, after the conquest of Stirling, had retired to the forest of Jedworth, understanding that the king of England was come to Newcastle with a large force, to burn and destroy their country, collected together, to consider the best means to defend themselves. They were not very numerous, and had carried on the war, night and day, for more than seven years, without a leader, very much to their own discomfort: and, seeing there was no expectation of receiving succor from their own king, they determined to send to the king of England a bishop and an abbot, to solicit a truce.

These embassadors set out, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where they found the king surrounded by his barons; to whom, having come with a safe conduct, they explained so handsomely their mission, that a truce was granted them for four months, upon condition that the Scots should send messengers to king David in France, and signify to him, that if, in the month of May following, he did not return to his own country, with powers sufficient to defend it against king Edward, they would own themselves subjects to the king of England, and never more acknowledge him for their lord. Upon this the two prelates returned to Scotland, when the Scots ordered sir Robert de Vesci and sir Simon Frazer, with two other knights, to set off for France, to inform the king of these conditions. The king of England, who remained at Newcastle with his whole army in a very uncomfortable manner, on account of the scarcity of provisions and other stores, the more readily granted this truce: he immediately set off homeward, and dismissed all his troops. The embassadors from Scotland to France took their way through England, and crossed the sea at Dover. King David, who had remained seven years in France, knowing that his country had been much desolated, and that his people had suffered exceedingly, determined to take his leave of the king of France, and return to his own kingdom, to endeavor to comfort and assist them. He therefore had set out, accompanied by his queen, before these embassadors arrived, and had embarked at another port, under the guidance of a mariner called sir Richard the Fleming,* so that he landed in the port of Moray, in Scotland, before any of the lords knew of it.†

CHAPTER LXXIV.

KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND ADVANCES WITH A LARGE ARMY TO NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

When the young king David was landed in his own country, his subjects came to him in crowds; and with great joy and solemnity they conducted him to the town of Perth. Thither came people from all parts to see him, and to carouse: they afterwards remonstrated with him upon the destruction which king Edward and the English had done to Scotland. King David told them he would have ample revenge, or he would lose his kingdom, and his life into the bargain. By the advice of his council, he sent messengers to all his friends, far and near, to beg and entreat they would aid and assist him in this enterprise. The earl of Orkney was the first who obeyed the summons: he was a great and powerful baron, and had married king David's sister. There came with him many men-at-arms. There were such numbers from all parts, that, when they were arrived at Perth and its neighborhood, on the day which king David had appointed, they amounted to sixty thousand men on foot, and three thousand men more mounted on galloways, with arms, knights, and squires: in short, all the nobility and gentry of Scotland. When they were ready, they set out, to do as much mischief as possible to their neighbors in England: for the truce was expired; or to fight with the king who had destroyed their country. They left, therefore, the town of Perth, in regular order, and came the first night to Dunfermline, where they lay. On the morrow, they crossed a small arm of the sea* hard by. When they had all passed, they pushed forward, and went under Edinburgh castle, traversing Scotland near to Roxburgh, where there was an English garrison, but without making an attack upon it, for fear of losing any of their men, or despoiling their artillery; not knowing what force they might have to encounter, as they proposed doing some gallant deeds of renown before their return to Scotland.

Part of the Old Town Wall of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.—From an Original Drawing by Richardson.

They then passed near to the town of Berwick, but without assaulting it, entered the county of Northumberland, and came to the river Tyne, burning and destroying all the country through which they passed. They marched on until they were before the town of Newcastle, where king David and his army halted that night, in order to consider if they could not achieve something worthy of them. Toward daybreak, some gentlemen of the neighborhood, who were in the town, made a sally out of one of the gates, in a secret manner, with about two hundred lances, to make an attack upon the Scots army. They fell upon one of the wings of the army, directly on the quarters of the earl of Moray, who bore for his arms three pillows, gules on a field argent. He was in his bed when they took him prisoner, and killed a great many before the army was awakened. Having made a very large booty, they regained the town, which they entered with great joy and triumph, and delivered up the earl of Moray to the governor, the lord John Neville.† When the army was awakened and armed, they ran like madmen toward the town, even to the barriers, where they made a fierce assault, which lasted a considerable time. It availed them, however, nothing, but the loss of their people; for the town was well provided with men-at-arms,

* Malcolm Fleming of Cumminnald.

† David II., with his consort, Johanna of England, landed from France, at Inverbervie, in Kincardineshire, 4th May, 1341.—*Annals of Scotland.*

* Probably at Queen's Ferry.

† He was afterwards exchanged for the earl of Salisbury, made prisoner by the French near Lisle. The French would not release Salisbury, unless he made oath, never more to bear arms in France; and Edward III. consented to this extraordinary condition, 20th May, 1342.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. 2. p. 210.

Lord Berners describes this attack in these spirited words: "And in the morning a certayne nombre of gentylmen that were in the towne yssued out to the number of cc speres, to make a *skey* in the scottysshe host: *they dashed into the Scottisshe host, right on theyle of Morets tentes*, who bare in his armour, syluer three creylles goules: ther they toke hym in his bed, and slewe many, or thoost was moued, and wan great pyllage. Than they returned into the towne boldely with great ioye, and delyuered therle Moret as prisoner to the captayne of the castell, the lord John Neuell."—Ed.

who defended themselves valiantly and prudently, which obliged the assailants to retire with loss.

CHAPTER LXXV.

KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND TAKES AND DESTROYS THE CITY OF DURHAM.

When king David and his council saw that their stay before Newcastle was dangerous, and that they could neither gain profit nor honor, they departed, and entered the bishopric of Durham, burning and destroying as they marched. They came before the city of Durham, which they laid siege to, and made many attacks upon it, like men distracted in revenge for the loss of the earl of Moray; and they also knew that very great wealth was carried into it by all the inhabitants of the country who had fled thither. They, therefore, were every day more earnest in their attacks; and the king of Scotland ordered some engines to be made, that they might approach to assault them nearer the walls. When the Scots had marched from before Newcastle, the governor, lord John Neville, mounted a fleet courser, passed by them, for he was as well acquainted with all the by-roads and passes as a native,* and made such haste, that in five days he came to Chertsey, where the king of England then was, and related to the king of England all that the Scots were doing. The king sent out immediately his messengers, ordering all knights, squires, and others, that were able to assist him, above the age of fifteen and under sixty years, without fail, upon hearing these orders, to set out directly toward the marches of the north, to succor and defend the kingdom against the Scots, who were destroying it. Upon this earls, barons, knights, and the commonalties from the provincial towns, made themselves ready, and hastened most cheerfully to obey the summons, and advance toward Berwick. The king himself set off directly, such was his impatience, without waiting for any one; and he was followed by his subjects, as fast as they could, from all parts. During this time, the king of Scotland made so many violent attacks with the engines he had constructed upon the city of Durham, that those who were within could not prevent it from being taken, pillaged, and burnt. All were put to death without mercy, and without distinction of persons or ranks, men, women, children, monks, canons, and priests; no one was spared, neither was there house or church left standing. It was pity thus to destroy, in Christendom, the churches wherein God was served and honored.†

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THE KING OF SCOTLAND BESIEGES WARK CASTLE, BELONGING TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

When the king of Scotland had done this, he was advised to fall back upon the river Tyne,‡ and retreat toward Scotland. As he was on the march, he halted one night hard by a castle belonging to the earl of Salisbury, which was well furnished with men-at-arms. The captain of it was sir William Montacute, son to the sister of the earl, and so called after an uncle who had that name. When the night was passed, king David decamped, to pursue his march to Scotland; and the Scots passed through roads close to this castle, heavily laden, with the booty which they had made at Durham. As soon as sir William saw that they had passed the castle without halting, he sallied out of it well armed on horseback, with about forty companions, and followed in silence the last division, which consisted of horses so loaded with money and riches that they could scarcely get on, and came up with them at the entrance of a small wood; when he and his companions fell upon them, killed and wounded upward of two hundred, and took one hundred and twenty horses very richly laden, which they drove toward the castle. The criers and the runaways soon reached the lord William Douglas, who commanded the rear-guard, and had already passed the wood. Whoever at that time had seen the Scots return full gallop, over mountain and valley, with sir William Douglas at their head, would have been alarmed. They made such haste that they soon came to the castle, and ascended the hill on which it is situated with great expedition; but as they came to the barriers, those within had closed them, and placed what they had seized in safety. The Scots commenced a violent assault, and the garrison defended themselves well: the two Williams did all they could devise to hurt each other. This lasted until the whole army, and even the king himself, arrived there. When the king and his council saw their people lying dead, and the assailants sore wounded, without gaining anything, he ordered them to desist, and to seek out for quarters; for he was determined not to leave the place before he had seen his men revenged. Upon this every one was employed in searching out where he could lodge himself, to collect the dead, and to dress the wounded. The king, on the morrow, ordered all to be ready for the attack of the castle: those within prepared themselves to defend it. This assault was very fierce and perilous, and many gallant deeds were performed.

WARK CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND.

The countess of Salisbury, who was esteemed one of the most beautiful and virtuous women in England, was in this castle, which belonged to the earl of Salisbury, who had been taken prisoner, with the earl of Suffolk, near Lisle, and was still in prison at the Châtelet in Paris. The king had given him this castle, upon his marriage, for his many deeds of valor, and for the services he had received from the said earl, who was formerly called sir William Montacute, as appears in another part of this book. The countess comforted much those within the castle; and from the sweetness of her looks, and the charm of being encouraged by such a beautiful lady, one man in time of need ought to be worth two. This attack lasted a considerable time, and the Scots lost a great many men; for they advanced boldly up to it, and brought large trees and beams to fill up the ditches, that they might bring their machines, if possible, nearer, to play upon the castle: but the garrison made so good a defence, that they were forced to retreat; and the king ordered the machines to be watched, to renew the attack the next day. Each retired to their quarters, except those who guarded the machines: some bewailed the dead, others comforted the wounded. Those of the castle saw that they had too hard a task, for they were much fatigued; and, if king David were steady to his purpose, they should have difficulty to defend it. They therefore thought it advisable to send some one to king Edward, who was arrived at Berwick,* which they knew for truth, from some of the Scots prisoners they had taken, and were looking out for a proper person for this business: for not one would agree to quit the defence of the castle, or of the beautiful lady, in order to carry this message, and there was much strife among them: which, when their captain, sir William Montacute, saw, he said, "I am very well pleased, gentlemen, with your loyalty and heartiness, as well as for your affection to the lady of this house; so that, out of my love for her and for you, I will risk my person in this adventure. I have great confidence and trust in you, and that you will defend the castle until I shall return. On the other hand, I have the greatest hopes in our lord the king, and that I shall bring

* "Car il savoit bien les adresses et les refuges des pays, *comme celui qui en estoit*," are the words used by Froissart, and they could probably be rendered, "for he had a *better's knowledge* of the by roads and passes." Sir John Neville here spoken of was the eldest son and heir of Ralph lord de Nevill, and father of the first earl of Westmoreland, and the estates of the family lay in the north.—Ed.

† Lord Berners translates this passage rather more correctly, as Froissart did not mean to say that the burning of churches in a pagan country would not be equally a pity as in Christe dom. "The cyte was won by force and robbed and clene brent, and all manner of people put to deth without mercy, men, women, and chyldren, monkes, preestes and chanons; so that ther abode alyue no manner of person, house nor church, but it was destroyed. Thus was great pyte so to be lost *christenthaie* and the churches of God wherein that God was honoured and serued."

This passage is remarkable as an illustration of the superstitious feelings of these chivalric times. We have before had many accounts of burnings and massacres, nay, even of the violation of nuns, but all were passed by as mere matters of course. "I am now reading Johnes's Froissart," says Mrs. Barbauld in one of her elegant letters, "and I think I was never more struck with the horrors of war—simply because *he* seems not at all struck with them." It is only when the churches are included in the destruction that the compassion of the canon is excited.—Ed.

‡ As Wark Castle is situated on the Tweed, it must be the Tweed, instead of Tyne, I have, in consequence, altered Scotland for Carlisle, as it is in the original; otherwise it would be incorrect as to the geography of the country.

* This seems incorrect, as in that case the English army would have intercepted the Scots on their return. Lord Berners read *York*, and Sauvage's edition *Warwick*.—Ed.

back with me, speedily, such succor, to your great joy, that you will all be rewarded for the gallant defence you shall have made."

This speech cheered both the countess and all present. When night came, sir William prepared himself the best way he could, to get out of the castle privately, and unseen by any of the Scots. Fortunately for him, it rained so hard all night, that none of them quitted their quarters: he therefore passed through the army without being noticed. Shortly after, and about daybreak, he met, on his road, two Scotsmen, about half a league from their army, driving thither two oxen and a cow: sir William, knowing them to be Scotsmen, wounded them both very severely, killed the cattle that they might not carry them to the army, and said to them, "Go and tell your king, that William Montacute has passed through his army, and is gone to seek for succor from the king of England, who is now at Berwick." When the Scots lords heard this,* they said to one another, "The king often makes his men be wounded and killed without any reason;" and, believing that the king of England would come to give them battle before they should gain the castle, they went in a body to the king, and told him, that his longer stay there would neither bring him honor nor profit; that their expedition had turned out exceedingly well, and that they had done much mischief to the English by remaining in their country twelve days, and burning and destroying the city of Durham; that, everything considered, it was now proper for them to return to their own kingdom and homes, and carry off safe the booty they had made; and that, at another season, they would follow him to England, according to his will and pleasure. The king did not choose to act contrary to the opinions of his chieftains, but consented to their advice, sore against his will. On the morrow, he and his whole army decamped and marched straight for the forest of Jedworth, where the wild Scots lived at their ease; for he was desirous of knowing what the king of England meant to do, whether he would return to his own kingdom, or advance further northward.†

CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ENAMORED WITH THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

That same day that the Scots had decamped from before the castle of Wark, king Edward, and his whole army, arrived there about midday, and took up their position on the ground which the Scots had occupied. When he found that they were returned home, he was much enraged; for he had come with so much speed, that both his men and horses were sadly fatigued. He ordered his men to take up their quarters where they were, as he wished to go to the castle to see the noble dame within, whom he had never seen since her marriage. Every one made up his lodgings as he pleased; and the king, as soon as he was disarmed, taking ten or twelve knights with him, went to the castle, to salute the countess of Salisbury, and to examine what damage the attacks of the Scots had done, and the manner in which those within had defended themselves. The moment the countess heard‡ of the king's approach, she ordered all the gates to be thrown open, and went to meet him, most richly dressed; insomuch, that no one could look at her but with wonder, and admiration at her noble deportment, great beauty, and affability of behavior. When she came near the king, she made her reverence to the ground, and gave him her thanks for coming to her assistance, and then conducted him into the castle, to entertain and honor him, as she was very capable of doing. Every one was delighted with her: the king could not take his eyes off her, as he thought he had never seen so beautiful or sprightly a lady; so that a spark of fine love struck upon his heart, which lasted a long time, for he did not believe that the whole world produced any other lady so worthy of being beloved. Thus they entered the castle, hand in hand: for the lady led him first into the hall, then to his chamber, which was richly furnished, as belonging to so fine a lady. The king kept his eyes so continually upon her, that the gentle dame was quite abashed. After he had sufficiently examined his apartment, he retired to a window, and leaning on it, fell into a profound reverie. The countess went to entertain the other knights and squires, ordered dinner to be made ready, the tables to be set, and the hall ornamented and dressed out. When she had given all the orders to her servants she thought necessary, she returned, with a cheerful countenance, to the king, who continued musing, and said to him, "Dear sir, what are you musing on? So much meditating is not proper for you, saving your grace: you ought rather to be in high spirits, for having driven your enemies before you, without their having had the courage to wait for you, and should leave the trouble of thinking to others." The king replied, "Oh, dear lady, you must know, that since I have entered this castle, an idea has struck my mind that I was not aware of; so that it behoves me to reflect upon it. I am uncertain what may be the event, for I cannot withdraw my whole attention from it." "Dear sir," replied the lady, "you ought to be of good cheer, and feast with your friends, to give them more pleasure, and leave off thinking and meditating; for God has been very bountiful to you in all your undertakings, and showed you so much favor, that you are the most feared and renowned prince in Christendom. If the king of Scotland have vexed you by doing harm to your kingdom, you can, at your pleasure, make yourself amends at his expense, as you have done before: therefore come, if you please, into the hall to your knights, for dinner will soon be ready."

"Oh, dear lady," said the king, "other things touch my heart, and lie there, than what you think of; for, in truth, the elegant carriage, the perfections and beauties which I have seen you possess, have very much surprised me, and have so deeply impressed my heart, that my happiness depends on meeting a return from you to my flame, which no denial can ever extinguish."

"Sweet sir," replied the countess, "do not amuse yourself in laughing at, or tempting me; for I cannot believe you mean what you have just said, or that so noble and gallant a prince as you are would ever think to dishonor me or my husband, who is so valiant a knight, who has served you faithfully, and who, on your account, now lies in prison. Certainly, sir, this would not add to your glory; nor would you be the better for it. Such a thought has never once entered my mind, and I trust in God it never will, for any man living: and, if I were so culpable, it is you who ought to blame me, and have my body punished through strict justice."

The virtuous lady then quitted the king, who was quite astonished, and went to the hall to hasten the dinner. She afterwards returned to the king, attended by the knights, and said to him, "Sir, come to the hall; your knights are waiting for you, to wash their hands, for they, as well as yourself, have too long fasted." The king left his room, and came to the hall; where, after he had washed his hands, he seated himself, with his knights, at the dinner, as did the lady also;

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* Froissart's words, according to D. Sauvage's edition, with which Lord Berners nearly agrees, are as follows: "They talked one to another *whyle kyng David stil continued to make fierce attacks*, and seeing that the kyng caused his people to be wounded and sacrificed martyrer without reason, and that the kyng of England might well come and give them battle before the castle should be taken, they said to kyng David with one accord, that his longer stay," &c.—Ed.

† All this seems to be fabulous, and to have been invented by some person who meant to impose on the inquisitive credulity of Froissart. It cannot be reconciled with known historical dates, with the characters and conditions of the persons therein mentioned, or with the general tenor of authenticated events. Had David violated the patrimony of St. Cuthbert in the savage manner related by Froissart, the English histories would have teemed with declamations on an enormity, more heinous, in the opinion of those days, than any crime prohibited by the decalogue. Besides, the sacking of Durham, related by Froissart, was an event too singular and momentous to be altogether omitted; and yet the English historians make no mention of it: neither does Fordun, whose simple narration I have chosen to follow.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 211.

‡ We hope our readers will pardon our again transcribing a passage from the terse old English of Lord Berners, but we could not refrain from giving his beautiful romance, for it is no more, in his very poetical diction, which does full justice to, if indeed it do not surpass, his author. "Assone as the lady knewe of the kynge's comyng, she set opyn the gates and came out so richly besene, that euery man marueyled of her beauty, and coude nat cease to regard her nobleness, with her great beauty and the graceyous wordes and countenaunce that she made. When she came to the kyng she kneled downe to the yerth, thankyng hym of his succours, and so ledde hym into the castell to make hym chere and honour as she that coude ryght well do it. Euery man regarded her marueilously; the kynge hymselfe coud nat witholde his regardyng of her, for he thought that he neuer saw before so noble nor so fayre a lady. *he was stryken therwith to the hert with a sperde of fine loue that endured long after*; he thought in all the worlde so worthy to be beloude as she. Thus they entred into the castell hande in hande; the lady ledde hym first into the hall, and after into the chambre richly apareyled. The kyng regarded so the lady that she was abasshed: at last she set a wayde to rest hym, and so fell into a great study. The lady went about to make chere to the lordes and knyghtes that were ther, and comaunded to dresse the hall for dyner. When she had al deuysed and commaunded them she came to the kynge with a mery chere, (who was in a great study) and she said Dere sir, why do you study so, for your grace nat dyspleased, it aparteyneth nat to you so to do: rather ye shulde make good chere and be joyfull seying ye haue chased away your enemies who durst nat abyde you; let other men study for the remynant. Than the kyng sayd, A dere lady, knowe for trouthe that syth I entred into the castell ther is a study come to my mynde so that I can nat chuse but to muse, nor I can nat tell what shall fal thereof, put it out of my herte I can nat. A sir, quoth the lady, ye ought alwayes to make good chere to comfort therwith your peple. God hath ayded you so in your besynes and hath gyuen you so great graces, that ye be the moste douted and honoured prince in all christendome, and if the kynge of Scottes haue done you any dyspyte or damage ye may well amende it whan it shall please you, as ye haue done dyuerse tymes or this. Sir, leaue your musing and come into the hall if it please you; your dyner is all redy. A fayre lady, quoth the kyng, other thynges lyeth at my hert that ye knowe nat of, but surely your swete behauyng, the perfect wysedom, the good grace, noblenes and excellent beauty that I see in you, hath so sore surprised my hert that I can nat but loue you, and without your loue I am but deed. Than the lady sayde, A ryght noble prince for Goddes sake mocke nor tempt me nat; I can nat beleue that it is true that ye say, nor that so noble a prince as ye be wolde thynke to dyshonour me and my lorde my husbande, who is so valyant a knyght and hath done your grace so gode seruyce and as yet lyethe in prison for your quarell. Certely sir ye shulde in this case haue but a small prayse and nothing the better therby. I had neuer as yet such a thoght in my hert, nor I trust in God, neuer shall haue for no man lyueng: if I had any suche intencyon your grace ought nat all onely to blame me, but also to punysshe my body, ye and by true iustice to be dismembred. Therwith the lady departed fro the kyng and went into the hall to hast the dyner; than she returned agayne to the kyng and broght some of his knyghtes with her, and sayd, Sir, yf it please you to come into the hall your knyghtes abideth for you to wasshe; ye haue ben to long fastyng. Than the kyng went into the hall and wassht and sat down among his lordes and the lady also. The kyng ete but lytell, he sat styll musing, and as he durst he cast his eyen upon the lady. Of his sadnesse his knyghtes had maruell for he was nat acustomed so to be; some thought it was becausé the Scotts were scaped fro hym. All that day the kyng taryd ther and wyst nat what to do. Sometime he ymagined that honour and trouth defended hym to set his hert in such a case to dyshonour such a lady and so true a knight as her husband was who had alwayes well and truely serued hym. On thother part loue so constrayned hym that the power therof surmounted honour and trouth. Thus the kyng debated in hymself all that day and all that night. In the mornyng he arose and dyssloged all his hoost and drewe after the Scottes to chase them out of his realme. Than he toke leaue of the lady sayeng, My dere lady to God I comende you tyll I returne agayne, requiryng you to aduyse you otherwyse than ye haue sayd to me. Noble prince, quoth the lady, God the father glorious be your conduct, and put you out of all vylayne thoughts. Sir I am and euer shal be redy to do your grace seruyce to your honour and to myne. Therwith the kyng departed all abasshed."—Ed.

but the king ate very little, and was the whole time pensive, casting his eyes, whenever he had an opportunity, toward the countess. Such behavior surprised his friends; for they were not accustomed to it, and had never seen the like before. They imagined, therefore, that it was by reason of the Scots having escaped from him. The king remained at the castle the whole day, without knowing what to do with himself. Sometimes he remonstrated with himself, that honor and loyalty forbade him to admit such treason and falsehood into his heart, as to wish to dishonor so virtuous a lady, and so gallant a knight as her husband was, and who had ever so faithfully served him. At other times, his passion was so strong, that his honor and loyalty were not thought of. Thus did he pass that day, and a sleepless night, in debating this matter in his own mind. At daybreak he arose, drew out his whole army, decamped, and followed the Scots, to chase them out of his kingdom. Upon taking leave of the countess he said, "My dear lady, God preserve you until I return; and I entreat that you will think well of what I have said, and have the goodness to give me a different answer." "Dear sir," replied the countess, "God of his infinite goodness, preserve you, and drive from your heart such villainous thoughts; for I am, and always shall be, ready to serve you, consistently with my own honor, and with yours." He left her quite surprised, and went with his army after the Scots, following them almost as far as Berwick, and took up his quarters four leagues distant from the forest of Jedworth, where, and in the neighboring woods, king David and all his people were. He remained there for three days, to see if the Scots would venture out to fight with him. During that time there were many skirmishes; many killed and taken prisoners on both sides. Sir William Douglas, who bore for arms argent on a chef azure,* was always among the foremost in these attacks. He performed many gallant exploits, and was a great annoyance to the English.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE EARLS OF SALISBURY AND MORAY ARE SET AT LIBERTY IN EXCHANGE FOR EACH OTHER.

During these three days, there were some discreet men on both sides, who held conferences, in order if possible to conclude a treaty of peace between the two kings; at last they succeeded in obtaining a truce for two years, provided the king of France assented to it; for there was so close an alliance between the kings of Scotland and France, that he could not make peace, or a truce, without the king of France agreed to it. If king Philip should refuse his consent, then the truce was to last only until the first of May. The earl of Moray was to have his liberty, if the king of Scotland could obtain that of the earl of Salisbury from the king of France. This was to be done by the feast of St. John the Baptist. The king of England consented the more readily to this truce, because he was carrying on war in France, Gascony, Poictou, Saintonge, and Brittany, and had soldiers everywhere. The king of Scotland then departed, and sent embassadors to the king of France, that the truce might be confirmed. The king agreed to it, and sent the earl of Salisbury immediately into England, when, as soon as he arrived, the king of England sent the earl of Moray to king David in Scotland.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS, WITH SOME OTHER LORDS OF FRANCE, TAKE THE CITY OF RENNES.

You before have heard how the duke of Normandy, the duke of Burgundy, the duke d'Alencon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, the constable of France, the earl of Guines his son, sir James de Bourbon, sir Lewis d'Espagne, and the other barons and knights from France, had left Brittany, after conquering the strong castle of Châteauceaux, and the city of Nantes, and had taken and given up to the king of France the earl of Montfort, whom he had confined in the tower of the Louvre at Paris. The lord Charles of Blois had remained in the city of Nantes, and in that country, which he had reduced to obedience, until a more favorable opportunity for carrying on the war than winter. When the summer was returned, the above-mentioned lords, and a great many others, came, with a large army, to assist the lord Charles in reconquering the remainder of the duchy of Brittany. They resolved to besiege the city of Rennes, which the countess of Montfort had well fortified, and placed there as captain sir William de Cadoudal, a Breton. The French lords surrounded it on all sides, and did a great deal of damage, by the fierce assaults they made upon it; but the garrison defended themselves so valiantly, that their opponents lost more than they gained. As soon as the countess of Montfort was informed of the return of the French lords into Brittany, with so great a force, she sent sir Amauri de Clisson to king Edward in England, to entreat his assistance, upon condition that her young son should take for his wife one of the daughters of the king, and give her the title of duchess of Brittany.

The king, at that time, was in London, feasting the earl of Salisbury, newly returned from prison. When sir Amauri de Clisson had made known to the king the cause of his visit, his request was was readily complied with. The king ordered sir Walter Manny to collect as many men-at-arms as sir Amauri should judge proper, and to make every possible haste to go to the assistance of the countess of Montfort; and also to take with him two or three thousand of the best archers of England. Sir Walter, therefore, embarked with sir Amauri de Clisson; and with them went the two brothers de Land-Halle, sir Lewis and sir John, le Haze of Brabant, sir Herbert de Fresnoi, sir Alain de Sirefonde, and many others, with six thousand archers. But they were overtaken by a great tempest, and, by contrary winds, forced to remain at sea forty days. The lord Charles, in the mean time, kept Rennes closely besieged, and harassed the citizens so much that they would willingly have surrendered it; but sir William de Cadoudal would not listen to them. When they had been harder pressed, and saw no likelihood of any succors arriving, they became impatient; but sir William continued firm: at length the commonalty seized him, flung him into prison, and sent word to lord Charles that they would surrender themselves to him on the morrow, on condition that those of the Montfort party might retire in safety to wherever they thought proper. The lord Charles complied with these terms; and thus was the city of Rennes surrendered, in the year 1342, in the beginning of May. Sir William de Cadoudal, not desiring to remain at the court of lord Charles of Blois, left it, and went to Hennebon, where the countess of Montfort was, who had not had any tidings of sir Amauri de Clisson, or of his company.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS BESIEGES THE COUNTESS OF MONTFORT IN HENNEBON.

Soon after the surrender of Rennes, and when the inhabitants had performed their homage and fealty to lord Charles of Blois, he was advised to set out for Hennebon, where the countess of Montfort resided; for as her husband was safe confined at Paris, if he could but get possession of her person, and of her son's, the war must be concluded. The countess had with her in Hennebon, the bishop of Léon, uncle to sir Hervé de Léon, who was attached to lord Charles, and had ever been so since the capture of the earl of Montfort; sir Yves de Tresiquidi, the lord of Landreman, the beforementioned sir William de Cadoudal, the governor of Guingamp, the two brothers de Quirich, sir Oliver, and sir Henry de Spinefort, and many others. When the countess and her knights heard that their enemies were coming to besiege them, and that they were hard by, they ordered the alarm-bells to be rung, and every one to arm himself for defending the town. Lord Charles drew near to Hennebon, and then encamped his men. Some of the youths among the Spaniards, French and Genoese advanced to the barriers to skirmish; which those in the town seeing, sallied out to meet them; so there was a sharp conflict, and the Genoese lost more than they gained. About vespers, they all retired to their different quarters. On the morrow, the lords determined to make an assault on the barriers, to see what mien those within had, and to try to gain some advantage. On the second day, therefore, they made so very vigorous an attack upon the barriers early in the morning, that those within made a sally: among them were some of their bravest, who continued the engagement till noon with great courage; so that the assailants retired a little to the rear, carrying off with them numbers of wounded, and leaving behind them a great many dead. When the lords of France perceived their men retreat, they were much enraged, and made them return again to the assault more fiercely than before; while those of the town were in earnest to make a handsome defence.

The countess, who had clothed herself in armor, was mounted on a war-horse, and galloped up and down the streets of the town, entreating and encouraging the inhabitants to defend themselves honorably. She ordered the ladies and other women to unpave the streets,* carry the stones to the ramparts, and throw them on their enemies. She had pots of quicklime brought to her for the same purpose. That same day the countess performed a very gallant deed: she ascended a high tower, to see how her people behaved; and, having observed that all the lords and others of the army had quitted their tents, and were come to the assault, she immediately descended, mounted her horse, armed as she was, collected three hundred horsemen, sallied out at their head by another gate that was not attacked, and galloping up to the tents of her enemies, cut them down, and set them on fire, without any loss, for there were only servants and boys, who fled upon her approach. As soon as the French saw their camp on fire, and heard the cries, they immediately hastened thither, bawling out, "Treason! Treason!" so that none remained at the assault.

* The most prominent feature in the Douglas arms, as now borne, is the Heart, which was added to it in consequence of the honor conferred by Robert Bruce on his death bed, as has been already related, but when this distinctive mark was adopted, I believe is uncertain.

[Lord Berners gives the original arms—"Azure a comble sylver, three starres goules;" which is correct.—Ed.]

* Lord Berners reads, "She caused damoselles and other women "*to cut shorte their kurtels*," instead of "to unpave the streets," as Mr. Johnes translates it. The words in D. Sauvage's edition are, "de percer eschausses," to tear up the *causeways*, but when we consider that the streets of cities were very rarely paved at this period, Lord Berners' version appears the more probable, and may be reconciled to the text if we read 'chausses" for "chaussées," which is not unlikely to be an error in transcribing.—Ed.

The countess, seeing this, got her men together, and, finding that she could not rëenter Hennebon without great risk, took another road, leading to the castle of Brest, which is situated near. The lord Lewis of Spain, who was marshal of the army, had gone to his tents, which were on fire; and, seeing the countess and her company galloping off as fast as they could, he immediately pursued them with a large body of men-at-arms. He gained so fast upon them, that he came up with them, and wounded or slew all that were not well mounted; but the countess, and part of her company, made such speed that they arrived at the castle of Brest, where they were received with great joy.

On the morrow, the lords of France, who had lost their tents and provisions, took counsel, if they should not make huts of the branches and leaves of trees near to the town, and were thunderstruck when they heard that the countess herself had planned and executed this enterprise: while those of the town, not knowing what was become of her, were very uneasy; for they were full five days without gaining any intelligence of her. The countess, in the mean while, was so active that she assembled from five to six hundred men, well armed and mounted, and with them set out, about midnight, from Brest, and came straight to Hennebon about sunrise, riding along one side of the enemy's host, until she came to the gates of the castle, which were opened to her: she entered with great triumph and sounds of trumpets and other warlike instruments, to the astonishment of the French, who began arming themselves to make another assault upon the town, while those within mounted the walls to defend it. This attack was very severe, and lasted till past noon. The French lost more than their opponents: and then the lords of France put a stop to it, for their men were killed and wounded to no purpose. They next retreated, and held a council whether the lord Charles should not go to besiege the castle of Aurai, which king Arthur had built and inclosed. It was determined that he should march thither, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, sir Robert Bertrand, marshal of France; and that sir Hervé de Léon was to remain before Hennebon, with a part of the Genoese under his command, and the lord Lewis of Spain, the viscount of Rohan, with the rest of the Genoese and Spaniards. They sent for twelve large machines which they had left at Rennes, to cast stones and annoy the castle of Hennebon; for they perceived that they did not gain any ground by their assaults. The French divided their army into two parts: one remained before Hennebon, and the other marched to besiege the castle of Aurai. The lord Charles of Blois went to this last place, and quartered all his division in the neighborhood; and of him we will now speak, and leave the others. The lord Charles ordered an attack and skirmish to be made upon the castle, which was well garrisoned: there were in it full two hundred men-at-arms, under the command of sir Henry de Spinefort and Oliver his brother.

The town of Vannes, which held for the countess of Montfort, was four leagues distant from this castle; the captain whereof was sir Geoffry de Malestroit. On the other side, was situated the good town of Guingamp, of which the captain of Dinant was governor, who was at that time with the countess in the town of Hennebon; but he had left, in his hotel at Dinant, his wife and daughters, and had appointed his son, sir Reginald, as governor during his absence. Between these two places there was a castle* which belonged to the lord Charles, who had well filled it with men-at-arms and Burgundian soldiers. Girard de Maulin was master of it; and with him was another gallant knight, called sir Peter Portebœuf, who harassed all the country round about, and pressed these two towns so closely that no provisions or merchandise could enter them, without great risk of being taken; for these Burgundians made constant excursions, one day toward Vannes, and another day to Guingamp. They continued their excursions so regularly, that sir Reginald de Dinant took prisoner, by means of an ambuscade, this sir Girard de Maulin and thirty-five of his men, and at the same time rescued fifteen merchants and all their goods, which the Burgundians had taken, and were driving them to their garrison, called la Roche Perion; but sir Reginald conquered them, and carried them prisoners to Dinant, for which he was much praised.

We will now return to the countess of Montfort, who was besieged by sir Lewis of Spain in Hennebon. He had made such progress by battering and destroying the walls with his machines, that the courage of those within began to falter. At that moment, the bishop of Léon held a conference with his nephew, sir Hervé de Léon, by whose means, it has been said, the earl of Montfort was made prisoner. They conversed on different things, in mutual confidence, and at last agreed, that the bishop should endeavor to gain over those within the town, so that it might be given up to the lord Charles: and sir Hervé, on his side, was to obtain their pardon from the lord Charles, and an assurance that they should keep their goods, &c., unhurt. They then separated, and the bishop rëentered the town. The countess had strong suspicions of what was going forward, and begged of the lords of Brittany, for the love of God, that they would not doubt but she should receive succors before three days were over. But the bishop spoke so eloquently, and made use of such good arguments, that these lords were in much suspense all night. On the morrow he continued the subject, and succeeded so far as to gain them over, or very nearly so, to his opinion; insomuch that sir Hervé de Léon had advanced close to the town to take possession of it, with their free consent, when the countess, looking out from a window of the castle toward the sea, cried out, most joyfully, "I see the succors I have so long expected and wished for coming." She repeated this expression twice; and the towns-people ran to the ramparts, and to the windows of the castle, and saw a numerous fleet of great and small vessels, well trimmed, making all the sail they could toward Hennebon. They rightly imagined, it must be the fleet from England, so long detained at sea by tempests and contrary winds.

* La Roche Perion. This Dinant is a different place from the town of the same name, in the diocese of St. Malo.—*Hist. de Bretegne.*

I should imagine, it must be St. Sauveur de Dinan, which is a village in Brittany.

CHAPTER LXXXI

SIR WALTER MANNY CONDUCTS THE ENGLISH INTO BRITTANY.

When the governor of Guingamp, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, sir Galeran de Landreman, and the other knights, perceived this succor coming to them, they told the bishop that he might break up his conference, for they were not now inclined to follow his advice. The bishop, sir Guy de Léon, replied, "My lords, then our company shall separate; for I will go to him who seems to me to have the clearest right." Upon which he sent his defiance to the lady, and to all her party, and left the town to inform sir Hervé de Léon how matters stood. Sir Hervé was much vexed at it, and immediately ordered the largest machine that was with the army to be placed as near the castle as possible, strictly commanding that it should never cease working day nor night. He then presented his uncle to the lord Lewis of Spain, and to the lord Charles of Blois, who both received him most courteously. The countess, in the mean time, prepared, and hung with tapestry, halls and chambers, to lodge handsomely the lords and barons of England whom she saw coming, and sent out a noble company to meet them. When they were landed, she went herself to give them welcome, respectfully thanking each knight and squire, and led them into the town and castle, that they might have convenient lodging: on the morrow she gave them a magnificent entertainment. All that night, and the following day, the large machine never ceased from casting stones into the town.

After the entertainment, sir Walter Manny, who was captain of the English, inquired of the countess the state of the town and of the enemy's army. Upon looking out of the window, he said, he had a great inclination to destroy that large machine which was placed so near, and much annoyed them, if any would second him Sir Yves de Tresiquidi replied, that he would not fail him in this his first expedition; as did also the lord of Landreman. They went to arm themselves, and sallied quietly out of one of the gates, taking with them three hundred archers; who shot so well, that those who guarded the machine fled; and the men-at-arms who followed the archers, falling upon them, slew the greater part, and broke down and cut in pieces this large machine. They then dashed in among the tents and huts, set fire to them, and killed and wounded many of their enemies before the army was in motion. After this, they made a handsome retreat. When the enemy were mounted and armed, they galloped after them like madmen. Sir Walter Manny, seeing this, exclaimed, "May I never be embraced by my mistress and dear friend, if I enter castle or fortress before I have unhorsed one of these gallopers." He then turned round, and pointed his spear toward the enemy, as did the two brothers of Lande-Halle, le Haze de Brabant, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, sir Galeran de Landreman, and many others, and spitted the first coursers. Many legs were made to kick the air. Some of their own party were also unhorsed. The conflict became very serious, for reinforcements were perpetually coming from the camp; and the English were obliged to retreat toward the castle, which they did in good order until they came to the castle ditch: there the knights made a stand, until all their men were safely returned. Many brilliant actions, captures, and rescues might have been seen. Those of the town who had not been of the party to destroy the large machine now issued forth, and, ranging themselves upon the banks of the ditch, made such good use of their bows, that they forced the enemy to withdraw, killing many men and horses. The chiefs of the army, perceiving they had the worst of it, and that they were losing men to no purpose, sounded a retreat, and made their men retire to the camp. As soon as they were gone, the townsmen rëentered, and went each to his quarters. The countess of Montfort came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance, kissed sir Walter Manny, and all his companions, one after the other, like a noble and valiant dame.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE CASTLE OF CONQUET* TWICE TAKEN.

The next day, the lord Lewis of Spain called to him the viscount de Rohan, the bishop of Léon, sir Hervé de Léon, and the commander of the Genoese, to have their advice what was to be done; for they

* Le Conquêt, a seaport town in Brittany, five leagues from Brest.

saw how strong the town of Hennebon was, and that succors had arrived there, particularly those archers who had always discomfited them. If they remained longer, it would be but lost time; for there was not the smallest appearance that they could gain an advantage; they therefore resolved to decamp on the morrow, and make for Aurai, which the lord Charles was besieging. They broke up their huts and tents, and set off, as they had before determined: the townspeople, pursuing them with hootings, and attempting to harass their rear, were driven back, and lost some of their men before they could rëenter the town. When the lord Lewis of Spain was come to lord Charles with his army and baggage, he explained to him the reasons why he had quitted the siege of Hennebon. It was then determined, by a full and long council, that the lord Lewis should march to besiege the good town of Dinant, which was only defended by a palisade and ditch. During his march, he passed near an old castle called Conquêt, in which the countess had placed as governor, a Norman knight of the name of Mencon, who had with him many soldiers. The lord Lewis drew up his army, and made an assault upon it, which was very sharp, and lasted until midnight; for those within defended themselves well. Finding he then could not do more, he lay with his men before it, and renewed the attack on the morrow. The assailants came quite close up to the walls, for the ditch was not deep, and made a large breach in them; through which they entered, and put all to death, except the governor, whom they made prisoner. They appointed another in his room, and left with him sixty soldiers to guard it. Then the lord Lewis departed, and marched to lay siege to Dinant.

The countess of Montfort, upon hearing that the lord Lewis of Spain was with his army before Conquêt, sent for sir Walter Manny and his brethren at arms, and told them, that if they could break up the siege before this castle, and discomfit the lord Lewis, they would obtain great glory. They assented to it, and, on the morrow, left Hennebon with so many volunteers that few remained behind. They pushed on till they came to the castle about noon, and found there the French garrison who, the evening before, had conquered it; upon which sir Walter said, he would not leave it before he knew what they were made of, and how they got it. But when he was informed that the lord Lewis was gone to besiege Dinant, he was much grieved, as he should not have an opportunity of fighting with him. He and his friends made ready to attack the castle, and began the assault well covered with their shields. The garrison, seeing such a force coming against them, made as good a defence as they were able; but the attack was very severe, and the archers came so close that they discovered the breach through which the castle had been gained the preceding evening. They also entered by this breach, and killed all within, except ten, whom some knights took under their protection. They then returned to Hennebon, for they did not think it safe to be at too great a distance from it, and left the castle of Conquêt without any garrison, for they saw that it could make no resistance.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

THE LORD LEWIS TAKES THE TOWNS OF DINANT AND GUERRANDE.

To return now to the lord Lewis; he quartered his army in haste all round the town of Dinant, and ordered boats and vessels to be immediately prepared, that he might attack it by sea as well as by land. When the inhabitants of the town, which was only defended by a palisade, saw this, they were much frightened, both great and small, for their lives and fortunes: on the fourth day after the army had encamped before it, they surrendered, in spite of their governor, sir Reginald de Guingamp, whom they murdered in the market-place, because he would not consent to it. After the surrender of the town, when the lord Lewis had received the homage and fealty of the citizens, he tarried there two days, and gave them for governor sir Gerard de Maulin, whom he had found there prisoner, and the lord Peter Portebœuf, as his colleague. He then marched toward a large town, situated upon the sea coast, called Guerrande. He besieged it on the land side, and found at Croisic a great many boats and ships full of wine, which merchants had brought thither, from Poictou and Rochelle, for sale. The merchants soon sold their wine, but they were badly paid for it: the lord Lewis seized these vessels, in which he embarked men-at-arms, with some of the Genoese and Spaniards, and assailed the town on the morrow, by sea and land. It was so ill fortified that it could not make any defence: it therefore was soon taken by storm, and pillaged without mercy. Men, women, and children were put to the sword, and fine churches sacrilegiously burnt: at which the lord Lewis was so much enraged, that he immediately ordered twenty-four of the most active to be hanged and strangled upon the spot. The booty they gained there was immense, every one got as much as he could carry; for the town was very rich, from its great trade. After they had taken this town of Guerrande, they were uncertain which way they should proceed to gain more: the lord Lewis therefore, in company with sir Antony Doria and some other Genoese and Spaniards, embarked in the vessels they had seized, and sailed to seek adventures at sea. The viscount of Rohan, the bishop of Léon, sir Hervé de Léon his nephew, and the others, returned to the army of the lord Charles, which was lying before Aurai. They found there a great many lords and knights newly arrived from France; such as sir Lewis of Poictiers, count de Valence, the count d'Auxerre, the count de Porcien, the count de Joigny, the count de Boulogne, and many others, whom king Philip had sent to their assistance; some had come as volunteers, to see the lord Charles, and to serve under him. The strong castle of Aurai was not yet won; but there was so severe a famine in it, that for the last seven days they had eaten nothing but horse flesh. Lord Charles would grant them no other conditions, than that they should surrender themselves for him to do with them as he thought proper. When they saw, therefore, that they could not expect anything but death, they issued out by God's will silently in the night, and passed through one of the wings of the enemy's army. Some few were perceived, and killed: but sir Henry de Spinefort and his brother Oliver saved themselves; they escaped through a little wood hard by, and came to the countess in Hennebon. Thus the lord Charles conquered the castle of Aurai, after having lain more than ten weeks before it. He had it put in good repair, well supplied with men-at-arms, and all sorts of provisions; he then set out with his army to besiege the town of Vannes, which was commanded by sir Geoffry de Malestroit, and encamped all round it. On the morrow, some Bretons and soldiers, that lay in the town of Ploërmel, issued forth in hopes of gain; they fell upon the army of lord Charles, and gave them an alert; but they were surrounded by the enemy, lost many of their men, and the rest who fled were pursued as far as the gates of Ploërmel, which is near to Vannes. When they were returned from this pursuit, they made, that same day, so violent an assault on the town of Vannes, that they took by storm the barriers, and one of the gates of the town: there the conflict became more violent, and many were killed on both sides. It ended with the night, when a truce was agreed upon, to last all the next day. The citizens assembled together to consult if they should surrender or not; and, on the morrow, they determined to surrender, in spite of their governor, who, when he saw this, got secretly out of the town, during their conferences, and went away to Hennebon. The conference ended in such a manner, that the lord Charles and the lords of France entered the city, where they remained five days, and then set out to besiege another town called Carhaix.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

SIR WALTER MANNY DEFEATS THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN, AT QUIMPERLE.

When the lord Lewis of Spain had embarked with his company at the port of Courrande, they sailed toward Lower Brittany, and came to the port of Quimperlé, which is near to Quimpercorentin and St. Mahé. They disembarked, and began to pillage and destroy the country; where they found a great deal of riches, which they carried to their vessels, and then set off to do the same in other parts, not finding any to oppose them. As soon as this news was brought to sir Walter Manny and sir Amauri de Clisson, they had a great desire to go after them; and having opened themselves on this subject to sir Yves de Tresiquidi, the governor of Guingamp, the lord of Landreman, sir William de Cadoudal, the two brothers de Spinefort, and to all the other knights at Hennebon, they consented cheerfully to follow them.

They immediately set off, embarking with them three thousand archers, and never slackened sail until they came to the port where the vessels of the lord Lewis were. They entered the harbor, killed all those who guarded the vessels, and were astonished at the quantity of riches they found in them. They then disembarked, and went to many places, burning the houses and villages. Having divided themselves into three divisions out of prudence, the more readily to find their enemies, and leaving three hundred archers to guard the vessels and the riches they had taken, they set out after them by different roads. News of this event was soon carried to the lord Lewis of Spain, who collected his army together, and began his retreat with great speed toward his vessels; but, meeting with one of the three divisions, he saw he must fight, and put a good countenance upon it. He made many knights upon the occasion, especially his nephew named Alphonso. When the lord Lewis and his party made their first onset, it was so brilliant, numbers were unhorsed; and they would have carried the day, if the other two divisions had not come up, alarmed by the noise and cries of the country people. The attack was then very serious, and the English archers performed so well, that the Genoese and Spaniards were discomfited, almost all being killed or wounded; for the country people pursued them with stones and slings, so that the lord Lewis had difficulty to escape, very badly wounded. He fled toward his vessels: and of the six thousand, which his army consisted of, he did not save more than about three hundred: he left dead his nephew, whom he much loved. When he came to his ships, he was prevented from entering them by those archers who remained to guard the fleet. He then embarked, in the greatest haste, on board a vessel called a *lique*, with as many of his people as he could collect together, and escaped with all possible expedition.

As soon as sir Walter Manny and his party were come to the fleet, in pursuit of the lord Lewis, they embarked on board the first vessels they found ready, and hoisting every sail, made after him, leaving those of the country to take care of what remained of his army, to revenge themselves, and recover what they had been robbed of. Sir

Walter and his company had a favorable wind; but, though they were within sight, all the time, of the lord Lewis, they could not come up with him. His mariners made such exertions that they got into the port of Redon, where he immediately landed, with all those who had escaped: having entered the town, he made no long stay there, for the English had disembarked, and were close after, to fight with him; so he hastened away, mounted upon such horses as he could borrow in the town, and made for Rennes, which was not far off. Those who could not get any were obliged to do as well as they could, and follow their companions on foot. Many were so tired and badly mounted, that they fell into the hands of their enemies. The lord Lewis, however, made such speed that he got into Rennes; and the English and Bretons returned to Redon, where they reposed themselves that night. On the morrow they embarked, in order to return to the countess, their lady, at Hennebon; but they had contrary winds, which forced them to land about three leagues from the town of Dinant. They advanced into the country, destroying it as they marched, and taking what horses they could lay hands on; so that some were mounted without saddles or bridles, and went forward until they came to Roche Perion; when sir Walter Manny addressing his companions, said, "Gentlemen, I should like much to attack this strong castle, all fatigued as I am, if I had any to assist me, to see if we could not conquer it." The other knights replied, "Go on, sir, boldly; we will follow you until death." They then all set forward to the assault of the castle. The captain of it was Girard de Maulin; the same who had been prisoner at Dinant, as before related: he armed his people, and placing them upon the battlements and other parts of the defence, without sheltering himself behind them, prepared for the assault. It was very sharp and perilous; among many who were severely wounded were, sir John Boteler of Warrington, and sir Matthew Trelawney; insomuch that they were obliged to be carried off, and laid in a field, with the other wounded.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

SIR WALTER MANNY TAKES THE CASTLE OF GOY LA FORET.

This Girard de Maulin had a brother of the name of René de Maulin, who was captain of another little fort, called Faouet, situated at least half a league from Roche Perion. When René heard that the English and Bretons were attacking his brother, he armed forty of his companions, and set out for Roche Perion, to adventure his own person, and to see if by any means he could give aid to his brother. René therefore came suddenly upon those knights and squires, who lay wounded in the field, attended by their servants; and falling upon them, made them prisoners, and drove them before him to Faouet, wounded as they were. Some of their attendants fled to sir Walter Manny, who was eagerly engaged at the assault; when they had informed him what had happened he put an end to it, and with all his company hastened toward Faouet, in order to overtake those who were carrying his friends away prisoners; but, with all his speed, he was not in time to hinder René from entering his castle with them.

When the English and Bretons had come there, they directly made an assault, tired as they were; but they did little, for the garrison defended themselves valiantly, and the night was far advanced. They lay before it that night, in order to renew the assault the next day. Girard de Maulin was soon informed of what was passing, and mounting his horse, set out alone for Dinant, where he arrived a little before daybreak. He related to the lord Peter Portebœuf, governor of Dinant, the cause of his coming; who, when it was day, summoned all the citizens to the town-hall. Girard de Maulin then so eloquently displayed the reasons of his arrival, that the citizens and soldiers were unanimous to assist him. All sorts of people immediately armed themselves, and set off toward Faouet in the best manner they could; in all, they were six thousand persons at least. Sir Walter Manny was informed of this by a spy; and calling a council of his companions, they considered it would be best for them to retreat toward Hennebon; for their situation would be very dangerous, if those from Dinant should attack them on one side, and the army of the lord Charles of Blois on the other: they might be surrounded and taken prisoners or slain. They therefore judged it most expedient, for the present, to leave their friends in prison, and gave up all thoughts of assisting them till a better opportunity should offer.

As they were returning to Hennebon, they passed near a castle, called Goy la Forêt, which a fortnight before, had surrendered itself to the lord Charles. Sir Walter told his companions, he would not advance a step farther, in spite of his fatigue, until he had made an assault on this fort, and seen who were within it. Then hanging his target to his neck, he galloped up to the barriers and ditch of the castle, the English and Bretons following him. The attack was sharp, and those within defended themselves vigorously. Sir Hervé de Léon and sir Guy de Goy were with the lord Charles before Carhaix. The assault lasting some time, sir Walter encouraged his men, by posting himself at their head in the most dangerous situations; the archers shot so dexterously, that those within the castle dared not show themselves. Sir Walter and his party made such exertions, that the ditches on one side were filled with straw and wood, so that they could approach the walls; in which, with mallets and pick-axes, they made an opening six feet wide. They then entered through this opening, took the castle by storm, and slew all that were within. They remained there that night; on the morrow they continued their march, and arrived at Hennebon.*

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN OF CARHAIX.†

When the countess of Montfort was informed of the return of the English and Bretons, she went out to meet them, and most nobly thanked them with kisses and embraces; she gave a grand dinner and entertainment to all the knights and squires of renown. At this period, the lord Charles had conquered the town of Vannes, and was besieging Carhaix. The countess and sir Walter Manny sent special messengers to king Edward, to inform him how the lord Charles of Blois, and the lords of France, had recaptured Rennes, Vannes, and many other large towns and castles in Brittany; and that, unless there were succors speedily sent, they would gain the remainder of that duchy. The embassadors set out from Hennebon, and arrived at Cornwall, whence they journeyed toward Windsor.

We will now return to lord Charles of Blois, who had so pressed the town of Carhaix by his attacks and his engines, that it was surrendered to him, the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants being preserved. He pardoned what was past, and the inhabitants swore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him for their true lord. Lord Charles placed new officers in the town, and remained there with the lords of France, to recruit themselves and the army. He held a council upon marching to Hennebon, which being determined on, they besieged it as closely as they were able. That town was very well provided with men, provisions, and ammunition.

The lord Lewis of Spain came to these lords the fourth day after they had begun the siege: he had remained at Rennes six weeks, in order to have his wounds properly attended to and cured. They were rejoiced to see him, as he was much esteemed by these noblemen. The French army increased every day; for as great numbers of barons and knights were daily returning from the king of Spain (who at that time was at war with the king of Granada and the Saracens,) in passing through Poitou, hearing of this war in Brittany, they turned their steps thither. The lord Charles had erected fifteen or sixteen large engines before Hennebon, which threw great stones over the walls into the town: but those within were not much alarmed at them, for they had taken every precaution to shelter themselves against their effects: they frequently came to the walls and battlements, and, by way of joke, kept rubbing them, crying out, "Go your ways, and seek your friends who are sleeping in the plains of Quimperlé;" which vexed mightily the lord Lewis of Spain and the Genoese.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

SIR JOHN BOTELER AND SIR MATTHEW TRELAWNEY ARE RESCUED FROM DEATH.

The lord Lewis of Spain came one day into the tent of lord Charles of Blois, where were numbers of the French nobility, and requested of him a boon for all the services he had done him, and as a recompense for them. The lord Charles promised to grant whatever he should ask, as he held himself under many obligations to him. Upon which the lord Lewis desired that the two prisoners, sir John Boteler and sir Matthew Trelawney, who were in the prison of the castle of Fouet, might be sent for, and delivered up to him, to do with them as should please him best. "This is the boon I ask; for they have discomfited, pursued, and wounded me, have also slain the lord Alphonso my nephew, and I have no other way to be revenged on them than to have them beheaded in sight of their friends who are shut up in Hennebon." The lord Charles was much amazed at this request, and replied, "I will certainly give you the prisoners, since you have asked for them; but you will be very cruel and much to blame if you put to death two such valiant men; and our enemies will have an equal right to do the same to any of our friends whom they may capture, for we are not clear what may happen to any one of us every day. I therefore entreat, dear sir and sweet cousin, that you would be better advised." Lord Lewis said, that if he did not keep his promise, he would quit the army, and never serve or love him so long as he lived. When the lord Charles saw that he must comply, he sent off messengers to the castle of Faouet, who returned with the two prisoners, and carried them to the tent of lord Charles. Neither prayers nor entreaties could prevail on lord Lewis to desist from his purpose of having them beheaded after dinner, so much was he enraged against them.

All the conversation, and everything that passed between the lord Charles and lord Lewis, relative to these two prisoners, was told to sir Walter Manny and sir Amauri de Clisson by friends and spies,

* I suspect, although the historian of Brittany copies Froissart exactly, that La Roche Perion must be Rosperden, which is in Bleau's map of Brittany; and Berners calls it Rosternan; but I cannot find anywhere this Dinan, for Dinan le Sauveur is in the diocese of St. Malo, which must have been too far off. There is much confusion in the names of places.

† Carhaix, a town in the diocese of Quimper.

who represented the danger in which the two knights were. They bethought themselves what was best to be done, but, after considering different schemes, could fix on none: at last sir Walter said, "Gentlemen, it would do us great honor if we could rescue these two knights: if we adventure it, and should fail, king Edward would hold himself obliged to us; and all wise men who may hear of it in times to come, will thank us, and say that we had done our duty. I will tell you my plan, and you are able to undertake it; for I think we are bound to risk our lives in endeavoring to save those of two such gallant knights. I propose, therefore, if it be agreeable to you, that we arm immediately, and form ourselves into two divisions: one shall set off, as soon after dinner as possible, by this gate, and draw up near the ditch, to skirmish with and alarm the enemy: who, you may believe, will soon muster to that part; and, if you please, you, sir Amauri de Clisson, shall have the command of it, and shall take with you a thousand good archers, to make those that may come to you retreat back again, and three hundred men-at-arms. I will have with me a hundred of my companions, and five hundred archers, and will sally out at the postern on the opposite side privately, and coming behind them, will fall upon their camp, which we shall find unguarded. I will take with me those who are acquainted with the road to lord Charles's tent, where the two prisoners are, and will make for that part of the camp. I can assure you, that I and my companions will do everything in our power to bring back in safety these two knights, if it please God."

This proposal was agreeable to all; and they directly separated, to arm and prepare themselves. About the hour of dinner, sir Amauri and his party set off; and having had the principal gate of Hennebon opened for them, which led to the road that went straight to the army of lord Charles, they rushed forward, making great cries and noise, to the tents and huts, which they cut down, and killed all that came in their way. The enemy was much alarmed, and, putting themselves in motion, got armed as quickly as possible, and advanced toward the English and Bretons, who received them very warmly. The skirmish was sharp, and many on each side were slain. When sir Amauri perceived that almost the whole of the army was in motion, and drawn out, he retreated very handsomely, fighting all the time, to the barriers of the town, when he suddenly halted: then the archers, who had been posted on each side of the ditch beforehand, made such good use of their bows, that the engagement was very hot, and all the army ran thither, except the servants. During this time, sir Walter Manny with his company issued out privily by the postern, and making a circuit, came upon the rear of the enemy's camp: they were not perceived by any one, for all were gone to the skirmish upon the ditch. Sir Walter made straight for the tent of lord Charles, where he found the two knights, sir John Boteler and sir Matthew Trelawney, whom he immediately mounted upon two coursers which he had ordered to be brought for them, and, returning as fast as possible, entered Hennebon by the same way as he sallied forth. The countess came to see them, and received them with great joy. The English and Bretons continued still fighting at the barriers, where they gave their enemies sufficient employment.

News was soon brought to the nobles of France, that the two knights had been rescued; which, when the lord Lewis heard, he was sorely disappointed, and inquired the way the English and Bretons, who had rescued them, had taken: they informed him, that they had immediately returned, and were probably now in Hennebon. The lord Lewis, upon this, left the assault, and retired to his tent in despite; and all the rest of the army began to retreat from the barriers. In this combat, two knights of the countess's were captured, who had adventured too far; the lord of Landreman and the governor of Guingamp; which gave the lord Charles much pleasure. They were carried to his tent, where they were so effectually talked to, that they turned on his side, and swore homage and fealty to him.

Three days after, there was a council of all the nobles held in lord Charles's tent, to consider what was best to be done; for they saw that the town and castle of Hennebon was too well provided with men and provisions for them to expect to make any impression there; and, on the other hand, the country round about was so destroyed that they had difficulty in finding forage: winter was also approaching. They therefore determined to separate; and they earnestly advised lord Charles to place sufficient garrisons, with able and valiant captains, in all the castles and towns he had taken, to prevent his enemies from reconquering them: they agreed, that if any person should interfere, and propose a truce, to last until Whitsuntide, they would readily consent to it.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF JUGON.*

All the army agreed to what this council had determined upon; for it was between the feasts of St. Remy and All Saints 1342: they then separated, and went each to his country. Lord Charles marched to Carhaix, and took with him all the barons of Brittany that were of his party. He also kept with him many of the French nobles, to advise with and consult. While he was in Carhaix, settling and ordering his different garrisons to their posts, it happened that a rich citizen and great merchant of the town of Jugon was met by his marshal, sir Robert de Beuvais,* whom he captured, and brought to lord Charles in the town of Carhaix. This citizen provided all the purveyances for the countess of Montfort, in the town of Jugon and elsewhere, and was much beloved and esteemed in that town, which is well inclosed and finely situated: the castle is also handsome and strong. He was very much afraid of being put to death, and begged that he might be allowed to pay for his ransom. To make short of it, the lord Charles had him so often examined on different subjects, that at last he agreed to betray the town of Jugon to him, and engaged to deliver one of the gates of it at a certain time in the night; for he was so much respected in the town, that he had the keeping of the keys; and, to give security for his promise, he left his son as hostage for him. Lord Charles promised to give him five hundred livers of yearly rent.

The day fixed for the opening of the gate of Jugon arrived, and lord Charles entered the town at midnight, with a large force. The watch of the castle, perceiving this, gave the alarm, and cried out, "Treason! treason!" The inhabitants, not suspecting anything, began to stir; and, when they saw that their town was lost, they ran in crowds toward the castle. The citizen who had betrayed them ran thither also, in order to hide his treachery. As soon as it was day, lord Charles and his party entered the houses of the inhabitants, to repose themselves; and took whatever they pleased. When he saw that the castle was so strong and full of citizens, he declared he would never quit the place, until he should have possession of it. The governor, sir Girard de Rochefort, and the citizens, soon found out they had been betrayed; they seized, therefore, the traitor, and hung him on the battlements, on the outside of the walls of the castle. Having received notice of the lord Charles's declaration, that he would not depart until he had gained the castle, and finding that they had not provisions for more than ten days, they consented to surrender it, upon having their lives spared, and the remnant of their chattels restored to them. This was granted; and they swore homage and fealty to lord Charles, who continued the same sir Girard de Rochefort governor of it, having reinforced the town and castle with men and provisions. While these things were passing, some prudent and wise men in Brittany were busy in proposing a truce between the lord Charles of Blois and the countess of Montfort, who consented to it, as did all her allies: for the king of England had advised them so to do, by the messengers which came to him from the countess and sir Walter Manny. As soon as this truce was concluded, the countess of Montfort embarked, and passed over to England.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES GREAT FEASTS AND TOURNAMENTS AT LONDON, THROUGH AFFECTION FOR THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

It has been related in the foregoing parts of this history, how the king of England had great wars in many distant parts and countries, and that he maintained everywhere armies and garrisons at a heavy expense: that is to say, in Picardy, Normandy, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, Brittany, and in Scotland. You have also heard how passionately he was smitten with the charms of the noble lady, Catherine of Salisbury; insomuch that he could not put her out of his mind, for love reminded him of her day and night, and represented her beauty and lively behavior in such witching points of view, that he could think of nothing else, notwithstanding that the earl of Salisbury was one of his most trusty counsellors, and one who in England had most loyally served him. Out of affection for the said lady, and his desire to see her, he ordered a great feast and tournament to be proclaimed, to be holden in London the middle of August. He sent his proclamation into Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and France, promising passports to all knights and squires, from whatever country they might come, for their arrival and return. He commanded, that all barons, lords, knights, and squires, of his own realm, should be there without fail, if they had any love for him: and he expressly ordered the earl of Salisbury to have the lady his wife there, with as many young ladies as he could collect to attend her. The earl very cheerfully complied with the king's request; he thought of nothing evil; and the good lady dared not say nay. She came, however, much against her will; for she guessed the reason which made the king so earnest for her attendance, but was afraid to discover it to her husband, imagining, at the same time, by her conduct and conversation, to make the king change his opinion.

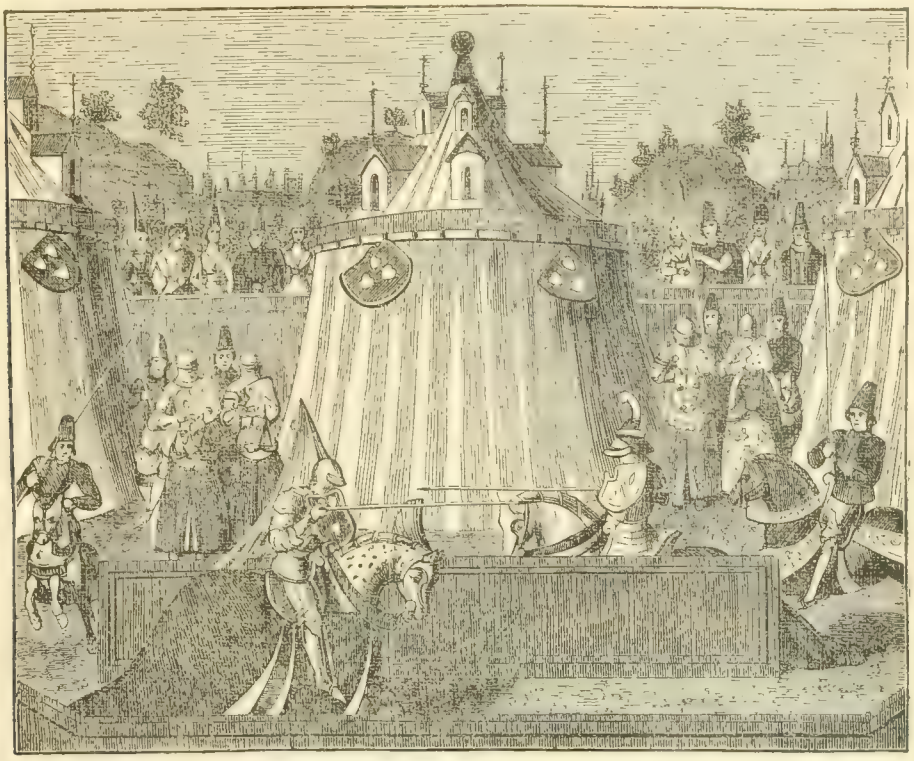
There were at this feast, which was very noble and magnificent, William earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle, and great numbers of barons and knights of high birth: the dancing and feasting continued for the space of fifteen days. The lord John, eldest son of the viscount† Beaumont in England, was killed at this tournament. He was a handsome and hardy knight, and bore for arms a shield azure, besprinkled with flower-de-luces, or, with a lion or rampant, and a battoon gules upon the shield. The ladies and damsels were most superbly dressed and ornamented, according to their different degrees,

* In the diocese of the St. Pol de Léon, five leagues from the sea, and seven from St Brieux.

* Robert de Beaumanoir, mareschal de Bretagne.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

† No mention is made of this in Dugdale, and there were no viscounts, but barons, at that period.

except the countess of Salisbury, who came there in as plain attire as possible. She was not willing that the king should give up too much time to admire her; for she had neither wish nor inclination to obey him in anything evil, that might turn out to her own or her husband's dishonor. At this feast were Henry, surnamed Wry-neck, earl of Lancaster, sir Henry his son earl of Derby, lord Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond, the earl of Northampton and Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Pembroke, the



Tournament—From a MS. Froissart, of the fifteenth century.

earl of Hereford, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Cornwall, the earl of Oxford, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Stamford, and many other barons and knights of England. The king, on the departure of these nobles, received letters from different lords in the countries of Gascony, Bayonne, Flanders, and from his great friend Jacob von Artaveld. He also heard from the borders of Scotland, from the lord Roos of Hamlake and lord Percy, and the lord Edward Baliol, who was governor of Berwick, that the Scots kept the truce, which had been agreed to last year between the English and Scots, very indifferently; and that they had issued out proclamations for assembling a large force, but he was uncertain to what part they would direct it.

The garrisons which he kept in Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, and the Bourdolois, wrote to inform him that the French were making great preparations for war; and that as the truce agreed to by the kings of France and England, after the breaking up of the siege of Tournay, was near expiring, it behoved his majesty to have good advice. He answered every part of their letters.

CHAPTER XC.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS INTO BRITTANY.

During the sessions of a parliament held at London, the king was desirous of putting everything else aside, and to succor the countess of Montfort, who at that time was on a visit to the queen of England. He entreated, therefore, his dear cousin lord Robert d'Artois, that he would collect as many men-at-arms and archers as he could, and pass over with the countess into Brittany. The lord Robert made his preparations, and, having assembled his number of men-at-arms and archers, went to Southampton, where they lay a considerable time on account of contrary winds. About Easter, they embarked and put to sea. At this same parliament, the barons earnestly advised the king, in consideration of the multitude of business he had upon his hands, to send the bishop of Lincoln to his brother-in-law the king of Scotland, to treat for a firm and stable truce to last for two other years. The king was loath to do it; as he was desirous to carry on the war against the Scots in such a manner that they themselves should request a truce. His council, however, with all due deference, said, that that would not be the most advisable means, considering he had before so ruined and destroyed that country, and that he had more important affairs on his hands in other parts. They added, that it was great wisdom, when engaged in different wars, to pacify one power by a truce, another by fair words, and make war on the third. The king was persuaded, by these and other reasons, and begged the above-mentioned prelate to undertake this mission. The bishop would not say nay, but set out on his journey. He soon returned without doing anything, and related to the king, that the king of Scotland had no power to make a truce without the will and consent of the king of France. Upon hearing this, the king exclaimed aloud, that he would shortly so ruin and destroy the kingdom of Scotland, it should never recover from it. He issued out a proclamation through his realm, for all persons to assemble at Berwick, by the feast of Easter, properly armed, and prepared to follow him wherever he should lead them, except those who were to go into Brittany.

When Easter came, the king held a great court at Berwick. All the princes, lords, and knights, who at that time were in England, were there, as well as great numbers of the common people of the country. They remained there three weeks, without making any excursion; for prudent and good men were busily employing themselves to form a truce, which at last was agreed and sworn to, for two years; and the Scots had it confirmed by the king of France. The king of England sent all his people to their own homes; he himself returned to Windsor. He sent the lord Thomas Holland and sir John Darvel to Bayonne, with two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers, to guard that frontier against the French.

CHAPTER XCI.

A SEA ENGAGEMENT, OFF GUERNSEY, BETWEEN THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS AND THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN.

We must now return to lord Robert d'Artois and his army. Easter fell so late that year, that it was about the beginning of May; and

the middle of that month was the period when the truce between the lord Charles and the countess of Montfort was to expire. The lord Charles had received information of the countess of Montfort's journey into England, of her solicitations for assistance, and of the succor the king of England was to give her: on which account, the lord Lewis of Spain, sir Charles Grimaldi, and sir Otho Doria, were stationed off Guernsey, with thirty-two large vessels, having on board three thousand Genoese, and a thousand men-at-arms. The lord Robert d'Artois, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Oxford, the baron of Stamford, the lord Despencer, the lord Bouchier, with many other knights from England, and their followers, were accompanying the countess of Montfort to Brittany, and had a wind to their wish: when in an afternoon, as they were near the island of Guernsey, they perceived the fleet of the Genoese, of which the lord Lewis was commander. Upon this, the sailors cried out, "Gentlemen, arm yourselves and make ready, for here are the Genoese and Spaniards bearing down upon us." The English then sounded their trumpets, spread out their pennons to the wind, ornamented with the devices of their arms and with the banner of St. George. Every one posted himself properly at his quarters, and filling up the intervals with archers, they advanced full sail toward the enemy. They might be about forty-six vessels, great and small; but there were none so large as nine of those under the lord Lewis, who had likewise three galleys, in each of which were the three leaders, the lord Lewis, sir Charles Grimaldi, and sir Otho Doria. The fleets approached each other, and the Genoese began to shoot with their cross-bows at random, which the English archers returned. This continued some time, and many were wounded: but when the barons, knights, and squires were able to come to close combat, and could reach each other with their lances, then the battle raged, and they made good trial of each other's courage. The countess of Montfort was equal to a man, for she had the heart of a lion; and, with a rusty sharp sword in her hand, she combated bravely.

The Genoese and Spaniards, who were in these large vessels, threw down upon their enemies great bars of iron, and annoyed them much with very long lances. This engagement began about vespers, and lasted until night parted them; for, soon after vespers, there came on such a fog, they could scarcely distinguish each other; they therefore separated, cast anchor, and got their ships in order, but did not disarm, for they intended renewing the fight the next day. About midnight, a violent storm arose; and so tremendous was it, that it seemed as if the world would have been destroyed: there were not, on either side, any so bold, but who wished themselves on shore; for these barges and vessels drove so furiously against each other, that they feared they would go to pieces. The English lords inquired of the sailors what was best to be done: they answered, to disembark as soon as they could; for there were such risks at sea, that if the wind should continue as violent as it then was, there would be danger of their being all drowned. They therefore drew up their anchors, set their sails about half a quarter, and made off. On the other hand, the Genoese weighed their anchors, and put off to sea; for their vessels being so much larger than the English, could weather the tempest more securely; and also, if they should drive too near the shore, they ran a risk of being wrecked, which made them take to the deep. As they were going off, they fell in with four English vessels, laden with provisions, which had kept out of the engagement: they seized them, and took them in tow. The wind and tempest were so vehement, that, in one day, they were driven more than a hundred leagues from the place where they had fought. The lord Robert gained land at a small port near the city of Vannes; and they were all rejoiced when they set foot on shore.

CHAPTER XCII.

THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS TAKES THE CITY OF VANNES.

Thus by this tempest was the engagement at sea interrupted, between the lord Robert and lord Lewis and their fleets. It is difficult to say to whom the honor belongs; for they separated unwillingly, on account of the badness of the weather. The English, having landed near Vannes, disembarked, on the sand, their horses, provisions, and arms. They then ordered their fleet to make for Hennebon, and determined to lay siege to Vannes. The lords Hervé de Léon and Olivier de Clisson were in it, as governors for the lord Charles of Blois: the lords of Tournemine and Loheac were there also. When they perceived that the English were coming to besiege them, they looked well to the castle, their watch-towers, and gates; and at every gate they posted a knight, with ten men-at-arms and twenty archers among the cross-bows. To return to the lord Lewis and his fleet, who were, all that night and the morrow until noon, violently driven about by the tempest, and in very great danger: they lost two of their ships, with all that were on board. The third day early, the stormy weather abated, when the knights asked the sailors which was the nearest land; who answered, the kingdom of Navarre: and the masters of the vessels said, the tempest had driven them more than one hundred and twenty leagues from the coasts of Brittany. They cast anchor, and waited for the return of the tide. When the flood came, they had a tolerably fair wind to carry them toward La Rochelle. They coasted by Bayonne, but did not touch there: and falling in with four vessels belonging to Bayonne, which were coming from Flanders, they attacked and took them, and put all whom they found on board to death. They made for La Rochelle, and, in a few days, came to Guerrande, where they landed; and, having heard that the lord Robert d'Artois was laying siege to Vannes, they sent to lord Charles, who was at Rennes, to know how he would have them act.

The lord Robert, as you have heard, was before Vannes, with a thousand men-at-arms, and three thousand archers. He overran, burnt, and destroyed all the country round about as far as Dinant and Goy la Forêt, so that no one dared remain in the flat country. During this siege of Vannes, there were many skirmishes and attacks at the barriers of the town, the inhabitants of which were eager to defend themselves. The countess remained all the time with the lord Robert at the siege. Sir Walter Manny, who had continued in Hennebon the whole time that the countess was in England, gave up the charge of it to the lord of Cadoudal; and taking with him sir Yves de Tresiquidi, a hundred men-at-arms, and two hundred archers, came to the army before Vannes. Soon after his arrival, the town was assaulted in three places at once; and the English archers shot so quickly, that scarcely any one dared to show themselves at the battlements. This combat lasted a whole day, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. Toward evening, the English retired to their quarters, and the inhabitants to their houses, quite tired, when they disarmed themselves: but the army did not so; they only took off their helmets, and drank once to refresh themselves. Presently after, by the advice of lord Robert, the army was drawn out again in three divisions: two of them were led to that part of the town where they intended to make the strongest assault, and the third was ordered to remain quiet, until the engagement should have lasted some time, which would probably bring all the inhabitants to that quarter to defend themselves: they were then to advance to the weakest part of the place, and, being provided with rope ladders and iron hooks, they were to attempt to scale the walls and conquer the town. This was executed. The lord Robert marched with the van division, and skirmished close up to the barriers: the earl of Salisbury did the same at another gate: and because it was very late, to alarm the inhabitants more, they made great fires, so that the flames lighted the whole town; which made many think their houses were on fire. They cried out "Treason! treason! arm yourselves;" for many were already gone to rest, as they had worked hard in the day time. They got up as quickly as they could, and ran, without any order, and without speaking to their captains, to the part where the fires were. The lords also, who were in their hotels, armed themselves. In the midst of this bustle, the earl of Oxford and sir Walter Manny advanced, with the third division, to a part where there was no guard; and, having fixed their ladders, mounted them, with their targets on their heads, and entered the town very quietly, without the French or Bretons, who were within it, having the least suspicion until they saw their enemies in the streets. They then all took to flight, each to save himself: their captains, not having time to get into the castle, mounted their horses, and, passing through a postern, gained the fields, to save their lives: happy were those who could by this means escape. However, the four knights mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, saved themselves, and a part of their people; but all who were encountered by the English were slain or made prisoners. The town of Vannes was overrun and sacked; all sorts of people entered into it; and the countess of Montfort made her entry there with lord Robert d'Artois, to her great joy.

CHAPTER XCIII.

THE DEATH OF THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS.

Thus, as I have related, was the town of Vannes taken. Five days after that event, the countess of Montfort, sir Walter Manny, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, and many other English and Breton knights, returned to Hennebon. At the same time, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, with three thousand men-at-arms and three thousand archers, took leave of the lord Robert, left Vannes, and went toward Rennes, which the lord Charles and his lady had quitted four days before, and were gone to Nantes; but they had left in that city great numbers of knights and squires. The lord Lewis of Spain remained at sea with his Genoese and Spaniards, and so carefully guarded the coasts of England, that no one could come from thence, or go into Brittany, without much danger; and this year he did great damage to the English.

The country was much agitated by the capture of the city of Vannes; for they imagined that the captains who were within it ought to have defended it against all the world, as it was sufficiently strong, very well provided with men-at-arms, artillery, and all other sorts of provision. The lord of Clisson and sir Hervé de Léon were quite ashamed of their mishap; and, their enemies speaking villainously of what they had done, they sent to a great number of knights and squires of Brittany, and entreated they would meet them at an appointed rendezvous, by a certain day, with as many followers as they could bring. They all cheerfully promised, and exerted themselves so much, as did many of the people in Brittany, that, by the appointed time, there came before the town of Vannes twelve thou-

sand men armed, including freemen and footh. The latter came, with a numerous body, the lord Robert de Beaumanoir, marshal of Brittany; and having besieged the city on every side, they began to assault it very sharply. When the lord Robert found himself thus besieged in Vannes, he was not negligent to defend it valiantly against the Bretons, who repeated their attacks with great courage and eagerness, lest those who had gone for Rennes should return and disappoint their enterprise. They gave one assault so well supported by the knights, squires, and even by the commonalty of the country, that they overpowered the barriers of the town, then the gates, and entered the town by storm, putting the English to flight, killing and wounding many. Among the last was the lord Robert, who was very badly wounded, insomuch that it was with difficulty he escaped being taken: he fled through a postern gate, and lord Stafford with him. At this capture of Vannes, the lord Despencer, son of the lord Hugh Spencer, mentioned at the beginning of this history, was taken prisoner by sir Hervé de Léon: but he was so badly wounded that he died the third day afterwards. Thus did the French regain the town of Vannes.

Lord Robert d'Artois continued some little time in Hennebon; but at last he was recommended to return to England, where he would find more skilful surgeons and physicians. On his voyage, he was so much affected and oppressed by sea-sickness that his wounds grew worse: he survived but a short time after he had been carried to London. He was courteous, courageous, and gallant, and of the first blood in the world. He was buried at London in the church of St. Paul; and the king of England made his obsequies as solemn as if they had been for his cousin-german the earl of Derby. The lord Robert was much lamented in England; and when the king was informed of his death, he swore he would never rest until he had revenged it: he would go himself into Brittany, and reduce the country to such a situation that it should not recover itself for forty years. He issued out his summons for all manner of persons to get themselves in readiness to follow him at the end of the month; and he collected a numerous fleet, well provided with everything that was necessary. At the end of the month he put to sea, and anchored near Vannes, at the same place where lord Robert had landed with his army. It took them three days to disembark their horses, provisions, &c.: on the fourth, they advanced toward Vannes. The earls of Salisbury and Pembroke, with the English before named, were all this time carrying on the siege of Rennes.

CHAPTER XCIV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND CONTINUES THE WAR IN PERSON IN BRITTANY.

The English king was so active from the time of his landing in Brittany, that he advanced with his whole army before Vannes, and laid siege to it. At that time there was in Vannes Olivier de Clisson, sir Hervé de Léon, the lord of Tournemine, sir Geoffry de Malestroit, sir Guy de Loheac, who having imagined for some time that the king of England would come to Brittany, had amply provided the town and castle with men, and every kind of stores and provisions. When the king had quartered his men, he ordered an assault, and his archers to make good use of their bows. This lasted half a day; but he won nothing, though he labored hard, so well was the town defended. As soon as the countess of Montfort knew of the arrival of the king of England, she set out from Hennebon, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and other knights and squires, and came toward Vannes to compliment the king, and entertain him and all the barons of his army. After a stay of four days, she and her suite returned to Hennebon.

We must now speak of the lord Charles of Blois, who remained in the city of Nantes. When he was informed that the king of England was come into Brittany, he signified it to the king of France, his uncle, in order to obtain assistance. The king of England perceiving that Vannes was strong, and well provided with every necessary, and hearing from his people that the country round about was poor, and so destroyed that they had difficulty in getting forage for themselves and horses, as they were very numerous, ordered the earl of Arundel, the baron of Stafford, sir Walter Manny, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, sir Girard de Rochefort, with five hundred men-at-arms and six thousand archers, to remain there. He himself, with the rest of his army, advanced toward Rennes, burning and ruining the country on all sides, and was most joyfully received by his army, who lay before it, and had been there for a considerable time. When he had tarried five days, he learnt that the lord Charles was at Nantes, collecting a large force of men-at-arms. He set out, therefore, leaving those whom he found at Rennes, and came before Nantes, which he besieged as closely as he could; but he was unable to surround it, such was its size and extent. The marshals, therefore, and their people, overran the country, and destroyed it. The king of England drew out one day his army in battle array on a hill near Nantes, in expectation that the lord Charles would come forth, and offer him an opportunity of fighting with him: but, having waited from morning till noon in vain, they returned to their quarters: the light horse however, in their retreat, galloped up to the barriers, and set fire to the suburbs.

The king of England, in this manner remained before Nantes: the lord Charles, who was within it, sent frequent information to the king of France of the state of his affairs, who had already ordered his son, the duke of Normandy, to his assistance, and which duke was then come to Angers, where he had fixed the rendezvous for his forces that came to him from all quarters. During this siege, the king of England made frequent skirmishes, but without success, always losing some of his men. When, therefore, he found he could gain nothing by his assaults, and that the lord Charles would not come out into the plains to fight with him, he established there the earl of Oxford, sir Henry Beaumont, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, the lord Delawar, sir Reginald Cobham, sir John Lisle, with six hundred men armed and two hundred archers. He himself advanced into the country of Brittany, wasting it wherever he went, until he came to the town of Dinant, of which sir Peter Portebœuf was governor. He immediately laid siege to it all round, and ordered it to be vigorously assaulted: those within made a valiant resistance. Thus did the king of England, in one season and in one day, make an assault by himself, or those ordered by him, upon three cities in Brittany and a good town.

CHAPTER XCV.

THE LORD OF CLISSON AND SIR HERVÉ DE LEON ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH.

During the time that the king of England was thus overrunning the country of Brittany, his army that was besieging Vannes made every day some sharp assaults upon one of the gates: all the most expert warriors of each side were attracted to that place, and many gallant deeds of arms were performed; for those of Vannes had opened the gate, and posted themselves at the barriers, because they had noticed the banners of the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, the baron of Stafford, and sir Walter Manny, who appeared to them to adventure themselves too rashly. Upon which the lord of Clisson, sir Hervé de Leon, and some other knights, took more courage. The engagement was well supported on both sides, and lasted a considerable time: but finally the English were repulsed, and driven back from the barriers. The Breton knights, opening the barriers, pushed forward, sword in hand, leaving behind them six knights, with a sufficient force, to guard the town, and pursued the English, who fought well as they retreated. The conflict became stronger; for the English increased and were strengthened, which forced the Bretons to retire, but not so regularly as they had advanced. The struggle now was very hard: the Breton knights had much difficulty to return, and many were killed and wounded. When those at the barriers saw their people retreating and driven back, they closed them, but so untimely that the lord of Clisson was shut out, and also sir Hervé de Léon, who were both taken prisoners. On the other hand, on the part of the English, who had advanced too eagerly, was the baron of Stafford, who was inclosed between the barriers and the gate, where the combat raged fiercely. The lord Stafford was taken, and many of his people were made prisoners, or slain. So the English retreated to their quarters, and the Bretons into the city of Vannes.

CHAPTER XCVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND TAKES THE TOWN OF DINANT. THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN MAKES SOME CRUISES AT SEA.

In the manner above related were these knights taken prisoners. After that engagement, there were not many others of consequence; for each side was upon the guard. The king of England had laid siege to Dinant, who when he had been four days before it, collected a great number of boats, in which he placed his archers, and had them rowed up to the palisades of wood with which the town was inclosed. They shot so well that no one dared scarcely to show himself at the windows, or anywhere else, to defend it. With the archers, there were others who with sharp axes, while the archers made use of their bows, cut the palisades, and in a short time did so much damage that they flung down a large part of them, and entered the town by force. The towns-people fled toward the market-place; but there was little regularity or order among them, for those who had passed the ditch in boats, and had entered the town, advanced to the gate, and opened it, so that every one might pass. Thus was the town of Dinant in Brittany taken, sacked and pillaged, and the governor, sir Peter Portebœuf, made prisoner. The English took whatever they pleased, and made a rich booty, for the town at that time was very wealthy and full of merchandise. When the king of England had achieved this deed, and had conquered the town, he left it empty, not having any intention of keeping it, and advanced toward Vannes, where he took up his quarters.

We must now speak of the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord Charles Grimaldi, and the lord Otho Doria, who at this time had under their command eight galleys, thirteen barges, and thirty-nine vessels, manned by Genoese and Spaniards. They kept cruising between England and Brittany, and at times did great mischief to the English, who were coming to recruit their countrymen with troops and provisions. Once among other times, they attacked the fleet of the king of England, that lay at anchor in a small port of Brittany near

Vannes, which not being sufficiently guarded, they slew a great part of the mariners, and would have done much more damage, if the English, who were before Vannes, had not hastened to their assistance. When this news was brought to the army, every one was in motion: but, notwithstanding the speed they made, they could not prevent the lord Lewis and his party from carrying off four vessels laden with provisions, and sinking three others, the crews of which were all drowned. The king was then advised to send one part of his fleet to the harbor of Brest, and the other to that of Hennebon, which he complied with, and continued to besiege both Vannes and Rennes.

CHAPTER XCVII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY BRINGS WITH HIM SOME LORDS OF FRANCE, TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND IN BRITTANY.

We will now return to the army which the duke of Normandy was marching into Brittany, to assist his cousin the lord Charles of Blois. The duke, after having collected his forces, was informed how the king of England was laying waste all the country of Brittany; that he was besieging three cities, and had taken the town of Dinant; he set out therefore with a very great force from the city of Angers, having more than four thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand others. All the baggage took the high road for Nantes, under the command of the two marshals of France, the lord of Montmorency, and the lord de St. Venant. After them came the duke of Normandy, the earl d'Alençon his uncle, the earl of Blois his cousin, the duke de Bourbon, the earl de Ponthieu, the earl of Boulogne, the earl of Vendôme, the earl of Dammartin, the lord of Craon, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Sully, the lord of Fresnes, the lord of Roye, and so many barons and knights from Normandy, Auvergne, Limousin, Berry, Maine, and Poitou, that it would take too much time to name them all; and they were every day increasing, for the king of France had reiterated his summons. The English lords before Nantes received intelligence that the duke of Normandy was on his march with forty thousand men; this news they sent off in great haste to king Edward; the receiving of which made him very thoughtful; and he had at one time the idea of breaking up the siege of Vannes, as well as that of Rennes, and to retire toward Nantes. He was, however, advised to continue where he was, as his position was strong, and near to his fleet, and to wait for his enemies. He was also advised to send for the division of his army that was before Nantes, and continue the siege of Rennes; as that place was not so far distant but that his army could come to his assistance, if there should be any necessity for it. The king followed this counsel, and sent for those that were before Nantes, where the lord Charles, and a number of knights were. The lords were lodged in the town, and the army round about; for there was not room for them in the city or suburbs.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE DUKE OF NORMANDY ENCAMP THEIR ARMIES OPPOSITE TO EACH OTHER, NEAR TO VANNES.

During the time the duke of Normandy remained in Nantes, the lords of England who were before Rennes made a vigorous assault upon that city; they had, for a long time before, prepared machines for this attack. Though it lasted a whole day, they gained no advantage, but lost many of their men. The baron d'Ancenis, the lord du Pont, sir John de Malestroit, Yvain Charruel, and Bertrand du Guesclin, then a squire, were in the town, and, as well as the bishop, defended themselves so valiantly, that they suffered no loss. Notwithstanding this, the English remained before the place, and wasted and destroyed the country round about.

The duke of Normandy left Nantes with his army, and was advised to advance toward Vannes, that he might the sooner meet the enemy; for he had heard that that town was much straitened, and in greater danger of being lost than Rennes. He and his whole army, therefore, took their route to Vannes, under the command of the two marshals and sir Geoffry de Charny: the earl of Guines, son to the constable of France, had the rearward. They continued their march until they came pretty near to Vannes, on the opposite side to where the king of England was quartered; they then halted, encamped in a fine meadow, and made a large ditch in their front. The marshals, and sir Robert de Beaumanoir, marshal of Brittany, made frequent excursions: there were skirmishes on both sides, which occasioned the overthrow and death of many. The king of England sent for the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Pembroke, and the rest who were besieging Rennes. The English, and the Bretons of the Montfort party, might amount to nearly two thousand five hundred men-at-arms, six thousand archers, and three thousand men on foot. The French were four times that number, well conditioned and well armed. The king of England had taken such a position before Vannes, that the French could not attack him but to their disadvantage; and since the arrival of the duke of Normandy, he had not made any assault upon the town, wishing to spare his men and his artillery.

Thus these two armies lay near each other for a long time. When the winter set in, pope Clement VI. sent thither the cardinal of Preneste and the cardinal of Clermont, who made frequent visits from one army to the other, to endeavor to reconcile them; but they would not consent to a peace.* There were frequent engagements between the foragers, and many killed on each side. The English were obliged to go out foraging in large parties, for fear of falling into ambuscades; and every time they went abroad they were in great danger of them. Add to this, that the lord Lewis of Spain, and his fleet, guarded so carefully the coast, that the English army could scarcely receive anything from England, which made them suffer much. It was the intention of the duke to keep the king thus in a manner besieged: but the French endured much pain from the inclemency of the weather, for it rained night and day, which destroyed the greater part of their horses, and forced them to dislodge and lie in the open fields, from the great quantity of water which inundated their camp. The cardinals now exerted themselves so effectually, that a truce for three years was agreed to; and the king of England and the duke swore, as is customary, not to infringe it during that time.

CHAPTER XCIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE LORD OF CLISSON, AND MANY OTHER LORDS OF BRITTANY AND NORMANDY, TO BE BEHEADED.

Thus these great armies were separated, and the siege of Vannes raised. The duke of Normandy retired to Nantes, and took the two cardinals with him; the king of England went to the countess of Montfort at Hennebon. There was an exchange made of the lord of Clisson for the baron of Stafford. When the king of England had been some time at Hennebon with the countess, and had arranged his affairs, he gave her in charge to the two brothers de Spinefort, sir William de Cadoudal, and others, and set out with his knights for England, where he arrived about Christmas.† The duke of Normandy returned into France, and having disbanded his army, each went to his own home.

Soon afterwards, the lord of Clisson was arrested, upon suspicion of treason, and confined in the prison of the Châtelet in Paris; at which all who heard it were much surprised. The barons and knights of France asked each other what could be the reason, for they could not make out anything satisfactory: but they imagined it might be occasioned by jealousy, because the king of England had preferred to exchange him for lord Stafford to sir Hervé de Léon, who was still a prisoner; so that the favor the king of England had shown to the lord of Clisson in preference to sir Hervé, his enemies thought had been improperly gained, and grounded upon that the suspicion for which he lost his head at Paris, and which occasioned great grief, for no one could find a sufficient reason for it.‡ Shortly afterwards, many other knights were accused of similar crimes. The lord of Malestroit and his son, the lord of Avaugour, sir Tibaut de Morillon, and other lords of Brittany, to the number of ten knights and squires, were beheaded at Paris. Four other knights of Normandy, sir William Baron, sir Henry de Malestroit, the lord of Rochetesson, and sir Richard de Persy, were put to death upon reports, whether well founded or not I am ignorant, which caused afterwards great troubles in Brittany and Normandy. The lord of Clisson left behind him a son, named Olivier de Clisson after his father, who withdrew himself immediately to the castle of Montfort, with the countess and her son, who was nearly of the same age with himself, and without a father; for in truth the earl of Montfort had died in the Louvre at Paris.§

CHAPTER C.

KING EDWARD INSTITUTES THE ORDER OF ST. GEORGE, AT WINDSOR.

About this time, the king of England resolved to rebuild and embellish the great castle of Windsor, which king Arthur had first founded in time past, and where he had erected and established that noble round table from whence so many gallant knights had issued forth, and displayed the valiant prowess of their deeds at arms over the world. King Edward, therefore, determined to establish an order of knighthood, consisting of himself, his children, and the most gallant knights in Christendom, to the number of forty. He ordered it to be denominated "knights of the blue garter," and that the feast should be celebrated every year, at Windsor, upon St. George's day. He summoned, therefore, all the earls, barons and knights of

* The first of these prelates was Peter des Pres, born in Quercy, chancellor of the church of Rome, and bishop of Frescati; the other was Annibal de Ceceano, bishop of Palestine. The conference was held in the priory of the Magdalen, in the town of Malestroit. The commissioners on the part of France were, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and Peter duke of Bourbon; on the part of England, Henry earl of Lancaster, William Bohun and William Montacute.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

† Edward embarked about the end of February, and landed at Weymouth, on a Sunday, 2nd March, 1343.—Rymer.

‡ The lord Stafford was exchanged for Olivier de Clisson, and Godfrey de Harcourt. They entered into a treaty with Edward, and the earl of Salisbury was the person to whom it was intrusted. On the earl's return to England, on hearing from his countess Edward's conduct to her during his absence, he retired from the court secretly, and went to France, when he delivered up to Philip de Valois the engagements of Olivier de Clisson and the other knights. Olivier was beheaded, and his body hung on the gibbet at Montfaucon. Godfrey de Harcourt, being banished the kingdom, retired to England. —*Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 268.

§ See a former note, p. 52, respecting his death.

his realm, to inform them of his intentions; they heard it with great pleasure; for it appeared to them right honorable, and capable of increasing love and friendship. Forty knights were then elected, according to report and estimation the bravest in Christendom, who sealed, and swore to maintain and keep the feast and the statutes which had been made. The king founded a chapel at Windsor, in honor of St. George, and established canons, there to serve God, with a handsome endowment. He then issued his proclamation for this feast by his heralds, whom he sent to France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and the empire of Germany, and offered to all knights and squires, that might come to this ceremony, passports to last for fifteen days after it was over.* The celebration of this order was fixed for St. George's day next ensuing, to be held at Windsor, 1344; and the queen was to be present, accompanied by three hundred ladies and damsels, all of high birth, and richly dressed in similar robes.†

CHAPTER CI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SETS AT LIBERTY SIR HERVÉ DE LEON.

While the king of England was employed in making preparations for the reception of the lords and ladies whom he expected at this feast, news was brought him of the death of the lord of Clisson and the other knights. He was so much enraged at it, that he had determined to retaliate upon the body of Sir Hervé de Léon, who was his prisoner, and would surely have executed it, if the earl of Derby, his cousin, had not remonstrated, and showed in council such good reasons, as, for the sake of his own personal honor, induced him to refrain from this revenge. He added, "My lord, if that king Philip has, through rashness, had the villainy to put to death such valiant knights as these were, do not suffer your courage to be tainted by it; for in truth, if you will but consider a little, your prisoner has nothing to do with this outrage: have a goodness, therefore, to give him his liberty, at a reasonable ransom." The king ordered the captive knight to be brought before him, and said, "Ha, sir Hervé, sir Hervé, my adversary, Philip de Valois, has shown his treachery in too cruel a manner, when he put to death so many knights. It has given me much displeasure; and it appears as it were done in despite of us. If I were to take his conduct for my example, I ought to do the like to you; for you have done me more harm in Brittany than any other; but I shall endure it, and let him act according to his own will. I will preserve my own honor unspotted, and shall allow you your liberty at a trifling ransom, out of my love for the earl of Derby, who has requested it; but upon condition, that you perform what I am going to ask of you." The knight replied, "Dear sir, I will do, to the best of my power, whatever you shall command." The king said, "I know, sir Hervé, that you are one of the richest knights in Brittany; and, if I were to press you, you would pay me thirty or forty thousand crowns for your ransom. But you will go to king Philip de Valois, my adversary, and tell him from me, that, by putting so many knights to death in so dishonorable a manner, he has sore displeased me: and I say and maintain, that he has by this means broken and infringed the truce which we had agreed to; and that from this moment I consider it as broken, and send him by you my defiance. In consideration of your carrying this message, I will let you off for ten thousand crowns, which you will pay, or send to Bruges, in five days after you shall have crossed the sea. You will also inform all such knights and squires as wish to attend my feast, for we shall be right glad to see them, not to desist on this account, for they shall have passports for their safe return, to last for fifteen days after it be over." "Sir," answered the knight, "I will perform your message to the best of my abilities; and God reward you and my lord of Derby for your kindness to me."

Sir Hervé de Léon did not after this remain long in prison, but, having taken leave of the king, went to Southampton, and embarked on board a vessel, with the intention of landing at Harfleur. A violent storm, however, which lasted fifteen days, prevented it. He lost his horses, as well as those of his servants, which were thrown overboard; and he himself was so ill by it, that he never after enjoyed good health. At last the mariners, with much danger, landed at Crotoy ;‡ from whence sir Hervé and his suite went on foot to Abbeville, where they procured horses; but sir Hervé was so ill, he could not bear the motion of the horse: he was therefore put in a litter, and came to Paris, to king Philip, to whom he delivered his message, word for word; but he did not live long. He died in returning to his own country, in the city of Angers. God have mercy on his soul!

CHAPTER CII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF DERBY TO MAKE WAR IN GASCONY.

St. George's day drew near, when the grand feast was to be celebrated at the castle of Windsor. The king had made great preparations for it; and there were earls, barons, ladies, and damsels, most nobly entertained. The festivities and tilts lasted a fortnight. Many knights came to them from beyond sea, from Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, but not one from France. During the holding of these feasts, the king received intelligence from different countries, particularly from Gascony. The lord de l'Esparre, the lord de Chaumont, the lord de Mucident, were sent thence by the other barons and knights who at that time were dependent on the king of England; such as the lord d'Albret, the lord de Pumiers, the lord de Montferrant, the lord of Duras, the lord of Craton, the lord of Grailley, and many others; and some were likewise sent by the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne. These embassadors were most courteously entertained and received by the king and his council; to whom they explained the weakness of the country of Gascony, and that his good friends in that country and the loyal city of Bordeaux wanted aid: they therefore entreated, that he would send thither such a captain and force of men-at-arms, as he might think able to make head against the French, who kept the field in opposition to all that were sent to meet them. The king soon afterwards appointed his cousin the earl of Derby leader of this expedition, and nominated those knights that he had fixed upon to be under him; first, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, the lord Stafford, sir Walter Manny, sir Frank van Halle, sir Henry Eam of Brabant, sir Richard Fitzsimon, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Stephen Tombey, sir Richard Haydon, sir John Norwich, sir Richard Radcliffe, sir Robert Oxendon, and several more. They were fully three hundred knights and squires, six hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand archers. The king advised the earl his cousin to take plenty of gold and silver with him, and to bestow it liberally among the knights and squires, in order to acquire their good opinion and affection.

The king also, during the time of these festivals, sent sir Thomas Dagworth into Brittany, to reinforce the countess of Montfort, and assist her in preserving that country; for notwithstanding the truce, he doubted not but that king Philip would begin the war, on account of the message he had sent to him by sir Hervé de Léon. He therefore dispatched thither one hundred men-at-arms, and two hundred archers, under the command of sir Thomas. He likewise ordered the earl of Salisbury into the county of D'ulnestre; for the Scots had rebelled against him, had burnt much in Cornwall, and had advanced as far as Bristol, and besieged the town of D'ulnestre.* However, the earl of Salisbury marched thither, with three hundred men-at-arms, and six hundred archers well appointed. Thus the king sent forth his people, and directed his treasurers to deliver out to the commanding officers a sufficiency of money for their own expenses, and to pay their fellow-soldiers; and each set out according to the orders he had received.

We will speak first of the earl of Derby, as he had the greatest charge, which he conducted to Southampton, and embarking on board the fleet stationed there for him, made sail for Bayonne: it was a handsome city, and had always held out for the English. He arrived there, without accident, on the 6th day of June, 1344, when he disembarked and landed his stores; they were joyfully received by the inhabitants, and he remained there seven days, to refresh himself and his horses. The earl of Derby and his army left Bayonne the eighth day after his arrival, and set out for Bordeaux, where a grand procession came out to receive him. The earl was lodged in the abbey of St. Andrew and his people within the city. When the count de Lisle was informed of the arrival of the English, he sent for the count de Comminges, the count de Perigord, the count de Carmain, the viscount de Villemur, the count Duras, the count de Valentinois, the count de Mirande, the lord of Mirade, the lord de la Barde, the lord of Pincornet, the viscount de Châtillon, the lord of Chateauneuf, the lord de Lescun, the abbot of St. Savin, and for all the other lords who were attached to the king of France. As soon as they were all assembled, he demanded their counsel on the arrival of the earl of Derby. The lords, in reply, said, they were sufficiently strong to defend the passage of the river Dordogne, at Bergerac, against the English. This answer mightily pleased the

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*The number of knights of the garter were only twenty-six: underneath are the names of the first knights:

1. King Edward.
2. Edward prince of Wales.
3. Henry earl of Lancaster.
4. Thomas earl of Warwick.
5. Piers de Greilly, captal of Buch.
6. Ralph lord Stafford.
7. William earl of Salisbury.
8. Roger earl of March.
9. John lord Lisle.
10. Bartholomew lord Burghersh.
11. John lord Beauchamp.
12. John lord Mohun of Dunster.
13. Hugh lord Courtenay.
14. Thomas lord Holland.
15. John lord Gray of Codnore.
16. Sir Richard Fitzsimon.
17. Sir Miles Stapleton.
18. Sir Thomas Wale.
19. Sir Hugh Wrottesley.
20. Sir Nele Loring.
21. Sir John Chandos.
22. Lord James Audley.
23. Sir Otho Holland.
24. Sir Henry Eam of Brabant.
25. Sir Sanchio d'Ambreticourt.
26. Sir Walter Paveley.

For further particulars respecting the order of the garter, see Ashmole and Anstis.

†The first mention of robes for the queen, &c., is an. 7 Ric. 2; but it is supposed the custom originated at the institution.—Ashmole.

‡Crotoy, a town in Picardy, situated at the mouth of the Somme, opposite to St. Valery.

*This passage has puzzled me much. Mr. Barnes, in his Life of Edward III., says, it was the *young* earl of Salisbury. One of my MSS. calls him the lord William earl of Salisbury, which was the name of the earl's son. But Dugdale contents himself with saying, that in the 18th of Edward III., "the earl of Salisbury" (speaking of the first earl) "was sent into the north, with the earl of Ulster, one hundred men-at arms, and six hundred archers, against the Scots, then in hostility."

If the Scots had advanced to Bristol, then it may perhaps be Dunster castle.

Froissart seems to have been under a mistake, from misinformation, as I cannot find any traces of this invasion.

count de Lisle, who was at that time like a king in Gascony, and had been so since the commencement of the wars between the two kings. He had taken the field, captured towns and castles, and waged war upon all who were of the English party. These lords sent immediately to assemble their dependents on all sides, and advanced to Bergerac, where they entered the suburbs, which are large, strong, and partly surrounded by the Dordogne. They had all their purveyances brought to them there in safety.

CHAPTER CIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS BERGERAC.*

When the earl of Derby had remained at Bordeaux for about fifteen days, he was informed that the barons and knights of Gascony were in Bergerac: he therefore, one morning, marched that way with his army, and ordered his marshals, sir Walter Manny and sir Frank van Halle, to push forward. The English marched that morning no more than three leagues, to a castle called Montcroullier, which belonged to them, and was situated a short league from Bergerac. At this castle of Montcroullier, they tarried that day and night. The day following, their scouts were sent as far as the barriers of Bergerac: and, on their return, they related to sir Walter Manny, that they had reconnoitred the position of the French, which did not appear to them anything very formidable. This day, the English dined early; and, during the repast, sir Walter Manny, addressing himself to the earl of Derby, said, "My lord, if we were good knights, and well armed, we might, this evening, partake of the wines of these French lords who are in garrison in Bergerac." The earl answered, "that it should not be his fault if they did not." When their companions heard this, they said, "Let us hasten to arm ourselves; for we will ride toward Bergerac." It was no sooner said than done: they were all armed, and mounted, in an instant. When the earl of Derby perceived such willingness in his men, he was exceedingly joyful, and cried out, "In the name of God, and of St. George, let us march to our enemies." They then rode on, with banners displayed, during the greatest heat of the day, until they came to the barriers of Bergerac: which was not a place easily to be taken, for a part of the river Dordogne surrounded it. The French lords who were in the town, seeing the English coming to attack them, said they should be well received, and sallied forth in battle array: they had with them a multitude of foot soldiers, and country people badly armed. The English made their approaches in close order, so that they were plainly to be distinguished by the townsmen, and the archers began to shoot thickly. When the foot soldiers felt the points of the arrows, and saw the banners and pennons glittering in the air, which they had not been accustomed to see, they fell back upon their men-at-arms: the archers continued to shoot with great quickness, doing much mischief to them. The lords of England then advanced, mounted on their excellent coursers, with lances in their rests, and, dashing into the midst of this infantry, drove them down at pleasure, and killed and wounded the French men-at-arms in abundance; for they could not in any way exert themselves, as these runaways had blocked up the road.

There was a severe engagement, and many were killed and unhorsed: for the English archers, being posted on each side of the road, shot so well together, that no one dared to venture upon it. Thus were those of Bergerac driven back again to the suburbs, but with so much loss, that the first bridge and bars were taken by storm, and the English entered with them. Upon the pavement were many knights and squires slain and wounded, and many prisoners made of those who came forward to defend the passage. The lord of Mirepoix was slain under the banner of sir Walter Manny, who was the first that entered the suburbs. When the count de Lisle saw that the English had got possession of the suburbs, and were knocking down and killing his people without mercy, he and the other lords of Gascony made a handsome retreat toward the town, and passed the bridge with great difficulty. At this place the engagement was very severe, and lasted a considerable time: the noblemen of France and of England, named in the preceding chapters, combated most valiantly hand to hand: neither knight nor bachelor could there conceal himself. Sir Walter Manny had advanced so far among his enemies, that he was in great danger. The English made prisoners of the viscount de Bousquetin, the lords of Châtillon, of Chateauneuf, and of Lescun. The French retreated into the fort, let down the portcullis, and, getting upon the battlements, began to throw stones and other things, to drive their enemies away. This assault and skirmish lasted until vespers, when the English retreated, quite weary, into the suburbs, which they had won; where they found such quantities of provision and wine, that might, on occasion, have lasted them for four months most plentifully.

When the morrow dawned, the earl of Derby had his trumpets sounded, and his forces drawn out in battle array, to approach the town, and make a mighty assault, which lasted until noon. They had not much success; for they found that there were within it men who defended themselves valiantly. At noontide, the English retreated, perceiving that they only lost their time. The lords then assembled in council, and determined to attack the town on the side next the river; for it was there only fortified by palisades. The earl of Derby sent therefore to the fleet at Bordeaux for vessels, which he ordered to come to him up the Dordogne; there were upward of sixty barks and other vessels lying at Bordeaux, that came to Bergerac. In the evening of the following day, the English made their arrangements, and at sunrise, all those who were ordered to attack the town, and the fleet, were quite ready, under the command of the lord Stafford. There were many knights and squires who had requested to be on this expedition, in hopes of preferment, as well as a body of archers. They advanced in haste, and came to some large round piles placed before the palisades, which they flung down. The townsmen, seeing this, went to the count de Lisle, the lords, knights, and squires, who were present, and said to them, "Gentlemen, we pray you to take heed what you are about; for we run a great risk of being ruined. If the town be taken, we shall lose all we have, as well as our lives: it will therefore be much better that we surrender it to the earl of Derby, before we suffer more damage." The count replied, "We will go to that quarter where the danger is; for we will not consent to surrender it so easily." The Gascon knights and squires came, therefore, to defend the palisades; but the archers, who were in the barks, kept up so quick an attack with their arrows, that none dared to show themselves, unless they chose to run the risk of being killed or wounded. In the town there were with the Gascons two or three hundred Genoese cross-bowmen, whose armor shielded them from the arrows; they kept the archers well employed all the day, and many on each side were wounded. At last, the English who were in the vessels exerted themselves so much that they broke down a large piece of the palisades; those of Bergerac then retreated, and requested time to consider if they should not surrender the place. The remainder of that day and night was granted them, upon condition that they did not attempt to repair the breaches: and every one retired to his quarters. The lords of Gascony held, that night, a long council; and about midnight, having packed up all their baggage, they set out from Bergerac, and followed the road to la Rèole,* which is not far distant, whose gates were opened to them, and there they took up their quarters.

The English, on the morrow morning, reëmbarked on board their fleet, and came to the part where the palisades had been broken down; they found in that place great numbers of the townsmen, who intreated the knights, that they would beseech the earl of Derby to have mercy on them and allow them their lives and fortunes, and thenceforward they would yield obedience to the king of England. The earl of Pembroke and the earl of Oxford replied, that they would cheerfully comply with their request, and went to the earl of Derby who was not present, and related to him what the inhabitants of Bergerac had desired of them. The earl of Derby answered, "He who begs for mercy should have mercy shown him: tell them to open their gates, and let us enter, and we will assure them of safety from us and from our people." The two lords returned, and reported what the earl had said. Upon which the townsmen went to the market-place, where every one men and women being assembled, they rang the bells, threw open the gates, went out in procession to meet the earl of Derby, and with all humility conducted him to the church, where they swore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him as their lord, for the king of England, by virtue of a procuration which he had with him.

CHAPTER CIV.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS MANY TOWNS AND FORTRESSES IN UPPER GASCONY.

The same day that the count de Lisle, the barons and knights of Gascony, had retreated to la Rèole, they held a council, and resolved to separate, and withdraw into fortresses, to carry on the war from these garrisons, and to form a body of four or five hundred combatants, by way of a frontier guard, under the command of the seneschal of Toulouse. The count de Villemur was ordered to Auberoche;† sir Bertrand des Pres to Pelagrue;‡ the lord Philip de Dyon to Montagret;§ the lord of Montbrandon to Mauduran; sir Arnold de Dyon to Montgis; Robert de Malmore to Beaumont, in Laillois; sir Charles de Poitiers to Pennes in the Angenois. All these knights departed for their different garrisons; but the count de Lisle remained in la Rèole, and had the fortress put in proper repair. When the earl of Derby had taken possession of Bergerac, and staid there two days, he asked the seneschal of Bordeaux, what was most advisable for him next to undertake, as he wished not to remain idle. The seneschal replied, that he thought it would be best to go toward Perigord and upper Gascony. The earl of Derby then gave out his orders to march toward Perigord, and left sir John de la Santé‖ captain of Bergerac. As the English advanced, they came to a castle called

* A populous town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

* Rèole—a town of the Bazadois, on the Garonne.
† In Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.
‡ A small town of Condomois, in the diocese of Condom.
§ A town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.
‖ In one MS. it is Sance; in Barnes's history of Edward III., sir John St. John; but he does not mention his authority for so altering it. In my printed copy and another MS. it is Sante, and is so in lord Berner's translation.

Langon,* of which the provost of Toulouse was governor: they halted there, not thinking it prudent to leave such a post in their rear, and the marshal's battalion immediately began the assault, which lasted all that day, but they gained nothing. Almost the whole army was employed against it the next day; and, with wood and faggots they filled up the ditches, so that they could approach the walls. Sir Frank van Halle asked the French if they were willing to surrender, because they might delay it until it was too late. Upon this, they demanded a truce to consider of it, which being granted them, after some little time spent in counsel, they all set out for Monsac,† in the French interest, but took nothing with them. The earl of Derby appointed a squire called Aymon Lyon, governor of the castle of Langon,‡ and gave him thirty archers.

The earl of Derby then rode on toward a town called Le Lac; but the townsmen came out to meet him, brought him the keys of the town, and swore homage and fealty to him. The earl passed on, and came to Mandarant, which he took by storm: after he had placed a garrison in the fortress, he came before Montgis, won it in the same manner, and sent the governor prisoner to Bordeaux. He afterwards advanced to Punach, which he took, and did the same to the town and castle of Lieux§, where he staid three days to refresh himself and army. On the fourth day he marched to Forsath,‖ which he gained easily enough, and then the town of Pondaire. He next came to a town of considerable size, called Beaumont en Laillois, which was a dependency on the count de Lisle. The earl was three days before it, and many vigorous attacks were made; for it was well provided with men-at-arms and artillery, who defended themselves as long as they were able; at last it was taken, with much slaughter on all those that were found in it. The earl of Derby recruited his forces there with fresh men-at-arms, and then advanced toward the principal town of the inheritance of the count de Lisle, which was under the command of the Lord Philip de Dyon and the lord Arnold de Dyon. He invested it on all sides, and made his archers advance to the barriers, where they shot so well that none durst appear to defend them; the English having won the barriers, and everything even to the gate, retired in the evening. On the next morning, they renewed the attack in different places at once, and gave those within so much to do, that they did not know which way to defend themselves. The inhabitants therefore requested two knights who were there to treat with the earl of Derby for a peace, that their fortunes might be saved. They sent before them a herald, who obtained a short truce, to see if any agreement could be entered into. The earl of Derby ordered his men to retire, and came himself, accompanied by the lord Stafford and sir Walter Manny, to the bars, to confer with the inhabitants. The earl at first would hear of nothing but unconditional submission: at last it was settled, that the town should put itself under the dependency of the king of England, as duke of Guienne, and that twelve of the principal citizens should be sent to Bordeaux as hostages. The French knights and squires left the place with passports, and went to la Rèole.

CHAPTER CV.

THE EARL OF OXFORD IS TAKEN PRISONER IN GASCONY, BUT SET AT LIBERTY BY EXCHANGE.

After this conquest, and that the earl of Derby had left there men-at-arms and archers, he came before Bonneval,¶ and made a violent attack upon it, in which many were killed and wounded. At last he took it, and showed mercy. After he had reinforced it with men-at-arms, and another governor, he pushed forward, and, entering the country of Perigord, passed by Bordelles,** but did not attack it, as he saw it would be only pains thrown away. He still advanced, until he came before Perigueux.†† There was in the town the earl of Perigord, the lord Roger de Perigord his brother, the lord of Duras, and fully six-score knights and squires of that country. When the earl of Derby came there, he considered in what manner he might attack it most advantageously, for he saw it was very strong. But, after having maturely weighed it, he thought it most prudent not to waste his time: he therefore retreated two leagues, and took up his quarters upon the banks of a river, in order to attack the castle of Pelagrue.‡‡

Toward midnight, about two hundred lances, well mounted, sallied out of Perigueux: they rode so fast, that before daylight they came to the English camp, and falling upon it, killed and wounded many. They entered the tent of the earl of Oxford, whom they found arming himself: he was immediately attacked and taken prisoner, as well as three knights of his household, otherwise he would have been slain. The Gascons finding they had awakened the whole army, retired, and took their road to Perigueux. It was time for them to do so: and fortunately they found the gates of the barriers open; for they were so closely pursued that they were thrown into confusion: but the Gascons, as soon as they could rally themselves, dismounted, and, sword in hand, fought with the English, and maintained their ground so well that they lost nothing.

The English returned to the earl of Derby, who marched forward until he came before Pelegrue, where he remained six days, and many an assault was made upon it. During the time he continued there, the earl of Oxford and his companions were exchanged, for the viscount de Bousquetin, the viscount de Châtillon, the lord of Lescun, the lord of Chateauneuf; and upon condition that the lands of Perigord should remain in peace for three years: not, however, but that any knight or squire might take up arms, without forfeiting the treaty; but nothing was to be burnt or pillaged in that country for that space of time. The English therefore departed from before Pelagrue, as it was part of Perigord, and rode toward Auberoche,* where there is a handsome and strong castle, appertaining to the archbishop of Toulouse. The English took up their quarters round about it, as if they meant to remain there for a length of time, and sent word to those within, that if they did not surrender speedily, when the town was taken, they should be all put to the sword without mercy. The inhabitants of the town and castle were much alarmed; and, seeing no appearance of any succor coming to them, they put themselves under the obedience of the earl of Derby, upon condition that their lives and fortunes were spared, and acknowledged him as their lord, for the king of England.

The earl then made a handsome retreat toward Bordeaux, having left in Auberoche a sufficient garrison, under the command of sir Frank van Halle, sir Alain de Finefroide, and sir John Lendal. On his road he came to Libourne, a fair and large town, twelve leagues from Bordeaux; to which he laid siege, and told those about him, that he would not quit it before he had got possession of it. The inhabitants consulted together; and considering well the good and evil of being assaulted and vexed, they surrendered themselves to the earl of Derby, and did homage to him during the three days he remained there. The earl of Derby sent the earl of Pembroke to Bergerac, and left the lord Stafford, sir Steven de Courcy, and the lord Alexander de Haulfiel,† with their men, in Libourne. He himself, accompanied by the earl of Oxford and sir Walter Manny, took the road for Bordeaux, where they arrived.

CHAPTER CVI.

THE COUNT DE LISLE, LIEUTENANT FOR THE KING OF FRANCE IN GASCONY, LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF AUBEROCHE.

The earl was joyfully received on his return to Bordeaux: the clergy and inhabitants of the town came out to meet him, in a grand procession: they allowed him to take provisions, and whatever else he desired, according to his will and pleasure; and he and his army continued in the town, amusing themselves with the citizens and their wives.

We will now return to the count de Lisle, whom we left in la Rèole: as soon as he was informed that the earl of Derby had returned to Bordeaux, and had taken up his residence there, he did not think it probable he would undertake any more expeditions this season. He sent letters therefore to the earls of Perigord, of Carmain, of Comminges, of Bruniguel, and to all the barons of Gascony that were in the French interest, to desire that they would collect as many people as they could, and come with them properly armed, by an appointed time, to meet him at Auberoche, as he intended to besiege it. They all obeyed his summons; for he was as a king in these parts of Gascony. The knights who were in Auberoche were not aware of this, until they found themselves so closely besieged on all sides that no one could go out of the garrison without being seen. The French brought from Toulouse four large machines, which cast stones into the fortress night and day; and they made no other assault; so that in six days' time they had demolished all the roofs of the towers, and none within the castle dared to venture out of the vaulted rooms on the ground floor. It was the intention of the army to kill all within the castle, if they would not surrender themselves unconditionally.

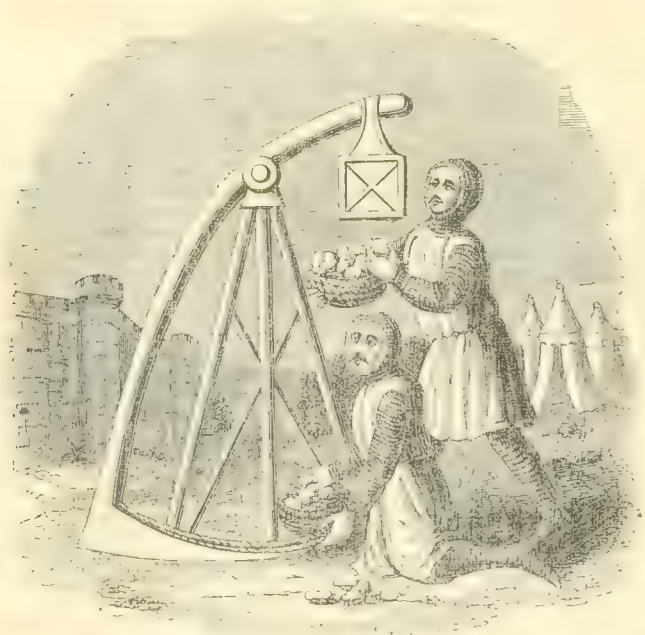
News was brought to the earl of Derby, that Auberoche was besieged; but he did not imagine his friends were so hard pushed. When sir Frank van Halle, sir Alain de Finefroide, and sir John Lendal, who were thus besieged, saw how desperate their situation was, they asked their servants, if there were not one among them who would, for a reward, undertake to deliver the letters they had written to the earl of Derby at Bordeaux. One from among them stepped forward, and said, he would be the man who would cheerfully undertake the commission, not through lust of gain, but from his desire to deliver them from the peril they were in. The following night the servant took the letters, sealed with their seals, and sewed them up in his clothes. He was let down into the ditches: when he was at the bottom, he climbed up the opposite side, and took his road through the army; for he could not avoid passing through it. He was met by the first guard, but was not stopped, for he understood the Gascon language well, and named one of the lords of the army, as if belonging to him; so he was suffered to pass on: but he was afterwards arrested, and detained under the tents of some other lords, who brought him to the main watch. He was interrogated,

* Langen—a town in Bazadois, upon the Garonne, about six leagues from Bordeaux.
† A town in Perigord, diocese of Sarlat.
‡ Barnes calls him an *English* squire, *Timothy* Lyon; but I see no authority for it.
§ In Gascony, diocese of Comminge.
‖ Fronsac—upon the Dordogne, six leagues from Bordeaux.
¶ A village in the diocese of Agen.
** Capital of Perigord.
†† A village in Bazadois, election of Condom.
‡‡ A town in the Condomois

* A town in Perigord.
† Barnes makes him Sir Alexander Hussey.

searched, and the letters found upon him, and guarded next morning, when the principals of the army assembled in the tent of the count de Lisle, where the letters were read. They were rejoiced to find that the garrison was so much straitened that they could not hold out longer; and, seizing the servant, they hung the letters round his neck, placed him [illegible] one of the machines, and flung him into Auberoche. The valet fell quite dead amid the other valets of the castle, who were much terrified at it.

About this time, the earl of Perigord, his uncle sir Charles de Poitiers, the earl of Carmain, and the lord of Duras, mounting their horses, rode as near to the walls of the castle as they could, and calling out to those within by way of derision, said, "Gentlemen, inquire of your messenger where he found the earl of Derby, and whether he is prepared to assist you, since your man was so eager to quit your fortress, and has returned as quickly." Sir Frank van Halle replied, "By my faith, gentlemen, if we be so closely confined in this place, we will sally forth whenever it shall please God and the earl of Derby. I wish to Heaven he were acquainted with our situation; for if he were, the proudest of you all would be afraid of standing your ground; and, if you will send any one to give him this information, one of us will surrender himself to you, to be ransomed as becomes a gentleman." The French answered, "Nay, nay, matters must not turn out so: the earl of Derby, in proper time, shall be made acquainted with it; but not until our engines have battered your walls level with the ground, and you shall have surrendered yourselves to save your lives." "That, for certain, will never happen," said sir Frank van Halle, for we will not surrender ourselves, should we all die upon the walls." The French lords then rode on, and returned to their army. The three English knights remained in Auberoche, quite confounded by the force of these engines, which flung such quantities of stones, that in truth it seemed as if the thunder from heaven were battering the walls of the castle.



The Trebuchet, a machine for casting stones, engraved by Grose's Military Antiquities. From an ivory carving of the period.

CHAPTER CVII.

THE EARL OF [illegible] MARCHES TO [illegible] AUBERONE, SOLD [illegible] AND [illegible] ENGLISH PRISONERS, AND [illegible] AUBEROCHE.

All these speeches, the treatment of the messenger, the contents of the letters, and the perilous situation of Auberoche, were known to the earl of Derby, by means of a spy he had in the French army. The earl therefore sent orders to the earl of Pembroke in Bergerac, to meet him at an appointed place and hour; and also to the lord Stafford and sir Stephen Tombey, who were at Libourne. The earl of Derby then, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and the forces he had with him, took the road toward Auberoche as secretly as possible; for he had guides who were acquainted with all the by-roads. They came to Libourne, where they staid a whole day for the earl of Pembroke; but hearing no tidings of him, and being impatient to succor their friends who were so distressed, the earl of Derby, the earl of Oxford, sir Walter Manny, sir Ralph Hill [illegible], sir Stephen Tombey, the lord Ferrers, and other knights, set out from Libourne: riding all night, [illegible] they arrived [illegible] of Auberoche. They entered a wood, when, alighting from their horses, they tied them to the trees, and allowed them to pasture, in expectation of the arrival of the earl of Pembroke; they waited all that morning, and until noon, in vain, not knowing what to do; for they were but three hundred lances and six hundred archers, and the French were from ten to twelve thousand men. They thought it would be cowardice to suffer their friends to be lost, when they were so near them. At last sir Walter Manny said, "Gentlemen, let us who are now here mount our horses, skirt this wood, and advance until we come to their camp; when we shall be close to it, we will stick spurs into our horses, and, with loud shouts, fall upon them. It will be about their hour for supper; and we shall see them so much discomfited, that they can never rally again." The knights present replied, that they would all do as he had proposed. Each went to his horse, re-girthed his armor: they ordered their pages, servants and baggage, to remain where they were.

They advanced in silence by the side of the wood until they came to the other end, where the French army was encamped in a wide valley, near a small river: they then displayed their banners and pennons, and sticking spurs into their horses, dashed into the midst of the French and Gascon forces, who were quite confounded and unprepared for this attack, as they were busy about their suppers, many having set down to table. The English were well prepared to act, and crying "Derby, Derby forever!" they cut down tents and pavilions, and slew and wounded all that came in their way. The French did not know where to turn, so much were they surprised; and when they got into the plains, if there were any large body of them, the archers and cross-bowmen made such good use of their weapons, that they were slain or dispersed. The count de Lisle was taken, in his tent, badly wounded; the earl of Perigord in his pavilion, and also sir Charles, his uncle; the lord of Duras was killed, and so was sir Aymery de Poitiers; but his brother, the earl of Valentinois, was made prisoner. Every one took to his heels as fast as he could; but the earl of Comminges, the earls of Carmain, Villemur, and Bruniguel, the lords de la Barde and de la Taride, with others, who were quartered on the opposite side of the castle, displayed their banners, and having drawn up their men, marched for the plain: the English, however, who had already defeated the largest body of the army, fell upon them most vigorously. In this engagement, many gallant deeds of arms were performed, many captures made, and many rescues. As soon as sir Frank van Halle and sir John Lendal, who were in Auberoche, heard the noise, and perceived the banners and pennons of their friends, they hastened to arm themselves, and all those that were with them; when, mounting their horses, they sallied out of the fortress, made for the plain, and dashed into the thickest of the combat, to the great encouragement of the English.

Why should I make a long story of it? All those who were of the count de Lisle's party were discomfited, and almost all taken prisoners, or slain. Scarcely any would have escaped, if night had not closed so soon. Nine earls and viscounts were made prisoners, and so many barons, knights and squires, that there was not a man-at-arms among the English that had not for his share two or three. This battle before Auberoche was fought on the eve of St. Laurence's day, in the year 1314. The English treated their prisoners like friends: they received many upon their promises to surrender themselves by a certain day at Bordeaux, or Bergerac. The English retired into Auberoche; and the earl of Derby entertained at supper the greater part of the prisoners, earls, viscounts, barons, and knights. They gave thanks and praises to God, for having enabled them to overcome upward of ten thousand men, when they themselves were not more than one thousand, including every one, and to rescue the town of Auberoche, in which were their friends, that must have been captured in two days' time. On the next morning, a little after sunrise, the earl of Pembroke arrived with three hundred lances and four thousand archers; he had been informed of the event of the battle as they came along, and said to the earl of Derby, "Certainly, cousin, you have neither been courteous, nor behaved honorably, to fight my enemies without waiting for me, seeing that you had sent for me; and you might have been assured, that nothing should have prevented my coming to you." The earl replied, "Fair cousin, we were very anxious for your arrival, and we waited for you from the morning until vespers: when we saw no appearance of your coming, we dared not wait longer; for had our enemies been informed of our arrival, they would have had the advantage over us; but now, thanks to God, we have conquered them, and we pray of you to help us in conducting them to Bordeaux." They remained that day and night in Auberoche: on the next day early, they were armed and mounted, and set off, leaving there a Gascon knight in their interest, as governor, named the lord Alexander of Chaumont. They took the road to Bordeaux, and carried with them the greater part of their prisoners.

CHAPTER CVIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES DIFFERENT TOWNS IN GASCONY, IN HIS ROAD TOWARD LA REOLE.

THE earl of Derby and his army, upon their arrival at Bordeaux, were received with very great rejoicings: the inhabitants thought they never could enough testify their joy to the earl, and to sir Walter Manny, for their enterprise; in which the count de Lisle and more than two hundred knights were made prisoners. The winter passed over, without any action taking place in Gascony that is worthy of being recorded. Easter, which may be reckoned the beginning of the year 1345, was about the middle of May, and the earl of Derby, who had tarried all the winter in Bordeaux, collected a very large body of men-at-arms and archers, and declared he would make an expedition to la Reole, where the French had fixed their head-quarters. He went the first day from Bordeaux to Bergerac, where he found the earl of Pembroke ready with his troops. These two noblemen, with their forces, remained for three days in Bergerac, and on the fourth departed. When they were got into the open country they halted their men, counted them, and found that they had about a thousand men-at-arms, and two thousand archers. They pushed forward, until they came to a castle called St. Basile, to which they laid siege. Those within, considering that the principal barons of Gascony were prisoners, and that they had no expectations of receiving succors from any place, resolved to swear fealty to king Edward of England. The earl of Derby continued his route, and took the road toward Aiguillon*; but, before he arrived there, he came to the castle of Rochemilon, which was well provided with soldiers and artillery; nevertheless, the earl ordered it to be vigorously assaulted. As the English advanced to the attack, those within threw down upon them stones, bars of iron, and pots full of hot lime; by which many were slain and wounded who adventured themselves too rashly.

When the earl of Derby perceived that his men were laboring in vain, and getting themselves killed without any advantage, he sounded a retreat: on the morrow, he ordered the peasants to bring great quantities of brushwood, faggots, straw, and turf, and to throw them all into the ditches of the castle, and plenty of earth with them. When a part of the ditch was so filled that one might get to the foot of the walls, he assembled three hundred archers, well armed, and in battle array, and sent before them two hundred countrymen covered with shields,† having large pick-axes and hooks: while these first were employed in picking the walls, the archers made such good use of their bows, that no one dared to show himself on the battlements. This lasted the greatest part of the day, when the pick-axe men made so large a breach in the walls, that ten men might enter abreast. The inhabitants of the town and castle were quite confounded; some fled toward the church, and others by a back way out of the town. The fortress was immediately taken and pillaged; and all the garrison were put to death, excepting such as had taken refuge in the church, whom the earl of Derby pardoned, for they had submitted to his mercy. The earl placed in the castle a fresh garrison, under the command of two English captains, Richard Willes and Robert Scot; and then he came before Monsegur,‡ where he ordered his men to prepare huts for themselves and horses: he continued before it fifteen days.

The governor of the town was sir Hugh de Bastefol, and there never passed a day without some assault being made upon it. They sent for large machines from Bordeaux and Bergerac; and the stones which they cast into the town destroyed roofs, tiles, and the principal buildings. The earl of Derby sent every day to let them know, that if they suffered the town to be stormed, every one would be put to the sword: but, if they would render obedience to the king of England, he would pardon them, and treat them like friends. The townsmen would cheerfully have surrendered; and they went to the governor to consult him, and to sound his intentions, who answered them by ordering them to the battlements, for that he had provision of every sort in sufficiency to hold out for half a year, if it were necessary. They left him in apparent good-humor; but about the time of vespers they seized him, and closely confined him; assuring him at the same time, he should never be set at liberty, if he did not assist them to make some terms with the earl of Derby. When he had sworn that he would do everything in his power, they let him go; he went directly to the barriers of the town, and made signs that he wished to speak with the earl of Derby. Sir Walter Manny being present came to the governor, who said to him, "Sir Walter Manny, you ought not to be surprised if we shut our gates against you, for we have sworn fealty to the king of France: but not perceiving any one coming from him to stop your career, and believing that you will still proceed further—for these reasons, in behalf of myself and the inhabitants of this town, we wish you would allow us these terms, namely, that no hostilities be carried on against us for the space of one month; and if in that time the king of France, or the duke of Normandy, come into this country in such force as to give you battle, we then shall hold ourselves free from our engagement; but if neither of them come, we will then enter under the obedience of the king of England."

Sir Walter Manny went to relate this proposal to the earl of Derby, who acceded to it, upon condition that there should not in the mean time be any repairs made to the fortifications of the town, and that, if any of the English army should want provisions, they might be at liberty to purchase them. Upon this there were sent twelve of the principal citizens as hostages, who were ordered to Bordeaux. The English refreshed themselves with provisions from the town, but none were suffered to enter it. They then continued their march, burning and destroying all the country as far as Aiguillon; the governor of which place came out to meet the earl, and surrendered the town and castle to him, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared, to the great astonishment of all the country, for it was one of the strongest castles in the world, and almost impregnable. When the squire, who had thus surrendered Aiguillon, came to Toulouse, which is seventeen leagues distant, the townsmen arrested him on suspicion of treason, and hung him. This castle is situated on the point between two navigable rivers. The earl ordered it to be revictualled, and the fortifications repaired, in order to its being fit to receive him on his return, and that it might serve for a secure guard to his other possessions. He gave the command of it to sir John de Gombry.* He then came to a castle called Segart, which he took by storm, and put all the foreign soldiers he found in it to death; from thence he came to the town of La Reole.

CHAPTER CIX.

THE EARL OF DERBY LAYS SIEGE TO LA REOLE, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM.

WHEN the earl of Derby was arrived at la Reole, he encompassed it closely all round, erecting towers in the plains, and near to every road, that no provision of any kind could enter it. He caused it to be assaulted almost every day. This siege took up much of the summer; and, when the time had expired which those of Monsegur had fixed for surrendering themselves, the earl of Derby sent thither, and the inhabitants of the town became liege men to the earl, who in all these cases, was the representative of the king of England. Even sir Hugh de Bastefol served under the earl with the men of Monsegur, for a certain salary, which he received from the said earl, for himself and his fellow-soldiers. The English, who were besieging la Réole had lain before it more than nine weeks, and had constructed two large towers of great beams of wood, three stories high: each tower was placed on wheels, and covered over with prepared leather, to shelter those within from fire and from the arrows: in each story were one hundred archers. These two towers, by dint of men's force, were pushed close to the walls of the town; for, during the time they were building, they had filled up the ditches, so that these towers could easily pass over them. Those that were in them began immediately to shoot so well and quick, that none dared to appear upon the battlements unless he were well armed, or had a shield. Between these two towers were posted two hundred men with pick-axes and bars, to make a breach in the walls; which they did, and cast away the stones. The inhabitants seeing this, came upon the walls, and inquired for some of the chiefs of the army, to speak to them. The earl of Derby, being informed of it, sent thither sir Walter Manny and the lord Stafford, who found the townsmen willing to surrender the town, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared.

When the governor, sir Agos de Bans, a Provençal, found that the inhabitants wanted to surrender the town, he retired into the castle of la Reole, with his fellow-soldiers; and, while this treaty was going on, he had conveyed into it great quantities of wine and other provision. He then ordered the gates to be fastened, and said, he would never surrender in so shameful a manner. The two knights returned to the earl of Derby, and related to him that the townsmen were desirous of surrendering upon the terms above named: the earl sent them back, to know what the governor's intentions were respecting the castle. They returned with the answer, that he had shut himself up in the castle, and would not yield it. After a little consideration, the earl said, "Well, well, let us have compassion on the inhabitants: by means of the town, we shall soon gain the castle." The knights again went to the townsmen, and received their submissions. They all came out to the plain, and presenting the keys of the town to the earl, said, "Dear sir, from this day forward, we acknowledge ourselves as your loyal subjects, and place ourselves, in every respect, under the obedience of the king of England." They swore by their heads, that they would not in any manner, assist or succor those in the castle, but on the contrary, distress them all in their power. The earl forbade under pain of death, that any hurt should be done toward the inhabitants of la Reole. He then entered it with his army, and surrounding the castle, erected all his machines against it; but they did little mischief, for the castle was very high and built of a hard stone. It was erected a long time since by the Saracens, who laid the foundations so strong, and with such curious workmanship, that the buildings of our time cannot be compared to

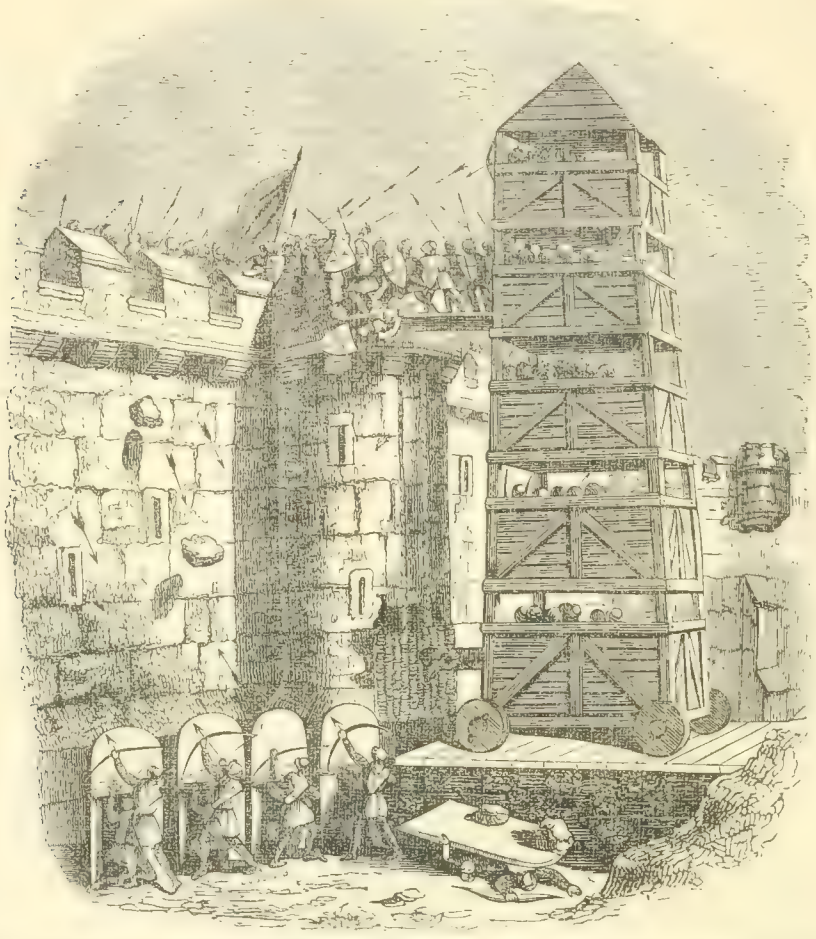
* A town of Guienne, situated at the confluence of the Lot and Garonne.

† Pavisses, says Lord Berners, that is large shields or coverings of planks, which being supported by some of the party, sheltered the others while at their work.—ED.

‡ A town of Bazadois, election of Condom, near to la Reole.

* Barnes says, to the lord John Moubray; but I do not see upon what grounds. I should rather imagine it was *John de Montgomerie*, who was captain of Calais in the 21st of Edward III., and had other charges of trust.

it. When the earl found that his machines had no effect, he commanded them to desist; and, as he was not without miners in his army, he ordered them to undermine the ditches of the castle, so that they might pass under. This was not however soon done.



BREACHING TOWER: Men at arms storming the walls; archers in the moat, shooting under cover of their Pavisors. From an ancient carving of the period, engraved in Grose's Military Antiquities.

CHAPTER CX.

SIR WALTER MANNY FINDS IN LA RÈOLL THE SEPULCHRE OF HIS FATHER.

WHILE they were lying before this castle, and miners only could be employed, sir Walter Manny was reminded of his father, who formerly had been murdered in his journey from St. James of Compostella; and he had heard in his infancy, that he had been buried in la Rèole, or in that neighborhood. He therefore made inquiries in the town, if there were no one who could inform him of the truth of this matter, and offered a hundred crowns to whoever would conduct him to the spot. This brought forward an old man, who said to sir Walter Manny, "Certainly, sir, I think I can lead you to the place where your father was buried, or very near to it." Sir Walter replied, "If you prove your words true, I will stick to my bargain and even go beyond it." To explain this matter more clearly, you must know that there was formerly a bishop of Cambray, a Gascon, and of the families of Buc and Mirepoix; and, during the time of his holding that see, a magnificent tournament was held at Cambray, where there were upward of five hundred knights. A knight from Gascony tilted with the lord of Manny, the father of sir Walter: the Gascon knight was so roughly handled and wounded, that he never enjoyed his health afterwards but died. His death was laid to the door of the lord of Manny, and the bishop and his kindred vowed revenge for it. Two or three years after, some good-hearted people endeavored to reconcile them; and peace was agreed to, on condition and by way of penance that the lord of Manny made a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella.

During the time of this journey, the earl Charles of Valois, brother to king Philip the Fair, was besieging la Rèole, and had been there some time; for it appertained, as well as many other cities and towns, to the king of England, the father of him who besieged Tournay; so that the lord of Manny on his return went to visit the earl Charles of Valois, as William earl of Hainault had married the lord Charles's daughter, and showed him his letters; for, in these parts, he was as king of France. It chanced, one night, as he was returning to his lodgings, he was watched and waylaid by the kindred of him on whose account he had performed this pilgrimage, and was murdered at a small distance from the earl Charles's hôtel. No one knew positively who had done this deed; but the relations of the Gascon knight above mentioned were very strongly suspected: however, they were so powerful, that it was passed over, and excused; for none took the part of the lord of Manny. The earl of Valois had him buried immediately in a small chapel, which at that time was without the walls of la Rèole; and, when the earl of Valois had conquered the town, this chapel was inclosed in it. The old man remembered all these circumstances perfectly well, for he had been present when the lord of Manny was interred. When sir Walter came to the spot, where his father had been formerly buried, with his aged conductor, he found there a small tomb of marble, which his servants had erected over him; and the old man said, "You may be perfectly assured, that your father was buried and lies under this tomb." Sir Walter then caused the inscription, which was in Latin, to be read to him by a clerk, and found that the old man had told him the truth. Two days afterwards, he had the tomb opened, took out the bones of his father, and, placing them in a coffin, sent them to Valenciennes, in the county of Hainault, where they were

again buried in the church of the Frères Mineurs, near the choir. He ordered masses to be said, and continued yearly.

CHAPTER CXI.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CASTLE OF LA REOLE

THE earl of Derby was more than eleven weeks besieging the castle of la Rèole: the miners, however, made such advances, that they had got under one of the courts of the castle; but they could not undermine the donjon, for it was built on too hard a rock. The lord Agos de Bans, the governor, then told his companions they were undermined, and in great danger, who were much alarmed at it, and said, "Sir, you will be in equal peril with ourselves, if you cannot find some method of avoiding it. You are our captain, and we ought to obey you. In truth, we have defended ourselves honorably, and no one can blame us if now we enter into a treaty. Will you, therefore, talk with the earl of Derby, and know if he will accept of our surrender, sparing our lives and fortunes, seeing that we cannot at present act otherwise?" Sir Agos went down from the great tower, and, putting his head out of a window, made signs that he wished to speak with some one from the army. A few of the English came near him, and asked what he wanted: he replied, that he would speak with the earl of Derby, or sir Walter Manny. When this was told the earl, he said to sir Walter Manny, and to lord Stafford, "Let us go to the fortress, and see what the governor has to say to us:" they rode therefore up to it. When sir Agos perceived them, he saluted each very respectfully, and said, "Gentlemen, you know for fact that the king of France has sent me to this town and castle, to defend them to the best of my abilities. You know in what manner I have acquitted myself, and also that I should wish to continue it on: but one cannot always remain in the place that pleases one best. I should therefore like to depart from hence, with my companions, if it be agreeable to you; and that we may have your permission, if you will spare our lives and fortunes, we will surrender this castle up to you." The earl replied, "Sir Agos, sir Agos, you will not get off so: we know that you are very much distressed, and that we can take you whenever we please; for your castle now only stands upon props: you must surrender yourselves up unconditionally, and so shall you be received." Sir Agos, answering, said, "Certainly, sir, if we should do so, I hold you of such honor and gallantry, that you will show us every mark of favor, as you would wish the king of France should do toward any of your knights; and, please God, you will never stain your honor and nobility for a few poor soldiers, that are within here, who have gained their money with great pain and trouble, and whom I brought with me from Provence, Savoy, and Dauphiné: for know, that if the lowest of our men be not treated with mercy, as well as the highest, we will sell our lives in such a manner as none besieged ever did before. I therefore entreat of you to listen to me, and treat us like brother soldiers, that we may feel ourselves obliged to you."

The three knights withdrew to a little distance, and conversed a long time together: when, considering the gallantry of sir Agos, that he was a foreigner, and besides, that they could not undermine the donjon, they returned, and said to him, "Sir Agos, we shall be happy always to treat every stranger knight as a brother at arms; and if, fair sir, you and yours wish to leave the castle, you must carry nothing with you but your arms and horses." "Let it be so then," replied sir Agos. Upon this he returned to his companions, and related what he had done: they immediately armed themselves, and caparisoned their horses, of which they had only six remaining. Some purchased horses of the English, who made them pay dearly for them. Thus sir Agos de Bans gave up the castle of la Rèole, of which the English took possession; and he went to the city of Toulouse.

CHAPTER CXII.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES CASTEL MORON,* AND AFTERWARDS VILLEFRANCHE,† IN PERIGORD.

WHEN the earl of Derby had gained possession of the town and castle of la Rèole, where he had spent a long time, he pushed forward, but left there an English knight, to see after the repairs, that it might be put in a similar situation as when he had come before it. The earl advanced toward Monpouillant,‡ which he instantly ordered to be attacked the moment he arrived. There were in the castle none but the peasantry of the country, who had retired thither with their cattle, depending on the strength of the place; they defended themselves as long as they were able; but at last it was taken by escalade, though it cost the earl dear, in the loss of many archers, and a young English gentleman called sir Richard Pennort,§ who bore the banner of the lord Stafford. The earl gave the command of the castle and its dependencies to a squire of his own, called Thomas Lancaster, and left him with twenty archers. The earl then came to Castel Moron, which he attacked; but, finding he could not make any impression, he took up his quarters before it for that night. On the morrow morning, a knight from Gascony came to him, called sir Alexander de Chaumont, and said, "Sir, pretend to decamp with your army, leaving only a small detachment here before the town; and, from the knowledge I have of its inhabitants, I am sure they will sally forth to attack them. Your men will defend themselves as they retreat, and by placing an ambuscade under these olive trees, which as soon as they have passed, one part of your army may fall upon their rear, and the other make for the town." The earl followed this advice, and ordered the earl of Oxford to remain behind, with only one hundred men, giving him directions what he wished to have done. He then ordered all the baggage to be packed up, and to march off, as if he were going to another place: after having posted a strong ambuscade in the valley among the olives and vines, he rode on.

When the townsmen of Castel Moron perceived that the earl and the greater part of his army were marching off, they said among themselves, "Let us hasten to arm, and sally forth to combat this handful of English that stay behind: we shall soon discomfit them, and have them at our mercy, which will bring us great honor and profit." They all agreed to this proposal; and, hastening to arm themselves, they sallied out for the fastest, and might amount to about four hundred. As soon as the earl of Oxford and his party saw them coming, they began to retreat, and the French to follow them with great eagerness; they pursued them, until they had passed the ambush, when those posted there advanced upon them, calling out, "Manny for ever!" for sir Walter commanded this ambuscade. One part of his detachment fell upon those that had come from the town, and the other made for Castel Moron, where they came about midnight, and found the gates wide open; for the guards thought it was their own people returning. The first comers therefore seized the bridge, and were soon masters of the town; for the inhabitants that had sallied out were surrounded on all sides, and either slain or made prisoners. Those that had remained in the town surrendered themselves to the earl of Derby, who received them kindly, and, out of his nobleness of disposition, respited the town from being pillaged and burnt. He made a present of it, and all its dependencies, to sir Alexander de Chaumont, through whose advice he had gained it. Sir Alexander made his brother, who was a squire, called Antony de Chaumont, governor: and the earl of Derby left with him his archers, and forty infantry armed with bucklers, in order to enable him the better to guard the town. The earl then came before Villefranche, which he took by storm, as well as the castle. He made an English knight, sir Thomas Cook, governor of it. Thus did the earl of Derby march through every part of the country, without any one venturing out to prevent him. He conquered many different towns and castles; and his army gained so much riches, that it was marvellous to think on.

* A town of Bazadois, near la Reole.
† A small town, not far from Bergerac
‡ A town of Bazadois.
§ Pentord, according to Barnes.

CHAPTER CXIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CITY OF ANGOULEME.

WHEN the earl of Derby gained Villefranche, he advanced toward Miraumont,* approaching nearer to Bordeaux; for, in all this expedition his light-horse, or scouts, had never come near to Port Sainte Marie.† He was three days before Miraumont, and on the fourth it surrendered. The earl gave the command of it to one of his squires, called John Briscoe:‡ his army took afterwards a small fortified town upon the Garonne, called Tonniens,§ and the strong castle of Damazan, which was well provided with men-at-arms and archers. He then came to the city of Angoulême,‖ which he closely besieged, and declared he would not depart before it was in his possession. The townsmen hearing this entered into a treaty that their city should remain unhurt for one month; and twenty-four of the principal inhabitants were sent to Bordeaux, as hostages: if during this time the king should send forces sufficient to make head against the earl of Derby, the hostages should be returned, and they be accounted free to take which side they pleased; but if otherwise, they would put themselves under the obedience of the king of England.

The earl of Derby continued to march, and came before Blayes,¶ which he besieged on all sides. Two knights from Poitou were governors of it, named sir Guiscard de l'Angle,** and sir William de Roche-chouart, who declared they would never surrender to any man. While the English were besieging Blayes, a detachment of them marched on to Mortaigne†† in Poitou, which was under the command of the lord of Boucicault; and there was a sharp engagement, which ended in nothing, except leaving behind many of their men dead and wounded. They returned, therefore, and came by Mirabeau and Aulnay to the siege before Blayes, where almost every day there was some gallant deed of arms performed. The term of the month being expired when the town of Angoulême was to surrender, the earl sent his two marshals thither, to whom they swore homage and fealty, in the name of the king of England: the city by

* In the diocese of Agen.
† A town on the Garonne, near Aigullon.
‡ Barnes and lord Berners call him Bristol, but I see no authority.
§ In the Agenois, diocese of Agen.
‖ The capital of the Angoumois.
¶ An ancient town upon the Garonne.
** See more of him, and sir Frank Van Halle, in the histories of the order of the garter, and also of sir Henry Eam.
†† Diocese of Rochelle.

this means enjoyed peace, and had their hostages returned to them; and the earl, at their request, made sir John Norwich* governor of it. The siege of Blayes was still continued, until the English began to be weary of it; for winter was approaching, and as yet they had gained no advantage. They held a council, to consider if it would not be better to retire to Bordeaux, and return in a more favorable season. This was agreed to, and they decamped, passed the Garonne, and came to Bordeaux. Soon afterwards the earl divided his forces, and sent detachments to different garrisons, to keep order, and spread more over the country.

CHAPTER CXIV.

SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT BANISHED FROM FRANCE.

About this period, sir Godfrey de Harcourt incurred the anger of the king of France. He was a great baron in Normandy, brother to the earl of Harcourt, and lord of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and of many other towns in Normandy. This was occasioned through jealousy; for a little before he was so much in favor with the king and duke, that he could do as he liked with either.† He was publicly banished from France; and, if the king's rage had not subsided, he would have been served as sir Olivier de Clisson and the other knights who had been beheaded the preceding year in Paris. Sir Godfrey, however, had some good friends, who gave him information privately how much the king was incensed against him. He quitted the kingdom as speedily as possible, and went to Brabant, where the duke John, his cousin, received him most joyfully. He remained there a considerable time, and spent what revenue he had in Brabant; for in France he had nothing, as the king had seized all his estates in Coutantin, and received the rents for his own use. The knight could never regain the love of the king of France, notwithstanding all the earnest entreaties of the duke of Brabant.

This hatred cost dear to France, especially to the province of Normandy; for the traces of it appeared a hundred years afterwards, as you will find by the following history.‡

CHAPTER CXV.

JACOB VON ARTAVELD IS MURDERED AT GHENT.

Jacob von Artaveld, the citizen of Ghent that was so much attached to the king of England, still maintained the same despotic power over all Flanders. He had promised the king of England, that he would give him the inheritance of Flanders, invest his son the prince of Wales with it, and make it a duchy instead of an earldom. Upon which account the king was, at this period, about St. John the Baptist's day, 1345, come to Sluys, with a numerous attendance of barons and knights. He had brought the prince of Wales with him, in order that Jacob von Artaveld's promises might be realized. The king remained on board his fleet in the harbor of Sluys, where he kept his court. His friends in Flanders came thither to see and visit him; and there were many conferences between the king and Jacob von Artaveld on one side, and the councils from the different capital towns on the other, relative to the agreement before-mentioned; as to which, those from the country did not unite in sentiment with the king or with von Artaveld, who kept continually reminding him of their quarrel, and exhorting them to disinherit earl Lewis, their natural lord, and his youngest son Lewis, in favor of the son of the king of England: but they declared they never would consent to such a thing. At the last conference, which was held in the harbor of Sluys, on board the king's ship, the Catherine (which was of such an enormous size that wonders might be told of it,) they made this unanimous reply: "Dear sir, the request you have made has given us much uneasiness, and may in times to come be prejudicial to Flanders and our successors. True it is, that there is not in the world any prince whom we love so much, or for whose profit and advantage we would exert ourselves so greatly as for you: but we alone cannot agree to this proposition, unless all the commonalties of Flanders give their consent. Therefore each of us will return to our different towns, and will explain in a general way this business to the inhabitants: when, if the greater part of them shall consent, we also will agree to it: we will return to you again within a month, and bring such answers as we hope will be satisfactory." Neither the king of England nor Jacob von Artaveld could at that time obtain more or any other answer. They wished to have had a shorter day appointed, but in vain: so the king answered, he was satisfied that it should be as they determined. The conference broke up, and each returned to the town from whence he had been deputed.

Jacob von Artaveld remained some little time longer with the king of England, in order to be made acquainted with all his affairs: he, in return, promised and assured him that he would bring his countrymen over to his opinion; but he deceived himself, and did wrong in staying behind, and not being at Ghent at the time when the citizens who had been deputed by the corporations of the town arrived there: for as soon as they were returned, taking advantage of the absence of von Artaveld, they collected a large meeting of high and low in the market-place, and there explained to them the subject of the late conferences at Sluys, and what the king of England had required of them, through the advice and information of Jacob von Artaveld. The whole assembly began to murmur against him; and thus request was received unfavorably by all. They said, "that if it pleased God, they never would be pointed out, or found so disloyal, as to disinherit their natural lord, in favor of a stranger." They then left the market-place much discontented, and angry with Artaveld. Now, see how unfortunately it fell out; for if he had gone to Ghent, instead of Bruges and Ypres, and had remonstrated with them upon the quarrel of the king of England, they would all have consented to his wishes, as those of the two above-mentioned towns had done: but he trusted so much to his prosperity and greatness, that he thought he could recover everything back in a little time.

When on his return he came to Ghent about midday, the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street that he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, "Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne." With this they had also spread a rumor through the town, that Jacob von Artaveld had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more; that he had usurped the government without rendering an account, for he did not allow any of the rents to pass to the earl of Flanders, but kept them securely to maintain his own state, and had, during the time above-mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures: of this great treasure he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage; and, as he was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully, now turned their backs, and went into their houses. He began therefore to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hôtel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened.

Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, attacked and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many: but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob von Artaveld saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fine language, saying, "My good people, what aileth you? Why are you so enraged against me? by what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, I will conform myself entirely to your wills." Those who had heard him made answer, as with one voice, "We want to have an account of the great treasures you have made away with, without any title or reason." Artaveld replied in a soft tone, "Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken anything from the treasures of Flanders; and if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give so good an account of them, that you must reasonably be satisfied." But they cried out, "No, no, we must have it directly, you shall not thus escape from us; for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it into England, without our knowledge: you therefore shall suffer death." When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said, "Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: recollect former times, and consider how many favors and kindnesses I have conferred upon you. You wish to give me a sorry recompense for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant, that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you in so peaceable a manner, that under my administration you had all things according to your wishes; corn, oats, riches, and all sorts of merchandise which have made you so wealthy." They began to bawl out, "Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height; for we will have an account and statement of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed too long without rendering any account; and it is not proper for an officer to receive the rents of a lord, or of a country, without accounting for them." When Jacob von Artaveld saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hôtel was already broke into on that side, and upward of four hundred were there calling out to him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy: his death-stroke was given him by a saddler, called Thomas Denys. In

* Sumner, in [illegible] the 16th year of Edward III.—See Dugdale.

† S. Godfrey de Harcourt's disgrace was occasioned by a quarrel he had with the marechal de Bargeac [illegible] account of a match about broken. They fought. The king ordered the affair to be discussed [illegible] and he Harcourt, instead of appearing, besieged Crasse [illegible] belonging to the bishop of Bayeux, [illegible] to the marshal, entered into negotiation with the enemies of his country, and by his hatred to his king gained the favor of Edward.

Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, a [illegible] copy on vellum in the Harleian Library. They had formed a part of the celebrated Library of Denis de Poitiers, at Anet.

‡ Godfrey de Harcourt did homage to king Edward, as king of France, the 13th June 1345; when Edward engaged, if he could not recover for him his estates in Normandy, to give him their equivalent in England.—Rymer.

this manner did Jacob von Artaveld end his days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him. News of this event was soon spread abroad; some pitied him, while others rejoiced at it. The earl Lewis had remained all this time at Dendremonde, and with much pleasure heard of Jacob von Artaveld's death, as he had very much opposed him in all his undertakings: nevertheless, he durst not yet place confidence in those of Flanders, nor return to Ghent.

When the king of England, who was waiting at Sluys for the return of the deputies, was informed in what manner the inhabitants of Ghent had slain his faithful friend and companion Artaveld, he was in a mighty passion, and sore displeased. He immediately departed, put to sea, and vowed vengeance against the Flemings and all Flanders, declaring that his death should be dearly paid for by them. The councils of the principal towns guessed that the king of England would not be much enraged against them; they therefore considered that their best method to soften his anger, would be to go and excuse themselves from the murder of Jacob von Artaveld, especially those of Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde, and the franc of Bruges. They sent to the king and his council for a safe conduct, that they might come over to make their excuses; and the king, whose anger was somewhat cooled, granted it to them.

The principal persons of all the chief towns in Flanders, except those of Ghent, came into England about Michaelmas. The king was at that time in Westminster, near London. They made very fair excuses, and swore most solemnly that "they were guiltless of the murder of von Artaveld, which, had they suspected, they would have guarded and defended him: that they were exceedingly vexed at his loss, and regretted it most sincerely; for they knew how kind he had been to them, how useful he was in all their affairs, and that he had reigned and governed Flanders most wisely: that since those of Ghent had slain him, they should make ample amends for it." They also explained to the king and his council, "that though Jacob von Artaveld was dead, he was not the less beloved, or less in the good graces of the Flemings, save and except in the investiture of Flanders, which he wished to be taken from the earl, their natural lord, however he may be attached to the French interest, and from his son, their lawful heir, to give it to the prince of Wales; for the Flemings would not, on any account, listen to it. But, dear sir, you have a fine family of sons and daughters: the prince of Wales, your eldest son, cannot fail being a great prince, with an ample inheritance, without desiring that of Flanders: and you have also a young daughter; we have too a young lord, whom we are bringing up and taking care of, that will be lord of Flanders: it perhaps may be, that a marriage could be brought about between them, so that the country of Flanders will in the end be possessed by one of your children." These speeches softened very much the anger and ill-will of the king of England; and, in the end, both he and the Flemings were equally satisfied with each other. Thus, by degrees, was the death of Jacob von Artaveld forgotten.

CHAPTER CXVI.

WILLIAM EARL OF HAINAULT IS SLAIN IN FRIEZLAND, AND MANY NOBLEMEN WITH HIM.

At this time and season, William earl of Hainault was laying siege to the town of Utrecht, and had been there for a long time, in order to recover some rights which he claimed as belonging to him. He pressed the siege so closely by his vigorous assaults, that he brought it back to its duty, and obtained everything he wished for. Soon afterwards, in the same year, about the feast of St. Remy (1st of October,) the earl collected a large body of men-at-arms, knights and squires, from Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Gueldres, and Juliers; and, embarking them on board a considerable fleet at Dordrecht, made sail for Friezland; for the earl considered himself as lord thereof. If the Friezlanders had been people to listen to the legality and reasonableness of the claim, the earl was entitled to it; but, as they were obstinate, he exerted himself to obtain it by force, and was slain, as well as a great many other knights and squires. God have mercy on their souls!

Sir John of Hainault did not accompany his nephew, but went to another part. On hearing of his nephew's death, he wanted to combat the Friezlanders like one out of his senses; when his servants found the state he was in, they took him and carried him on board a vessel, whether he would or no. Sir Robert de Glewes, who was his body squire, was most active in saving him. They returned in small numbers, and in disorder, to Gertruydenberg in Holland, where the lady Jane his niece, the wife of the above-mentioned earl, was waiting for him. She was the eldest daughter of the duke of Brabant, and from that moment withdrew to the territory of Binch,* which was her dower. The county of Hainault remained vacant some time, and was governed by sir John of Hainault, until the lady Margaret, mother to earl Albert, came thither, and took possession of the heritage; to whom all the lords did homage and fealty. This lady Margaret, countess of Hainault, was married to the lord Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Rome and king of Germany.

* Binch, near Mons, in Hainault.

CHAPTER CXVII.

SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT QUITS THE ALLIANCE OF ENGLAND FOR THAT OF FRANCE.

Soon after this, king Philip of France endeavored by a treaty, through the means of the earl of Blois, to persuade sir John of Hainault to take part with France. He promised to allow him the same subsidy which he received from England, and would assign it upon whatever lands his council might think best. But sir John was not willing to comply; for he had spent the flower of his youth in fighting for England, and king Edward had always much loved and esteemed him. When the earl of Blois, who had married his daughter, and had three sons by her, Lewis, John and Guy, found that he could not succeed in this business himself, he endeavored, by means of the lord of Faguinelles, who was the chief friend and adviser of sir John, to gain his point. In order to make him alter his opinion of the English, they made him believe that they would not pay him his subsidy for a considerable time. This put sir John so much out of humor, that he renounced all treaties and agreements which he had entered into with England. The king of France was no sooner informed of it, than he sent to him persons sufficiently authorized, who retained him, as well as his council, for France, at a certain salary; and he recompensed him in his kingdom with a greater revenue than he derived from England.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY MARCHES WITH A GREAT ARMY INTO GASCONY AGAINST THE EARL OF DERBY.

The king of France having received information of the expeditions and conquests that the earl of Derby had made in Gascony, issued a special summons for all nobles, and others, that were capable of bearing arms, to assemble in the cities of Orleans and Bourges, and in that neighborhood, by a certain day. In obedience to this summons, there came to Paris, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and his son the earl of Artois and Boulogne; they presented themselves before the king with a thousand lances. Next came the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu his brother; then the earl of Eu and of Guignes, constable of France, each attended by a numerous body of men-at-arms. The earl of Tancarville, the dauphine of Auvergne, the earls of Forêts, Dammartine, Vendôme; the lords of Coucy, of Craon, of Sully, of Fresnes, of Beaujeu, of Roye, the bishop of Beauvais, the lord John of Châlons, and many others, assembled at Orleans: and those from the west side of the Loire; those from the eastern side and beyond Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, Quercy, Limousin, Auvergne, assembled in the neighborhood of Toulouse. These all advanced toward Rouergue, where they found great multitudes collected in the city of Rhodez, and on the borders of Auvergne and Provence. At last these lords were all assembled, with their men, in and near Toulouse, for they were too great in numbers to be lodged in the city: they amounted, in the whole, to upward of a hundred thousand persons. This was the year of grace 1345. Soon after the feast of Christmas, the duke of Normandy, who was the commander-in-chief of this army, set out to join it, and ordered his marshals, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of St. Venant, to advance with the van. They came first to the castle of Miraumont, which the English had conquered in the summer, and most vigorously assaulted it. There were within about a hundred Englishmen for its defence, under the command of John Briscoe.

With the French were the lord Lewis of Spain, and a number of Genoese cross-bowmen, that spared none; those within could not defend themselves against so superior a force, but were taken and the greater part of them slain, even their captain. The marshals, having recruited their battalion with fresh men, advanced further, and came before Villefranche, in the county of Agenois. The army halted there, and surrounded it on all sides. Sir Thomas Cook, the governor, was not there, but at Bordeaux, whither the earl of Derby had sent for him. However, those within made a vigorous defence; but, in the end they were taken by storm, and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword. The army then marched toward the city of Angoulême, leaving the town and castle of Villefranche standing undemolished, and without any guard. The city of Angoulême was closely besieged, and the governor of it for the king of England was sir John Norwich.

The earl of Derby, who was at Bordeaux, heard of the arrival of this great army from France, and that they had already recaptured Miraumont, and Villefranche, which they had plundered and burnt, except the citadel. Having sent for four of his knights, in whom he placed much confidence, he ordered them to take sixty men-at-arms and three hundred archers, and set out for Villefranche to gain possession of the castle, which was empty, and put it, as well as the gates of the town, into good repair; if the French should come to attack them, to make a good defence, for he should hasten to their assistance, let it cost what it would. These knights did according to their orders, and their names were sir Stephen Tombey, sir Richard Heydon, sir Ralph Hastings, and sir Normant de Finefroide. The earl then requested the earl of Pembroke, sir Walter Manny, sir Frank van Halle, sir Thomas Cook, sir John Touchet, sir Richard

de Beauvais,* sir Philip Radcliff, sir Robert Neville, sir Thomas Bisset, and many other knights and squires, that they would immediately set off to defend Aiguillon, for he should be very much displeased if he lost that town. They departed, in number about forty knights and squires, and three hundred men-at-arms and archers. They got into the castle of Aiguillon, where they found about six score brother soldiers, whom the earl of Derby had left there. They laid in a sufficient stock of meal, and all other sorts of provision. As the four first-mentioned knights were on their road to Villefranche, they collected a quantity of cattle, sheep, corn, and all other provision, which they drove before them to Villefranche. They entered the castle, and repaired its walls, as well as those of the town, and were upward of fifteen hundred fighting men, well supplied with provision for six months.

The duke of Normandy was a long time before Angoulême; and, when he found that he made no impression by his assaults, so well was it defended, but lost many of his people every day, he ordered them to cease from their attacks, and to take up their quarters nearer the city. One day during this siege, the seneschal of Beaucaire came to the duke, and said, "Sir, I am very well acquainted with all this country; and, if you will let me have six hundred men-at-arms, I will make an excursion, in search of cattle and provision; for very shortly, if we remain here, we shall be in need of both." This was very agreeable to the duke and his council; and on the morrow morning, the seneschal took those knights and squires who were desirous of advancement. Among those who placed themselves under his command were the duke of Bourbon, his brother the earl of Ponthieu, the earls of Tancarville, Forêts, the dauphine of Auvergne, the lords of Pons, of Partenay, of Coucy, of Daubigny, of Aussemont, of Beaujeau, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord of Saintré, and many others, to the amount of nine hundred lances. Toward the evening they mounted their horses, and riding all night, came about the dawn before a large town called Athenis,† which had but lately surrendered to the English. A spy came to the seneschal, and informed him that in the town there were six score men-at-arms, Gascons and English, and three hundred archers, who would defend themselves well, if they were attacked: "but," added the spy, "I have observed that their cattle are without the town; and in a meadow underneath it are two hundred large beasts feeding." The seneschal then addressed himself to his companions, and said, "Gentlemen, I think it most advisable that you should remain in this valley: I will go, with sixty men, to collect the booty, which I will drive this way; and I am mistaken, if the English do not sally out, thinking to rescue them, which will throw them into your power." This was executed; and the seneschal, accompanied by sixty companions well mounted, rode through by-roads round the town, until he came to the fine meads, where the cattle were pasturing. He then separated his companions, for them to collect the beasts together, and drive them under the walls of the town by a different road.

The watch on the walls and on the castle, seeing this, began to make a great noise, and to sound the alarm to awaken their fellow-soldiers and the townsmen; for, as it was very early, many were asleep: they immediately began to stir, and, saddling their horses, assembled in the market-place. They came there as well armed as they could, and left none in the town but servants. The English were very eager in the pursuit, to recover their cattle, crying out to the French, "You must not think to get off so." The seneschal hastened the more, so that the English fell into the ambuscade, which attacked them; and, through the disorder they were in by their too great eagerness, in the space of an hour they were all overcome. Their captain, sir Stephen Lacy, was made prisoner, as well as those who, through a point of honor, were around him: the rest were slain. The French then made for the town, which they entered by storm; for there were none to defend it. The first battalion which entered was that of the duke of Bourbon. These lords took possession of it; and, having placed a new garrison and governor, they set out with all their booty and prisoners, and returned the next day to the army before Angoulême. Notwithstanding there were many greater lords in this expedition than the seneschal of Beaucaire, he had all the honor and glory of it.

CHAPTER CXIX.

SIR JOHN NORWICH ESCAPES FROM ANGOULEME, WHEN THAT TOWN SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

The lords of France remained for a very considerable time before Angoulême. The French overran all the country which had been conquered by the English: they created much trouble, and, whenever they found a fit opportunity, brought to their camp many prisoners and much pillage: the two brothers of Bourbon acquired great praise from all, as they were the foremost in every excursion. When sir John Norwich, the governor of Angoulême, found that the duke of Normandy would not break up the siege until he had gained the city; that his provisions were growing short, and that the earl of Derby showed no signs of coming to his relief: having also perceived that the inhabitants were much inclined to the French, and would have turned to them before, if they had dared: he began to be suspicious of treason, and bethought how he could best save himself and his companions. On the eve of the Purification, he came on the battlements of the walls of the city alone, without having mentioned to any one his intentions, and made signs with his cap that he wanted to speak with some one from the army. Those who had noticed the signal came to know what he wanted: he said, "he wished to speak with my lord the duke of Normandy, or with one of his marshals." They went to inform the duke of this, who came there, attended by some of his knights. As soon as sir John saw the duke, he pulled off his cap, and saluted him. The duke returned the salute, and said, "Sir John, how fares it with you? Are you inclined to surrender yourself?" "I have no intentions to do that," replied sir John; "but I could wish to entreat of you, in reverence to the feast of our Lady, which is to-morrow, that you would grant us a truce for that day only, that neither of us may hurt the other, but remain in peace." The duke said, "he was willing to consent to it."

Early the next morning, which was Candlemas day, sir John and his companions armed themselves, and packed up all they had. They then ordered one of the gates to be opened, and issued forth; which being perceived by the army, some part of it began to put itself in motion: sir John, upon this, rode up to them, and said, "Gentlemen, gentlemen, beware that you do no harm to us; for we have had a truce agreed on for this whole day, as you must know, by the duke of Normandy; and we shall not touch you. If you have not been informed of it, go and inquire; for we can, upon the faith of this truce, ride and go wherever we please." This information was brought to the duke, and he was asked what was to be done, who replied, "Let them go, in God's name, whatever way they choose; for we cannot force them to stay. I will keep the promise I made them." Thus sir John Norwich passed through the whole French army unhurt, and took the road to Aiguillon. When those who were in garrison there heard in what manner he had escaped and saved his men, they said he had acted very cunningly. The inhabitants of Angoulême held a council on Candlemas day, and determined to surrender themselves to the duke: they sent persons properly authorized to treat, who managed so well, that the duke showed them mercy, and pardoned them. He entered the city and castle, where he received their homage, and appointed sir Anthony de Villiers governor, with a hundred soldiers to defend it. The duke afterwards decamped, and came before the castle of Damazan,* which he laid siege to for fourteen days. There were continued assaults; but at last it was taken, and all within it, Gascons and English, put to the sword. The duke gave this castle and its dependencies to a squire, from Beausse, named the Borgne de Nully. He then came before Tonniens,† which is situated on the Garonne, and which he found well provided with Gascons and English. There were many attacks and skirmishes; and he remained some time before it. However, at last they surrendered, upon condition of preserving their lives and fortunes, and to be conducted in safety to Bordeaux. When these foreigners had left it, the town entered under obedience to the duke, who staid here with his whole army, and on the banks of the Garonne, until after Easter, when he advanced toward Port St. Marie upon the same river. There were about two hundred English to defend the town and this passage, who had strongly fortified it; but they, and all within, were taken by assault. The French, after they had repaired and reinforced it with men-at-arms, set out and took the road toward Aiguillon.

CHAPTER CXX.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO AIGUILLON WITH A HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN.

The noblemen of France, under the command of the duke of Normandy, pushed on until they came before the castle of Aiguillon, when they encamped and divided their forces in the extensive and handsome meadows on the banks of the river Garonne, which is navigable for great vessels. Each lord was posted with his own people, and every company by itself, according to the orders of the marshals of the army. This siege continued until the beginning of October; and there were upward of one hundred thousand men in arms, including cavalry and infantry. Those within were obliged to defend themselves against this army two or three times every day, and most commonly from noon until eve without ceasing; for there were continually pouring upon them fresh forces, Genoese or others, who gave them no repose. The chiefs of the French army found they could never attack, with advantage, the fortress, unless they passed the river, which was wide and deep: the duke therefore ordered a bridge to be constructed, that they might cross it: three hundred workmen were employed at this bridge, who worked day and night. As soon as the knights who were in Aiguillon perceived that this bridge was nearly finished, and that one half of it was completed, they prepared three vessels, in which they embarked, and,

* Bayeux.—BARNES.

† Mr. Barnes makes it *Ancenis*; but that is too far off: and he quotes *Du Chesne*, page 663. In my opinion, it must be *St. Jean d'Angely*, as that is in Saintonge, and not too far distant for the excursion.

* A town in Gascony, in the election of Condom.

† Diocese of Agen

driving away the workmen and guards, instantly destroyed what had taken so much time to make. The lords of France, seeing this, got ready other vessels to attack them, in which they placed a number of men-at-arms, Genoese cross-bowmen and infantry, and ordered the workmen to continue their works, under the support of these guards. When these workmen were thus employed, sir Walter Manny, and some of his companions, embarked about noon, and, dashing upon them, made them quit their work and run off: he soon destroyed all that they had done. This kind of skirmish was continued daily; but at last the French sent such large detachments to guard the workmen, that the bridge was completed in a good and strong manner. The army then passed over it in order of battle, and attacked the castle for the space of one whole day, but did no harm; and, in the evening, they retreated to their camp, where they were plentifully supplied with everything.

Those within the castle repaired what damage had been done, for they had plenty of workmen. On the morrow, the French resolved to divide their army into four divisions; the first of which should make an attack on this fortress from the dawn until about nine o'clock; the second from that time until noon; the third from noon till four o'clock; and the fourth division from that time till night. This mode of attack was continued for six successive days. However, those within the castle were never so much harassed but that they could defend themselves valiantly; and their enemies gained nothing but the bridge, which was before the castle. The French lords, upon this, held a council, and sent to Toulouse for eight of their largest battering engines, and constructed four other large ones upon the spot. These twelve engines cast stones into the fortress day and night; but the besieged had taken such pains to avoid what mischief they could do, that they only destroyed the roofs of the houses: they had also made counter-engines, which played upon those of their enemies, and in a short space of time totally ruined six of them.

During this siege, sir Walter Manny made frequent excursions beyond the river, with about six score companions, to forage, and often returned with his booty in sight of the army. One day the lord Charles of Montmorency had been on a foraging party, with five or six hundred men, and was conducting a great number of cattle to victual the army, when he met sir Walter Manny under the walls of Aiguillon. They immediately began an engagement, which was very sharp; and many were killed and wounded on both sides. The French were at least five to one. News was brought of this into Aiguillon, when every one sallied out for the fastest, and the earl of Pembroke with the foremost: they dashed into the midst of them, and found sir Walter Manny unhorsed, and surrounded by his enemies, but fighting most valiantly. He was directly rescued and remounted. During the heat of the engagement, the French hastened to drive off the cattle to a place of safety, or they would have lost them; for the English were coming in crowds to succor their countrymen, and, falling upon the French vigorously, they put them to flight, rescued those they had made prisoners, and captured also many from them. The lord Charles de Montmorency had great difficulty to escape, and retreated as fast as he could, quite discomfited. When it was over, the English returned to Aiguillon.

Such skirmishes frequently happened, for scarcely a day passed without some engagement. The French having one day drawn out their army, ordered those noblemen that were from Toulouse, Carcassonne, and Beaucaire, and their dependencies, to make an attack with their men, from the morning until noon; and those from Rouergue, Cahors, and Agenois, to continue it from their retreat until the evening. The duke promised to any of his soldiers who should gain the draw-bridge of the castle, a reward of a hundred golden crowns.* The duke, in order to assist this attack, commanded a number of vessels and barges to come down the river, in which many embarked to cross it, while the remainder passed over the bridge. Those in the castle made a gallant defence; but at last, some of the French got into a small boat, and, passing under the bridge, fastened strong hooks and chains to the draw-bridge, with which they pulled so lustily, that they broke the iron chains which held the bridge, and forced it down.

The French, so eager were they to gain the promised reward, leaped upon the bridge in such haste that they tumbled over each other. The besieged flung down upon them stones, hot lime, large beams, and boiling water, so that many were hurt, and drowned in the ditches. The bridge, however, was taken, though it cost them more than it was worth: but they could not gain the gate: therefore, as it was late, they returned to their camp, for they had need of rest; and those within the castle sallied out, and repaired the bridge, making it stronger than ever.

On the next day, two principal engineers came to the duke, and said, If he would find them wood and workmen, they would build for him four such high towers, as, when they were advanced to the walls of the castle, should overtop them. The duke commanded all the carpenters of the country to be sent for, and handsomely paid. These four towers were constructed, and placed on the decks of four large vessels; but they took a long time in making, and cost much money. Those ordered upon this attack embarked on board the vessels, and, when they were about half way over the river, the besieged let off four martinets,* which they had newly constructed, to defend themselves against these towers. These four martinets cast such large stones, and so very rapidly, that the men-at-arms in the towers were much hurt by them: and, having no means to shield themselves, they returned back as fast as they were able; but in their retreat one of the vessels foundered and sunk: the greater number of those that were on board were drowned, which was a great pity, as they were chiefly valiant knights who were eager to distinguish themselves. When the duke found that this scheme did not answer his expectations, he ordered them to disembark from the three remaining vessels. He was at a loss what plan to follow, by which he could gain the castle of Aiguillon; for he had vowed he would never quit the place until he was master of it and the garrison, unless the king, his father, ordered otherwise. The lords therefore advised him to send the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville to Paris, to inform king Philip of the state of the siege, and to know if the king wished the duke of Normandy to continue before Aiguillon, until he had, through famine, made himself master of it, since he could not gain it by force.

The king of England, having heard how much pressed his people were in the castle of Aiguillon, determined to lead a great army into Gascony. He set about making his preparations, summoned all the vassals in his kingdom, and collected forces from whatever quarter he could, that were willing to enter into his pay. About this time sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who had been banished from France, arrived in England. He was received by the king in his palace; and he assigned over to him a handsome estate in England, to maintain him, suitable to his rank. Soon after this, the king assembled a large fleet of ships at Southampton, and sent thither his men-at-arms and his archers.† About St. John the Baptist's day, 1346, the king took leave of the queen, and, setting out, left her to the care of his cousin, the earl of Kent. He appointed the lord Percy, and the lord Neville of Raby, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Lincoln, to be his lieutenants for the northern parts of his kingdom; and he did not take so many forces out of the realm but that there was a sufficiency of men-at-arms left to defend it, should there be occasion. He took the road to Southampton, where he tarried until he had a favorable wind, when he embarked with his whole army. On board the king's ship, were the prince of Wales and sir Godfrey de Harcourt: the other lords, earls, and barons embarked with their men, as they had been ordered. There might be about four thousand men-at-arms, and ten thousand archers, not including the Irish and the Welch, who followed the army on foot.

I will enumerate the names of those lords that accompanied king Edward. I must mention first the prince of Wales, who at that time was only thirteen‡ years old, or thereabouts: there were Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex, his brother William Bohun earl of Northampton, Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, Richard Fitzalan earl of Arundel, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Clinton earl of Huntington, Robert Hufford earl of Suffolk: of barons, there were the young lord Roger Mortimer, the lord Gerard Lisle, and his kinsman the lord John Lisle, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lords John and Roger Beauchamp, and the lord John Mowbray, the lord William Roos of Hamlake, the lord Thomas Lucy of Cockermouth, the lord William Felton, the lord Thomas Bradestan, the lord Ralph Basset of Sapcoat, John lord Willoughby of Eresby, the lord Peter Manly fifth of the name, Thomas lord Ughtred, John lord Fitzwalter, William lord Kerdeston, the lord Roger Say, the lord Almaric de St. Amand, the lord Robert Bourchier, the lord John le Strange, the lord Edward Montagu, the lord Richard Talbot, the lord John Mohun of Dunster, William lord Boteler of Wemme, Robert lord Ferrers, John lord Seymour, John lord Grey, William lord Botreaux, the lord Hugh Spencer, the lord John Striveling, Michael lord Poynings, Robert lord Morley, Thomas lord Ashley, John lord Sutton, the lord Nicholas Cantilupe, and others; of knights-bachelors, sir John Chandos, the lord Peter Audley, and the lord James Audley, the lord Bartholomew Burgherst junior, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Fulk Fitzwarren, sir Richard Pembridge, and several others. There were few strangers: only sir Oulphart de Guistelles, from the country of Hainault, and five or six knights from Germany, whose names I have forgotten.

When they embarked, the weather was as favorable as the king could wish, to carry him to Gascony; but on the third day, the wind was so contrary, that they were driven upon the coasts of Cornwall, where they cast anchor, and remained for six days and six nights. During this time, the king altered his mind with respect to going toward Gascony, through the advice and representations of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who convinced him that it would be more for his interest to land in Normandy, by such words as these: "Sir, that pro-

* 6s. 8d. each.—Barnes.

* Du Cange, supplement, under the word *Martinetus*, calls it an instrument of war and quotes this passage for his authority, but does not explain it further.

† Edward appoints his son, Lionel, lieutenant of the realm, during his absence, by an ordinance dated Porchester, 5th June, 1346.—Rymer.

He was at Porchester the 1st and 2nd of July, 1346.—Rymer.

John de Offord, chancellor, delivered up the great seal to John de Thoresby, the 2nd July, in the Isle of Wight.

‡ This is a mistake; for he was born the 15th June, 1330: he must therefore have been sixteen.

I have copied the names out of Barnes's Life of Edward III., wherein he mentions that twenty two of them, from lord Ughtred, are taken from an old MS. in C. C. C. library, Cambridge, intituled, "Acta Edwardi filii, Edwardi tertii."

vince is one of the most fertile in the world; and I will answer on my head, that you may land in any part of it you shall please without hindrance, for no one will think of opposing you. The Normans have not been accustomed to the use of arms; and all the knighthood, that otherwise would have been there, are at present with the duke before Aiguillon. You will find in Normandy rich towns and handsome castles, without any means of defence, and your people will gain wealth enough to suffice them for twenty years to come. Your fleet may also follow you, up the river Orne, as far as Caen. I therefore entreat you will listen, and give belief to what I say." The king, who at that time was in the flower of his youth, and who desired nothing better than to combat his enemies, paid much attention to what sir Godfrey de Harcourt, whom he called cousin, had said. He commanded his sailors to steer straight for Normandy, and ordered the flag of the admiral, the earl of Warwick, to be hoisted on board his ship; he took the lead, as admiral of the fleet, and made for Normandy, with a very favorable wind. The fleet anchored near to the shores of Coutantin,* and the king landed at a port called La Hogue St. Vast. News of his arrival was soon spread abroad: it was told all over the country, that the English had landed with a very great army. Messengers were instantly dispatched to Paris, to the king, from the towns of Coutantin. He had already been informed, that the king of England had embarked a numerous army, and was on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany; but he was not sure for what particular part he intended to make. As soon, therefore, as he heard the English had landed, he sent for his constable, the earl of Guignes, and the earl of Tancarville, who were just come from Aiguillon, and ordered them to set off directly for Caen, to defend that place and the neighborhood against the English.

They replied, they would cheerfully do it, to the utmost of their power, and left the king at Paris, taking with them a number of men-at-arms, whose ranks were every day increasing, and rode on to Caen, where they were received most joyfully by the inhabitants and the good people of the country, who had retired thither, with their effects. These lords immediately made inquiries into the state of the town, which at that time was not walled, and ordered arms to be prepared, to supply every one with them according to his degree. We will now return to the king of England, who had landed at la Hogue St. Vast, not far from St. Sauveur le Vicomte,† the inheritance of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who at that time was a partisan of England.‡

CHAPTER CXXI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND MARCHES INTO NORMANDY WITH HIS ARMY IN THREE BATTALIONS.

When the fleet of England was all safely arrived at La Hogue, the king leaped on shore first; but by accident he fell, and with such violence that the blood gushed out of his nose: the knights that were near him said, "Dear sir, let us entreat you to return to your ship, and not think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen." The king instantly replied, "For why? I look upon it as very favorable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me."

His people were much pleased with this answer. The king and his army lay that night upon the sands. In the mean time, they disembarked their baggage, armor, and horses; and there was a council held, to consider how they could act most advantageously. The king created two marshals of his army: one was sir Godfrey de Harcourt; the other the earl of Warwick: and he made the earl of Arundel his constable. He ordered the earl of Huntington to remain with his fleet, with a hundred or six score men-at-arms, and four hundred archers. He then held another council respecting the order of march, and determined to divide the army into three battalions; one of which should advance on his right, following the sea-coast, and another on his left; and he himself, with the prince his son, and the main body, in the centre. Every night, the marshal's battalion was to retire to the quarters of the king. They thus began their march, as they had resolved upon: those who were on board the fleet coasted the shores, and took every vessel, great and small, they met with. Both the armies of sea and land went forward, until they came to a strong town, called Barfleur,§ which they soon gained; the inhabitants having surrendered immediately, for fear of losing their lives: but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and everything precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. They made all the townsmen quit the place, and embarked them on board the fleet; for they did not choose that, after they had continued their march, they should collect together, and attack them.

After the town of Barfleur had been pillaged, but not burnt, they spread themselves over the country, near the sea-coast, where they did whatever they pleased, for there were none to oppose them. They advanced until they came to a considerable and wealthy town called Cherbourg,* which they burnt and pillaged in part; but they could not conquer the castle, as it was too strong, and well garrisoned with men-at-arms; they therefore passed on, and came before Montbourg, near Valognes, which they pillaged, and then set fire to it. In this manner did they plunder and burn a great many towns in that country: and acquired so much riches that it would have been difficult to have counted their wealth. They afterwards marched to a very considerable town, and well inclosed, called Carentan,† which had a strong castle, garrisoned by a number of soldiers. Those lords that were on board the fleet then disembarked with their people, and made a vigorous attack upon it; which, when the townsmen perceived, they were fearful of losing their own lives, as well as those of their wives and children, and opened the gates to them, in spite of the men-at-arms and soldiers that were within the town. They voluntarily offered the English all they had, thinking it best for their advantage. The men-at-arms, finding the inhabitants determined to admit the English, retired into the fortress, which was very strong; and the English entered the town; but, not thinking it right to leave so strong a place behind them, for two successive days they kept up a strong assault against the castle. Those within, not hearing of any assistance coming to them, surrendered, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared. They marched out, and withdrew to another part of the country. The English did what they pleased in the town and castle; but, finding that they could not conveniently keep them, they burnt and destroyed both, and forced the inhabitants to embark on board their fleet, and go with them, as they had done to those of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Montebourg, and all the other towns which they had plundered on the sea-coast.

We will now return to the expedition of the king of England. As soon as he had sent part of his army, under the command of the earl of Warwick, one of his marshals, and the lord Reginald Cobham, along the sea-coast, as you have heard, he set out from La Hogue, where he was lodged, under the guidance of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was well acquainted with every part of Normandy. Sir Godfrey, as marshal, advanced before the king, with the vanguard of five hundred armed men and two thousand archers, and rode on for six or seven leagues' distance from the main army, burning and destroying the country. They found it rich and plentiful, abounding in all things: the barns full of every sort of corn, and the houses with riches: the inhabitants at their ease, having cars, carts, horses, swine, sheep, and everything in abundance which the country afforded. They seized whatever they chose of all these good things, and brought them to the king's army; but the soldiers did not give any account to their officers, or to those appointed by the king, of the gold and silver they took, which they kept to themselves. In this manner did sir Godfrey, every day, proceed to the left of the king's army; and each night returned, with his party, to the place where he knew the king intended fixing his quarters. Sometimes, when he found great plenty of forage and booty, he was two or three days before he returned. The king, therefore, with his army and baggage, advanced toward St. Lo,‡ in Coutantin; but, before he arrived there, he took up his quarters on the banks of the river, to wait for the return of that part of his army which he had sent along the sea-coast. When they were come back, with all their booty safely packed in wagons, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Thomas Holland, and the lord Reginald Cobham, took their march, with their battalion, on the right, burning and destroying the country in the same way that sir Godfrey de Harcourt was doing. The king marched, with the main body, between these two battalions; and every night they encamped together.

CHAPTER CXXII.

THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A LARGE FORCE, TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Thus, while the English were burning and destroying great part of Normandy, the king of France was not idle, but had issued out his summons to the lord John of Hainault, who came to him with a powerful company of knights from Hainault and elsewhere: he also sent to every earl, baron and knight that were dependent on him. They obeyed his summons in such numbers as France had not seen for a hundred years; but as those in foreign countries were at great distances, they were long before they arrived, and the king of England had overrun and destroyed the whole district of Coutantin in Normandy, to its great detriment.

When king Philip first heard of the destruction the king of England was making in his realm, he swore that the English should never return without his having combated with them; and, that the mischief they had done to his people should be dearly paid for. He hastened, therefore, to dispatch his letters: he sent first to his good friends in the empire, because they were at the greatest distance, and also to the gallant king of Bohemia, whom he much loved, and to the lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who had then the title of king of Germany, which he had obtained, as was well known, through the influence of his father and the king of France, and ho

* Coutantin a district of Normandy, of which Coutances is the capital town.
† Diocese of Coutances.
‡ On the king's landing at La Hogue, he created the prince of Wales a knight, and, in consequence, demanded the usual aid on such occasions, dated Calais, the Nativity of our Lady, 1346. RYMER.
§ Diocese of Coutances.

* Diocese of Coutances.
† About three leagues from the sea, diocese of Coutances.
‡ Diocese of Coutances.

had already quartered the arms of the empire. King Philip entreated of them to come speedily to his assistance, for he was impatient to meet the English, who were despoiling his kingdom. These lords had no intention of excusing themselves, but set about collecting a large body of men-at-arms, from Germany, Bohemia, and Luxembourg, and came to the king of France with a powerful army. The king of France wrote also to the duke of Lorraine, who came to serve him with upward of three hundred lances. The earl of

Battle of Caen—From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

Savoy,* the earl of Saltzburgh, the earl of Flanders, and earl William of Namur, came also to king Philip, each of them with a very handsome company.

You have before heard the manner of the king of England's march: the two marshals, on the right and left, and the king and prince of Wales in the centre. They advanced by short marches; and every day they encamped between ten and twelve o'clock. They found the country so abounding with provisions, that they had no need to seek for forage, except wines, of which there was a reasonable quantity. It is not to be wondered at, if the people of the country were alarmed and frightened; for they had never seen any men-at-arms, and knew nothing of war or battles: they therefore fled before the English, as soon as ever they heard they were coming, leaving their houses and barns quite full, for they had neither means nor art to save them.

The king of England and prince of Wales had, in their battalion, about three thousand men-at-arms, six thousand archers, ten thousand infantry, without counting those that were under the marshals; and they marched on in the manner I have before mentioned, burning and destroying the country, but without breaking their line of battle. They did not turn toward Coutances, but advanced to St. Lô, in Coutantin, which in those days was a very rich and commercial town, and worth three such towns as Coutances. In the town of St. Lô was much drapery, and many wealthy inhabitants: among them, you might count eight or nine score that were engaged in commerce. When the king of England was come near to the town, he encamped: he would not lodge in it for fear of fire. He sent, therefore, his advanced guard forward, who soon conquered it, at a trifling loss, and completely plundered it. No one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of bales of cloth. If there had been any purchasers, they might have bought enough at a very cheap rate.

The English then advanced toward Caen, which is a much larger town, stronger, and fuller of draperies and all other sorts of merchandise, rich citizens, noble dames and damsels, and fine churches. In particular, there are two very rich monasteries; one dedicated to St. Stephen, and the other to the Trinity. The castle is situated on one side of the town: it is the handsomest in all Normandy: and sir Robert de Blargny was governor, with a garrison of three hundred Genoese.

In the heart of the town was the earl of Eu and of Guignes, the constable of France, and the earl of Tancarville, with a crowd of men-at-arms. The king rode on very prudently; and, having united his three battalions, he took up his quarters, for that night, in the fields, two short leagues from Caen, near a town called Estreham,* where there is a haven. He ordered the earl of Huntington, whom he had made admiral of his fleet, to sail for that place. The constable of France, and the other lords who were assembled in Caen, watched it well that night; and, on the morrow, they armed themselves, and all the inhabitants. After they were drawn out, the constable and the earl of Tancarville ordered that no one should leave the town, but should guard well the bridge, the gates, and the river. They gave up the suburbs to the English, because they were not inclosed; and they thought they should find sufficient employment to guard the town, which was only defended by the river. The townsmen, however, said, they would march out into the plains, as they were in sufficient force to fight with the English. When the constable perceived their willingness, he said, "It shall be so then; but, in God's name, you shall not fight without me." They then marched out of the town, in handsome order, and made a show as if they would fight valiantly, and risk their lives upon the event.

CHAPTER CXXIII

THE BATTLE OF CAEN—THE ENGLISH TAKE THE TOWN.

On this day the English rose very early, and made themselves ready to march to Caen: the king heard mass before sunrise, and afterwards mounting his horse, with the prince of Wales, and sir Godfrey de Harcourt (who was marshal and director of the army, and through whose advice the king had undertaken this expedition) marched forward in order of battle. The battalion of the marshals led the van, and came near to the handsome town of Caen.

When the townsmen, who had taken the field, perceived the English advancing, with banners and pennons flying in abundance, and saw those archers whom they had not been accustomed to, they were so frightened that they betook themselves to flight, and ran for the town in great disorder, without regarding the constable and the men-at-arms who were with them. The English pursued them eagerly; which, when the constable and the earl of Tancarville saw, they gained a gate at the entrance of the bridge in safety, and a few knights with them, for the English had already entered the town.

Some knights and squires of the French, who knew the road to the castle, made for it; and the governor, sir Robert de Blargny, received them all: as the castle was very large, and plentifully victualled, those were safe that could get there.

The English, who were after the runaways, made great havoc; for they spared none. When the constable, and those that had taken refuge with him within the gate of the bridge, looked round them, and saw the great slaughter the English were making, for they gave no quarter, they began to fear lest they should fall into the hands of some of those archers, who would not know who they were. But they perceived a knight who had but one eye, named sir Thomas Holland (whom they had formerly known in Prussia and Grenada,) coming toward them, in company with five or six other knights: they called to him, and asked if he would take them as his prisoners? Sir Thomas and his company advanced to the gate, and, dismounting, ascended to the top, with sixteen others, where he found the above-mentioned knights, and twenty-five more, who surrendered themselves to sir Thomas.†

Having left a sufficient guard over them, he mounted his horse,

* The earl of Savoy did not come, as you will see further on.

* Estreham—diocese of Bayeux, at the mouth of the river Orne, four leagues from Caen.

† "But here whatsoever Froissart doth report of the taking of this town, and of the yielding of these two noblemen, it is to be proved, that the said earl of Tancarville was

rode through the streets, and prevented many acts of cruelty: as did also other knights and squires, to whom several of the citizens owed their lives, and many a nun was protected from violation by their interference. It was fortunate for the English, that it was ebb tide in the river, which carries large vessels, and the water very still, so that they could pass and repass it without any danger from the bridge.* Those inhabitants who had taken refuge in the garrets flung down from them, in these narrow streets, stones, benches, and whatever they could lay hands on; so that they killed and wounded upward of five hundred of the English, which so enraged the king of England, when he received the reports in the evening, that he ordered the remainder of the inhabitants to be put to the sword, and the town burnt. But sir Godfrey de Harcourt said to him: "Dear sir, assuage somewhat of your anger, and be satisfied with what has already been done. You have a long journey yet to make before you arrive at Calais, whither it is your intention to go: and there are in this town a great number of inhabitants, who will defend themselves obstinately in their houses, if you force them to it: besides, it will cost you many lives before the town can be destroyed, which may put a stop to your expedition to Calais, and it will not redound to your honor: therefore be sparing of your men, for in a month's time you will have call for them; as it cannot otherwise happen, but that your adversary king Philip must soon come to give you battle, and you may meet with many difficulties, assaults and skirmishes, that will find full employment for the number of men you have, and even more if we could get them. We are complete masters of the town without any more slaughter; and the inhabitants, and all they possess, are at our disposal." The king replied: "Sir Godfrey, you are our marshal; therefore order as you please; for this time we wish not to interfere."

Sir Godfrey then rode through the streets, his banner displayed before him, and ordered, in the king's name, that no one should dare, under pain of immediate death, to insult or hurt man or woman of the town, or attempt to set fire to any part of it. Several of the inhabitants, on hearing this proclamation, received the English into their houses; and others opened their coffers to them, giving up their all, since they were assured of their lives. However, there were, in spite of these orders, many atrocious thefts and murders committed. The English continued masters of the town for three days; in this time, they amassed great wealth, which they sent in barges down the river of Estreham, to St. Sauveur, two leagues off, where their fleet was. The earl of Huntington made preparations therefore, with the two hundred men-at-arms and his four hundred archers, to carry over to England their riches and prisoners. The king purchased, from sir Thomas Holland and his companions, the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville, and paid down twenty thousand nobles for them.†

taken by one surnamed Legh ancestor to sir Pete. Leech now living: whether in the fight or within the town I have not to say, but for the taking of the said earl, and for other manlike prowess showed here and elsewhere in this journey, king Edward, in recompense of his agreeable service, gave him a bridship in the county of Chester, called Hanley, which the said sir Peter Legh doth now possess, as successor and heir to his ancestor, the foresaid Peter Legh, to whom it was so first given."—HOLLINGSHED.

* This is scarcely credible. Lord Berners says, "the river was so lowe that men went in and out *beside* the bridge," that is across the bed of the river, avoiding the danger of pressing in crowds over a narrow bridge.—ED.

† As the reader may perhaps wish to see another account of Edward's progress, by an eye witness, I copy from Robert de Avesbury's "Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi tertii," the following very curious letter *a*

De Progressu Regis Anglorum Hoggus usque Calaiam.

"You may remember that our lord the king and his army landed at La Hogue St Vast, the twelfth day of July, and remained there some days to unship the horses, and repose himself, and his people, and provide bread, until the following Tuesday. They found eleven ships at La Hogue, eight of which had castles before and behind: these a man set on fire. On the Friday, while the king still remained, a party proceeded to Barfleur, where they expected to have found many people, but there were none of any consequence. Here were eleven ships with castles before and behind, two carracks, and a number of smaller vessels lying at the quays. The town is about as large, and of the same importance, as Sandwich. When this party retired, the mariners set fire to the town, and several good towns and manors were burnt in the country round about. When the king removed on Tuesday he went to Valognes, where they remained all night and found plenty of provisions. The next day they made a long march, as far as a bridge which the inhabitants of Carentan had broken down. The king caused it to be repaired that night, and the next day proceeded to Carentan, which is not above an English league from the bridge. This town is as large as Leicester, and here they found plenty of wine and provisions. A great part of the city was burnt, despite of the king's efforts to prevent it. On the Friday the king went on, and lodged in the villages on the banks. It was very difficult to pass, for the inhabitants of St Lo had broken down the bridge. The king caused the bridge to be repaired, and passed it the next day with all his army, and took post close to the town. Those of the town had begun to strengthen it, and had drawn together many men-at-arms, who ought to have defended the place, but they left it before the coming of the king. Great riches were found in the town, a thousand tuns of wine, and a great quantity of other goods. The town is larger than St. Nicholas. And the next day the king went his way and abode at an abbey, and his host at the villages round about; and those of the host made excursions every day, robbing and destroying every day five or six leagues about, and burnt several places. And the Monday the king removed and lodged in the villages, and Tuesday also. And Wednesday, about the hour of noon, they arrived before the town of Caen, and received intelligence that a number of men-at-arms were in the town. The king drew up his forces in good order and in strong number, and sent some of his people to reconnoitre the town. They found the castle well built and strong, and that it was held by the knights and men-at-arms of the Bishop of Bayeux. The town on the side of the water is very strong and large, and in one part of the town is an abbey as noble as can be, where William the Conqueror is buried; it is inclosed with walls and large and strong battlemented towers; no person remained in the abbey; and in another quarter of the town was another noble abbey of ladies, and nobody remained in the said abbeys nor in the town on that side of the water, where the castle was; and the inhabitants had gone over to the town on the other side of the water, where were the constable of France and the chamberlain of Tankerville, who is a very great lord, and many gentlemen, to the number of five or six hundred, and the commons of the town. The people of our host attacked the bridge without command and without order. The bridge had been strengthened with battlements and barriers, and there was much to do, for the French defended it very stoutly, and they bore much before they gave way; and then the said constable and chamberlain were taken, together with about a hundred knights, and six or seven score esquires. A great multitude of knights, esquires, and others, people of the town, were slain in the streets, houses and gardens; no one can tell how many people of note, for the bodies were despoiled so they could not be known. No gentleman was slain on our side, except one esquire, who was badly wounded and died two days afterwards. Wines, provisions, and other goods, and moveables without number, were found in the town, which is larger than any town in England, except London. When the king left La Hogue, two hundred ships remained, which were taken to Rothemasse, then the country was burnt two or three leagues inland, and many things were taken and brought to the ships: they went as far as Cherbourg, which was a good town, with a strong castle and a handsome and noble abbey: they burnt the said city and abbey, and the whole country on every side, from the sea at Rothemasse to the army at the haven of Caen, a distance of twenty six English leagues. And the number of ships that were burnt was sixty-one ships of war, with castles before and behind, and twenty-three carracks, besides of other smaller vessels more than twenty one; they also destroyed thirty tuns of wine. On the Thursday after the king had come before Caen, they of the city of Bions demanded of our lord the king, that they might surrender themselves and their city to him, and do him homage, but he would not admit them to any conditions, but that they should be saved from damage."

a This is given by Mr. Johnes in the original old French, but we considered it would be more agreeable to our readers to present it in an English dress, and have accordingly translated it.—ED.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

THE ENGLISH COMMIT GREAT DISORDERS IN NORMANDY. SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT ENCOUNTERS THE MEN-AT-ARMS OF AMIENS, ON THEIR WAY TO PARIS, AND KING EDWARD MARCHES INTO PICARDY.

WHEN the king had finished his business in Caen, and had sent his fleet to England, loaded with cloths, jewels, gold and silver plate, and a quantity of other riches, and upward of sixty knights, with three hundred able citizens, prisoners; he then left his quarters and continued his march as before, his two marshals on his right and left, burning and destroying all the flat country. He took the road to Evreux,* but found he could not gain anything there, as it was well fortified. He went on toward another town called Louviers,† which was in Normandy, and where there were many manufactories of cloth: it was rich and commercial. The English won it easily, as it was not inclosed; and having entered the town, it was plundered without opposition. They collected much wealth there; and, after they had done what they pleased, they marched on into the county of Evreux, where they burnt everything except the fortified towns and castles, which the king left unattacked, as he was desirous of sparing his men and artillery. He therefore made for the banks of the Seine, in his approach to Rouen, where there were plenty of men-at-arms from Normandy, under the command of the earl of Harcourt, brother to sir Godfrey, and the earl of Dreux.

The English did not march direct toward Rouen, but went to Gisors,‡ which has a strong castle, and burnt the town. After this, they destroyed Vernon,§ and all the country between Rouen and Pont-de-l'Arche:‖ they then came to Mantes¶ and Meulan,** which they treated in the same manner, and ravaged all the country round about. They passed by the strong castle of Roulleboise,†† and everywhere found the bridges on the Seine broken down. They pushed forward until they came to Poissy,‡‡ where the bridge was also destroyed; but the beams and other parts of it were lying in the river. The king remained here five days, while they were repairing the bridge, so that his army might pass over without danger. His marshals advanced very near to Paris, and burnt St. Germain-en-Laye,§§ la Montjoie,‖‖ St. Cloud,¶¶ Boulogne near Paris, and Bourg la Reine.*** The Parisians were much alarmed, for Paris at that time was not inclosed. King Philip upon this began to stir, and having ordered all the pent-houses in Paris to be pulled down, went to St. Denis,††† where he found the king of Bohemia, the lord John of Hainault, the duke of Lorrain, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, and great multitudes of barons and knights, ready to receive him. When the Parisians learnt that the king was on the point of quitting Paris, they came to him, and falling on their knees, said, "Ah, sire, and noble king, what are you about to do? to leave your fine city of Paris?" The king replied: "My good people, do not be afraid: the English will not approach you nearer than they have done." He thus spoke in answer to what they had said, that "our enemies are only two leagues off: as soon as they shall know you have quitted us, they will come hither directly; and we are not able to resist them ourselves, nor shall we find any to defend us. Have the kindness, therefore, sire, to remain in your good city of Paris, to take care of us." The king replied, "I am going to St. Denis, to

* An ancient town in Normandy, and a bishopric, twenty-eight leagues from Caen.

† Louviers—in the diocese of Evreux. It still maintains its celebrity for the goodness of its cloths.

‡ Diocese of Rouen, fourteen leagues from Rouen.

§ Diocese of Evreux, thirteen leagues from Rouen.

‖ Diocese of Evreux, four leagues from Rouen.

¶ In the Isle of France, diocese of Chartres, nineteen leagues from Rouen.

** In the Isle of France, ten leagues from Paris, twenty-three from Rouen.

†† A village in Normandy, election of Chaumont.

‡‡ In the Isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

§§ In the Isle of France, five leagues from Paris.

‖‖ Q. if not Montjoye St. Denis.

¶¶ Isle of France, two leagues from Paris.

*** Isle of France, one league from Paris.

††† Isle of France, two leagues from Paris.

my army, for I am impatient to pursue the English, and am resolved to fight with them at all event."

The king of England remained at the nunnery of Poissy to the middle of August, and celebrated there the feast of the Virgin Mary. He sat at table in his scarlet robes without sleeves, trimmed with furs and ermines. He afterwards took the field, and his army marched as before: sir Godfrey de Harcourt, one of his marshals, had the command of the vanguard, with five hundred men-at-arms, and about thirteen hundred archers. By accident, he fell in with a large party of the citizens of Amiens on horseback, who were going to king Philip at Paris, in obedience to his summons. He immediately attacked them with those under his command; but they made a good defence, as they were very numerous and well armed, and had four knights from Amiens with them. The engagement lasted a long time, and many were slain at the onset; but at last those from Amiens were overthrown, killed or taken prisoners. The English seized all their baggage and arms, and found many valuables; for they were going to the king excellently well equipped, and had but just quitted their city. Twelve hundred were left dead on the spot. The king of England entered the country of Beauvais, destroying all the flat country, and took up his quarters in a rich abbey called St. Messien, near to Beauvais,* where he lodged one night. The morrow, as he was on his march, he by chance turned his head round and saw the abbey all in flames; upon which he instantly ordered twenty of those who had set fire to it to be hung, as he had most strictly forbidden that any church should be violated, or monastery set on fire. He passed near Beauvais without attacking it, for he was anxious to be as careful of his men and artillery as possible, and took up his quarters at a small town called Milly.† The two marshals passed so near to Beauvais, that they advanced to attack it and skirmish with the townsmen at the barriers, and divided their forces into three battalions; this attack lasted until the afternoon; for the town was well fortified and provided with everything, and the bishop was also there, whose exertions were of more service than those of all the rest. When the English found they could not gain anything, they set fire to the suburbs, which they burnt quite close to the gates of the town, and then came, toward evening, to where the king was.

The next day, the king and his whole army marched forward, burning and wasting all the country as they went, and lay that night at a village called Grandvillier. On the morrow, he passed near to Argis: his scouts not finding any one to guard the castle, he attacked and burnt it, and passing on, destroyed the country, and came to Poix,‡ which was a handsome town with two castles. The lords of both were absent, and no one was there but two handsome daughters of the lord of Poix, who would have been violated, if two English knights, sir John Chandos and lord Basset, had not defended them. In order more effectually to guard them, they brought them to the king, who, as in honor bound, entertained them most graciously: he inquired whither they would wish to go? they answered, To Corbie,§ to which place they were conducted in safety. The king of England lay that night in the town of Poix. The inhabitants of Poix, as well as those of the castle, had a conference with the marshals of the army, in order to save the town from being plundered and burnt. They offered to pay, as a ransom, a certain number of florins the ensuing day, as soon as the army should have marched off. On the morrow morning, the king and army departed, except some few, who remained behind, by order of the marshals, to receive the ransom from the townsmen. When the inhabitants were assembled together, and considered the small number of the English who were left with them, they resolved to pay nothing, told them so, and directly fell upon them. The English defended themselves gallantly, and sent after the army for succor. When lord Reginald Cobham and sir Thomas Holland, who commanded the rear-guard, were told of this, they cried out, "Treason! treason!" and returned back to Poix, where they found their countrymen still engaged with the townsmen. Almost all the inhabitants were slain, the town was burnt, and the two castles razed to the ground. The English then followed the king's army, which was arrived at Airaines,‖ where he had ordered the troops to halt, and to quarter themselves for that night, strictly commanding, under pain of death, that no harm should be done to the town or inhabitants, by theft or otherwise; for he wished to remain there a day or two, in order to gain information where he could best cross the river Somme, which he was under the necessity of doing, as you will shortly hear.

CHAPTER CXXV.

THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUES THE KING OF ENGLAND, IN THE COUNTRY OF BEAUVAIS.

I WISH now to return to king Philip, whom we left at St. Denis with his army, which was increasing every day. He marched off with it, and pushed forward until he came to Coppigny les Guises, which is three leagues distant from Amiens, where he halted. The king of England, who was still at Airaines, was much embarrassed how to cross the Somme, which was wide and deep, as all the bridges had been broken down, and their situations were well guarded by men-at-arms. The two marshals, at the request of the king, followed the course of the river, in order if possible to find a passage for the army: they had with them a thousand men-at-arms and two thousand archers. They passed by Lompré,* and came to Pont de Remy,† which they found defended by numbers of knights, squires, and people of the country. The English dismounted, and attacked the French from the very dawn of the morning until near ten o'clock: but the bridge was so well fortified and guarded, that they could not gain anything; so they departed, and went to a large town called Fontaines-sur-Somme,‡ which they completely plundered and burnt, as it was quite open. They next came to another town, called Long, in Ponthieu;§ but they could not gain the bridge, so well was it guarded. They then rode on to Pecquigny,‖ but found the town, castle, and bridge, so well garrisoned that it was impossible to pass. In this manner had the king of France ordered all the bridges and fords of the river Somme to be guarded, to prevent the king of England from crossing it with his army; for he was resolved to force them to fight when he should see the most favorable opportunity, or else to starve them.

The two marshals, having thus in vain followed the course of the Somme, returned to the king of England, and related to him that they were unable to find a passage anywhere. That same evening, the king of France took up his quarters at Amiens, with upward of one hundred thousand men. The king of England was very pensive: he ordered mass before sunrise, and his trumpets to sound for decamping. All sorts of people followed the marshals' banners, according to the orders the king had issued the preceding day; and they marched through the country of Vimeu,¶ drawing near to the good town of Abbeville. In their march, they came to a town where a great number of country people had assembled, trusting to some small fortifications which were thrown up there; but the English conquered the town, as soon as they came to it, and all that were within. Many of the townsmen and those from the adjoining country were slain or taken prisoners. The king lodged, that night, in the great hospital.

The king of France set out from Amiens, and came to Airaines about noon: the English king had quitted it about ten o'clock. The French found there provisions of all sorts; meat on the spits, bread and pastry in the ovens, wine in barrels, and even some tables ready spread, for the English had left it in very great haste. The king of France fixed his quarters there, to wait for his nobles and their retinue. The king of England was in the town of Oisemont.** When his two marshals returned in the evening, after having overrun the country as far as the gates of Abbeville, and to St. Valery, where they had a smart skirmish, the king of England summoned a council, and ordered many prisoners, whom his people had made in the districts of Ponthieu and Vimeu, to be brought before him.

The king most courteously asked, "if any of them knew a ford below Abbeville, where he and his army could pass without danger;" and added, "Whoever will show us such a ford shall have his liberty, and that of any twenty of his fellow-soldiers whom he may wish to select." There was among them a common fellow whose name was Gobin Agace, who answered the king, and said, "Sir, I promise you, under peril of my life, that I will conduct you to such a place, where you and your whole army may pass the river Somme without any risk. There are certain fordable places where you may pass twelve men abreast twice in the day, and not have water above your knees; but when the tide is in, the river is full and deep, and no one can cross it; when the tide is out, the river is so low that it may be passed, on horseback or on foot, without danger. The bottom of this ford is very hard, of gravel and white stones, over which all your carriages may safely pass, and from thence is called Blanchetaque. You must therefore set out early, so as to be at the ford before sunrise." "Friend," replied the king, "if I find what thou hast just said to be true, I will give thee and all thy companions their liberty; and I will besides make thee a present of a hundred nobles." The king gave orders for every one to be ready to march at the first sound of his trumpet, and to proceed forward.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

THE BATTLE OF BLANCHETAQUE, BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR GODEMAR DU FAY.

THE king of England did not sleep much that night, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpet to sound. Very soon everything was ready; and, the baggage being loaded, they set out from the town of Oisemont about daybreak, and rode on, under the guidance of Gobin Agace, until they came to the ford of Blanchetaque, about sunrise: but the tide was at that time so full, they could not cross. The king, however, determined to wait there for those of his army who were not yet come up; and he remained until after ten o'clock, when the tide was gone out. The king of France, who had his scouts all over the country, was informed of the situation of the king

* A city in the Isle of France, sixteen leagues from Paris.
† A town in the diocese of Beauvais.
‡ Poix—a town in Picardy, six leagues from Amiens.
§ Corbie—a town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.
‖ A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.

* Lompre-Corps-Saints, a small town in Picardy.
† In the election of Abbeville.
‡ In Picardy.
§ A fertile district of Picardy, between the rivers Somme and Canche.
‖ A town in Picardy, on the Somme, three leagues from Amiens.
¶ A district in Picardy, of which St. Valery is the capital.
** A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens, five from St. Valery.

of England: he imagined he should be able to shut him up between Abbeville and the Somme, and thus take him prisoner, or force him to fight at a disadvantage. From the time of his arrival at Amiens, he had ordered a great baron of Normandy, called sir Godémar du Fay, to guard this ford of Blanchetaque, which the English must cross, and nowhere else. Sir Godémar had set out, in obedience to this order, and had with him, in the whole, one thousand men-at-arms and six thousand foot, with the Genoese. He had passed St. Ricquier* in Ponthieu, and from thence came to Crotoy,† where this ford was; he had collected, in his march, great numbers of the country people. The townsmen of Abbeville had also accompanied him, excellently well appointed: they had arrived at the passage before the English. They were, in all, fully twelve thousand men: among them were two thousand who had jackets, resembling wagoners' frocks, called *torviquiaux*.

On the arrival of the English army, sir Godémar du Fay drew up his men on the banks of the river, to defend and guard the ford. The king of England, however, did not for this give up his intention of crossing; but, as soon as the tide was sufficiently gone out, he ordered his marshals to dash into the water, in the name of God and St. George. The most doughty and the best mounted leaped in first; and, in the river, the engagement began: many on both sides were unhorsed into the water: there were some knights and squires, from Artois and Picardy, in the pay of sir Godémar, who in hopes of preferment, and to acquire honor, had posted themselves at this ford, and they appeared to be equally fond of tilting in the water as upon dry land.

The French were drawn up in battle array, near the narrow pass leading to the land; and the English were much annoyed by them as they came out of the water to gain the land; for there were among them Genoese cross-bowmen who did them much mischief. On the other hand, the English archers shot so well together that they forced the men-at-arms to give way. At this ford of Blanchetaque many gallant feats of arms were performed on each side: but, in the end, the English crossed over, and, as they came on shore, hastened to the fields. After the king, the prince, and the other lords had crossed, the French did not long keep in the order they were in, but ran off for the fastest. When sir Godémar du Fay found his army was discomfited, he saved himself as quickly as he could, and many with him; some making for Abbeville, others for St. Ricquier. The infantry, however, could not escape; and there were numbers of those from Abbeville, Arras, Montreuil, and St. Ricquier, slain or taken prisoners: the pursuit lasted more than a league. The English had scarcely gained the opposite bank, when some of the light horse of the French army, particularly those belonging to the king of Bohemia and sir John of Hainault, advanced upon the rear, took from them some horses and accoutrements, and slew several on the bank who were late in crossing. The king of France had set out from Airaines that morning, thinking to find the English on the banks of the Somme: when news was brought to him of the defeat of sir Godémar and his army, he immediately halted, and demanded from his marshals, what was to be done: they answered, "You can only cross the river by the bridge of Abbeville, for the tide is now in at Blanchetaque." The king of France therefore turned back, and took up his quarters at Abbeville. The king of England, when he had crossed the Somme, gave thanks to God for it, and began his march in the same order as he had done before. He called to him Gobin Agace, gave him his freedom without ransom, as well as that of his companions, and ordered the hundred nobles of gold to be given him, and also a good horse. The king continued his march, thinking to take up his quarters at a good and large town called Noyelle,‡ situated hard by; but when he was informed that it belonged to the countess d'Aumarle, sister to the late Robert d'Artois, he sent to assure the inhabitants, as well as all the farmers belonging to her, that they should not be hurt. He marched further on; but his two marshals rode to Crotoy, near the sea; they took the town, and burnt it. In the harbor they found many ships, and other vessels, laden with wines, from Poitou, Saintonge, and la Rochelle: they ordered the best to be carried to the English army: then one of the marshals pushed forward, even as far as the gates of Abbeville, and returned by St. Ricquier, following the sea-shore to the town of St. Esprit de Rue.§

These two battalions of the marshals came, on a Friday in the afternoon, to where the king was; and they fixed their quarters, all three together, near Crecy in Ponthieu. The king of England, who had been informed that the king of France was following him, in order to give him battle, said to his people: "Let us post ourselves here; for we will not go further before we have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wait for them on this spot; as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage portion; and I am resolved to defend it against my adversary, Philippe de Valois." On account of his not having more than an eighth part of the forces which the king of France had, his marshals fixed upon the most advantageous situation; and the army went and took possession of it. He then sent his scouts toward Abbeville, to learn if the king of France meant to take the field this Friday; but they returned, and said they saw no appearance of it; upon which, he dismissed his men to their quarters, with orders to be in readiness by times in the morning, and to assemble in the same place. The king of France remained all Friday in Abbeville, waiting for more troops. He sent his marshals, the lord of St. Venant, and lord Charles of Montmorency, out of Abbeville, to examine the country, and get some certain intelligence of the English. They returned, about vespers, with information that the English were encamped on the plain. That night the king of France entertained at supper, in Abbeville, all the princes and chief lords. There was much conversation relative to war; and the king entreated them, after supper, that they would always remain in friendship with each other; that they would be friends without jealousy, and courteous without pride. The king was still expecting the earl of Savoy, who ought to have been there with a thousand lances, as he had been well paid for them at Troyes in Champaign, three months in advance.

* St. Ricquier—two leagues and a half from Abbeville.
† A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, opposite to St. Valery.
‡ Government of Montreuil.
§ Two leagues from St. Valery. I believe it is now called Rue only.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ENGLISH AT CRECY, WHO WERE DRAWN UP IN THREE BATTALIONS ON FOOT.

THE king of England, as I have mentioned before, encamped this Friday in the plain: for he found the country abounding in provisions; but, if they should have failed, he had plenty in the carriages which attended on him. The army set about furbishing and repairing their armor; and the king gave a supper that evening to the earls and barons of his army, where they made good cheer. On their taking leave, the king remained alone, with the lords of his bed-chamber: he retired into his oratory, and, falling on his knees before the altar, prayed to God, that, if he should combat his enemies on the morrow, he might come off with honor. About midnight he went to bed; and, rising early the next day, he and the prince of Wales heard mass, and communicated. The greater part of his army did the same, confessed, and made proper preparations. After mass, the king ordered his men to arm themselves, and assemble on the ground he had before fixed on. He had inclosed a large park near a wood, on the rear of his army, in which he placed all his baggage-wagons and horses; and this park had but one entrance: his men-at-arms and archers remained on foot.

The king afterwards ordered, through his constable and his two marshals, that the army should be divided into three battalions. In the first, he placed the young prince of Wales, and with him the earls of Warwick and Oxford, sir Godfrey de Harcourt, the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Holland, lord Stafford, lord Mauley, the lord Delaware, sir John Chandos, lord Bartholomew Burgherst, lord Robert Neville, lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Bourchier, the lord Latimer, and many other knights and squires whom I cannot name. There might be, in this first division, about eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welshmen. They advanced in regular order to their ground, each lord under his banner and pennon, and in the centre of his men. In the second battalion were the earl of Northampton, the earl of Arundel, the lords Roos, Willoughby, Basset, Saint Albans, sir Lewis Tufton, lord Multon, the lord Lascels, and many others; amounting, in the whole, to about eight hundred men-at-arms, and twelve hundred archers. The third battalion was commanded by the king, and was composed of about seven hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand* archers.

The king then mounted a small palfrey, having a white wand in his hand, and attended by his two marshals on each side of him: he rode a foot's pace through all the ranks, encouraging and entreating the army, that they would guard his honor and defend his right. He spoke this so sweetly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that all who had been dispirited were directly comforted by seeing and hearing him. When he had thus visited all the battalions, it was near ten o'clock: he retired to his own division, and ordered them all to eat heartily, and drink a glass after. They ate and drank at their ease; and, having packed up pots, barrels, &c., in the carts, they returned to their battalions, according to the marshals' orders, and seated themselves on the ground, placing their helmets and bows before them, that they might be the fresher when their enemies should arrive.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

THE ORDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY AT CRECY.

THAT same Saturday, the king of France rose betimes, and heard mass in the monastery of St. Peter's in Abbeville, where he was lodged: having ordered his army to do the same, he left that town after sunrise. When he had marched about two leagues from Abbeville, and was approaching the enemy, he was advised to form his army in order of battle, and to let those on foot march forward, that they might not be trampled on by the horses. The king, upon this, sent off four knights, the lord Moyne of Bastleberg,† the lord of Noyers, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Aubigny, who rode so near to

* D. Sauvage's edition and lord Berners' say twelve hundred archers.—ED.
† The lord Moyne of Bastleburg in Bohemia.—BARNES.

the English that they could clearly distinguish their position. The English plainly perceived they were come to reconnoitre them: however, they took no notice of it, but suffered them to return unmolested. When the king of France saw them coming back, he halted his army; and the knights, pushing through the crowds, came near the king, who said to them, "My lords, what news?" They looked at each other, without opening their mouths: for neither chose to speak first. At last, the king addressed himself to the lord Moyne,

Battle of Crecy—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

who was attached to the king of Bohemia, and had performed very many gallant deeds, so that he was esteemed one of the most valiant knights in Christendom. The lord Moyne said, "Sir, I will speak, since it pleases you to order me, but under the correction of my companions. We have advanced far enough to reconnoitre your enemies. Know, then, that they are drawn up in three battalions, and are waiting for you. I would advise, for my part, (submitting, however, to better counsel,) that you halt your army here, and quarter them for the night; for before the rear shall come up, and the army be properly drawn out, it will be very late, your men will be tired and in disorder, while they will find your enemies fresh and properly arrayed. On the morrow, you may draw up your army more at your ease, and may reconnoitre at leisure on what part it will be most advantageous to begin the attack; for, be assured they will wait for you." The king commanded that it should so be done: and the two marshals rode, one toward the front, and the other to the rear, crying out, "Halt banners, in the name of God and St. Denis." Those that were in the front halted; but those behind said they would not halt, until they were as forward as the front. When the front perceived the rear pressing on, they pushed forward; and neither the king nor the marshals could stop them, but they marched without any order until they came in sight of their enemies. As soon as the foremost rank saw them, they fell back at once, in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been fighting. There was then space and room enough for them to have passed forward, had they been willing so to do: some did so, but others remained shy. All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, when they were come within three leagues of their enemies, drew their swords, bawling out, "Kill, kill;" and with them were many great lords that were eager to make show of their courage. There is no man, unless he had been present, that can imagine, or describe truly, the confusion of that day; especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were out of number. What I know, and shall relate in this book, I have learnt chiefly from the English, who had well observed the confusion they were in, and from those attached to sir John of Hainault, who was always near the person of the king of France.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

THE BATTLE OF CRECY, BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.

The English, who were drawn up in three divisions, and seated on the ground, on seeing their enemies advance, rose undauntedly up, and fell into their ranks. That of the prince was the first to do so, whose archers were formed in the manner of a portcullis, or harrow, and the men-at-arms in the rear. The earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the second division, had posted themselves in good order on his wing, to assist and succor the prince, if necessary.

You must know, that these kings, earls, barons and lords of France, did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way most pleasing to themselves. As soon as the king of France came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marshals, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis." There were about fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day six leagues, completely armed, and with their cross-bows. They told the constable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The earl of Alencon, hearing this, said, "This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them." During this time a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipse of the sun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all those battalions, making a loud noise. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the sun shone very bright; but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the English in their backs. When the Genoese were somewhat in order, and approached the English, they set up a loud shout,* in order to frighten them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved.

They hooted a third time, advancing with their cross-bows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed. When the Genoese felt these arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armor, some of them cut the strings of their cross-bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about and retreated quite discomfited. The French had a large body of men-at-arms on horseback, richly dressed, to support the Genoese. The king of France, seeing them thus fall back, cried out, "Kill me those scoundrels; for they stop up our road, without

* Lord Berners' account of the advance of the Genoese is somewhat different from this; he describes them as *leaping* forward with a *fell* cry, and as this is not mentioned in the printed editions, it seems probable that he followed a MS. [illegible] from those examined by Mr. Johnes. The whole passage is so spirited and graphic that we give it entire, for the gratification of the reader.—Ed.

"Whan the genowayes were assembled tognyder and beganne to aproche, they made a great leape and crye to abasshe thenglysshmen, but they stode styll and styredde nat for all that. Than the genowayes agayne the seconde tyme made another leape and a fell crye and stepped forwarde a lytell, and thenglysshmen removed nat one fote; thirdly agayne they lepte and cryed, and went forthe tyll they came within shotte; than they shotte feersly with their crosbowes. Than thenglysshe archers stept forthe one pase and lette fly their arowes so hotly and so thycke that it semed snowe. Whan the genowayes felte the arowes persynge through heedes, armes, and bresles, many of them cast downe their crosbowes and did cutte their strynges and retourned dyscomfited. Whan the frenche kynge sawe them flye away, he said, Slee these rascals, for they shall lette and trouble us without reason; than you shoulde have sene the men of armes dasshe in among them and kylled a great nombre of them; and ever styll the englysshmen shot where as they sawe thyckest preace, the sharpe arowes rampe into the men of armes and into their horses, and many fell horse and men amonge the genowayes, and whan they were downe they coude nat relyne agayne; the preace was so thycke that one ouerthrewe a nother. And also amonge the englysshemen there were certayne rascalles that went a fote with great knyues, and they went in among the men of armes and slewe and murdredde many as they lay on the grounde, both erles, barownes, knyghts, and squyers, whereof the kyng of Englande was after dyspleased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners."

any reason." You would then have seen the above-mentioned men-at-arms lay about them, killing all they could of these runaways.

The English continued shooting as vigorously and quickly as before; some of their arrows fell among the horsemen, who were sumptuously equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, so that they were in such confusion they could never rally again. In the English army there were some Cornish and Welshmen on foot, who had armed themselves with large knives: these advancing through the ranks of the men-at-arms and archers, who made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights and squires, slew many, at which the king of England was afterwards much exasperated. The valiant king of Bohemia was slain there. He was called Charles of Luxembourg; for he was the son of the gallant king and emperor, Henry of Luxembourg: having heard the order of the battle, he inquired where his son, the lord Charles, was: his attendants answered, that they did not know, but believed he was fighting. The king said to them; "Gentlemen, you are all my people, my friends and brethren at arms this day: therefore, as I am blind,* I request of you to lead me so far into the engagement that I may strike one stroke with my sword." The knights replied, they would directly lead him forward; and in order that they might not lose him in the crowd, they fastened all the reins of their horses together, and put the king at their head, that he might gratify his wish, and advanced toward the enemy. The lord Charles of Bohemia, who already signed his name as king of Germany, and bore the arms, had come in good order to the engagement; but when he perceived that it was likely to turn out against the French, he departed, and I do not well know what road he took. The king, his father, had rode in among the enemy, and made good use of his sword; for he and his companions had fought most gallantly. They had advanced so far that they were all slain; and on the morrow they were found on the ground, with their horses all tied together.

The earl of Alençon advanced in regular order upon the English, to fight with them; as did the earl of Flanders, in another part. These two lords, with their detachments, coasting, as it were, the archers, came to the prince's battalion, where they fought valiantly for a length of time. The king of France was eager to march to the place where he saw their banners displayed, but there was a hedge of archers before him. He had that day made a present of a handsome black horse to sir John of Hainault, who had mounted on it a knight of his, called sir John de Fusselles, that bore his banner: which horse ran off with him, and forced his way through the English army, and, when about to return, stumbled and fell into a ditch and severely wounded him: he would have been dead, if his page had not followed him round the battalions, and found him unable to rise: he had not, however, any other hindrance than from his horse; for the English did not quit the ranks that day to make prisoners. The page alighted, and raised him up; but he did not return the way he came, as he would have found it difficult from the crowd. This battle, which was fought on the Saturday between la Broyes† and Crecy, was very murderous and cruel; and many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known. Toward evening, many knights and squires of the French had lost their masters: they wandered up and down the plain, attacking the English in small parties: they were soon destroyed; for the English had determined that day to give no quarter, or hear of ransom from any one.

Early in the day, some French, Germans, and Savoyards, had broken through the archers of the prince's battalion, and had engaged with the men-at-arms; upon which the second battalion came to his aid, and it was time, for otherwise he would have been hard pressed. The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a knight‡ in great haste to the king of England, who was posted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the knight's arrival, he said, "Sir, the earl of Warwick, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son, are vigorously attacked by the French; and they entreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do." The king replied, "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded that he cannot support himself?" "Nothing of the sort, thank God," rejoined the knight; but he is in so hot an engagement that he has great need of your help." The king answered, "Now, sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will happen, as long as my son has life; and say, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honor of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have intrusted him." The knight returned to his lords, and related the king's answer, which mightily encouraged them, and made them repent they had ever sent such a message.§

It is a certain fact, that sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was in the prince's battalion, having been told by some of the English, that they had seen the banner of his brother engaged in the battle against him, was exceedingly anxious to save him; but he was too late, for he was left dead on the field, and so was the earl of Aumarle his nephew. On the other hand, the earls of Alençon and of Flanders were fighting lustily under their banners, and with their own people; but they could not resist the force of the English, and were there slain, as well as many other knights and squires that were attending on or accompanying them. The earl of Blois, nephew to the king of France, and the duke of Lorraine, his brother-in-law, with their troops, made a gallant defence; but they were surrounded by a troop of English and Welsh, and slain in spite of their prowess. The earl of St. Pol and the earl of Auxerre were also killed, as well as many others. Late after vespers, the king of France had not more about him than sixty men, every one included. Sir John of Hainault, who was of the number, had once remounted the king; for his horse had been killed under him by an arrow: he said to the king, "Sir, retreat while you have an opportunity, and do not expose yourself so simply: if you have lost this battle, another time you will be the conqueror." After he had said this, he took the bridle of the king's horse, and led him off by force; for he had before entreated of him to retire. The king rode on until he came to the castle of la Broyes, where he found the gates shut, for it was very dark. The king ordered the governor of it to be summoned: he came upon the battlements, and asked who it was that called at such an hour? The king answered, "Open, open, governor; it is the fortune of France." The governor, hearing the king's voice, immediately descended, opened the gate, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the castle; but he had only with him five barons, sir John of Hainault, the lord Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord of Aubigny, and the lord of Montfort. The king would not bury himself in such a place as that, but, having taken some refreshments, set out again with his attendants about midnight, and rode on, under the direction of guides who were well acquainted with the country, until, about daybreak, he came to Amiens, where he halted. This Saturday the English never quitted their ranks in pursuit of any one, but remained on the field, guarding their position, and defending themselves against all who attacked them. The battle was ended at the hour of vespers.

CHAPTER CXXX.

THE ENGLISH ON THE MORROW AGAIN DEFEAT THE FRENCH.

When, on the Saturday night, the English heard no more hooting or shouting, nor any more crying out to particular lords or their banners, they looked upon the field as their own, and their enemies as beaten. They made great fires, and lighted torches because of the obscurity of the night. King Edward then came down from his post, who all that day had not put on his helmet, and, with his whole battalion, advanced to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in his arms and kissed, and said, "Sweet son, God give you good perseverance: you are my son, for most loyally have you acquitted yourself this day: you are worthy to be a sovereign." The prince bowed down very low, and humbled himself, giving all the honor to the king his father. The English, during the night, made frequent thanksgivings to the Lord, for the happy issue of the day, and without rioting; for the king had forbidden all riot or noise. On the Sunday morning, there was so great a fog that one could scarcely see the distance of half an acre. The king ordered a detachment from the army, under the command of the two marshals, consisting of about five hundred lances and two thousand archers, to make an excursion, and see if there were any bodies of French collected together. The quota of troops from Rouen and Beauvais, had, this Sunday morning, left Abbeville and St. Ricquier in Ponthieu, to join the French army, and were ignorant of the defeat of the preceding evening: they met this detachment, and, thinking they must be French, hastened to join them.

As soon as the English found who they were, they fell upon them; and there was a sharp engagement; but the French soon turned their backs, and fled in great disorder. There were slain in this flight in the open fields, under hedges and bushes, upward of seven thousand; and had it been clear weather, not one soul would have escaped.

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* His blindness was supposed to be caused by poison, which was given to him when engaged in the wars of Italy.—Bonamy. *Mem. de l'Academie*, vol. xxiii.

† A village in Picardy, election of Montdidier.

‡ Sir Thomas Norwich.—MSS.

§ The style of Lord Berners, in many instances, is so different from the mode of expression adopted by Mr. Johnes, as almost to make the parallel passage appear a distinct narrative, and in such cases it is interesting to compare the two translations. The following is Lord Berners' version of this narration. Ed.

"In the mornyng the day of the batayle certayne frenchemen and almaygnes perforce opyned the archers of the princes batayle, and came and fought with the men at armes hande to hande. Than the second batayle of theuglyshe men came to socour the prince's batayle, the whiche was tyme, for they had as than moche ado, and they with the prince sent a messangar to the kynge who was on a lytell wyndmill hill. Than the knyght sayd to the kyng, Sir therle of Warwyke and therle of Cafort (Stafford) Sir Reynolde Cobham and other such as be about the prince your sonne are feersly fought with all, and are sore handled, wherefore they desire you that you and your batayle woll come and ayde them, for if the frenchemen encrease as they dout they woll your sonne and they shall have moche a do. Than the kynge sayde, is my sonne deed or hurt or on the yerthe felled? No, sir, quoth the knight, but he is hardely matched wherfore he hath nede of your ayde. Well sayde the kyng, retourne to hym and to them that sent you hyther, and say to them that they sende no more to me for any adventure that falleth as long as my sonne is alyve; and also say to them that they suffer hym this day to wynne his spurres, for if God be pleased, I woll this iourney be his and the honoure therof and to them that be aboute hym. Than the knyght retourned agayn to them and shewed the kynges wordes, the which greatly encouraged them, and repoyned in that they had sende to the kynge as they dyd."

A little time afterwards, this same party fell in with the archbishop of Rouen and the great prior of France, who were also ignorant of the discomfiture of the French: for they had been informed that the king was not to fight before Sunday. Here began a fresh battle: for those two lords were well attended by good men-at-arms; however, they could not withstand the English, but were almost all slain, with the two chiefs who commanded them; very few escaping. In the course of the morning, the English found many Frenchmen who had lost their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the king, or their own leaders. The English put to the sword all they met: and it has been assured to me for fact, that of foot soldiers, sent from the cities, towns and municipalities, there were slain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of Saturday.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

THE ENGLISH NUMBER THE DEAD SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF CRECY.

This detachment, which had been sent to look after the French, returned as the king was coming from mass, and related to him all that they had seen and met with. After he had been assured by them that there was not any appearance of the French collecting another army, he sent to have the numbers and condition of the dead examined.

He ordered on this business, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Stafford, and three heralds to examine their arms,* and two secretaries to write down all the names. They took much pains to examine all the dead, and were the whole day in the field of battle, not returning but just as the king was sitting down to supper. They made to him a very circumstantial report of all they had observed, and said, they had found eighty banners, the bodies of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thousand common men.

The English halted there that day, and on the Monday morning prepared to march off. The king ordered the bodies of the principal knights to be taken from the ground, and carried to the monastery of Montenay, which was hard by, there to be interred in consecrated ground. He had it proclaimed in the neighborhood, that he should grant a truce for three days, in order that the dead might be buried. He then marched on, passing by Montrieul-sur-mer.†

His marshals made an excursion as far as Hesdin,‡ and burnt Vaubain and Serain; but they could make nothing of the castle, as it was too strong and well guarded. They lay that Monday night upon the banks of the Canche, near Blangy. The next day they rode toward Boulogne, and burnt the towns of St. Josse and Neufchatel:§ they did the same to Estaples, in the country of the Boulonois. The whole army passed through the forest of Hardelou, and the country of the Boulonois, and came to the large town of Wisant, where the king, prince, and all the English lodged; and having refreshed themselves there one whole day, they came, on the Thursday, before the strong town of Calais.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO CALAIS—THE POORER SORT OF THE INHABITANTS ARE SENT OUT OF IT.

A burgundy knight, named sir John de Vienne, was governor of Calais; and with him were sir Arnold d'Andreghen, sir John de Surie, sir Bardo de Bellebourne, sir Geoffry de la Motte, sir Pepin de Were, and many other knights and squires. On the king's arrival before Calais, he laid siege to it, and built between it and the river and bridge, houses of wood: they were laid out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom: and in this town of the king's, there was everything necessary for an army, besides a market-place, where there were markets, every Wednesday and Saturday, for butchers' meat, and all other sorts of merchandise: cloth, bread, and everything else, which came from England, and Flanders, might be had there, as well as all comforts, for money. The English made frequent excursions to Guines‖ and its neighborhood, and to the gates of St. Omer and Boulogne, from whence they brought great booties back to the army. The king made no attacks upon the town, as he knew it would be only lost labor; and he was sparing of his men and artillery; but said, he would remain there so long that he would starve the town into a surrender, unless the king of France should come there to raise the siege. When the governor of Calais saw the preparations of the king of England, he collected together all the poor inhabitants, who had not laid in any store of provisions, and, one Wednesday morning, sent upward of seventeen hundred men, women and children, out of the town. As they were passing through the English army, they asked them, why they had left the town? They replied, because they had nothing to eat. The king, upon this, allowed them to pass through in safety, ordered them a hearty dinner, and gave to each two sterlings, as charity and alms, for which many of them prayed earnestly for the king.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY RAISES THE SIEGE OF AIGUILLON.

The duke of Normandy, whom we left before Aiguillon, which he was besieging, and sir Walter Manny and the other knights who were within it, made, about the middle of August, a skirmish before the castle, which increased so much that almost his whole army was engaged in it. Near about this time, the lord Philip of Burgundy, earl of Artois and of Boulogne, and cousin-german to the duke, arrived. He was a very young knight: as soon as this skirmish commenced, he armed himself, and, mounting a handsome steed, stuck spurs into him, in order to hasten to the combat; but the horse, taking the bit between his teeth, ran off with him, and, in crossing a ditch, fell into it, upon the knight, who was so grievously bruised that he never recovered, and in a short time died. Soon afterwards, the king of France sent to his son, the duke of Normandy, to lay all other things aside, and raise the siege, in order to return directly into France, to defend his inheritance against the English. The duke, upon this, demanded advice from the earls and barons there present; for he had vowed he would never move from thence until he had the castle, and all within it, in his power: but they assured him, since the king, his father, had so expressly ordered him to return, he might comply without any forfeiture of his honor. On the morrow, at break of day, therefore, the French decamped, and, trussing up tents and baggage with great haste, took the road for France.

The knights who were in Aiguillon, seeing this, armed themselves, and mounting their horses, sallied forth; the pennon of sir Walter Manny taking the lead, fell upon the French, who were scarcely all marched off, cut down and slew numbers, and took upward of forty prisoners, whom they brought back to the castle. From them they learned the successful campaign the king of England had made in France, and that at present he was laying siege to Calais. Before the king of France left Amiens, after the battle of Crecy, to go for Paris, he was so much enraged against sir Godémar du Fay, for not having done his duty in defending the ford of Blanchetaque, by which means the English had entered Ponthieu, that he had determined to hang him; to which many of his council also were inclined, for they were desirous that sir Godémar should make some amends, by his death, for the defeat the king had suffered at Crecy, and called him traitor; but sir John of Hainault excused him, and averted the king's anger, by saying that it would have been difficult for him to have resisted the English army, when all the flower of the French nobility could do nothing. Soon after this, the duke of Normandy arrived in France, where he was joyfully received by his parents, the king and queen.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

SIR WALTER MANNY, BY MEANS OF A PASSPORT, RIDES THROUGH FRANCE, FROM AIGUILLON TO CALAIS.

About this time, sir Walter Manny had a conversation with a great knight from Normandy, whom he detained as his prisoner, and asked him, what sum he was willing to pay for his ransom? The knight replied, "Three thousand crowns." Upon this, sir Walter said, "I know you are related to the duke of Normandy, much beloved by him, and one of his privy councillors. I will let you free upon your honor, if you will go to the duke, and obtain from him a passport for myself and twenty others, that we may ride through France, as far as Calais, paying courteously for whatever we may want; if therefore you obtain this from the king, I shall hold you free from your ransom, and also be much obliged to you; for I have a great desire to see the king of England, and will not remain in any town more than one night. If you cannot accomplish it, you will return in a month to this fortress, as to your prison." The knight set out for Paris, and having obtained from the duke the passport, returned with it to sir Walter at Aiguillon, who acquitted him of his ransom. Sir Walter, shortly afterwards, set out with twenty horse, and took his road through Auvergne. He told everywhere who he was, and, at every place he stopped, showed his passport, and was directly set at liberty; but at Orleans he was arrested, although he showed his papers, and from thence conducted to Paris, where he was confined in the prison of the Châtelet. When the duke of Normandy heard of it, he went immediately to the king and remonstrated with him on the subject, because sir Walter Manny had had his passport through his means, and demanded that he should, as soon as possible, be set at liberty; otherwise it would be said that he had betrayed him. The king answered, that he intended putting him to death, for he looked upon him as one of his greatest enemies. Upon which the duke said, that if he put his intentions in execution, he would never bear arms against the king of England, and would prevent all those dependent on him from doing the same. Very high words passed between them; and he left the king, declaring he would never serve in any of his armies, so long as Walter Manny should remain in prison.

* In those days, knights, or persons of note, wore over their armor a surcoat, having their arms blazoned upon it. This may be seen in any old paintings of that age.

† In Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

‡ In Artois, situated on the Canche, diocese of Arras.

§ Villages in Picardy.

‖ In Picardy, two leagues and a half from Calais. It was in the possession of the English above two hundred years

Things remained in this situation a long time. There was a knight from Hainault, named sir Mansart d' Aisnes, who was eager to serve sir Walter, but had great difficulty in getting access to the duke of Normandy: however, at last the king was advised to let sir Walter out of prison, and to pay him all his expenses. The king would have sir Walter to dine with him in the hôtel de Nesle at Paris; when he presented him with gifts and jewels to the amount of a thousand florins. Sir Walter accepted of them, upon condition, that when he got to Calais he should inform the king, his lord, of it; and if it were agreeable to his pleasure, he would keep them, otherwise he would send them back. The king and duke said, that he had spoken like a loyal knight. Sir Walter then took leave of them, rode on by easy day's journeys to Hainault, and remained, to refresh himself, three days in Valenciennes. He arrived at Calais, where he was well received by the king of England, who, upon being informed by sir Walter of the presents he had had from the king of France, said, "Sir Walter, you have hitherto most loyally served us, and we hope you will continue to do so; send back to king Philip his presents, for you have no right to keep them: we have enough, thank God, for you and ourselves, and are perfectly well disposed to do you all the good in our power, for the services you have rendered us." Sir Walter took out all the jewels, and, giving them to his cousin, the lord of Mansac, said, "Ride into France, to king Philip, and recommend me to him; and tell him, that I thank him many times for the fine jewels he presented me with, but that it is not agreeable to the will and pleasure of the king of England, my lord, that I retain them." The knight did as he was commanded; but the king of France would not take back the jewels: he gave them to the lord of Mansac, who thanked the king for them, and had no inclination to refuse them.

CHAPTER CXXXV.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES IN POITOU, AND THE CITY OF POITIERS.

It has been before mentioned, that the earl of Derby had remained in the city of Bordeaux during the siege of Aiguillon. As soon as he was informed that the duke of Normandy had raised the siege, he issued out his summons to all knights and squires in Gascony that were attached to the English. In obedience to which, there came to Bordeaux the lords d'Albret, de l'Esparre, de Rosem, de Mucidan, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Bouqueton, sir Aymery de Traste, and many others. The earl collected twelve hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and three thousand infantry. With these he crossed the Garonne, between Bordeaux and Blayes, and took the road for Saintonge. He first came before Mirabeau,* which he took by assault as well as the castle; and, having placed therein a garrison of his own men, rode on to Aulnay,† which he also took and its castle, and then Benon‡ and Surgeres:§ but they could make nothing of the castle of Marans,‖ which is about three leagues from la Rochelle: they pushed on, therefore, to Montaigne-sur-mer in Poitou, which they took and re-garrisoned. They then advanced to Lusignan¶ and burnt the town, but could not gain the castle. They next marched to Taillebourg,** and, having conquered the bridge, town and castle, put all the inhabitants to the sword, because they had in the assault killed a valiant knight. The whole country was so much alarmed that they fled before the English, leaving their houses empty and defenceless, to shut themselves up in the fortified towns. There was not any appearance of opposition from the knights and squires of Saintonge, who had retired to their fortresses, without making any effort to combat the English.

The earl of Derby at last came before the town of St. Jean d'Angely,†† and immediately began an attack upon it. There were not in the town any men-at-arms; and at vespers, when the attack was nearly ended, sir William de Rion, mayor of the town, and the principal inhabitants, sent to demand passports for six of the citizens to come and treat with the earl: it was granted them for that night, and the whole of the next day. On the morrow, these citizens came to the earl in his tent, and swore to be good Englishmen as long as the king of England, or any one from him, would keep them in peace from the French. The earl refreshed himself in the town for four days, and received the homage of the inhabitants: he then advanced to Niort,‡‡ of which sir Guiscard d'Angle was governor. He made three attacks upon it; but not gaining anything, he passed on, and came to the village of St. Maximien, which he took by storm, and slew all that were within it. He next marched to Montreuil Bonin,§§ where there were upward of two hundred coiners, who were minting money for the king of France, and who declared that they would not obey the summons of the earl; but there was so sharp an assault made on it, that the town was taken and all within put to death. The earl placed a new garrison in the castle, and advanced to Poitiers, which is a large straggling city: he could only therefore lay siege to it on one side; for he had not forces sufficient to surround it. He immediately made an assault; but the townsmen of the poorer sort were so numerous, though little prepared for such an attack, and defended the town so well, that the earl's people gained nothing: they retired to their quarters much fatigued. On the morrow some of the earl's knights armed themselves, rode round the town, and afterwards made their report to him of what they had seen and heard. There was then a council held; and it was resolved to attack the town in three different places at once the next day, and to post the greater number of the men-at-arms and archers at the weakest part; which was executed.

It happened, that at that time there was not any gallant knight in the town who knew what deeds of arms were; nor were they provided with any accustomed to wars, that might advise them how properly to defend themselves. The earl's people, therefore, at this assault entered the town at the weakest part: and, when those within saw themselves thus conquered, they fled for the fastest out of the other gates, for there were many. Upward of seven hundred were slain; for the earl's people put every one to the sword, men, women and little children. The city was instantly plundered, and was full of wealth, as well of its own inhabitants, as of those in the neighborhood, who had retired into it as to a place of safety. The army destroyed many churches, committed great waste, and would have done much more, if the earl had not forbidden, under pain of death, that either church or house should be set on fire; for he was desirous of remaining there ten or twelve days. Part of the disorders were stopped, but much thieving still continued. The earl remained in the city twelve days: he might have stayed longer had he chosen it, for no one came to oppose him, and the whole country trembled: none dared to show themselves out of their strong garrisons. He left Poitiers empty, for its size rendered it untenable. The army at its departure was so laden with the riches they had found there, that they made no account of clothes, unless they were of gold and silver, or trimmed with furs.* They returned by easy marches to St. Jean d'Angely, where they remained for some time. The earl during this stay made handsome presents to the ladies and damsels of the town, and almost every day gave them grand dinners or suppers. He enlivened them so much that he acquired great popularity: and they publicly said, he was the most noble prince that ever mounted steed. On his taking leave of them, he made the mayor and principal citizens renew their oath, that they would keep and defend the town, as the legal inheritance of the king of England. The earl then rode on with his whole army to Bordeaux, passing by the fortresses he had conquered, when he dismissed his troops, and gave them many thanks for the services they had done.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

THE KING OF SCOTLAND, DURING THE SIEGE OF CALAIS, INVADES ENGLAND.

I have been silent some time respecting the king of Scotland; but until this moment I have not had anything worth relating; for, as I have before said, mutual truces had been granted between him and the king of England, which had not been infringed. During the time the king of England was carrying on the siege of Calais, the Scots determined to make war upon him, thinking it a good opportunity to be revenged for the many disasters he had brought on them. England had at that time very few men-at-arms, as the king had a great number with him before Calais, as well as in his other armies in Brittany, Poitou, and Gascony. The king of France took great pains to foment this war, in order that the English might have so much to employ themselves at home as would oblige them to raise the siege of Calais, and return to England.

King David issued his summons for a parliament to be holden at Perth; which was attended by the earls, prelates, and barons of Scotland, who were unanimous for invading England as speedily as possible. Raynald, lord of the isles, who governed the wild Scots, and whom alone they obeyed, was sent to, and entreated to attend the parliament. He complied with the request, and brought three thousand of the wildest of his countrymen with him. When all the Scots were assembled, they amounted together to about forty thousand combatants: but they could not make their preparations so secretly as to prevent news of it coming to the knowledge of the queen of England, who had taken up her residence in the north, near the borders. She wrote, and sent summons to all that were attached to England to come to York by a certain day. Many men-at-arms and archers, who had remained at home, put themselves in motion, and advanced to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which the queen had appointed as the final place of rendezvous. In the meanwhile, the Scots set out from Perth, and advanced the first day to Dunfermline; the next day they crossed a small arm of the sea; but the king went to Stirling, crossed the water there on the morrow, and came to Edinburgh. Here they halted and numbered their men. There

* A town in Poitou, diocese of Poitiers.
† A town in Aunis.
‡ A town in Poitou.
§ A town in Aunis.
‖ A town in Aunis.
¶ A town in Poitou.
** A town in Saintonge, three leagues from Saintes.
†† In Saintonge, diocese of Saintes.
‡‡ A city in Poitou, twenty-six leagues from Poitiers.
§§ A town in Poitou, three leagues from Poitiers.

* The original, according to D. Sauvage's edition, runs thus: "*qu'ils ne faisoient compte de draps fors d'or et d'argent, et de pennes.*" The meaning here is not very clear, and Mr. Johnes has endeavored to overcome the difficulty by substituting furs for feathers. The author probably intended to say, that they made no account of cloth except it was of gold or silver, nor of anything else except feathers. Lord Berners says, "they setted by nothynge but gold and sylver and fethers for men of warre."—Ed.

were full three thousand knights and squires, well armed, and thirty thousand others, mounted on galloways. They marched to Roxburgh, the first fortress belonging to the English on their road, under the command of the lord William Montacute, who had lately erected it against the Scots. This castle is handsome, and very strong; the Scots therefore passed on without attacking it, and took up their quarters on the banks of a river,* between Percy and Lincolne: whence they began to destroy and burn the country of Cumberland. Some of their scouts advanced as far as York, where they burnt all without the walls and down the river, and returned to their army, within one day's march of Newcastle.

QUEEN PHILIPPA—From the Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.

THE queen of England, who was very anxious to defend her kingdom, and guard it from all disturbers, in order to show that she was in earnest about it, came herself to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. She took up her residence there, to wait for the forces she expected from different parts of the kingdom. The Scots, who were informed that Newcastle was the place of rendezvous of the English army, advanced thither, and sent their vanguard to skirmish near the town; who, on their return, burnt some hamlets adjoining to it. The smoke and flames came into the town, which made the English impatient to sally out upon those who had done this mischief, but their leaders would not permit them. On the morrow, the king of Scotland, with full forty thousand men, including all sorts, advanced within three short English miles of Newcastle, and took up his quarters on the land of the lord Neville. He sent to inform the army in the town, that, if they were willing to come forth, he would wait for them and give them battle. The barons and prelates of England sent for answer, that they accepted his offer, and would risk their lives with the realm of their lord and king. They sallied out in number about twelve hundred men-at-arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand other men, including the Welsh. The Scots posted themselves opposite to the English; and each army was drawn out in battle array.

The queen of England came to the place where her army was, and remained until it was drawn out in four battalions. The first was under the command of the bishop of Durham, and the lord Percy; the second, under the archbishop of York, and the lord Neville: the third, under the bishop of Lincoln, and lord Mowbray; the fourth, was commanded by lord Baliol, governor of Berwick, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord Roos. Each battalion had its just proportion of men-at-arms and archers, as was expedient. The queen now advanced among them, and entreated them to do their duty well, in defending the honor of their lord and king, and urged them, for the love of God, to fight manfully. They promised her that they would acquit themselves loyally, to the utmost of their power, and perhaps better than if the king had been there in person. The queen then took her leave, and recommended them to the protection of God and St. George. The two armies were soon after in motion, and the archers on each side began to shoot; but those of the Scots did not long continue it, while the English shot incessantly. When the battalions were got into close combat, the engagement was sharp, and well fought.

QUEEN PHILIPPA HARANGUING HER TROOPS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

The battle began about nine o'clock, and lasted until noon. The Scots had very hard and sharp axes,* with which they dealt deadly blows; but at last the English gained the field, though it cost them dear by the loss of their men. On the part of the Scots, there fell in the field the earl of Sys, the earl Dostre, the earl Patris,† the earl of Furlant,‡ the earl Dastredure, the earl of Mar, the earl John Douglass,§ sir Alexander Ramsay, who bore the

* Probably the river was the Irthing, and the towns Lidel and Lanercost: for lord Hales says, in his Annals, that "David stormed the castle of Lidel, and beheaded Walter Selby, the governor. Selby, according to the usage of those loose times, seems to have been both a robber and a warrior, alternately plundering and defending his country."

"He was one of the band of robbers so famous in English story, who, under their leader, Gilbert Middleton, robbed two cardinals and the bishop of Durham. He after wards held out the castles of Mitford and Horton against his sovereign.—*Scala Chron. ap. Leland*, t. i. p. 561.

Yet Packington, apud Leland, t. i. p. 470, says, "David, king of Scottes, caused the *noble knight* Walter Selby, captayne of the Pyle of Lydelle, to be slayne afore his owne face, not suffering him so eaven as to be confessed."

* Q. Lochaber axes.
† Probably Patrick, earl of Dunbar.
‡ Q. Sutherland.
§ No earl Douglas at that period.

king's banners, and many other barons, knights, and squires.* The king of Scotland was taken prisoner, fighting most gallantly, and badly wounded, before he was captured by a squire of Northumberland, named John Copeland; who, as soon as he got him, pushed through the crowd, and with eight other companions, rode off, and never stopped until he was distant from the field of battle about

Heads of Lochaber Axes—From specimens preserved in the Tower of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

fifteen miles. He came about Vespers to Ogle castle, on the river Blythe, and there declared that he would not surrender his prisoner, the king of Scotland, to man or woman except to his lord the king of England. That same day were taken prisoners, the earls of Murray and March, lord William Douglas, lord Robert de Wersy, the bishops of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and many other barons and knights. There were about fifteen thousand slain, and the remainder saved themselves as well as they could. This battle was fought near Newcastle, in the year 1346, on a Saturday preceding Michaelmas day.*

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* "Knyghton is the historian who has given the most ample list of the killed at the battle of Durham; yet it is, in various particulars, erroneous; and it has been strangely disfigured by the mistakes of transcribers. Knyghton has afforded the ground work of the following list; and care has been taken to correct his errors, whenever they could be detected. This was the more necessary, because our writers seem to have despaired of being able to correct the list, and leave left us many names as erroneous as they found them. Thus, Abercrombie has *Humphrey de Blois* and *Robert Maltalent*, and to conceal his ignorance, he affirms them to have been Frenchmen. He has also *David Banant* and *Nicholas Clapodoltan*, names for which he has not ventured to account. Some additions have been procured from Fordun, although his list is not so full as that in Knyghton. These additions are marked F.

"It is impossible to give a correct list of all the prisoners of distinction taken at Durham, for it appears, that many persons privately took ransom for the prisoners they had made, and suffered them to depart. This practice became so general, that it was prohibited under pain of death [20th November, and 13th December, 1346.]

"Most of the prisoners of distinction, who had not escaped by means of this connivance, were ordered to be conveyed to the tower of London [8th December, 1346.] From that instrument, and from some other scattered notices, I have drawn up a list of prisoners, not so complete, indeed, as might have been wished, yet more authentic and intelligible than any that has been hitherto exhibited.

"KILLED.

"John Randolph, earl of Moray—the youngest son of Randolph the regent. With him the male line of that heroic family ended. He was succeeded in his honors and estate by his sister, the countess of March, vulgarly termed *Black Agnes*.

"Maurice Moray, earl of Strathern—in right of his mother Mary. The English, in general, did not acknowledge his title. Knyghton mentions him again under the name of *Maurice de Murref*

"David de laye Haye, constable, F.—Knyghton mentions his name, but without his title of office.

"Robert Keith, marshal, F.—grandson of sir Robert Keith.

"Robert de Peebles, chamberlain, F.—There is considerable uncertainty as to this name.

"Thomas Charters, chancellor, F.—De Carnuto. A name of great antiquity in Scotland. See Crawford, Officers of State, p. 19.

"Humphrey de Boys.—Knyghton and his copyists say, *de Blous*, probably *Boys*, the same with *Bouse*, *Bosco*.

"John de Bonneville, F.

"Thomas Boyd.—This is a mistake in Knyghton, unless there were two persons of that name; for there was a Thomas Boyd among the prisoners.

"Andrew Buttergask, F.—This family subsisted until about the beginning of the 15th century, when the heiress, Margaret Buttergask, of that ilk, made over her estate to the family of Gray.

"Roger Cameron.

"John de Crawfurd.

"William Frazer, F.—of Cowie; ancestor of lord Salton.

"David Fitz-Robert.—Probably some person who had not as yet assumed a surname.

"William de Haliburton.—Fordun says *Walter*, but there is a Walter de Haliburton among the prisoners.

"William de la Haye.

"Gilbert de Inchmartin, F.

"Edward de Keith.

"Edmunde de Keith.—According to Knyghton, the brother of Edward de Keith.

"Reginald Kirkpatrick.

"David de Lindesay—said by Fordun to have been 'the son and heir of lord David de Lindesay,' ancestor of the earls of Crawfurd and Balcarras.

"John de Lindesay,

"Robert Maitland: called *Mantalent* by Knyghton, from whence Abercrombie formed '*Maltalent*, a French knight;' plainly *Matulent*, now *Maitland*, of Thirlestane, ancestor of the earl of Lauderdale.

"—— Maitland—the brother of Robert Maitland of Thirlestane.

"Philip de Meldrum—called *de Mildron* by Knyghton.

"John de la More.

"Adam Moygrave.

"William Mowbray.—There was a William Mowbray among the prisoners.

"William de Ramsay, the father.—A William de Ramsay, probably the *younger*, was among the prisoners.

"Michael Scot, F.—of Murthockstone, now Murdiestone, ancestor of the duke of Buccleugh.

"John St. Clair.—There was a John St. Clair among the prisoners.

"Alexander Strachan—called *Straggy* by Knyghton.

"—— Strachan, the brother of Alexander Strachan.

"John Stewart.

"John Stewart.—I conjecture that sir John Stewart of Dreghorn is meant, whose father Alan was killed at Halidon.

"Alan Stewart, the brother of John Stewart.

"Adam de Watsom.—Knyghton has *Adam de Nyston*, which is plainly an error in transcribing. Perhaps *de Dennistoun* is the right name. Knyghton reckons *Patonus Heryng*, i. *Patricius Heron*, among the slain. It appears from Fœdera, that he was a prisoner. Knyghton also reckons *the earl of Sutherland* among the slain, Fordun among the prisoners. It is certain that he was not killed; and, if he were made prisoner, he must have been among those who were suffered to escape immediately after the battle

"PRISONERS.

"David II. king of Scots.—He received two wounds before he yielded himself a prisoner.

"Duncan earl of Fife.—He had sworn fealty to Baliol. He was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, but obtained mercy.

"John Graham, earl of Menteth—in right of his wife, according to the mode of those times: he was executed as a traitor. He had formerly sworn fealty to Edward III.

"Malcolm Fleming, earl of Wigton.—He is called *Malcolm Fleming*, without any addition; Fœdera, t. v. p. 537. He had a grant of the earldom of Wigton in 1342. See Crawfurd, Peerage, p. 493. But the English government did not acknowledge the right of David II. to confer titles of honor. It is probable that he made his escape; for, in Calendars of Ancient Charters, p. 203, there is this title, 'de capiendo Robertum Bertram, qui Malcolmum Fleming, Scotum, inimicum, regis evadere permisit.'

"George Abernethy—of Salton, ancestor of lord Salton.

"David de Aunand.

"William Baillie—supposed to be Baillie of Lambistoun or Lambintoun, vulgarly Lamington; Nisbet, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 137. But see sir James Dalrymple, p. 410.

"Thomas Boyd probably of Kilmarnock. The son of that Boyd who was the faithful and fortunate companion of Robert Bruce.

"Andrew Campbell—of Loudon. In right of his mother, Susanna Crawfurd, heritable sheriff of Airshire, ancestor of the earl of Loudon.

"Gilbert de Carrick—ancestor of the earl of Dassilis. His son assumed the name of Kennedy.

"Robert Chisholm.

"Nicholas Ivo Fleman—called *Clapdolian* by Knyghton, and by Abercrombie *Clapodoltan*, [illegible] although the name has a Germanic air.

"Fergus de Crawfurd.—Roger de Crawfurd.

"Bartholomew de Dermond—a German, as the record in Fœdera bears. This is mentioned because Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 99, says, 'perhaps *Drummond*,' although he had perused Fœdera.

"John Douglas, the elder—probably the younger brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale, ancestor of the earl of Morton.

"William Douglas, the elder.—This person, I am confident, is William Douglas, the bastard brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale. There is no evidence that William lord Douglas, son of Archibald, surnamed *Tineman*, and first earl of that family, was made prisoner at Durham, or indeed that he was present at the battle. Fordun, l. xiv. c. 6, expressly says, that he did not come from France till after the battle. We learn from Fœdera, that he was at liberty while others were prisoners; and we do not learn from Fœdera, that he was ever a prisoner. To support an erroneous hypothesis of Boece, concerning William lord Douglas, records have been misconstructed and misapplied.

"Patrick de Dunbar. Adam de Fulkarton. John Giffard. Laurence Gilibrand.

"David Graham—of Montrose; ancestor of the duke of Montrose.

"Alexander Halibunton—John de Haliburton. Douglas, Peerage, p. 321, conjectures, not improbably, that they were the brothers of Walter de Haliburton. But he ought not to have referred to Fordun, v. ii. [l. xiv. c. 3] in proof of this, for Fordun mentions them not.

"Walter de Haliburton—predecessor of the lords Haliburton of Dirleton.

"Patrick Heron. William de Jardin.

"Roger de Kirkpatrick. Made prisoner by Ralph de Hastings. Hastings died of his wounds. He bequeathed the body of Roger de Kirkpatrick to his next legatees, Edmund Hastings of Kythorp and John de Kirkeby. Fœdera, t. v. p. 585.

"Thomas de Lippe.—called, in Calendars of Ancient Charters, *chevalier*. If he was not a foreigner, I know not who he was.

"William de Livingston.

"—— Lorein—said in the record, to have been the son of Eustace Lorein. This Eustace, called *Tassy* by Fordun, l. xiv. c. 5, was captain of Rokesburgh under Douglas of Liddesdale, the governor.

"Duncan M'Dowel.—Not in the list in Fœdera, t. v. p. 535, but mentioned as a prisoner, Fœdera, t. v. p. 554.

"Duncan M'Donnel.—See Fœdera, ib. the son of the former.

"—— de Makepath.—Were it not for the particle *de*, I should suppose that some person of the name of *M'Beth* was here understood.

"John de Maxwell—of Carlaverock, ancestor of the earl of Nithsdale.

"Walter Moine. David Moray. William de Moray. William Moore. William Mowbray.

"Patrick de Polwarth, ancestor of the earl of Marchmont.

"John de Preston—supposed to have been the ancestor of Preston lord Dingwall.

"Alexander de Ramsay. Henry de Ramsay. Nevs de Ramsay.

"William de Ramsay.—Probably sir William Ramsay of Colluthie. He was at the battle of Poictiers in 1356, and was made prisoner there.

"Walter de Salton.—Not in Fœdera; but mentioned as made of him, Calendar of Ancient Charters, p. 199.

"John St. Clair. Alexander Steel. Alexander Stewart.

"John Stewart—of Dalswinton, as the record bears. Ancestor of the earl of Galloway.

"John Stewart—a bastard, as the record bears.

"John de Valence. William de Vaux. Robert Wallace.

Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. App. No. 3, p. 221, *et seq.*

* It was on the 17th October.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

JOHN COPELAND TAKES THE KING OF SCOTLAND PRISONER, AND RECEIVES GREAT ADVANTAGES FROM IT.

When the queen of England, who had remained in Newcastle, heard that her army had gained the day, she mounted her palfrey, and went to the field of battle. She was informed that the king of Scotland had been made prisoner, by a squire of the name of John Copeland, but who had rode off with him they could not tell whither. The queen ordered him to be written to, to bring the king of Scots to her, and to tell him that he had not done what was agreeable to her, in carrying off his prisoner without leave. All that day the queen and army remained on the field of battle, which they had won, and on the morrow returned to Newcastle.*

When the letter from the queen was presented by a knight to John Copeland, he answered that he would not give up his prisoner, the king of Scots, to man or woman, except to his own lord, the king of England: that they might depend on his taking proper care of him, and he would be answerable for guarding him well. The queen, upon this, wrote letters to the king, which she sent off to Calais. She therein informed him of the state of his kingdom. The king then ordered John Copeland to come to him at Calais, who, having placed his prisoner under good guards, in a strong castle on the borders of Northumberland, set out, and, passing through England, came to Dover, where he embarked, and landed near Calais. When the king of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand, and said, "Ha! welcome, my squire, who by his valor has captured my adversary the king of Scotland." John Copeland, falling on one knee, replied, "If God, out of his great kindness, has given me the king of Scotland, and permitted me to conquer him in arms, no one ought to be jealous of it; for God can, when he pleases, send his grace to a poor squire, as well as to a great lord. Sir, do not take it amiss, if I did not surrender him to the orders of my lady, the queen: for I hold my lands of you, and my oath is to you, not to her, except it be through choice." The king answered, "John, the loyal service you have done us, and our esteem for your valor is so great, that it may well serve you as an excuse; and shame fall upon all those that bear you any ill-will. You will now return home, and take your prisoner, the king of Scotland, and convey him to my wife; and, by way of remuneration, I assign lands, as near your house as you can choose them, to the amount of five hundred pounds sterling a-year, for you and your heirs; and I retain you as a squire of my body and of my household."† John Copeland left Calais the third day after his arrival, and returned to England; when he was come home, he assembled his friends and neighbors, and in company with them, took the king of Scots and conveyed him to York, where he presented him, in the name of the king, to the queen, and made such handsome excuses that she was satisfied.

When the queen had sufficiently provided for the defence of the city of York, the castle of Roxburgh, the city of Durham, and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as well as for all the borders, and had appointed the lords Percy and Neville governors of Northumberland, to take proper care of it, she set out from York and returned to London. She ordered the king of Scots, the earl of Murray, and the other prisoners, to be confined in the tower of London, and, having placed a sufficient guard over them, set out for Dover, where she embarked, and, with a favorable wind, arrived before Calais three days preceding the feast of All-Saints.‡ The king, upon her arrival, held a grand court, and ordered magnificent entertainments for all the lords who were there, but more especially for the ladies; as the queen had brought a great many with her, who were glad to accompany her, in order to see fathers, brothers, and friends, that were engaged at this siege of Calais.

* "Froissart supposes that Philippa, the consort of Edward III., was their leader: and in this he has been implicitly followed by the later historians of both nations. A young and comely princess, the mother of heroes, at the head of an army in the absence of her lord, is an ornament to history: yet no English writer of considerable antiquity mentions this circumstance, which, if true, they would not have omitted. Baliol also is said to have been next in command to queen Philippa; yet the ancient English writers say nothing of it; and the whole strain of the Fœdera is inconsistent with the hypothesis of his having any such command. Barnes, page 398, says, that the English 'were in number twelve hundred men-at-arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand footmen, besides a choice band of expert soldiers, newly come from before Calais, the whole amounting to sixteen thousand complete.' For this he quotes Giovanni Villani, the Florentine historian, lib. xii. c. 75. Villani's account of the battle of Durham is exceedingly superficial; and, which is remarkable, he says nothing of what Barnes quotes as from him. See Muratori Scrip. Ital. t. xiii. p. 959."—*Annals of Scotland.*

† "Copeland was made a banneret, with a salary of 500*l.* yearly, to him and to his heirs, until lands of the like yearly amount should be bestowed on him. He obtained a pension for life of 100*l.*, under condition of furnishing twenty men-at-arms. He was also made warden of Berwick. Besides all this, it appears that he obtained the office of sheriff of Northumberland, and keeper of Roxburgh castle. Robert de Bertram had a pension of 200 marks given to him and to his heirs, until the king should provide him in lands of equal value, for his capture of the knight of Liddesdale."

Annals—and *Fœdera.*

‡ Knyghton. p. 2592, relates, that by command of Edward III., David Bruce was conducted to the tower, under an escort of 20,000 men, well armed; that the different companies of London, in their proper dresses, were present at the procession; and that David Bruce rode on a tall *black* horse, so as to be seen by all men.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

THE YOUNG EARL OF FLANDERS IS BETROTHED, THROUGH THE CONSTRAINT OF THE FLEMINGS, TO THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF ENGLAND. HE ESCAPES TO FRANCE IN A SUBTLE MANNER.

The siege of Calais lasted a long time; during which many gallant feats of arms and adventures happened: but it is not possible for me to relate the fourth part of them: for the king of France had posted so many men-at-arms in the fortresses, and on the borders of the counties of Guines, Artois, Boulogne, round to Calais, and had such numbers of Genoese, Normans, and others in vessels on the sea, that none of the English could venture abroad on horseback or on foot, to forage, without meeting some of these parties: there were frequent skirmishes near the gates and ditches of the town, which never ended without several being killed and wounded: sometimes one side gained the advantage, and sometimes the other. The king of England and his council studied night and day to invent new engines more effectually to annoy the town: but the inhabitants were equally alert to destroy their effect, and exerted themselves so much, that they suffered nothing from them. However, no provisions could be brought into the place but by stealth, and by the means of two mariners, who were guides to such as adventured: one was named Marant, and the other Mestriel; both of them resided in Abbeville. By their means, the town of Calais was frequently victualled; and by their boldness they were often in great danger, many times pursued and almost taken; but they escaped, and slew and wounded many of the English. The siege lasted all the winter. The king had a great desire to keep on good terms with the municipalities of Flanders, because he thought that through them he should the more easily obtain his end. He made, therefore, frequent protestations of friendship to them, and gave them to understand, that, after he should have succeeded at Calais, he would reconquer for them Lisle, Douay, and all their dependencies: so that the Flemings, believing in such promises, put themselves in motion, about the time that the king was in Normandy, whence he came to Crecy and Calais; and they laid siege to Bethune. They had chosen for their commander the lord Oudart de Renty, who had been banished from France, and had closely besieged the town, and much damaged it by their attacks: but there were within four knights for the king of France, who well defended it; their names were, sir Geoffry de Chargny, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord Baudoin d'Anequin, and lord John de Landas. The town of Bethune was so well defended, that the Flemings conquered nothing: they returned therefore to Flanders, not having been more successful than before.

When the king of England was come to Calais, he did not cease sending flattering messengers and promises to the municipalities of Flanders, to preserve their friendship, and lessen their opinion of the king of France, who was taking great pains to acquire their affections. The king of England would have gladly seen the earl Lewis of Flanders, who at that time was but fifteen years old, married to his daughter Isabella, and set so many engines to work among the Flemings that they acceded to it, which mightily rejoiced the king; for he imagined that by this marriage he would easily govern that country. The Flemings also thought that this alliance would enable them more effectually to resist the French; and that it would be more profitable to be connected with the king of England than with the king of France. Their young earl, however, who had been educated with the royal family of France, and who at the time was in that kingdom, would not agree to it, and declared frankly, that he would never take to wife the daughter of him who had slain his father. On the other hand, duke John of Brabant was very eagerly trying to make a match between the earl and his daughter, and promised to obtain for him the full enjoyment of Flanders, by fair or foul means. The duke also gave the king of France to understand, that, if the marriage took place, he would manage the Flemings, that they should attach themselves to him in preference to the king of England. Upon the strength of these promises, the king of France consented to the marriage of the earl of Flanders with the duke of Brabant's daughter. After the duke had obtained this consent, he sent messengers to all the principal citizens of the great towns in Flanders, who colored the union with so many specious reasons, that the councils of the principal towns sent to the earl, and informed him that if he would come to Flanders, and follow their advice, they would be his true friends, and would give up to him all royalties, rights, and jurisdictions, in a greater degree than any earl had hitherto been possessed of. The earl was advised to go to Flanders, where he was joyfully received; and the chief towns made him rich and handsome presents.

As soon as the king of England was informed of this he sent the earls of Northampton and Arundel, and lord Reginald Cobham, into Flanders; who managed matters so well with the leading men in the place, and with the corporations, that they were more desirous their lord should marry a daughter of the king of England, than the daughter of the duke of Brabant: they very affectionately entreated their lord so to do, and supported it by many strong and good arguments, which would be too tedious to detail here; insomuch that those of the duke of Brabant's party could say nothing to the contrary. The earl, however, would not consent to it, notwithstanding

their fair speeches and arguments, but repeated his former declaration, that he would never marry the daughter of him who had killed his father, were he to have a moiety of the kingdom of England for her dower. When the Flemings heard this, they said, their lord was too much of a Frenchman, and very ill advised, and that he must not expect any good from them, since he would not listen to their counsels. They arrested him, and confined him, though not a close prisoner, and told him, he should never have his liberty until he would pay attention to their advice: they added, that if the late earl, his father, had not loved the French so much, but had listened to them, he would have been the greatest prince in Christendom, and would have recovered Lisle, Bethune, and Douay, and been alive at this day. While all this was passing, the king of England still held on the siege of Calais. He kept his court there at Christmas in a royal and noble manner; and in the ensuing Lent, the earl of Derby, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, and many knights and squires who had crossed the sea with them, returned from Gascony.

The Earl of Flanders was for a long time in danger from the Flemings, and, being a prisoner, was perfectly weary of it. He therefore made them understand, that he was willing to follow their advice, for he could receive more advantages from them than from those in any other country. These words pleased the Flemings much: they gave him his liberty, and allowed him to partake of one of his favorite amusements, hawking, of which he was very fond. However, when he went to follow this sport, they set a good watch over him, that he did not escape, nor was stolen from those who had undertaken to guard him, on pain of death. These guards were of the king of England's party; and watched him so closely that they would scarcely allow him to make water. This conduct lasted so long, and was so offensive to the earl, that he agreed to marry the king of England's daughter. The Flemings immediately informed the king of it, and desired that the king and queen would come to the monastery at Bergues, accompanied by their daughter, and they would bring their earl there, and conclude the marriage. You may easily imagine how pleased the king and queen were with this news: they said the Flemings were very good sort of people. A day was fixed on for all parties to be at Bergues St. Vinox, between Newport and Gravelines. The most powerful and leading men of the principal towns of Flanders came hither in great pomp, bringing their lord with them. He respectfully saluted the king and queen, who were there in great state. The king took the earl gently by the hand, led him forth, and said, to excuse himself as being the cause of the death of his father, that, as God should help him, he had never heard, on the day of the battle of Crecy, nor on the morrow, that the earl had been there. The young earl appeared to be satisfied with this excuse. The subject of the marriage was next discussed, and certain articles and treaties were agreed upon between the king, the earl, and the states of Flanders, which were promised and sworn to be adhered to*. The earl was then betrothed to the lady Isabella, daughter of the king and queen of England, whom he engaged to espouse; but the day of marriage was put off, until the king should have more leisure. The Flemings returned home, taking with them their lord; and they quitted the king, queen, and the council, in very good humor: the king went back to the siege of Calais. Things remained in this state: while the king was making preparations for rich presents of cloths and jewels to distribute on the wedding-day, the queen was employed in the same manner, as she was anxious to acquit herself on the occasion with honor and generosity.

The earl of Flanders, who was returned to his own country, and among his own people, was continually hawking, and pretended that this English alliance was perfectly agreeable to him. The Flemings believed all he said, and did not keep so strict a guard upon him as before: but they were not then acquainted with the disposition of their lord; for, however much he might dissemble in his outward behavior, he was in his heart devoted to the French. It happened one day, in the same week that he was to espouse the English princess, he went out a hawking: the falconer fled his hawk at a heron, and the earl did the same with his: the two hawks pursued their game, and the earl galloped off, as if following them, crying, "Hoye, hoye." When he was at some distance from his keepers, and in the open fields, he stuck spurs into his horse, and made such speed that he was soon out of sight: he did not stop until he was got into Artois, where he was safe. He then went to king Philip in France, and related to him and his nobles his adventures, who told him he had acted wisely; but the English, on the contrary, accused him of betraying and deceiving them. The king of England, nevertheless, did not fail for this, to cultivate the friendship of the Flemings; for he knew that what had happened was not through their consent, but, on the contrary, that they were very much enraged at it; so he was immediately satisfied with the excuses they made on the occasion.

* There is in the Fœdera the Treaty of Marriage, dated Dunkirk, 3rd March, 1346 but the seal has been torn off, probably as not having been affixed into effect.

CHAPTER CXL.

THE LORD ROBERT DE NAMUR* DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, BEFORE CALAIS.

Many barons and knights, from Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and Germany, came to pay their respects to the king and queen, while they were besieging Calais; and none returned without considerable presents. About this time, the lord Robert de Namur was newly returned into the county of Namur, from an expedition to the Holy Land,† where he had been knighted by the lord Despentin. He was very young, and had not been solicited for his assistance by either of the two kings. He set out with a rich and numerous attendance, and came to Calais, accompanied by many knights and squires, where he was kindly received by the king, queen, and all the barons. He gained their favor and esteem, from bearing the same name as his uncle, the lord Robert d'Artois, who had been formerly so well beloved by them, and from whose counsel they had reaped so much benefit. Lord Robert de Namur from this time became a loyal servant to the king of England, who granted him a pension of three hundred pounds sterling a-year, and assigned the payment of it on his chest at Bruges. He remained with the king at the siege of Calais, until the town was won, as you will hear related.

CHAPTER CXLI.

THE ENGLISH CONQUER LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN,‡ TO WHICH PLACE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS LAYS SIEGE.

I have abstained a long time from speaking of the lord Charles of Blois, at that time duke of Brittany, and of the countess of Montfort; but it has been occasioned by the truce agreed to before Vannes, which was strictly observed: each party, during that time, kept peaceably all that they had gained. As soon as the truce was expired, the war was renewed with vigor. The king of England had sent into Brittany sir Thomas Daggeworth§ and sir John Hartwell; and they had quitted the siege of Calais with two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers. The countess of Montfort remained in the town of Hennebon; and she had with her sir Taneguy du Châtel, a knight from lower Brittany. The English and Bretons made frequent attacks upon the lord Charles's party, and with various success; but the country was completely ruined and destroyed by these men-at-arms, and the poor people paid dearly for it.

Three knights one day set out to besiege a town called la Roche-d'errien: they had collected a number of men-at-arms on horseback, and foot soldiers, and made some violent attacks upon the town; but it was so well defended, that the English could not gain any advantage. The captain of the garrison for lord Charles was Tassart de Guines,‖ but three parts of the inhabitants were more attached to the English than to the French; so they arrested sir Tassart, and declared they would murder him, if he would not join them in surrendering the place to the English. Upon this, he said he would comply with whatever they wished: they then let him go, and advanced toward the English army, whom they admitted into their town. Sir Tassart was continued as before, governor of it. When the English returned to Hennebon, they left with him a sufficiency of men-at-arms and archers, to defend the town and castle. Lord Charles when he heard this, swore things should not go on thus. He summoned all his partisans in Brittany and Normandy, and assembled in the city of Nantes sixteen hundred men in armor, and twelve thousand foot soldiers. There might be four hundred knights and twenty-three bannerets, who all came to lay siege to la Roche-d'errien. They brought with them large engines, which threw stones into the town day and night, and much annoyed the inhabitants. The townsmen sent off messengers to inform the countess what was going forward; as she had promised them assistance, if they should be besieged. Upon this, the countess sent everywhere that she could think likely to procure men, and in a short time collected a thousand men in armor, and eight thousand foot soldiers, which she put under the command of the three¶ knights before mentioned. These knights declared that they would either raise the siege of la Roche-d'errien, or perish in the attempt; and, taking the field, they advanced very near to the army of lord Charles: they took up their quarters on the banks of a river, with the intention of fighting the next day. About midnight sir Thomas Dagworth and sir John Hartwell armed one half of their people, and, setting off in silence, fell upon one of the wings of lord Charles's army, and slew a great number of his men. They remained in this action so long, that the whole army was roused and armed; they could not therefore retreat, without encountering the whole of the lord Charles's force. They were surrounded, and so sharply dealt with that they could not withstand the powers of the

† Lord Robert de Namur was Froissart's great patron, and to him we are indebted for this history, as he himself mentions in his preface. He was created a knight of the garter, in Richard II.'s reign, and is the 85th knight of that order. See Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter.

‡ Lord Berners says, "*at the holy sepulchre.*"—Ed.

§ A town in Brittany, about two leagues from Treguier, near Guingamp.

‖ Sir Thomas Daggeworth was appointed Commander in Brittany, by writ of privy seal, dated Reading, January 10, 1347.—Fœdera.

¶ The historian of Brittany seems to think this person should be Richard Toussaint.

‡ From what follows, one may suppose these three knights were, sir Thomas Dagworth, sir John Hartwell, sir Taneguy du Châtel.

French. Sir Thomas Dagworth was taken prisoner, after having been severely wounded. Sir John Hartwell escaped as well as he was able, with all that he could bring off with him, by making for the river. He related to sir Taneguy du Châtel the ill success of their attack; and they held a council, whether they ought not to return to Hennebon.*

CHAPTER CXLII.

THE COMBAT OF LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN, WHERE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS IS MADE PRISONER.

At the time they were holding this council, whether to decamp or not, there came to them a knight from the countess, called Garnier, lord of Cadoudal, with a hundred men-at-arms, who had been prevented from coming sooner. When he was informed of the resolution they were about to take of returning, "Oh come," said he, "arm yourselves quickly, and mount your horses; and he that has no horse, let him follow on foot; for we will go and look once more at our enemies, who are now so elated that we shall be sure to conquer them." Those that had horses soon got themselves in readiness, and set out, and the foot followed them; so that, about sunrise, they came upon the army of the lord Charles, which they found wrapped up in sleep, for they did not imagine they should have any more disturbance. The English and Bretons began immediately to cut down and destroy tents and pavilions, and to slay all those whom they had thus surprised; for they had thought themselves so secure, they had not set any watch. Thus were those of the party of lord Charles defeated, and all the barons of Normandy and Brittany that were with him taken prisoners that night. The siege of la Roche-d'errien was raised, and lord Charles conducted to Hennebon. Nevertheless the towns and fortresses that he had before gained, still held out for him; for his wife, who called herself duchess of Brittany, undertook most cheerfully to continue the war.

COMBAT OF LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN. LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS TAKEN PRISONER—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A GREAT ARMY TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF CALAIS.

King Philip of France, who felt that his subjects in Calais must be severely oppressed, commanded all the knights and squires of his realm to rendezvous at Amiens, or near that town, on the feast of Whitsuntide: No one dared to disobey this order, but all were punctual in being there at the appointed time. King Philip kept a solemn court at Amiens, at which were present the duke of Normandy his eldest son, the duke of Orleans his youngest son, Eudes duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Foix, the lord Lewis of Savoy, the lord John of Hainault, the earls of Armagnac, Valentinois, Forêts, and a great many other earls, barons and knights. When all these noblemen were assembled in Amiens, they held many councils. The king of France was very anxious to have a free passage through Flanders, that he might send through it a part of his army by way of Gravelines, to reinforce the garrison of Calais, and to attack and fight with the English on that side of the town. He sent, therefore, a very magnificent embassy into Flanders, to treat with the Flemings on this subject: but the king of England had so many friends there, that they would not grant him his request. The king upon this said, he would then advance as far as Boulogne.

The king of England, who found he could not conquer Calais but by famine, ordered a large castle to be constructed of strong timbers, in order to shut up the communication with the sea; and he directed it to be built and embattled in such a manner that it could not be destroyed. He placed it between the town and the sea, and fortified it with all sorts of warlike instruments,* and garrisoned it with forty men-at-arms and two hundred archers, who guarded the harbor and port of Calais so closely, that nothing could go out or come into the town, without being sunk or taken. By this means he more sorely aggrieved the Calesians than by anything he had hitherto done, and sooner brought famine among them. About this time, the king of England was so active among the Flemings (with whom, as you have just heard, the king of France wanted to make a treaty,) that they, to the amount of a hundred thousand men, marched out of Flanders, and laid siege to the town of Aire :† they then burnt all the country round it, as far as St. Venant, Mourville la Gorge, Estelly le Ventre, and a tract of country round Loo, and even as far as the gates of St. Omer‡ and Terouenne.§

The king of France took up his quarters at Arras.‖ He sent a large body of men to strengthen his garrisons in Artois, and in particular sir Charles d'Espagne, his constable, to St. Omer; for the earl of Eu and of Guines, who had been constable, was a prisoner, as I have before related, in England. The Flemings kept advancing into the country, and gave the French employment enough before they retreated. When the Flemings were returned, after having made themselves well acquainted with the parts about Loo,¶ the king of France and his army left Arras, and came to Hesdin :** the army and baggage occupied three leagues of country. When the king had rested one day at Hesdin, he advanced the next day to Blangy,†† where he halted, in order to consider whither he should march next.

* Our historians relate this affair differently. See Dugdale's Baronage. Sir Thomas Dagworth was not made prisoner, nor wounded: he was the person who advised the second attack, not the lord of Cadoudal, as Froissart relates. The king, for his good conduct, made him his lieutenant general of the duchy of Brittany: and the ensuing year he was called up to the house of peers.

In the Histoire de Bretagne, so often quoted, the account of these engagements is very different, and in part not very much to the honor of sir Thomas Dagworth, if the facts be true. Vol. i. pp. 762, 277.

* "Springalles, bombardes, bows and other artillery."—LORD BERNERS.
† A strong town in Artois, generality of Amiens, fourteen leagues from Calais.
‡ A strong town in Artois, ten leagues from Calais.
§ An ancient town in Artois, destroyed by Charles V. 1553.
‖ A strong city in Artois, twenty-seven leagues from Calais.
¶ Loo—a town to the south of Furnes.
** A strong town in Artois, diocese of Arras, thirteen leagues distant from it.
†† Village in Artois, bailiwick of St. Pol.

He was advised to make for that part of the country called la Belune, and accordingly began his march thither, his army following, which amounted, including men of all descriptions, to two hundred thousand. The king and his army passed through the country of Faukenberg,* and came straight to the hill of Sangate,† between Calais and Wissant: they marched armed, with banners flying, by moonlight; so that it was a beautiful sight to see their gallant army. When those in Calais perceived them, from the walls, pitching their tents, they thought it had been a new siege.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND GUARDS ALL THE PASSES ROUND CALAIS, SO THAT THE KING OF FRANCE CANNOT APPROACH TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

I will now relate what the king of England had done, and was doing, when he saw with what a prodigious force the king of France was come to raise the siege of Calais, which had cost him so much money and labor. He knew that the town was so nearly famished, that it could hold out but a very short time: therefore it would have sorely hurt him to have been forced at that time to raise it. He considered, that the French could neither approach his army nor the town of Calais but by two roads; the one by the downs along the sea-shore; the other higher up the country, which however was full of ditches and bogs; and there was but one bridge, called the bridge of Nieullet, by which they could be crossed. He posted, therefore, his fleet along the shore, as near as he could to the downs, and provided it with plenty of every warlike engine;‡ so that the French could not pass that way. He sent the earl of Derby, with a sufficient force of men-at-arms and archers, to guard the bridge of Nieullet. The French, therefore, were prevented from advancing thither, unless they attempted crossing the marshes between Sangate and the sea, which were impassable. There was also, nearer to Calais, a high tower, which was guarded by thirty archers from England; and they had fortified it with double ditches, as a stronger defence of the passage over the downs. When the French had taken up their quarters on the hill of Sangate, those from Tournay, who might amount to about fifteen hundred men, advanced toward this tower: the garrison shot at them, and wounded some, but the men of Tournay crossed the ditches, and reached the foot of the tower with pick-axes and bars. The engagement was then very sharp, and many of the Tournaymen were killed and wounded; but, in the end, the tower was taken and thrown down, and all that were within it put to the sword.

The king of France sent his two marshals, the lords of Beaujeu and the lord of St. Venant, to examine the country, and see where the army could pass, in order to fight with the English; but, after they had well examined all the passes, they returned and told the king there was not any possibility of doing it, but with infinite loss of men. Things remained in this state that day and the following night; but on the morrow, after the king of France had heard mass, he sent to the king of England the lord Geoffry de Chargny, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, sir Guy de Nesle, and the lord of Beaujeu, who, as they rode along, observed how strongly all the passes were guarded: they were allowed to proceed freely, for so the king of England had ordered, and praised very much the dispositions of the earl of Derby, who was posted at the bridge of Nieullet, over which they passed. They rode on until they came where the king was, whom they found surrounded by his barons and knights: they all four dismounted, and advanced toward the king, with many reverences; then the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont said, "Sir, the king of France informs you through us, that he is come to the hill of Sangate, in order to give you battle; but he cannot find any means of approaching you: he therefore wishes you would assemble your council, and he will send some of his, that they may confer together, and fix upon a spot where a general combat may take place." The king of England was advised to make his answer as follows: "Gentlemen, I perfectly understand the request you have made me from my adversary, who wrongfully keeps possession of my inheritance, which weighs much upon me. You will therefore tell him from me, if you please, that I have been on this spot near a twelvemonth: this he was well informed of, and, had he chosen it, might have come here sooner; but he has allowed me to remain so long, that I have expended very large sums of money, and have done so much that I must be master of Calais in a very short time: I am not therefore inclined, in the smallest degree, to comply with his request, or to gratify his convenience, or to abandon what I have gained, or what I have been so anxious to conquer. If, therefore, neither he nor his army can pass this way, he must seek out some other road."§ The four noblemen then returned, and were escorted as far as the bridge of Nieullet, and related to the king of France the king of England's answer.

While the king of France was devising means to fight with the English, two cardinals, from Pope Clement, arrived as embassadors in the camp. Immediately on their arrival, they visited each army, and exerted themselves so much that they procured a sort of truce; during which time, four lords of each party were to meet, and endeavor to form a peace. On the part of the king of France, were nominated the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord Lewis of Savoy, and sir John of Hainault. The English commissioners were, the earl of Derby, the earl of Northampton, lord Reginald Cobham, and sir Walter Manny.* The two cardinals were the most active persons in this business, going backward and forward from one army to the other. These commissioners were three days together; and various propositions for peace were brought forward, though none took effect. During which time the king of England was strengthening his army, and making wide and deep ditches on the downs, to prevent the French from surprising him. When these three days were passed without any treaty being effected, the two cardinals went to St. Omer. The king of France, perceiving he could not in any way succeed, decamped on the morrow, and took the road to Amiens, where he disbanded all his troops, the men-at-arms, as well as those sent from the different towns. When the Calesians saw them depart, it gave them great grief. Some of the English fell on their rear, and captured horses, and wagons laden with wine and other things, as well as some prisoners; all which they brought to their camp before Calais.

CHAPTER CXLV.

THE TOWN OF CALAIS SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

After the departure of the king of France, with his army, from the hill of Sangate, the Calesians saw clearly that all hopes of succor were at an end; which occasioned them so much sorrow and distress, that the hardiest could scarcely support it. They entreated, therefore, most earnestly, the lord John de Vienne, their governor, to mount upon the battlements, and make a sign that he wished to hold a parley. The king of England, upon hearing this, sent to him sir Walter Manny and lord Basset. When they were come near, the lord de Vienne said to them, "Dear gentlemen, you who are very valiant knights, know that the king of France, whose subjects we are, has sent us hither to defend this town and castle from all harm and damage: this we have done to the best of our abilities. All hopes of help have now left us, so that we are most exceedingly straitened; and if the gallant king, your lord, have not pity upon us, we must perish with hunger.† I therefore entreat, that you would beg of him to have compassion on us, and to have the goodness to allow us to depart in the state we are in, and that he will be satisfied with having possession of the town and castle, with all that is within them, as he will find therein riches enough to content him." To this sir Walter Manny replied: "John, we are not ignorant of what the king our lord's intentions are; for he has told them to us: know then, that it is not his pleasure you should get off so; for he is resolved that you surrender yourselves solely to his will, to allow those whom he pleases their ransom, or to put them to death; for the Calesians have done him so much mischief, and have, by their obstinate defence, cost him so many lives and so much money, that he is mightily enraged." The lord de Vienne answered: "These conditions are too hard for us. We are but a small number of knights and squires, who have loyally served our lord and master, as you would have done, and have suffered much ill and disquiet; but we will endure more than any man ever did in a similar situation, before we consent that the smallest boy in the town should fare worse than the best. I therefore once more entreat you, out of compassion, to return to the king of England, and beg of him to have pity on us: he will, I trust, grant you this favor: for I have such an opinion of his gallantry as to hope, that, through God's mercy, he will alter his mind." The two lords retured to the king, and related what had passed. The king said he had no intentions of complying with the request, but should insist that they surrendered themselves unconditionally to his will. Sir Walter replied: "My lord, you may be to blame in this, as you will set us a very bad example; for if you order us to go to any of your castles, we shall not obey you so cheerfully, if you put these people to death; for they will retaliate upon us, in a similar case." Many barons who were then present supported this opinion. Upon which the king replied: "Gentlemen, I am not so obstinate as to hold my opinion alone against you all: sir Walter, you will inform the governor of Calais, that the only grace he must expect from me is, that six of the principal citizens of Calais march out of the town, with bare heads and feet, with ropes around their necks, and the keys of the town and castle in their hands. These six persons shall be at my absolute disposal, and the remainder of the inhabitants pardoned."

Sir Walter returned to the lord de Vienne, who was waiting for him on the battlements, and told him all that he had been able to gain from the king. "I beg of you," replied the governor, "that

* Auberg in Artois, bulwark of Aire.

† A hill near in Picardy, government of Calais.

‡ "Bombardes, crossbowes, archers, spangalles, and other artillery."—J. Berners.

§ By a letter from Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, which is at length in Avesbury, pp. 132 &c. he says he accepted this challenge, but that the enemy varied in his terms of acceptance, so that they could not agree, or that the French army, fire to their tents, ran off with precipitation, as if they had been defeated.

* The edition of D. Sauvage and lord Berners here both term Sir Walter Manny "the Lorde Monsengneur Gualtier of Manny," and it appears from Dugdale that he had a summons to parliament among the barons of the realm, from the 21st to the 44th of this king's reign, inclusive.—Ed.

† "We must all dye or elsse enrage for hunger."—Lord Berners.

you would be so good as to remain here a little, while I go and relate all that has passed to the townsmen; for, as they have desired me to undertake this, it is but proper they should know the result of it." He went to the market-place, and caused the bell to be rung; upon which all the inhabitants, men and women, assembled in the town-hall. He then related to them what he had said, and the answers he had received; and that he could not obtain any conditions more favorable, to which they must give a short and immediate answer. This information caused the greatest lamentations and despair; so that the hardest heart would have had compassion on them; even the lord de Vienne wept bitterly.

After a short time, the most wealthy citizen of the town, by name Eustace de St. Pierre, rose up and said: "Gentlemen, both high and low, it would be a very great pity to suffer so many people to die through famine, if any means could be found to prevent it; and it would be highly meritorious in the eyes of our Saviour, if such misery could be averted. I have such faith and trust in finding grace before God, if I die to save my townsmen, that I name myself as first of the six." When Eustace had done speaking, they all rose up and almost worshipped him: many cast themselves at his feet with tears and groans. Another citizen, very rich and respected, rose up and said, he would be the second to his companion, Eustace; his name was John Daire. After him, James Wisant, who was very rich in merchandise and lands, offered himself, as companion to his two cousins; as did Peter Wisant, his brother. Two others then named themselves, which completed the number demanded by the king of England. The lord John de Vienne then mounted a small hackney, for it was with difficulty that he could walk, and conducted them to the gate. There was the greatest sorrow and lamentation all over the town; and in such manner were they attended to the gate, which the governor ordered to be opened, and then shut upon him and the six citizens, whom he led to the barriers, and said to sir Walter Manny, who was there waiting for him, "I deliver up to you, as governor of Calais, with the consent of the inhabitants, these six citizens; and I swear to you that they were, and are at this day, the most wealthy and respectable inhabitants of Calais. I beg of you, gentle sir, that you would have the goodness to beseech the king, that they may not be put to death." "I cannot answer for what the king will do with them," replied sir Walter, "but you may depend that I will do all in my power to save them." The barriers were opened, when these six citizens advanced toward the pavilion of the king, and the lord de Vienne reëntered the town.

When sir Walter Manny had presented these six citizens to the king, they fell upon their knees, and, with uplifted hands, said, "Most gallant king, see before you six citizens of Calais, who have been capital merchants, and who bring you the keys of the castle and of the town. We surrender ourselves to your absolute will and pleasure, in order to save the remainder of the inhabitants of Calais, who have suffered much distress and misery. Condescend, therefore, out of your nobleness of mind, to have mercy and compassion upon us." All the barons, knights, and squires, that were assembled there in great numbers, wept at this sight. The king eyed them with angry looks, (for he hated much the people of Calais, for the great losses he had formerly suffered from them at sea,) and ordered their heads to be stricken off. All present entreated the king, that he would be more merciful to them, but he would not listen to them. Then sir Walter Manny said, "Ah, gentle king, let me beseech you to restrain your anger: you have the reputation of great nobleness of soul, do not therefore tarnish it by such an act as this, nor allow any one to speak in a disgraceful manner of you. In this instance, all the world will say you have acted cruelly, if you put to death six such respectable persons, who, of their own free will, have surrendered themselves to your mercy, in order to save their fellow-citizens." Upon this, the king gave a wink, saying, "Be it so," and ordered the headsman to be sent for; for that the Calesians had done him so much damage, it was proper they should suffer for it. The queen of England, who at that time was very big with child, fell on her knees, and with tears said, "Ah, gentle sir, since I have crossed the sea with great danger to see you, I have never asked you one favor: now, I most humbly ask as a gift, for the sake of the Son of the blessed Mary, and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to these six men." The king looked at her for some time in silence, and then said; "Ah, lady, I wish that you had been anywhere else than here: you have entreated in such a manner that I cannot refuse you; I therefore give them to you, to do as you please with them." The queen conducted the six citizens to her apartments, and had the halters taken from round their necks, after which she new clothed them, and served them with a plentiful dinner: she then presented each with six nobles, and had them escorted out of the camp in safety.*

CHAPTER CXLVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND RE-PEOPLE'S CALAIS.

Thus had the strong town of Calais been besieged by king Edward of England, as you have heard, about St. John's day, in August, in the year 1346, and surrendered about the end of August, 1347. The king, after he had presented these six citizens to the queen, called to him sir Walter Manny, and his two marshals, the earls of Warwick and Stafford, and said to them, "My lords, here are the keys of the town and castle of Calais: go and take possession of them. You will put into prison the knights you may find there: but you will send out of the town all the other inhabitants, and all soldiers that may have come there to serve for pay; as I am resolved to re-people the town with English alone." These three noblemen, with only one hundred men, went and took possession of Calais, and from the gates sent to prison the lord John de Surie, the lord John de Vienne, the lord John de Bellebourne, and other knights. They then ordered every sort of arms to be brought and piled in a heap in the market-place. They sent out of the town all ranks of people, retaining only one priest, and two other old men, that were well acquainted with the customs and usages of Calais, in order to point out the different properties, and gave directions for the castle to be prepared for lodging the king and queen, and different hôtels for their attendants. When this had been done, the king and queen mounted their steeds, and rode toward the town, which they entered at the sound of trumpets, drums, and all sorts of warlike instruments.* The king remained in it until the queen was brought to bed of a daughter, called Margaret.†

The king gave to sir Walter Manny, lord Stafford, lord Warwick, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, and other knights, very handsome houses in Calais, that they might re-people it: and his intentions were, to send thither, on his return to England, thirty-six substantial citizens, with all their wealth, and to exert himself in such a manner that the inhabitants of the town should be wholly English: which he afterwards accomplished. The new town and fortifications, which had been built before Calais, were destroyed, as well as the castle upon the harbor, and the great boom which was thrown across was brought into the town. The king posted different persons to guard the gates, walls and towers of the town; and what had been damaged he got repaired, which, however, was not soon done. The lord John de Vienne and his companions were sent to England; they remained in London about half a year, and then were ransomed. In my opinion, it was a melancholy thing for the inhabitants of both sexes of the town of Calais, thus to be sent abroad, with their children, from their inheritances, leaving everything behind; for they were not

* "Froissart alone among his contemporaries relates this remarkable fact: and the simplicity of his style may give even to fable the appearance of truth. Edward was generous: he is here represented as a ferocious conqueror, whom love alone could soften, and who obstinately persists to punish a courage which he ought to have esteemed. The action of these six men, thus devoting themselves for their fellow citizens, was sufficiently great to have been trumpeted through all France by the thousand and thousand voices of Fame. This action, however, brilliant as it was, and which the wretches driven out of Calais would have spoken of everywhere, was unknown in the capital. If it had been otherwise, the Chronicle of St. Denis, and other histories of the time, would not have been silent on the subject; and yet not one mentions it. Avesbury, an Englishman and contemporary, who is very particular as to all the circumstances of the siege of Calais, is equally silent. Villani alone goes even beyond Froissart; for he says, that Edward intended to hang all the citizens of Calais; and he adds, they were all forced to abandon the town naked, all but their shirts. This falsehood should render the other parts of his recital doubtful. Froissart, an historian and poet, and who has too often expanded over history the privileges of poetry, has only embroidered a little what truth offered him. When the Calesians saw the retreat of Philip, they struck the flag which was flying on the great tower: John de Vienne ordered the gates to be opened, and left the town mounted on a small hackney, for he had been wounded. The warriors who accompanied him held their swords pointed to the ground; and many of the citizens followed with halters round their necks, and with their heads and feet bare. Edward kept, as prisoners, the governor, fifteen knights, and some citizens; but he did not send them to England, until he had loaded them with presents: he hastened to distribute food among the inhabitants who had remained in the town. We only see, in all these circumstances, the humiliation of the inhabitants, wishing by it to affect the conqueror, and the generosity of the prince.

"Froissart supposes that the queen of England was melted into tears at the fate of these citizens, condemned by her husband, and that she humbled herself so as to cast herself at the feet of the inflexible conqueror to obtain their pardon; and we see, some days afterwards, this queen, so generous, obtain, for her own profit, the confiscation of the houses of this John Daire, whose life, it is said, she saved. On the other hand, Edward is described as obstinately bent on having the venerable Eustace de St. Pierre beheaded: and we see, shortly after, this same Eustace de St. Pierre overwhelmed, as it were, with gifts. The conqueror gives him houses, considerable pensions, and even deigns to express himself, that he only grants these first favors until he shall have more amply provided for him: they are recompenses by which he acknowledges beforehand the services this citizen may render him, either by keeping good order in the town of Calais, or in watching over its security. Here then is this famous St. Pierre, one day the hero, and the next the complaisant betrayer of his country; one moment the object of the revenge and cruelty of Edward, the next of his confidence and favor. The interests of this prince forced him to a necessary rigor. He wished to preserve Calais, as it opened to him an entrance into France; and he could not leave their inhabitants too much attached to their own country not to hate its destroyer. Those who refused to swear fidelity to him were obliged to quit the town, and make room for a new population imported from England; and this St. Pierre, this St. Pierre whose noble courage should have rendered him the most to be dreaded, is one of those whom the conqueror retains, and who is by him charged to overlook the conduct of others.

"The English monarch certainly showed signs of severity. We see, by the letter he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, that when Philip, encamped near to Calais, had demanded, as a preliminary of peace, that the inhabitants should have liberty to quit the town with their fortunes, it was refused: and when Edward granted to the humiliation of the townsmen what he had refused to Philip, he only detained as prisoners some of the principal citizens; but detaining them as prisoners is very different from having them put to death before his eyes. The king of France did not forsake the miserable Calesians when they were driven out of their town, but gave them all the offices which were then vacant in his realm, with powers to sell them, or exercise them by deputies. He also granted them landed or other estates that might escheat to the crown. But whether these resources came too late, or were insufficient; whether the monarch met with contradictions in these acts of beneficence, it is asserted that a great number of the Calesians were reduced to beggary."

La France sous les cinq Premiers Valois, par M. Levesque, pp 518, &c.

* "Trumpets, tabours, nakquayres and hornes."—Lord Berners.

† Margaret of Calais was married to the lord John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, but died before her husband, without issue.—Barnes.

allowed to carry off any of their furniture or wealth; and they received no assistance from the king of France, for whom they had lost their all. They did, however, as well as they were able; and the greater part went to St. Omer.*

The cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who was come into France as embassador, and was with his cousin king Philip in the city of Amiens, labored so earnestly, that he obtained a truce between the two kings and their adherents, which was to last for two years. This truce was agreed to by all parties except the rivals for the duchy of Brittany; but there the two ladies carried on the war against each other. The king and queen returned to England; and sir Aymery de Pavie was appointed governor of the castle of Calais: he was a native of Lombardy, and had been much promoted by the king.† The king sent the thirty-six substantial citizens, with their wives and families, to Calais: their number increased daily; for he multiplied and enlarged their privileges so much, that many were eager to go there, in order to gain fortunes.‡

About this time the lord Charles of Blois, who called himself the duke of Brittany, was brought prisoner to London. He was sent to the Tower, but not as a close prisoner, where the king of Scotland and the earl of Moray were also confined. He did not, however, long remain there, but at the entreaties of the queen of England, to whom he was cousin-german, was set at liberty on his parole, and rode all over London wherever he pleased; but he was not permitted to lie a night out of the Tower, except it was in such places where the royal family were.§ The earl of Eu and Guines was also in London a prisoner: he was a very gallant knight, and so amiable that he was always well received by the king, queen, barons, and ladies of the court.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

A ROBBER, OF THE NAME OF BACON, DOES MUCH MISCHIEF IN LANGUEDOC.

All this year of the truce, the kings remained at peace. But lord William Douglas, and the Scots, who had taken refuge in the forest of Jedworth, carried on the war against the English, wherever they could meet with them. Those in Gascony, Poitou, and Saintonge, as well French as English, did not observe the truce any better, but conquered towns and castles from each other, by force or intrigue, and ruined and destroyed the country day and night. There were frequently gallant deeds of arms performed, with alternate success.

Poor rogues took advantage of such times, and robbed both towns and castles; so that some of them, becoming rich, constituted themselves captains of bands of thieves: there were among them those worth forty thousand crowns. Their method was, to mark out the particular towns or castles, a day or two's journey from each other: they then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and, travelling through by-roads in the night-time, entered the town or castle they had fixed on about daybreak, and set one of the houses on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it, they thought it had been a body of forces sent to destroy them, and took to their heels as fast as they could.‖ The town of Donzere* was treated in this manner; and many other towns and castles were taken, and afterwards ransomed. Among other robbers in Languedoc, one had marked out the strong castle of Cobourne in Limosin, which is situated in a very strong country. He set off in the night-time with thirty companions, and took and destroyed it. He seized also the lord of Cobourne, whom he imprisoned in his own castle, and put all his household to death. He kept him in prison until he ransomed himself for twenty-four thousand crowns paid down. The robber kept possession of the castle and dependencies, which he furnished with provisions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The king of France, shortly afterwards, was desirous of having him near his person: he purchased the castle for twenty thousand crowns, appointed him his usher-at-arms, and heaped on him many other honors. The name of this robber was Bacon, and he was always mounted on handsome horses of a deep roan color, or on large palfreys, apparelled like an earl, and very richly armed; and this state he maintained as long as he lived.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

A PAGE, OF THE NAME OF CROQUART, TURNS ROBBER.

There were similar disorders in Brittany; and robbers carried on the like methods of seizing and pillaging different towns and castles, and then selling them back again to the country at a dear rate; by which means many of their leaders became very rich. Among others, there was one of the name of Croquart, who was originally but a poor boy, and had been page to the lord d'Ercle in Holland. When this Croquart arrived at manhood, he had his discharge, and went to the wars in Brittany, where he attached himself to a man-at-arms, and behaved very well. It happened, that in some skirmish his master was taken and slain; when, in recompense for his prowess, his companions elected him their leader in the place of his late master; he then made such profit by ransoms, and the taking of towns and castles, that he was said to be worth full forty thousand crowns, not including his horses, of which he had twenty or thirty, very handsome and strong, and of a deep roan color. He had the reputation of being the most expert man-at-arms of the country, was chosen to be one of the thirty that engaged against a similar number, and was the most active combatant on the side of the English.† King John of France made him the offer of knighting him, and marrying him very richly, if he would quit the English party, and promised to give him two thousand livres a-year; but Croquart would never listen to it. It chanced one day, as he was riding a young horse, which he had just purchased for three hundred crowns, and was putting him to his full speed, that the horse ran away with him, and in leaping a ditch, stumbled into it, and broke his master's neck. Such was the end of Croquart.

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* We subjoin Lord Berners' version of this passage; it is much more striking and affecting. "We thynk it was great pyte of the burgesses and other men of the towne of Calys and women and chyldren, whan they were fayne to forsake their houses, heritages and goodes, and to here away nothing; and they had no restorement of the frenche kyng for whose sake they lost all. The most part of them went to Saynt Omers."—Ed.

† Sir John Montgomery was appointed governor of the town of Calais, the 8th October, 1347, by the king at Calais; sir John Gattesden was at the same time nominated marshal of the town.—Rymer.

‡ An ancient manuscript gives the annexed establishment of the army of king Edward III., in Normandy and before Calais, in the 20th year of his reign, with their several stipends:

	At per diem. £ s. d.
My lord the prince	1 0 0
Bishop of Durham	0 6 8
13 earls, each	0 6 8
44 barons and bannerets	0 4 0
1046 knights	0 2 0
4022 esquires, constables, centenary, and leaders	0 1 6
5104 vintenars and archers on horseback	0 0 6
335 pauncenars.	
500 hobblers.	
15,480 foot archers	0 0 3
314 masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners, armorers, gunners, and artillery-men—some at 12d., 10d., 6d., and 3d. per diem.	
4474 Welsh foot, of whom 200 vintenars at	0 0 4
The rest at	0 0 2
700 masters, constables, mariners, and pages.	
900 ships, barges, balingers, and victuallers.	

Sum total for the aforesaid men, besides lords, 31,294*l.*; and for some men from Germany and France, who each receive for their wages 15 florins per month.

The sum total of the wages of war, with the wages of the mariners, from the 4th day of June, in the 20th of the said king Edward, to the 12th day of October in the 21st of the same king, for one year, 131 days, as appears from the book of particular accounts of Walter Wentwaght, then treasurer of the household, entitled, "Wages of War in Normandy, France, and before Calais," was 127,201*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*—Grose's *Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 330.

§ George de Lesnen, physician to Charles de Blois, and Oliver de Bignon, his valet de chambre, affirmed that their master was closely confined for two years; that he was shut up every night in the tower, from whence he only came out to walk in the court of the castle, where the English soldiers insulted him; and that he never mounted a horse during these two years.—*Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 278.

‖ Lord Berners here adds, "and that thanne these brigant wolde breke up cofers and houses and robbe and take what they lyste, and flye away whan they had done."—Ed.

* A town of Dauphiné, on the Rhône, election of Montelimart.

† I have been much surprised that Froissart, who in general is so very minute in relating every transaction, should have omitted an account of this extraordinary engagement. The relation of it which follows is taken from the Histoire de Bretagne, vol. i. p. 289.

After the death of sir Thomas Daggeworth, the king appointed sir Walter Bertly commander in Brittany. The English being much irritated at the death of Daggeworth, and not being able to revenge themselves on those who slew him, did so on the whole country by burning and destroying it. The marshal de Beaumanoir, desirous of putting a stop to this, sent to Bembro, who commanded in Ploërmel, for a passport to hold a conference with him. The marshal reprobated the conduct of the English, and high words passed between them; for Bembro had been the companion in arms to Daggeworth. At last one of them proposed a combat of thirty on each side; the place appointed for it was at the halfway oak-tree between Josselin and Ploërmel; and the day was fixed for the 27th March, the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1351. Beaumanoir chose nine knights and twenty-one squires; the first were, the lord de Tinteniac, Guy de Rochefort, Yves Charruel, Robin Raguenel, Huon de St. Yvon, Caro de Bodegat, Olivier Arrel, Geoffry du Bois, John Rousselet, &c. Bembro could not find a sufficient number of English in his garrison; there were but twenty, the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were sir Robert Knolles, Croquart, Hervé de Lexunlen, John Plesanton, Richard and Hugh le Gaillart, Jannequin Taillart, Ressefort, Richard de la Lande, Thomelin Billefort, Hugh Calverly, Robinet Melipars, Yfrai or Isannai, John Russel, Dagorne, and a soldier named Hulbitée, of a very large size, and of great strength, &c. Bembro first entered the field of battle, and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir did the same. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honor, and that of their nation. Bembro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. As they were on the point of engaging, Bembro made a sign to Beaumanoir he wished to speak to him, and represented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently; for such combats ought first to have had the permission of their respective princes. Beaumanoir replied, he had been somewhat late in discovering this; and the nobility of Brittany would not return without having proved by battle who had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar; for each was to choose such as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25 lbs. weight, and others with what arms they chose. The advantage, at first, was for the English; as the Bretons had lost five of their men. Beaumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they stopped to take breath; when, each party having had some refreshments, the combat was renewed. Bembro was killed. On seeing this, Croquart cried out—"Companions, don't let us think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms; keep yourselves close together, be firm, and fight as I do." Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst, when Geoffry du Bois cried out, "Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off." This made him ashamed, and return to the battle. The Bretons at last gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horseback the ranks of the English; the greater part of whom were killed. Knolles, Calverly, and Croquart were made prisoners, and carried to the castle of Josselin. Tinteniac, on the side of the Bretons, and Croquart, on the English, obtained the prize of valor. Such was the issue of this famous combat of Thirty, so glorious to the Bretons, but which decided nothing as to the possession of the duchy of Brittany.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

SIR AYMERY DE PAVIE PLOTS WITH SIR GEOFFRY DE CHARGNY TO SELL THE TOWN OF CALAIS.

At this time sir Geoffry de Chargny was stationed at St. Omer, to defend the frontier; and, in everything touching war, he acted as if he had been king. He bethought himself, that as Lombards are very poor,* and by nature avaricious, he would attempt to recover the town of Calais, by means of Aymery de Pavie the governor: and as, from the terms of the truce, the inhabitants of the towns of St. Omer and Calais might go to each place to sell their different merchandises, sir Geoffry entered into a secret treaty with sir Aymery, and succeeded so far that he promised to deliver up the town, on receiving twenty thousand crowns. The king of England, however, got intelligence of it, and sent to Aymery the Lombard, orders to cross the sea immediately, and come to him at Westminster. He obeyed; for he could not imagine that the king knew of his treason, it had been so secretly carried on. When the king saw the Lombard, he took him aside, and said, "Thou knowest that I have intrusted to thee what I hold dearest in this world, except my wife and children, I mean the town and castle of Calais, which thou hast sold to the French, and for which thou deservest death." The Lombard flung himself on his knees, and said; "Ah, gentle king, have mercy on me, for God's sake. All that you have said is very true; but there is yet time to break the bargain, for hitherto I have not received one penny." The king had brought up this Lombard from a child, and much loved him; he replied, "Aymery, it is my wish that you continue on this treaty; you will inform me of the day that you are to deliver up Calais, and on these conditions, I promise you my pardon." The Lombard then returned to Calais, and kept everything secret. In the mean time, sir Geoffry de Chargny thought himself sure of having Calais, and issued out privately his summons for five hundred lances; the greater part were ignorant where he intended to lead them; for it was only known to a few barons. I do not believe he had even informed the king of France of his plan, as he would have dissuaded him from it, on account of the truce. The Lombard had consented to deliver up the town to him, the last night of the year, with which he made the king of England acquainted by means of his brother †

Battle of Calais, between the king of England (under sir Walter de Manny) and the French—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

CHAPTER CL.

THE BATTLE OF CALAIS, BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND, UNDER THE BANNER OF SIR WALTER MANNY, WITH SIR GEOFFRY DE CHARGNY AND THE FRENCH.

When the king of England was informed of this, and knew that the day was for a certainty fixed, he set out from England with three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers. He embarked at Dover, and came so privately to Calais, that no one knew of his being there. He placed his men in ambuscade in the rooms and towers of the castle, and said to sir Walter Manny, "Sir Walter, I will that you be the chief of this enterprise: and I and my son will fight under your banner." Sir Geoffry de Chargny had left St. Omer the latter end of December, with all the forces he had collected, and arrived near to Calais about midnight, the last day of the month. He halted there for his rear to come up, and sent forward two of his squires, who found sir Aymery waiting for them; they asked if it were time for sir Geoffry to advance? the Lombard answered that it was. The two squires upon this returned to sir Geoffry, who marched his men in battle array over the bridge of Nieullet: he then sent forward twelve of his knights, with one hundred men-at-arms, to take possession of the castle of Calais; for he thought, if he had possession of the castle, he should soon be master of the town, considering what strength he had with him; and in a few days' time he could have as much more, should there be occasion. He gave orders for twenty thousand crowns to be delivered to sir Odoart de Renty, who was in this expedition, for him to pay to the Lombard; and sir Geoffry remained in the plain in silence, his banner displayed before him, with the rest of his army; for his intention was to enter the town by one of its gates, otherwise he would not enter it at all.

The Lombard had let down the draw-bridge of the castle, and opened one of the gates, through which his detachment entered unmolested; and sir Odoart had given him the twenty thousand crowns in a bag, who said, "he supposed they were all there; for he had not time to count them, as it would be day immediately." He flung the bag of crowns into a room, which he locked, and told the French he would conduct them to the great tower, that they might the sooner be masters of the castle: in saying this, he advanced on, and pushing back the bolt, the door flew open. In this tower was the king of England with two hundred lances, who sallied forth, with swords and battle-axes in their hands, crying out, "Manny! Manny! to the rescue: what, do these Frenchmen think to conquer the castle of Calais with such a handful of men!" The French saw that no defence could save them, so they surrendered themselves prisoners; and scarcely any of them were wounded. They were made to enter this tower, whence the English had sallied, and there shut in. The English quitted the castle, and, forming themselves in array, mounted their horses, for they knew the French were mounted, and made for the gate leading to Boulogne. Sir Geoffry was there with his banner displayed; his arms were three escutcheons argent on a field gules, and he was very impatient to be the first that should enter Calais. He said to those knights who were near him, that "if this Lombard delayed opening the gate, they should all die with cold." "In God's name," replied sir Pepin de Werre, "these Lombards are a malicious sort of people; perhaps he is examining your florins, lest there should be any false ones, and to see if they be right in number." During

* Poverty was not the general characteristic of the Lombards, however justly they may be charged with avarice: Lord Berners and D. Sauvage's ed. allude only to the latter.—Ed.

† Sir Aymery de Pavie was appointed commander of the galleys by the king, dated Westminster, 24th April, 1348. Sir Aymery does not seem to have forfeited Edward's confidence: I therefore think, with M. Levesque, that Avesbury's account is more probable. "Dictus vero genuensis nolens prodere regem Anglorum dominum suum . . . . . Aurum tamen sibi promissum cupiens imbursare, cum eodem domino Galfrido pacifice loquens, in dolo suis suasionibus callidis adquievit.' —Avesbury, p. 180.

this conversation, the king of England and his son advanced, under the banner of sir Walter Manny. There were many other banners also there, such as the earl of Suffolk's, the lord Stafford's, lord John Montacute's, brother to the earl of Salisbury, the lord John Beauchamp's, the lord Berkeley's, the lord de la Waae: all these were barons having banners; and no more than these were in this expedition.

The great gates were soon opened, and they all sallied out: when the French saw this, and heard the cries of "Manny to the rescue!" they found they had been betrayed; and sir Geoffry said to those around them, "Gentlemen, if we fly, we shall lose all: it will be more advantageous for us to fight valiantly, in the hopes that the day may be ours." "By St. George," said some of the English, who were near enough to hear it, "you speak truth: evil befal him who thinks of flying." They then retreated a little, and dismounted, driving their horses away, to avoid being trampled on. When the king of England saw this, he halted the banner under which he was, and said, "I would have the men drawn up here in order of battle; and let a good detachment be sent toward the bridge of Nieullet; for I have heard that there is posted a large body of French, on horseback and on foot." Six banners and three hundred archers left his army, and made for the bridge of Nieullet, where they found the lord Moreau de Fiennes, and the lord of Crequi, who guarded it. There was also posted, between the bridge and Calais, the cross-bowmen from St. Omer and Aire, who had that day sharp work: more than six hundred were slain or drowned; for they were immediately discomfited, and pursued to the river: it was then scarcely daybreak. The knights of Picardy maintained this post some time; and many gallant actions were performed; but the English kept increasing from the town, when, on the contrary, the French fell off, so that when they found they could not longer keep the bridge, those that had horses mounted them, and betook themselves to flight. The English immediately pursued them, and many were overthrown: but those that were well mounted escaped; among them were the lords de Fiennes, de Crequi, de Sempy, de Lonchinleich, and the lord of Namur. Many were taken through their own hardiness, who migt otherwise have saved themselves. When it was broad daylight, that each could see the other, some knights and squires collected themselves together, and vigorously attacked the English, insomuch that several of the French made good prisoners, that brought them much profit.*

We will now speak of the king of England, who was there incognito, under sir Walter Manny's banner. He advanced with his men on foot, to meet the enemy, who were formed in close order with their pikes, shortened to five feet, planted out before them. The first attack was very sharp and severe. The king singled out sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, who was a strong and hardy knight: he fought a long time marvellously well with the king, so that it was a pleasure to see them; but, by the confusion of the engagement, they were separated; for two large bodies met, where they were fighting, and forced them to break off their combat. On the side of the French, there was excellent fighting by sir Geoffry de Chargny, sir John de Landas, sir Hector and sir Gavin Ballieul, and others; but they were all surpassed by sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, who that day struck the king twice down on his knees: at last, however, he was obliged to surrender his sword to the king, saying, "Sir knight, I surrender myself your prisoner, for the honor of the day must fall to the English." All that belonged to sir Geoffry de Chargny were either slain or captured; among the first were sir Henry du Bois, and sir Pepin de Werre: sir Geoffry and the rest were taken prisoners. The last that was taken, and who in that day excelled all, was sir Eustace de Ribeaumont. This business was finished under the walls of Calais, the last day of December, toward morning, in the year of grace 1348.

CHAPTER CLI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND PRESENTS A CHAPLET OF PEARLS TO SIR EUSTACE DE RIBEAUMONT.

When the engagement was over, the king returned to the castle in Calais, and ordered all the prisoners to be brought before him. The French then knew for the first time that the king of England had been there in person, under the banner of sir Walter Manny. The king said he would, this evening of the new year, entertain them all at supper, in the castle. When the hour for supper was come, the tables spread, and the king and his knights dressed in new robes, as well as the French, who, notwithstanding they were prisoners, made good cheer (for the king wished it should be so:) the king seated himself at table, and made those knights do the same around him, in a most honorable manner. The gallant prince of Wales, and the knights of England, served up the first course, and waited on their guests. At the second course, they went and seated themselves at another table, where they were served and attended on very quietly.

When supper was over, and the tables removed, the king remained in the hall, among the English and French knights, bareheaded, except a chaplet of fine pearls, which was round his head. He conversed with all of them: but, when he came to sir Geoffry de Chargny, his countenance altered, and looking at him askance, he said, "Sir Geoffry, I have but little reason to love you, when you wished to seize from me by stealth, last night, what had given me so much trouble to acquire, and has cost me such sums of money. I am, however, rejoiced, to have caught you thus in attempting it. You were desirous of gaining it cheaper than I did, and thought you could purchase it for twenty thousand crowns; but, through God's assistance, you have been disappointed." He then passed on, and left sir Geoffry standing, without having a word to say for himself. When he came to sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, he assumed a cheerful look, and said, with a smile; "Sir Eustace, you are the most valiant knight in Christendom, that I ever saw attack his enemy, or defend himself. I never yet found any one in battle, who, body to body, had given me so much to do as you have done this day. I adjudge to you the prize of valor above all the knights of my court, as what is justly due to you." The king then took off the chaplet, which was very rich and handsome, and placing it on the head of sir Eustace, said; Sir Eustace, I present you with this chaplet, as being the best combatant this day, either within or without doors; and I beg of you to wear it this year for love of me. I know that you are lively and amorous, and love the company of ladies and damsels; therefore, say wherever you go, that I gave it to you. I also give you your liberty, free of ransom; and you may set out to-morrow, if you please, and go whither you will.*

In this same year, 1349, king Philip of France married his second wife, at Brie-comte-Robert,† on Tuesday the 29th day of January. She was the lady Blanche, daughter of Philip king of Navarre, who had died in Spain: was very well beloved, and about eighteen years old. On the 19th of the following February, which was Shrovetide, the duke of Normandy, eldest son of the king of France, was married at St. Genevieve, near St. Germain-en-Laye, to his second wife, Jane countess of Boulogne: she was the widow of the lord Philip, son of the duke of Burgundy, who died before Aiguillon, 1346. The countess was the daughter of earl William of Boulogne, by the daughter of Louis earl of Evreux, and held in her own right the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Artois, Boulogne and Auvergne, with many others.

ADDITIONS,

From two MSS. in the Hafod Library, not in any of the Printed Copies.

You have heard related how the young earl Lewis of Flanders had been betrothed to the lady Isabella, daughter of king Edward of England, and that afterwards he had escaped from Flanders into France, where he was joyfully received by the king and his barons, who told him he had acted wisely, for that such forced marriages were of no avail: and the king added, that he would otherwise ally him more to his honor and profit. Things remained in this state for about a year. Duke John of Brabant was not much displeased at this; for he was desirous of marrying the young count of Flanders to his second daughter, the eldest being countess of Hainault. He sent embassadors to king Philip, to entreat he would consent to the match between the count of Flanders, and his daughter; that, if he consented, he would in future be his good neighbor, and that neither he nor any of his children would ever bear arms again for the king of England.

The king of France, who knew the duke of Brabant to be a powerful lord, that could hurt or assist him according to his pleasure, listened to his proposal in preference to any other, and let the duke know, that if he could prevail on the states of Flanders to consent to this marriage, he would be agreeable to it, and would press it on the earl. The duke, in his answer, engaged for the consent of the states. He instantly sent able commissioners to the principal towns, to negotiate with them this marriage: he treated, as I may say, sword in hand; for he gave them to understand, that if they married the young earl otherwise, he would instantly declare war against them; and, on the contrary, if they complied with his desire, he would unite himself strongly with them, and defend them against any other lords. The councils of the principal towns heard with attention the proposals and promises the duke of Brabant, their neighbor, made them. They knew their young lord was not within their power, but under the direction of the king of France and the lady his mother, and that his heart was entirely French. Upon mature consideration, therefore, they thought, that as the duke of Brabant was a very powerful prince and of great enterprise, it would be much more advantageous to con-

* Both honour and profit.—Lord Berners.

* Mr. Johnes seems to have missed the exact sense of this passage: the proclaiming the giver of the chaplet, was the *condition* on which the knight's liberty was granted. The passage in lord Berners is as follows: "Than the kinge came to Syr Eustace of Rybamont and lously to him he sayd, Sir Eustace ye are the knyght in the worlde that I have sene most valyant assayle his enemyes and defende himself, nor I never founde knyght that euer gaue me so moche ado, body to body, as ye haue done this day; wherefore I gyue you the price aboue all the knightes of my court by right sentence. Than the kyng toke the chapelet that was upon his heed beyng bothe fayre goodly and ryche, and sayd, Sir Eustace, I gyue you this chapelet for the best doar in armes in this journey past of eyther party, and I desyre you to bere it this yere for the loue of me. I knowe well ye be fresshe and amourouse, and often tymes be among ladyes and damoselles; *Say wherseuer ye come that I dyd gyue it you and I quite you your prison* and ransome, and ye shall depart tomorrowe if it please you."—Ed.

† A market-town of Brie-Française, diocese and election of Paris, seven leagues from Paris.

clude a match with him than with any one else; for by it they would enjoy peace, and have their lord among them, which they very much desired. The business was so well arranged that the young earl of Flanders was brought to the city of Arras, whither the duke of Brabant sent his eldest son, the lord Godfrey earl of Mons, the earl of Los, and all his council. The principal towns of Flanders sent thither also their magistrates. Many conferences were held; and the young earl and his countrymen engaged for his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant, provided it were agreeable to the church. This had been already secured, and the dispensation from the pope was arrived. Not long after this, the young earl came to Flanders, where all due homage was paid him; and greater powers were granted to him than even his father, or any of his predecessors, had enjoyed. The earl married the duke's daughter; and, by the marriage-articles, the towns of Mechlin and Antwerp were to revert to the earl of Flanders, after the death of the duke; but this treaty was so secretly managed, that few heard of it. The duke gave so much to his daughter, that great wars were the consequence between Flanders and Brabant in after times, as you will hear: but, as this is not as yet the subject-matter of my history, I shall briefly state, that the king of England was sorely vexed with all parties for this marriage: with the duke of Brabant, because he was his cousin-german, and had carried off from his daughter the heir of Flanders, to whom she had been betrothed; with the earl, because he had broken his engagement with him, respecting his daughter. The duke sent, however, very prudent and handsome apologies; as did afterwards the earl of Flanders.

About this period, there was much ill-will between the king of England and the Spaniards, on account of some infractions and pillages committed at sea by the latter. It happened at this season, that the Spaniards who had been in Flanders with their merchandise, were informed they would not be able to return home, without meeting the English fleet. The Spaniards did not pay much attention to this intelligence: however, after they had disposed of their goods, they amply provided their ships from Sluys with arms and artillery, and all such archers, cross-bowmen and soldiers as were willing to receive pay. The king of England hated these Spaniards greatly, and said publicly: "We have for a long time spared these people; for which they have done us much harm, without amending their conduct: on the contrary, they grow more arrogant; for which reason they must be chastised as they repass our coasts." His lords readily assented to this proposal, and were eager to engage the Spaniards. The king therefore issued a special summons to all gentlemen who at that time might be in England, and left London. He went to the coast of Sussex, between Southampton and Dover, which lies opposite to Ponthieu and Dieppe, and kept his court in a monastery, whither the queen also came. At this time and place, that gallant knight, lord Robert de Namur, who was lately returned from beyond sea, joined the king: he came just in time to be one of this armament; and the king was exceedingly pleased at his arrival. On finding that he was not too late to meet the Spaniards on their return, the king, with his nobles and knights, embarked on board his fleet; and he was never attended by so numerous a company in any of his former expeditions at sea.

The same year the king created his cousin, Henry earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, and the baron of Stafford an earl, who were now both with him. The prince of Wales and John earl of Richmond were likewise on board the fleet: the last was too young to bear arms, but he had him on board because he much loved him. There were also in this fleet, the earls of Arundel, Northampton, Hereford, Suffolk, and Warwick, the lord Reginald Cobham, sir Walter Manny, sir Thomas Holland, sir Lewis Beauchamp, sir James Audley, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, the lords Percy, Mowbray, Neville, Roos, de *Difort*, de *Gastrode*, de *Berder*, and many others. There were four hundred knights; nor was he ever attended by a larger company of great lords. The king kept the sea with his vessels ready prepared for action, and to wait for the enemy, who was not long before he appeared. He kept cruising for three days between Dover and Calais.

When the Spaniards had completed their cargoes, and laden their vessels with linen cloths, and whatever they imagined would be profitable in their own country, they embarked on board their fleet at Sluys. They knew they should meet the English, but were indifferent about it; for they had marvellously provided themselves with all sorts of warlike ammunition; such as bolts for cross-bows, cannon, and bars of forged iron to throw on the enemy, in hopes, with the assistance of great stones, to sink him. When they weighed anchor, the wind was favorable for them: there were forty large vessels of such a size, and so beautiful, it was a fine sight to see them under sail. Near the top of their masts were small castles, full of flints and stones, and a soldier to guard them; and there also was the flag-staff, from whence fluttered their streamers in the wind, that it was pleasant to look at them. If the English had a great desire to meet them, it seemed as if the Spaniards were still more eager for it, as will hereafter appear. The Spaniards were full ten thousand men, including all sorts of soldiers they had enlisted when in Flanders: this made them feel sufficient courage not to fear the combat with the king of England, and whatever force he might have at sea. Intending to engage the English fleet, they advanced with a favorable wind until they came opposite to Calais. The king of England being at sea, had very distinctly explained to all his knights the order of battle he would have them follow: he had appointed the lord Robert de Namur to the command of a ship called Le Salle du Roi, on board of which was all his household. The king posted himself in the fore part of his own ship: he was dressed in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a small hat of beaver, which became him much. He was that day, as I was told by those who were present, as joyous as he ever was in his life, and ordered his minstrels to play before him a German dance which sir John Chandos had lately introduced. For his amusement, he made the same knight sing with his minstrels, which delighted him greatly. From time to time he looked up to the castle on his mast, where he had placed a watch to inform him when the Spaniards were in sight. While the king was thus amusing himself with his knights, who were happy in seeing him so gay, the watch, who had observed a fleet, cried out, "Ho, I spy a ship, and it appears to me to be a Spaniard." The minstrels were silenced; and he was asked if there were more than one: soon after he replied, "Yes; I see two, three, four, and so many that, God help me, I cannot count them." The king and his knights then knew they must be the Spaniards. The trumpets were ordered to sound, and the ships to form a line of battle for the combat; as they were aware that, since the enemy came in such force, it could not be avoided. It was, however, rather late, about the hour of vespers. The king ordered wine to be brought, which he and his knights drank; when each fixed their helmets on their heads. The Spaniards now drew near; they might easily have refused the battle, if they had chosen it, for they were well freighted, in large ships, and had the wind in their favor. They could have avoided speaking with the English, if they had willed, but their pride and presumption made them act otherwise. They disdained to sail by, but bore instantly down on them, and commenced the battle.

When the king of England saw from his ship their order of battle, he ordered the person who managed his vessel, saying, "Lay me alongside the Spaniard who is bearing down on us; for I will have a tilt with him." The master dared not disobey the king's order, but laid his ship ready for the Spaniard, who was coming full sail. The king's ship was large and stiff; otherwise she would have been sunk, for that of the enemy was a great one, and the shock of their meeting was more like the crash of a torrent or tempest; the rebound caused the castle in the king's ship to encounter that of the Spaniard: so that the mast of the latter was broken, and all in the castle fell with it into the sea, when they were drowned. The English vessel, however, suffered, and let in water, which the knights cleared, and stopped the leak, without telling the king anything of the matter. Upon examining the vessel he had engaged lying before him, he said; "Grapple my ship with that; for I will have possession of her." His knights replied; "Let her go her way: you shall have better than her." That vessel sailed on, and another large ship bore down, and grappled with chains and hooks to that of the king. The fight now began in earnest, and the archers and cross-bows on each side were eager to shoot and defend themselves. The battle was not in one place, but in ten or twelve at a time. Whenever either party found themselves equal to the enemy, or superior, they instantly grappled, when grand deeds of arms were performed. The English had not any advantage; and the Spanish ships were much larger and higher than their opponents, which gave them a great superiority in shooting and casting stones and iron bars on board their enemy, which annoyed them exceedingly. The knights on board the king's ship were in danger of sinking, for the leak still admitted water: this made them more eager to conquer the vessel they were grappled to: many gallant deeds were done; and at last they gained the ship, and flung all they found in it overboard, having quitted their own ship. They continued the combat against the Spaniards, who fought valiantly, and whose cross-bowmen shot such bolts of iron as greatly distressed the English.

This sea-fight, between the English and Spaniards, was well and hardly fought: but, as night was coming on, the English exerted themselves to do their duty well, and discomfit their enemies. The Spaniards, who are used to the sea, and were in large ships, acquitted themselves to the utmost of their power. The young prince of Wales and his division were engaged apart: his ship was grappled by a great Spaniard, when he and his knights suffered much; for she had so many holes, that the water came in very abundantly, and they could not by any means stop the leaks, which gave the crew fears of her sinking; they therefore did all they could to conquer the enemy's ship, but in vain; for she was very large, and excellently well defended. During this danger of the prince, the duke of Lancaster came near, and, as he approached, saw he had the worst of the engagement, and that his crew had too much on their hands, for they were bailing out water: he therefore fell on the other side of the Spanish vessel, with which he grappled, shouting, "Derby to the rescue!" The engagement was now very warm, but did not last long, for the ship was taken, and all the crew thrown overboard, not one being saved. The prince, with his men, instantly embarked on

board the Spaniard; and scarcely had they done so when his own vessel sunk, which convinced them of the imminent danger they had been in.

The engagement was in other parts well contested by the English knights, who exerted themselves, and need there was of it, for they found those who feared them not. Late in the evening, the Salle du Roi, commanded by lord Robert de Namur, was grappled by a large Spaniard, and the fight was very severe. The Spaniards were determined to gain this ship; and, the more effectually to succeed in carrying her off, they set all their sails, took advantage of the wind, and in spite of what lord Robert and his crew could do, towed her out of the battle: for the Spaniard was of a more considerable size than the lord Robert's ship, and therefore she more easily conquered. As they were thus towed, they passed near the king's ship, to whom they cried out, "Rescue the Salle du Roi," but were not heard; for it was dark; and, if they were heard, they were not rescued. The Spaniards would have carried away with ease this prize, if it had not been for a gallant act of one Hanequin, a servant to the lord Robert, who, with his drawn sword on his wrist, leaped on board the enemy, ran to the mast, and cut the large cable which held the mainsail, by which it became unmanageable; and, with great agility, he cut other four principal ropes, so that the sails fell on the deck, and the course of the ship was stopped. Lord Robert seeing this, advanced with his men, and, boarding the Spaniard sword in hand, attacked the crew so vigorously, that all were slain or thrown overboard, and the vessel won.

I cannot speak of every particular circumstance of this engagement. It lasted a considerable time; and the Spaniards gave the king of England and his fleet enough to do. However, at last, victory declared for the English: the Spaniards lost fourteen ships; the others saved themselves by flight.* When it was completely over, and the king saw he had none to fight with, he ordered his trumpets to sound a retreat, and made for England. They anchored at Rye and Winchelsea a little after nightfall, when the king, the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Richmond and other barons, disembarked, took horses in the town, and rode to the mansion where the queen was, scarcely two English leagues distant. The queen was mightily rejoiced on seeing her lord and children: she had suffered that day great affliction from her doubts of success; for her attendants had seen from the hills of the coast the whole of the battle, as the weather was fine and clear, and had told the queen, who was very anxious to learn the number of the enemy, that the Spaniards had forty large ships: she was therefore much comforted by their safe return. The king, with those knights who had attended him, passed the night in revelry with the ladies, conversing of arms and amors. On the morrow, the greater part of his barons who had been in this engagement, came to him: he greatly thanked them for all the services they had done him, before he dismissed them, when they took their leave, and returned every man to his home.

You have before heard how Aymery de Pavie had plotted to surrender the town and castle of Calais, for a sum of florins to the French, and how it befel them: that sir Geoffry de Chargny and the knights with him were made prisoners, and carried to England, whence they ransomed themselves as soon as they could pay the money, and returned to France. It happened, that, during the time he was at St. Omer by order of the king of France, he heard that Aymery de Pavie was at a castle in the country near Calais, called Fretun, which the king of England had given him. The Italian lived there at his ease with a beautiful English woman, whom he had brought thither as his mistress; and he fancied the French had forgotten his courtesy to them: but that was not the case, as you shall hear. As soon as sir Geoffry received this information, he secretly inquired from those of the country who knew this castle, if it could easily be taken: they assured him it might; for that sir Aymery lived there without any suspicion, and without guards or watch, thinking himself as safe as if he were in London or Calais. Sir Geoffry did not let the matter sleep, but, collecting privately a band of men-at-arms, left St. Omer in an evening, taking with him the cross-bows that were quartered there, and marched all night, when, at daybreak, he arrived at the castle of Fretun. They instantly surrounded the castle, as it was not of any size, and having entered the ditch, passed through. The servants, awakened by the noise, ran to their master, who was asleep, and said, "My lord, rise instantly; for the castle is surrounded by a large body of men-at-arms, who are forcing their way into it." Aymery was much alarmed, and rose as speedily as he could; but notwithstanding his haste, he could not arm himself before his court-yard was filled with soldiers. He was thus made prisoner with his mistress; but nothing was pillaged in the castle, on account of the existing truce between France and England; and besides sir Geoffry only wanted to take Aymery. He was greatly pleased with his success, and carried sir Aymery to St. Omer, where he did not suffer him to languish in prison, but had him put to death, with much cruelty, in the market-place of St. Omer, in the presence of the knights and common people of the country, who had been sent for thither. Thus died sir Aymery de Pavie; but his mistress escaped, for his death freed her, and she afterwards attached herself to a squire of France.

This year of our Lord 1349, there came from Germany, persons who performed public penitences by whipping themselves with scourges having iron hooks, so that their backs and shoulders were torn: they chanted also, in a piteous manner, canticles of the nativity and sufferings of our Saviour, and could not, by their rules, remain in any town more than one night: they travelled in companies of more or less in number, and thus journeyed through the country performing their penitence for thirty-three days, being the number of years Jesus Christ remained on earth, and then returned to their own homes. These penitences were thus performed, to entreat the Lord to restrain his anger, and withhold his vengeance; for, at this period, an epidemic malady ravaged the earth, and destroyed a third part of its inhabitants. They were chiefly done in those countries the most afflicted, whither scarcely any could travel, but were not long continued, as the church set itself against them. None of these companies entered France: for the king had strictly forbidden them, by desire of the pope, who disapproved of such measures, by sound and sensible reasons, but which I shall pass over. All clerks or persons holding livings, that countenanced them, were excommunicated, and several were forced to go to Rome to purge themselves.

About this time, the Jews throughout the world were arrested and burnt, and their fortunes seized by those lords under whose jurisdictions they had lived, except at Avignon, and the territories of the church dependent on the pope. Each poor Jew, when he was able to hide himself, and arrive in that country, esteemed himself safe. It was prophesied, that for one hundred years people were to come, with iron scourges, to destroy them: and this would now have been the case, had not these penitents been checked in their mad career, as has been related.*

CHAPTER CLII.

THE DEATH OF KING PHILIP, AND CORONATION OF HIS SON KING JOHN.

In the beginning of August, in the year 1350, Raoul de Cahours,† and many other knights and squires, to the number of one hundred

* "Anno Gratiæ millesimo trecentissimo quinquagessimo, qui est annus regni regis Edwardi à conquestu tertii vicesimus quartus, comonssum est bellum navale inter Anglicos et Hispanos quarto calendas Septembris. Edwardus nempe rex Angliæ cum paucis navibus obviavit navigio Hispaniæ, viris bellicosis refertissimo juxta Winchelsee. Et facto atrocissimo conflictu, multi læsi sunt ex utraque parte. Nam tam fervens erat bellum, tam crebra vulnera inflicta ex omni parte, quod ab illo præliо vix aliquis evasit illæsus. Demum (Deo volente) victoria cessit Anglis. Captæ sunt ibi igitur 26 naves magnæ, reliquis submersis, vel in fugam versis. In hoc conflictu dum Hispani tumidi et superbi, atque fidentes in robore suo et strenuitate, dedignantur se reddere jussu regis Edwardi, omnes miserabiliter perierunt, alii ferro cæsi, alii aquis submersi."—Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angliæ*, p. 169.

Stowe says, that Edward returned triumphant, but bewailing the loss of sir Richard Goldesborough. Page 250.

* Here end the additions. I cannot help supposing there must have been more: for Froissart would certainly have particularly mentioned this sad calamity of the plague, that afflicted all Europe, and he scarcely notices it.

It began in the spring of the year 1348, and came from Asia. It destroyed in some parts the fourth, in others the third of their population: sometimes it left not the tenth part. It carried off in Paris from 40 to 50,000, and in the little town of St. Denis, 1600. There were sometimes, at Paris, 800 burials in a day: and in the single church-yard of the Charter-house, London, were buried 200 daily. It broke every bond of attachment asunder: servants fled from their masters, wives from their husbands, and children from their parents. There were no laws in force: the greatest excesses were committed; and, when the contagion was at an end, morals were found more corrupted.

I refer my readers to the different chronicles of the times, for more particular information. Lord Hailes dates its ravages in 1349, and says; "The *great pestilence*, which had long desolated the continent, reached Scotland. The historians of all countries speak with horror of this pestilence. It took a wider range, and proved more destructive than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of mankind. Barnes, pp. 428—441, has collected the accounts given of this pestilence by many historians; and hence he has, unknowingly, furnished materials for a curious inquiry into the populousness of Europe in the fourteenth century."

"The same cause which brought on this corruption of manners produced a new species of fanaticism. There appeared in Germany, England and Flanders, numerous confraternities of penitents, who, naked to the girdle, dirty and filthy to look at, flogged themselves in the public squares, chanting a ridiculous canticle. Underneath are two stanzas of their canticle, consisting of nineteen in the whole. It is entire in a chronicle belonging to M. Brequigny, which is the only one supposed to express it:

"Or avant, entre nous tuit frere,
Battons nos charoignes bien fort,
En remembrant la grand misere
De Dieu, et sa piteuse mort
Qui fut pris de la gent amere,
Et venduz, et traiz à tort,
Et battu sa char vierge et claire;
On nom de ce, battons plus fort.

O Roiz des roiz, char precieuse,
Dieuz Pere, Filz, Sains Esperis,
Vos saintisme char glorieuse,
Fut pendue en crois par Juïs
Et la fut grief et doloreuse:
Quar vo douz saint sanc beneic
Fit la croix vermeille et hideuse,
Loons Dieu et battons nos pis."

M. Levesque, tom. i. pp. 530, 531.

† Raoul de Cahours was of the English party, but gained over by the magnificent promises of king John. He first changed his side at this battle, when he fought with the commander in Brittany, who had only one hundred men, and might have gained the day, if he had not been too rash. King John, as a recompense, gave him 24,000 livres, and allowed him the possession of the lands of Beauvoir, the island of Chauvet

and twenty men-at-arms, or thereabouts, combated with the commander for the king of England in Brittany, called sir Thomas Daggeworth, before the castle of Aurai. Sir Thomas* and all his men were slain, to the amount of about one hundred men-at-arms. On the 22nd of August, in the same year, king Philip of France departed this life at Nogent-le-Roi,† and was carried to Notre-Dame in Paris. On the Thursday following, his body was buried at St. Denis, on the left hand of the great altar: his bowels were interred at the Jacobins at Paris, and his heart at the convent of the Carthusians at Bourgfontaines in Valois. The 26th day of September ensuing, John, eldest son of king Philip, was crowned king, on a

JOHN, KING OF FRANCE—Drawn on his return from England, in 1309: by BEUCLAIRE, Croix of St. Eloy, Paris.

Sunday, at Rheims. His wife, Queen Jane, was also crowned at the same time. The king, on this occasion, made many knights: his eldest son, the dauphin of Vienne; his second son, Louis earl of Alençon; the earl of Estampes; the lord John d'Artois; Philip duke of Orleans, brother to the king; the duke of Burgundy, son of the Queen, by her first marriage with the lord Philip of Burgundy; the earl of Dammartin, and many others. The king set out from Rheims on the Monday, and returned to Paris, by way of Laon, Soissons and Senlis. The king and queen made their public entry into Paris on a Sunday, the 17th of October. There were great feasts, which lasted the whole week. The king remained at Paris at the hôtel de Nesle, or at the palace, until near Martinmas, when he assembled his parliament.

On Tuesday, the 16th day of November following, Raoul, earl of Eu and Guignes, constable of France, who was but lately returned from his prison in England, was arrested by order of the king, in the hôtel de Nesle,‡ where king John resided, by the provost of Paris, and was detained in confinement in his hôtel, until the next Thursday; when, about the hour of matins, he was there beheaded, in the presence of the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Montfort, the lord John Boulogne, the earl of Rueil, and many other knights, who attended the execution by command of the king, at that time in his palace. He was thus executed, for great treasons, of which he had confessed himself guilty to the duke of Athens, and some others. His body was buried in the Augustins at Paris, within the walls of the monastery, by permission of the king, out of respect to the friends of the constable."§ In the month of the ensuing January, Charles of Spain, to whom the king had given the earldom of Angoulême, was appointed by him constable of France.

and other estates which he had seized from Jane de Belleville. Cahours engaged, in return, to deliver into the king's hands Vannes, Guerrande, Brest, Hennebon, &c.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

Raoul de Cahours was made commander in Poitou, by writ of privy seal, dated Eltham, 17th January, 1347.—RYMER.

The 4th July, 1348, the king grants him £1000 a year, in Poitou, besides other advantages.—*Idem.*

* Dugdale, in his Baronage, says he was slain through the treachery of the French.

† A town in Beauce, on the river Eure, five leagues from Chartres.

‡ The hôtel de Nesle is now demolished; and its situation would be unknown, were it not for a curious memoir respecting it, in the XXIIId. vol. of the Memoires de l'Académie, by M. Bonamy, to which I refer the reader.

§ *De Dolo Regis Franciæ Johannis, &c.*—"Comes de Ewe, constabularius Franciæ, qui in conflictu inter Anglicos & Normanos, anno Domini millesimo. ccccmo. XLVIIIo. apud Cadamum habito, captus fuit, & tunc missus in Angliam, per III. annos & amplius ibidem remanserat sub carcerali custodia mancipatus, circiter festum Sancti Michaëlis, anno Domini millesimo. ccmo. LIIIo. licenciatus per regem Anglorum loca sua in partibus Franciæ visitare, Parisios venit ad novum Franciæ regem Johannem, utique statura magnum & discretum, minus tamen graciosum, & fama publica referente libidine plenum, ab uxore propria divertentem, fornicarisque tam secularibus quam religiosis etiam incestuose turpiter adhærentem, à paucis magnatibus vel plebeis dilectum. Tunc idem rex, se amicum ipsius comitis simulans, & padifice sibi loquens, convivavit eundem. Sed statim nocte sequenti, misso spiculatore cum quibusdam satellitibus ad hospicium dicti comitis, ipsum comitem fecit subito decollari."—AVESBURY, p. 187.

The lord Guy de Nesle, marshal of France, had an engagement, on the first of April, in Saintonge, with the English and Gascons; the army of the marshal was defeated: he himself was taken prisoner, with his brother the lord William, lord Arnold d'Anreghen, and many others. On Palm Sunday, which was the 10th of April, 1351, Giles Rigault de Rouffy, who was abbot of St. Denis, and lately made a cardinal, was presented with the red hat, in presence of king John in his palace, by the bishops of Laon and of Paris. This had never been done before; but the pope had directed it to be so, by a bull addressed to these bishops.

In the following September, the French recovered the town of St. Jean d'Angely, of which the English had kept possession for five years. It was surrendered by the garrison without striking a blow, and merely through want of provisions. In the month of October, the fraternity of the noble house of St. Ouen,* near Paris, was established by order of the king. All those who were of this order wore a star on their hoods, and another on the front of their mantles.† This year, there was the greatest scarcity of provisions all over the kingdom of France ever known in the memory of man. Wheat was sold at Paris for eight livres parsis‡ the septier:§ a septier of oats for forty sols parsis, and a boisseau‖ of peas eight sols, and other grains according to their value. In this month of October, on the day of the celebration of St. Ouen, the English took the town of Guignes, notwithstanding the truce: and in this year the constable of France was married to the daughter of lord Charles of Blois.

CHAPTER CLIII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE CAUSES THE LORD CHARLES OF SPAIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, TO BE MURDERED—WITH OTHER MATTERS.

IN the year 1352, on the eve of the feast of our Lady, the middle of August, the lord Guy de Nesle, lord of Ossemont, at that time marshal of France in Brittany, had an engagement, in which the marshal was slain in battle, and also the lord of Briquebec, the baron of Beauvais, and many other nobles, as well of the country of Brittany, as of other parts of France. The 4th of September was the day appointed for the combat¶ at Paris, between the duke of Brunswick and the duke of Lancaster, for words which the duke of Lancaster had spoken, and for which the duke of Brunswick had summoned him to answer at the court of the king of France. The two dukes came to the field completely armed, and entered the lists which had been prepared for the German appellant, and the English respondent. As the English were at war with France, the duke of Lancaster had come thither under a safe-conduct from king John, to defend his honor. The king of France, however, would not permit them to fight; but, although they had armed themselves, and had taken the oaths, and were mounting their steeds, he took the business into his own hands, and made up the difference between them.

On the 6th day of December, pope Clement VI. died, at Avignon, in the eleventh year of his pontificate; and, on the 11th of the following month, a cardinal from Limosin, styled cardinal of Ostia, but, because he had been bishop of Clermont, commonly called cardinal of Clermont, was elected pope, about the hour of ten in the morning, in his room. He took the title of Innocent VI., though his own proper name was sir Stephen Aubert.

On the 6th day of January, 1353, soon after daybreak, the lord Charles Navarre, earl of Evreux, caused the lord Charles of Spain, constable of France, to be murdered in his bed, at an inn in the town of Aigle** in Normandy, by some men-at-arms whom he sent there; he remained in a barn without the town, until they were returned to him after the performance of this deed. It was said he

* St. Ouen is a small town in the Isle of France, diocese and election of Paris.

† Barnes says, that on the 8th September, 1351, king John revived the almost obsolete order of the Star, in imitation of the Garter: and the first chapter of it was held at his palace of St. Ouen. At first there were but eighteen knights; the rest were added at different chapters.

They wore a bright star on the crest of their helmets, and one pendent at their necks: and the same was embroidered on their mantles.

The day fixed for the annual celebration of this order was the Epiphany, and the star chosen for the emblem.

The eighteen first knights were:

John king of France, sovereign.

Philip duke of Orleans, his only brother.

Charles of France, dauphin of Vienne—Louis duke of Anjou—John duke of Berry—Philip duke of Touraine—king John's sons.

Charles king of Navarre.

Peter duke of Bourbon—James Bourbon count de la Marche—brothers.

Charles de la Cerda of Spain, earl of Angoulême.

Arnold d'Andreghen—John de Clermont—marshals of France.

Geoffry count de Chargny, great chamberlain of France.

Charles earl of Tancarville.

William de Brenne, duke of Athens, master of the horse.

John d'Artois, earl of Eu—Charles of Artois, count de Longueville—John viscount de Melun, sons of Robert d'Artois.

For more particulars, see Favine's Théatre d'Honneur.

‡ Cotgrave says, that a livre parisis is 2s. 6d., and that ten sols parisis is equal to one shilling.

§ A septier of wheat, according to Cotgrave, weighs 240 pounds.

‖ A boisseau of wheat weighs 20 pounds.

¶ See Dugdale's Baronage, for a more particular account of this duel, and of an end being put to it by the king of France, at the entreaty of the duke of Brunswick, who, through cowardice, submitted to his award.

** Diocese of Evreux.

was accompanied by the lord Philip of Navarre his brother, the lord Lewis de Harcourt, and lord Godfrey de Harcourt his uncle, and many other knights, as well from Navarre as from Normandy. The king of Navarre and his company retreated to the city of Evreux, of which he was lord, provisioned it, and added to the fortifications. With him went the above-mentioned Harcourts, the lord of Malue, John Maller lord of Graville, the lord Almaury de Meulent, and many other noblemen of Normandy. Shortly after, the king of Navarre went to Mantes: he had before sent many letters sealed, to different towns in the kingdom, to inform them that he had put to death the constable, for various evil deeds which the constable had done against him. He sent the earl of Meaux to the king of France at Paris, on the same subject. The king dispatched to the king of Navarre at Mantes, the cardinal de Boulogne, the bishop of Laon, the duke de Bourbon, the earl of Vendôme, and others, who entered into a treaty with the king of Navarre: forasmuch as he had married the king's sister, the mere pardon of the king for this crime would not satisfy him; but he required of the king, his lord, many other things. Every one in France imagined that a war was unavoidable, between the two kings; for the king of Navarre had made many alliances, collected troops in different places, and had victualled and fortified his towns and castles. At last, however, after many treaties, there was one agreed to, of which the following are some of the principal points.

The king of France was to give the king of Navarre thirty-eight thousand livres tournois, on account of an annuity which the king of Navarre received from the treasury of Paris, in lieu of lands which, according to an agreement made between their royal predecessors, were to be assigned to him, for the county of Champagne, as well as on account of his marriage with the king of France's daughter, when he was promised as much land as would amount to twelve thousand livres a-year. The king of Navarre wished to have the lordship of Beaumont-le-Roger,* the lands of Breteuil,† in Normandy, Conches,‡ and Orbec,§ the viscounty of Pont-Audemer,‖ and the bailiwick of Coutantin: which were acceded to by the king of France, though the first four lands belonged to Philip duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and he gave him other estates in lieu of them. The king consented also, for the sake of peace, that all the Harcourts and his other allies should hold from him, as their lord, all lands dependent on Navarre, in whatever part of France they might be situated; and it was at their option to do him, if they pleased, homage for them. The king of Navarre obtained also, that these lands, and those he possessed before, should be holden by him as a peerage: and he had the power to hold, twice a-year, a court of exchequer as nobly as the duke of Normandy. The king of France consented to pardon all who had been concerned in the death of the constable, and promised, upon his oath, that neither now nor hereafter would he seek to do them hurt for this act. The king of Navarre, in addition, received from the king of France a large sum in golden crowns; and, before he would come to Paris, he made the king send him, by way of hostage, the earl of Anjou, his second son.

When he came to Paris, he was attended by a numerous body of men-at-arms. The 4th day of March following, he came to the chamber of parliament, where the king was sitting, attended by many peers of France, the parliament, and some of his council: the cardinal of Boulogne was there also. The king of Navarre besought the king of France to pardon him the death of the constable, alleging that he had good reasons for so doing, which he offered then to lay before the king, or at any other time. He swore he had not done it out of any contempt to the king of France, or to the office of constable; and he added, that he should not feel anything so much, as to be thought he had incurred the anger of the king. Upon this, the lord James de Bourbon, constable of France, by order of the king, gave his hand to the king of Navarre, and drew him aside. Shortly after, the queen Joan, aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his sister; the first of whom had been the wife of Charles le Bel, and the last of king Philip, lately deceased; came into the presence of the king, and made a low reverence: sir Reginald de Trie, falling on his knees, said: "My most redoubted lord, here are my ladies the queens, Joan and Blanche, who have heard that my lord of Navarre is in your ill graces, and are much hurt at it. They beseech you to have the goodness to pardon him; and, if it please God, he will for the future behave himself in such a manner, that you and all the people of France shall be satisfied."

The constable and the marshals then went to seek the king of Navarre, who, coming again into the presence of the king, placed himself between the two queens, when the cardinal spoke as follows: "My lord of Navarre, no one ought to be surprised, if my lord the king of France is offended with you, for the crime you have committed. There is no occasion for me to name it, you have made it so public, by your letters and otherwise, that it is known to all. You are so much beholden to him, that you ought never to have done it: you are of his blood, and nearly related to him; besides, you are his liege man, and one of his peers, and have also espoused his daughter; therefore this deed is so much the more blameable. However, for the love and affection he bears my ladies the queens, here present, who have most earnestly entreated him in your behalf; and, because he believes you have committed this crime through bad advisers, he pardons you heartily and willingly." The two queens, and the king of Navarre, upon this, fell on their knees, and thanked the king. The cardinal added, "that in future if any of the king's relations, or others, should dare commit such a crime as the king of Navarre had done, and even if it should again happen to the king's son, to insult or injure the lowest officer of the king, he should infallibly be punished." Upon this, the court broke up.*

The 22nd of March, a knight-banneret of the low marches, called sir Reginald de Pressigny, lord of Marans near la Rochelle, was drawn and hanged on a gibbet, by orders of the parliament and many of the great council of the king. On the 4th of August, 1354, the king of France was reconciled to the earl of Harcourt and the lord Lewis his brother, who were, as it was then said, to reveal to him many things of consequence, especially all that related to the death of the constable. In the following month of September, the cardinal de Boulogne set out from Paris to go to Avignon, and, it was commonly reported, not in the good graces of the king; howbeit, during the space of a year that he had remained in France, he had lived as well with the king as any other courtier. About this time, lord Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king of France, suddenly quitted the kingdom. It was said, that, had he been taken, he would have suffered, for having revealed to the king of Navarre the secrets of the king of France, in the like manner as the Harcourts had done to the king of France.

The king of Navarre, in the month of November, set out from Normandy, and passed through divers places, amusing himself until he came to Avignon, and from thence went to Navarre. And this month the archbishop of Rouen, chancellor of France, and the duke of Bourbon, set off for Avignon; as did the duke of Lancaster, and others of the English, in order to hold a conference touching a peace between the two kings. This same month the king of France left Paris, and went into Normandy as far as Caen. He took possession of all the lands belonging to the king of Navarre, and appointed new officers and garrisons in all the castles belonging to him, except six, viz. Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gavrey,† Avranches,‡ Mortain,§ which were garrisoned by men from Navarre, who would not surrender themselves, but answered those sent to them from the king of France, that they would not give them up save to their lord, the king of Navarre, who had put them under their guard.

In the month of January, the lord Robert de Lorris returned to Paris, by a passport from the king, where he remained a fortnight without having permission to see him; and, when he was admitted to his presence, he was not fully reconciled; he therefore, by the advice of the king's council, returned to Avignon, that he might be present during the conferences. Toward the end of February, news was brought, that the truce which would expire in April, between the kings of France and England, had been prolonged by the pope to the nativity of St. John the Baptist, in order that he might find some means of making a permanent peace; and that the commissioners from each king had consented to it. The pope sent embassadors to the kings, respecting another mode of carrying on the treaty than what had hitherto been practiced. This same month, the king of France coined florins of fine gold, which were called Lamb Florins, because on the reverse was the figure of a lamb. They were valued at fifty-two the marc ;‖ and when they were coined, the king gave forty-eight for a marc of pure gold, and forbade the currency of any other florins. This month, sir Gaucher de l'Orme came to Paris, to the king of France, as embassador from the king of Navarre; he returned the following March, carrying with him passports for the king of Navarre.

This year, about Shrovetide, many of the English advanced near to Nantes, and by means of rope-ladders, about fifty-two of them got into and took the castle: but sir Guy de Rochefort, who was the governor, and at that time in the town, attacked them so vigorously that he regained it that same night; and the fifty-two English were either slain or taken prisoners. King John, about Easter 1355, sent his eldest son, Charles dauphin of Vienne, into Normandy, as his lieutenant, where he remained all the summer, and the province granted him three thousand men-at-arms for three months. In the month of August following, the king of Navarre landed at the castle of Cherbourg, and with him ten thousand men, including every one. There were many treaties begun between those attached to the king of France and those belonging to the king of Navarre: each sent respectively embassadors to the other. The king of Navarre's garrisons in Evreux and Pont-Audemer plundered all the country thereabout: some of them advanced to the castle of Conches, which at that time was in king John's hands, took it, and filled it with provisions and men-at-arms. Several other acts of hostility were done by the men of Navarre against the subjects of the

*A market town in Normandy, on the Rille, diocese of Evreux.
† Election of Conches.
‡ A market-town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.
§ A town of Normandy, diocese of Lisieux.
‖ Pont-Audemer—a town in Normandy, diocese of Lisieux, seventeen leagues from Caen.

* The cause of the murder of Charles d'Espagne, constable of France, by Charles le Mauvais, was the opposition the constable made to the pretensions of the king of Navarre to the counties of Champagne, Brie, and to the duchy of Burgundy.—See Ferrera's Hist. of Spain, vol. v. pp. 276, 277.
† A market town in Normandy four leagues from Coutances.
‡ A town in Normandy—a bishop's see.
§ A town in Normandy—diocese of Avranches
‖ Eight ounces of gold, silver, or bullion.

king of France. At last, peace was made; and the king of Navarre then went to the dauphin of Vienne, in the castle of Verneuil,* who conducted him to the good city of Paris. On the 24th day of September, they both came to the king, who then resided at the castle of the Louvre at Paris: and, when admitted to his presence, the king of Navarre made his reverence before the many nobles who were there assembled. He excused himself very honorably for having quitted the realm, and added, that he had heard some had found fault with his conduct toward the king: he therefore requested the king to name those who had done so: for he swore that, since the death of the constable, he had done nothing against the king of France but what a loyal subject should and ought to do. Nevertheless, he besought the king of France, that he would pardon all that was passed, and admit him to his favor. He promised that in future he would be as good and loyal as a son ought to be to a father, or a vassal to his lord. The king informed him, through the duke of Athens, that he forgave everything heartily.

CHAPTER CLIV.

THE TAX OF THE GABELLE† IMPOSED THROUGHOUT FRANCE, BY THE THREE ESTATES, ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

The prince of Wales went into Gascony some time in the month of October, 1355, and advanced as far as Toulouse, where he crossed the Garonne, and went to Carcassonne.‡ He burnt the suburbs, but could do nothing to the town, as it was well defended. He then marched to Narbonne§ burning and destroying the country, and in the month of November, returned to Bordeaux with great plunder and a multitude of prisoners, without having met with any oppposition, notwithstanding that the earl of Armagnac, the king of France's lieutenant in Laguedoc, was at that time in the country, as well as the lord of Foix, the lord James de Bourbon, lord of Ponthieu and constable of France, and the lord John de Clermont, marshal of France, with a more numerous army than that of the prince of Wales.

The king of England landed at Calais in the month of October of this year, and marched to Hesdin,‖ where he destroyed the outworks, and burnt the houses within them; but he did not enter the town or castle. The king of France, on hearing this news of the English, issued out his summons for an army to assemble at Amiens, and marched toward the king of England, who had retreated toward Calais. The king of France advanced as far as St. Omer, whence he sent to inform the king of England, by the marshal de Authain, and many other knights, that he was willing to give him battle, either in single combat, or with his army, any day he would choose to name; but the king of England refused the combat, and crossed the sea to England. The king of France returned to Paris.

In this same year, about St. Andrew's day, the king of France summoned all the prelates, chapters, barons, and citizens of the principal towns, to Paris, when he laid before them, through his chancellor, in the chamber of parliament, the state of the war, and requested of them to consult together on what aids they could grant that should be sufficient to enable him to carry it on. And because the king had heard that his subjects complained of being much aggrieved by the alteration in the coin, he offered to coin money that should be good and weighty, if they would grant him other supplies sufficient to enable him to pursue the war. Upon which they answered, that is to say, the clergy by the mouth of the archbishop of Rheims, the nobles by the duke of Athens, and the citizens by Stephen Marcel, provost of merchants in the good town of Paris, that they were willing to live or die for him, and offered him the disposal of their lives and fortunes, requiring only a little time to deliberate together. This request was willingly complied with.

The king of France gave this year, on the vigil of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son the dauphine of Vienne, earl of Poitiers; and, on the morrow, he did homage for it.

After the three estates had deliberated, they replied to the king of France, in the chamber of parliament, by the aforementioned persons, that they would grant him an army of thirty thousand men, to be maintained by them for one year; and in order to have the fund for paying this, which was estimated at fifty thousand livres parisis,¶ the three estates ordered that there should be levied upon all persons whatever their state may be, churchmen, nobles or others, a tax of eight deniers parisis per pound, on all sorts of provisions; and that the tax upon salt should be established throughout France. But, as it was not known if this tax, and the extension of the gabelle, would be sufficient, it was ordered that the three estates should remain in Paris, to see and examine the result of this tax, and that on the 1st of March following they should again assemble; which was done, except by some of the nobles and citizens from the chief towns in Picardy, and many other towns in Normandy. Those who had examined the receipt of the taxes were also there; and upon their information that it was not sufficient, a new subsidy was resolved on; and it was ordered, that all manner of persons, of the blood royal or not, priest or layman, monk or nun, privileged or unprivileged, innkeepers, heads of churches, who possessed rents, or revenues from offices or administrations, widows as well as those who held estates in their own right, children, married or not, who had any fortune in the hands of trustees or otherwise; coiners, and all others who had formerly been exempted from taxation, and who were possessed of one hundred livres a-year, or under, whether by inheritance, annuity, wages or pension for life, should pay a subsidy of four livres, to defray the expense of the war; those of forty livres a-year and under, to pay forty sols: ten livres a-year, and upward, twenty sols; and under ten livres a-year, children, whether in wardship or upward of fifteen years old, laborers and workmen gaining their livelihood by work, should pay ten sols: if they had any fortune besides what they acquired by labor, they were to pay as the others. Servants and all who worked for hire, so that they gained a hundred sols, and upward, a-year, were also to pay ten sols. The sol was to be taken as the sol parisis, in those parts where this mode of reckoning was usual, and as the sol tournois in the other parts. Those servants who did not gain more than the exact sum of one hundred sols a-year, or under, were to pay nothing; but if they had any equivalent fortune, they were to pay according to the rate of the others. None of the mendicant monks, nor those in cloisters without office or administration, nor children under the age of fifteen, without any property, were to pay this subsidy. Nuns were also exempted, who had not any income exceeding ten livres. Wives paid nothing, because their husbands were taxed, and their fortunes would be reckoned as part of their husbands'. With regard to the clergy, whether they were prelates, abbots, priors, canons, curates, or others who possessed upward of one hundred livres a-year, by benefices, or inheritance from the holy church, or by both, and extending to five thousand livres a-year, they were to pay four livres for the first hundred livres, and forty sols for every hundred of the five thousand. No further aid was to be required for any sum above five thousand livres. The revenues of the benefices were to be estimated by the tax of the tenth penny, and no one was allowed to claim any privileges from their tenths if they had been once granted.

With regard to the nobility, and citizens of the chief towns, who had upward of one hundred livres a-year: the nobles were to be taxed as far as five thousand livres of rent, and forty sols for every hundred livres, besides the four livres for the first hundred. The inhabitants of the towns in the same manner, as far as one thousand livres a-year. As for the furniture of those noblemen who did not possess a hundred livres a-year, it was to be valued as high as one thousand livres, and no higher; and for those who were not noble, and had not four hundred livres a-year, their furniture was to be valued as far as four thousand livres, that is to say, at the rate of one hundred livres for every ten livres of rent; and they were to pay the tax in the manner above specified. If it should happen that any nobleman possessed but just the rental of one hundred livres, and his furniture or no higher value than one thousand livres; or that any one, not a noble, had a rental of four hundred livres, and furniture to the amount of four thousand livres, then their rentals and furniture should be entered together, as high to the nobleman as one thousand livres, and to others as far as four thousand livres, and no more.

On Saturday, the 5th of March, 1356, there was a dissension in the town of Arras, between the higher and lower ranks of inhabitants; the lower sort killed, that day, seventeen of the higher rank in the town. On the Monday following, they murdered four others, and banished many more: so that they remained masters of the town of Arras.

CHAPTER CLV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ARRESTS THE KING OF NAVARRE, AND ORDERS THE EARL OF HARCOURT AND OTHERS TO BE BEHEADED AT ROUEN.

The king of France, on Tuesday the 5th of April, which was the Tuesday after midlent Sunday, set out early, completely armed, from Mainville,* attended by about one hundred lances. There were with him his son the earl of Anjou, his brother the duke of Orleans, the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu, the lord Charles his brother, cousins-german to the king, the earl of Tancarville, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, and many other barons and knights. They rode straight for the castle of Rouen, by a back way, without passing through the town, and on entering found, in the hall of the castle, Charles, duke of Normandy, Charles king of Navarre, John earl of Harcourt, the lords de Preux, de Clerc, de Graville, and some others seated at dinner. The king immediately ordered them all, except the dauphin, to be arrested, as also sir William and sir Louis de Harcourt, brothers to the earl, the lord Fricquet de Friquart, the lord de Tournebeu, the lord Maubué de Mamesnars, two squires called Oliver Doublet and John de Vaubatu, and many others. He had them shut up in different rooms in the castle, and his reason

* Verneuil—a city of Normandy, twenty-nine leagues and a half from Paris.

† The Gabelle is a tax upon salt, first imposed by Philippe le Long. All persons in France before the Revolution in 1789, when it was abolished, were obliged to pay a certain sum for salt, whether they used any or not. This necessary article was monopolized by contractors, who enriched themselves at the public expense.

‡ A considerable town in Languedoc, twenty-three leagues from Toulouse.

§ A large city in Languedoc, an archbishopric, thirty-seven leagues from Toulouse.

‖ A strong town in Artois, on the Canche, twenty-two leagues from Calais.

¶ My two MSS. say "cinquant *cent* mille livres," which appears most probable from the severity of the tax.

* Mainville—a market town in Vexin Normandy, in the election of Gisors.

for so doing was, that, since the reconciliation made on occasion of the death of the constable of France, the king of Navarre had conspired and done many things contrary to the honor of the king, and the good of his realm; the earl of Harcourt had also used many injurious expressions in the castle of Vaudreuil,* when an assembly was holden there to grant a subsidy to the king of France, against the said king, in order to prevent, as much as lay in his power, the subsidy from being agreed to. The king, after this, sat down to dinner, and afterwards, mounting his horse, rode, attended by all his company, to a field behind the castle, called the Field of Pardon. The king then ordered the earl of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, the lord Maubué, and Oliver Doublet, to be brought thither in two carts: their heads were cut off, and their bodies dragged to the gibbet at Rouen, where they were hung, and their heads placed upon the gibbet. In the course of that day and the morrow, the king set at liberty all the other prisoners, except three; Charles king of Navarre, who was conducted to prison in the Louvre at Paris, and afterwards to the Châtelet; some of the king's council were appointed as a guard over him. Friquet and Vaubatu were also confined in the Châtelet. Philip of Navarre, however, kept possession of several castles which the king his brother had in Normandy, and when the king of France sent him orders to surrender them, refused to obey, but in conjunction with the lord Godfrey de Harcourt and other enemies of France, raised forces in the country of Coutantin, which they defended against the king's troops.

On Wednesday after Easter, 1356, sir Arnold d'Andreghen went to Arras, and there very prudently, and without the help of his soldiery, arrested one hundred of those who had put the town in a state of rebellion, and who had murdered the citizens. On the morrow, he had twenty of them beheaded; and the rest he kept in prison until the king should have ordered otherwise. By this means the town was rendered obedient to the king. In the month of June following, the duke of Lancaster landed in the country of Coutantin, and joined the lord Philip of Navarre and sir Godfrey de Harcourt. They were about four thousand combatants. They marched straight for Lisieux, Orbec, and Pont-Audemer, where they reinforced the castle, which had been besieged for upward of two months. The lord Robert de Hotetot, captain of the cross-bowmen in France, who with other nobles had laid siege to it, broke it up, as he heard of the coming of the duke of Lancaster, leaving behind him his machines and artillery, which were captured by those of the castle. The duke and lord Philip made an excursion as far as Breteuil,† which they strengthened, robbing and plundering the country through which they passed. When they found that the city and castle of Evreux had lately surrendered to the king of France, who had for a length of time laid siege to it, and that the town and cathedral had been pillaged and burnt by the men of Navarre, who gave up the castle by capitulation; as well as by some of the king's forces, who were besieging the town, the duke and lord Philip went forward to Verneuil,‡ which town and castle they took and plundered: they also burnt part of the town.

The king of France, on hearing of the landing of the duke of Lancaster, had issued out his orders for raising troops: he assembled a large body of men-at-arms and infantry, set out in pursuit of him, and, passing through Condé,§ made straight for the town of Verneuil. He passed by l'Aigle,‖ and followed him to Tubœuf, two leagues distant from l'Aigle. The king of France was then informed that he could not pursue him further; for there were immense forests in which his party could secrete themselves: the king therefore returned, and came with his whole army before the castle of Thilliers,¶ which they said was in possession of Navarre. He took it, and garrisoned it with his own people. He afterwards came to the castle of Breteuil, which was defended for the king of Navarre. The king of France remained before this castle the space of two months, when it was surrendered on capitulation that the garrison might go whither they pleased, and all they could carry with them.

CHAPTER CLVI.

THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES OUT A SUMMONS FOR ASSEMBLING AN ARMY TO COMBAT THE PRINCE OF WALES, WHO WAS OVERRUNNING THE PROVINCE OF BERRY.

When king John of France had finished his expedition, and had reconquered all the towns and castles in lower Normandy which belonged to the king of Navarre, whom he detained in prison, he returned to the city of Paris. He had not been long there before he heard that the prince of Wales, with his whole army, had invaded his kingdom, and was advancing toward the fertile country of Berry. When this was told him, the king said, with an oath, that he would immediately set out after him, and give him battle wherever he should find him. He issued out a special summons, to all nobles and others who held fiefs under him, that they should not, under any pretence whatever, absent themselves without incurring his highest displeasure, but, immediately on the receipt of these letters, set out to meet him on the borders of Touraine and Blois; for he was determined to fight the English. The king, to hasten the business, marched from Paris; for he had at this time a large body of men-at-arms in the field; and went to Chartres, to gain more certain intelligence of the enemy. He remained there some time, and great crowds of troops and men-at-arms came to him from the different countries of Auvergne, Berry, Burgundy, Lorraine, Hainault, Vermandois, Picardy, Brittany, and Normandy. They passed through the town on their arrival, to show their musters, and took up their quarters in the fields, according to the orders of the two marshals, the lord John de Clermont and lord Arnold d'Andreghen. The king gave orders for all the towns in Anjou, Poitou, Maine and Touraine, to be well garrisoned and provided with all things, especially those on the borders, by which it was hoped the English would pass, that they might be inclosed, and cut off from any subsistence for themselves and horses. In spite of this, however, the prince, who had with him two thousand men-at-arms and six thousand archers, rode on at his ease, and collected everywhere provisions in plenty. They found the country of Auvergne, which they had entered and overrun, very rich, and all things in great abundance; but they would not stop there, as they were desirous of combating their enemies. They burnt and destroyed all the countries they passed through; and when they entered any town which was well provisioned, they rested there some days to refresh themselves, and at their departure destroyed what remained, staving the heads of wine casks that were full, burning the wheat and oats, so that their enemies could not save anything. They kept advancing, and found plenty everywhere; for the countries of Berry, Poitou, Touraine and Maine are very rich, and full of forage for men-at-arms.

The English advanced so far that they came to the good city of Bourges,* where there was a great skirmish at one of the gates. Two knights, the lord de Cousant and the lord Hutin de Memelles, had charge of the city. Many gallant deeds were performed; but the English left it without doing any damage, and went to Issodun,† where there was a strong castle. They attacked it very briskly, with their whole army, but they could not gain it; for the governor and the knights who were with him too valiantly defended themselves. The English therefore passed on, and came to a large town‡ and castle: the town, being weakly fortified and badly defended, was taken by storm. They found there great plenty of wines and other provisions, and remained three days to repose themselves. News was brought there to the prince of Wales, that the king of France was in the city of Chartres, with a very large army, and that all the passes and towns on that side of the Loire were secured, and so well guarded no one could cross the river. The prince then held a council, when it was resolved he should set out on his return to Bordeaux, whence he had come, through Touraine and Poitou, and destroy all the country as he passed. They began their retreat after they had done their pleasure with the town; and this day they gained the castle, and slew the greater part whom they found in it.

They marched toward Romorantin.§ The king of France sent into Berry three gallant barons, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont, to defend the frontiers, and to observe the motions of the English. They had with them three hundred lances; and, skirting the borders of the province, they followed them for six days, without finding any opportunity of intercepting or of attacking the enemy; such good and close order did the English maintain on their march. The French, therefore, had recourse to an ambuscade, near to Romorantin, in a wonderfully narrow spot, which the English were obliged to pass. That same day, there left the prince's army, from the battalion of the marshals, by permission of the prince, the lord Bartholomew Burghersh, the lord of Muyssidan, a Gascon, the lord Petiton Courton, the lord Delawar, the lord Basset, sir Walter Pavely, sir Richard Pontchardan, sir Nesle Loring, the young lord Despencer, sir Eustace and sir Sanchez d'Ambreticourt, with about two hundred combatants, in order to push forward to Romorantin. They passed through the ambuscade of the French without molestation; but, the moment they were clear of it, the French, who were mounted on excellent and well-dressed horses, stuck spurs into them, to overtake them. The English, who had got far forward, hearing the sound of horses' feet, turned round and found it was the enemy. They immediately halted, to wait for the French, who advanced on a gallop, fully determined what to do, with their lances in their rests. The English, seeing them thus charge full speed, opened on each side and let them pass through, so that no more than five or six were unhorsed: they then closed their ranks, and fell upon the rear of the French. This engagement was very sharp: many knights and squires were unhorsed, raised up again and rescued on both sides. It lasted a long time, and no one could tell, so valiantly was it disputed, to which side victory would incline, when the battalion of the marshals appeared in sight. The French first noticed it, as it marched, skirting along a wood, and immediately thought of saving themselves as fast as they could, taking the road to Romorantin. The English followed on full gallop, overthrowing all they could, without sparing themselves or their horses. The

* Vaudreuil—a small town of Normandy, department of Eure, six leagues from Rouen.
† A town in Normandy, election of Conches.
‡ A city in Normandy, twelve leagues from Evreux.
§ A village in Normandy, in the election of Argentan.
‖ A small city in Normandy, diocese of Evreux, election of Verneuil.
¶ Thilliers is a village of Picardy, near Montdidier.

* A large city in Berry, and ancient capital of the province.
† In Berry, diocese of Bourges, and about [illegible] leagues distant.
‡ Vierzon, according to the ancient editions, D'Outrepont's edition,—Ed.
§ Romorantin, a considerable town on the Sauldre, in Blaisois, and capital of Sologne

slaughter was great, and many were killed and unhorsed. One half of them, however, got safe into the castle of Romorantin, whose gates were opened to receive them. There the three barons saved themselves, as well as some knights and squires who were the best mounted. The town of Romorantin was taken on the first arrival of the English, for it was not fortified. The remainder of the French endeavored to escape by getting into the castle.

CHAPTER CLVII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES TAKES THE CASTLE OF ROMORANTIN.

When the prince of Wales was informed that his people had been engaged, he hastened the march of his army toward Romorantin, and, when he entered the town, found it full of men, who were studying how they could take the castle. The prince called sir John Chandos, and ordered him to go and hold a parley with those in the castle. Sir John went to the barriers, and made a sign that he wished to speak with some one: those upon guard inquired his name, by whom he was sent, and then went to inform their masters. Upon which, the lord of Boucicault and the hermit of Chaumont came down to the bars. When sir John saw them, he saluted them, and said: "Gentlemen, I am sent to you by my lord the prince, who wishes, as it appears to me, to behave courteously toward his enemies, and thus says, that, if you will surrender the castle and yourselves, he will show you mercy, and give you good company." The lord of Boucicault replied: "We have no sort of inclination to accept of such terms, nor to commit such an act of folly without any necessity; for we are determined to defend ourselves." Upon this they parted; and the prince ordered his men to quarters, for the next day he meant to attack the castle: they were therefore commodiously lodged in the town of Romorantin, and close about it.

On the next morning, the men-at-arms prepared themselves, and the archers advanced under their respective banners, and made a sharp attack upon the castle. The archers, who had posted themselves on the ditches, shot so justly, that scarcely any one dared to show himself on the battlements. Some got upon hurdles and doors, with pickaxes and mattocks in their hands, and swam over the ditch, when they began to undermine the walls. Those within flung down upon them large stones and pots of hot lime. On this occasion, there was slain on the part of the English, a squire called Remond de Gederlach, who belonged to the division of the captal de Buch. The attack lasted the whole day, with little intermission. The English retreated, toward night, to their quarters, in order to take care of the wounded; and on the morrow at sunrise, the marshals' trumpets sounded. All who were ordered for this assault got themselves in readiness: the prince of Wales himself attended in person, and by his presence mightily encouraged the English. A squire, of the name of Bernard, was killed close at his side, by a stone thrown from the castle: upon which the prince swore, he would never move from that place until he had the castle and all in it in his power, and immediately ordered reinforcements to the assault.

Some of the wisest thought that they might use lances and arrows for ever in vain; and therefore they ordered cannons to be brought forward, and also aqueraux,* to fire *le feu Gregeois*† into the lower court of the castle, so that it was all in a blaze. The fire increased so much, that it gained a large tower which was covered with thatch. When those within the castle found that they must either surrender themselves or perish by fire, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont, came down from the castle, and surrendered themselves to the prince, who made them ride and attend him, as his prisoners: many other knights and squires who were in the castle were set at liberty, and the castle was destroyed.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE LEADS A GREAT ARMY TO THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

After the taking of the castle of Romorantin, and the above-mentioned knights, the prince and his army marched forward as before, burning and destroying the country, in his approach to Anjou and Touraine. The king of France, who had resided at Chartres, set out from that place and came to Blois,‡ where he remained two days. He then came to Amboise,§ and then to Loches,‖ where he heard that the English were in Touraine, taking the road for their return through Poitou; for the English army was constantly observed by some able and expert knights of France and Burgundy, who sent the king particular information of its movements. The king of France then advanced to La Haye,* in Touraine. His army had crossed the Loire, by the bridges of Orleans, Mehun, Saumur, Blois and Tours, and wherever else they could. There were such numbers of good and able men, that they were at least twenty thousand men-at-arms, without reckoning the others: there were twenty-five dukes and earls, and upward of six score banners. The four young sons of the king were also with him; Charles duke of Normandy, the lord Lewis, who was afterwards duke of Anjou, the lord John, since duke of Berry, and the lord Philip, the younger, who was afterwards duke of Burgundy.

About this time, pope Innocent VI. had sent into France two cardinals, sir Bertrand, cardinal of Perigord, and sir Nicholas, cardinal d'Aigel,† to endeavor to make a peace between the king of France and his enemies, and especially between him and the king of Navarre, who was still detained in prison. The two cardinals held frequent conferences with the king on this subject, during the siege of Breteuil, but were not able to bring it to a conclusion. The cardinal of Perigord had retired to the city of Tours, where he was informed that the king of France was marching in all haste after the English. He therefore left Tours, and hastened to Poitiers, as he had learnt that the two armies were approaching near to each other in that quarter.

When the king of France heard that the prince of Wales was making as much haste as possible to return, he did not think he could any way escape from him. He marched from La Haye, with his whole army, and made for Chauvigny,‡ where he took up his quarters on Thursday, as well in the town as without the walls, in meads along the banks of the river Vienne. On the morrow, after breakfast, the king crossed the river at the bridge of Chauvigny, and imagined that the English were just before him, but he was mistaken. However, in the pursuit, upward of forty thousand horse crossed this bridge on Friday; many others did so at Châtelleraut;§ and all, as they passed, took the road to Poitiers. On the other hand, the prince of Wales and his army were ignorant of the exact motions of the French; but they supposed they were not far distant, for their foragers found great difficulties in procuring forage, of which the whole army was in extreme want. They repented of the great waste they had made in Berry, Anjou, and Touraine, and that they had not more amply provisioned themselves.

It happened on this Friday, from the king of France in person passing the bridge of Chauvigny, and the great crowds which attended him, that three great barons of France, the lord of Auxerre, the lord Raoul de Joigny, and the earl of Joigny, were obliged to remain all that day in the town of Chauvigny, and a part of their people with them: the others passed over without baggage or armor except what they had on their backs. On the Saturday morning, they dislodged, crossed the bridge, and followed the army of the king, which was about three leagues off. They made for the open fields and the heaths, which were surrounded by woods, in order to arrive at Poitiers. This same Saturday, the prince decamped from a village hard by, and sent forward a detachment to seek adventures, and to bring some intelligence of the French. They consisted of about sixty men, well armed and mounted for the occasion. Among the knights were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and sir John de Guistelles. By accident, they got on the heaths surrounded by the woods above mentioned. The French soon saw they were enemies; they fixed on their helmets, and unfurled their banners as quickly as they were able; when, fixing their lances in their rests, they stuck spurs to their horses.

The English no sooner perceived these Frenchmen, who were about two hundred lances, than they allowed themselves to be pursued, as the prince and his army were not far distant: they therefore wheeled about, and made for the rutty road through the wood. The French chased them with shouts and a great noise, and as they galloped on, fell in with the army of the prince, which had halted among the heaths to wait for their companions. The lord Raoul de Joigny, and those under his banner, were advanced so far that they came right upon the banner of the prince: the engagment was very sharp, and sir Raoul fought well: however, he was made prisoner, as were the earl of Joigny, the Viscount de Breuse, and the lord of Chauvigny: the greater part were either slain or captured. By these the prince learnt, that the king of France had marched forward, and that he could not return without fighting him. Upon which he collected all the stragglers, and ordered that no one, under pain of death, should advance or skirmish before the battalion of the marshals. They marched on this Saturday, from about nine o'clock until vespers, when they came within small leagues of Poitiers. The captal de Buch,‖ sir Haymenon de Pomiers, sir Bartholomew Burg-

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* *Aqueraulx.* In Du Cange, this passage is referred to as authority for the word; he calls it *machina bellica.* [It seems that the aqueraulx were weapons projected from the cannons, and not machines used for casting the Greek fire. Froissart's words are, "et ordonnèrent à porter canons et avant et à traire en aqueraux et à feu Gregeois." *Then ordered cannons to be brought up and aqueraux and Greek fire to be shot from them.* —Ed.]

† Feu Gregeois, or feu Greceois, was composed of sulphur, naptha, pitch, gum, and bitumen. It is only extinguishable by vinegar mixed with sand or urine, or by raw hides. It was first used by the Greeks, about the year 680. For further accounts, see Encyclopædia Britannica, word *Fire.*

‡ A bailliage city and bishopric, on the north side of the Loire, forty-four leagues and a half from Paris.

§ A small city of Touraine, on the Loire, ten leagues from Blois.

‖ A town in Touraine, on the Indre, diocese of Tours, sixty-nine leagues from Paris.

* A town in Touraine, on the Creuse, twelve leagues from Tours.

† In some, it is d'Urgel.

‡ A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, diocese of Poitiers, six leagues from Poitiers.

§ A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, diocese of Poitiers, ten leagues distant.

‖ *The Captal de Buch.* The title of captal had anciently been affected by some of the most illustrious lords of Aquitaine. It seems that it was originally equivalent to the title of count, and marked even a superiority, as the word *capitalis* announces, principal chief. This dignity, at first personal, as well as all the others, became, in length of time, attached to particular families, and to the estates of which they were possessed. In the time of the first dukes of Aquitaine, there were several captals; but this title, perhaps by

herst and sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt were ordered to advance, and observe where the French were encamped. These knights, with two hundred men well armed and mounted on their best steeds, set out, and soon perceived the French king's army. All the plain was covered with men-at-arms; and these English could not refrain from attacking the rear of the French; they unhorsed many, and took some prisoners, insomuch that the main army began to be in motion. News was brought of this to the king of France, as he was on the point of entering the city of Poitiers: upon which he turned back, and ordered his whole army to do the same, and make for the open fields, so that it was very late before they were quartered. The English detachment returned to the prince, and related to him the appearance of the French, that they were in immense numbers. The prince, on hearing this, said, "God help us; we must now consider which will be the best manner to fight them the most advantageously." This night, the English were quartered in a very strong position, among vineyards and hedges, and both armies were well guarded.

CHAPTER CLIX.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE FRENCH BEFORE THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

On the Sunday morning, the king of France, who was very impatient to combat the English, ordered a solemn mass to be sung in his pavilion; and he and his four sons received the communion. Mass being over, there came to him the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu, the lord James de Bourbon, the duke of Athens, constable of France, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Dammartin, the earl of Vantadour, and many barons of France, as well as other great lords who held fiefs in the neighborhood, such as my lord of Clermont, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lord de St. Venant, the lord John de Landas, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord de Fiennes, the lord Geoffry de Chargny, the lord of Châtillon, the lord of Sully, the lord of Nesle, sir Robert de Duras, and many more, according to a summons they had received for a council. They were a considerable time debating: at last it was ordered, that the whole army should advance into the plain, and each lord should display his banner, and push forward in the name of God and St. Denis. Upon this, the trumpets of the army sounded, and every one got himself ready, mounted his horse, and made for that part of the plain where the king's banner was planted and fluttering in the wind. There might be seen all the nobility of France, richly dressed out in brilliant armor, with banners and pennons* gallantly displayed; for all the flower of the French nobility were there: no knight nor squire, for fear of dishonor, dared to remain at home. By the advice of the constable and the marshals, the army was divided into three battalions, each consisting of sixteen thousand men-at-arms, who had before shown themselves men of tried courage. The duke of Orleans commanded the first battalion, where there were thirty-six banners and twice as many pennons. The second was under the command of the duke of Normandy, and his two brothers, the lord Lewis and lord John. The king of France commanded the third.

While these three battalions were forming, the king called to him the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord John de Landas, and the lord Guiscard de Beaujeu, and said to them, "Ride forward, as near the English army as you can, and observe their countenance, taking notice of their numbers, and examine which will be the most advantageous manner for us to combat them, whether on horseback or on foot." The three knights left the king to obey his commands. The king was mounted upon a white palfrey, and, riding to the head of his army, said aloud: "You, men of Paris, Chartres, Rouen and Orleans, have been used to threaten what you would do to the English, if you could find them, and wished much to meet them in arms: now, that wish shall be gratified: I will lead you to them; and let us see how you will revenge yourselves for all the mischief and damage they have done you; be assured we will not part without fighting." Those who heard him replied: "Sir, through God's assistance, we will most cheerfully meet them." At this instant the three knights returned, and pushing through the crowd, came to the king, who asked what news they had brought: sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, whom his companions had requested to be their spokesman, answered: "Sir, we have observed accurately the English; they may amount, according to our estimate, to about two thousand men-at-arms, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred footmen. They are in a very strong position; but we do not imagine they can make more than one battalion; nevertheless they have posted themselves with great judgment, have fortified all the road along the hedge-side, and lined the hedges with part of their archers; for, as that is the only road for an attack, one must pass through the midst of them. This lane has no other entry; and it is so narrow, that scarcely can four men ride through it abreast. At the end of this lane, amid vines and thorns, where it is impossible to ride or march in any regular order, are posted the men-at-arms on foot; and they have drawn up before them their archers, in the manner of a harrow, so that it will be no easy matter to defeat them." The king asked, in what manner they would advise him to attack them: "Sir," replied sir Eustace, "on foot: except three hundred of the most expert and boldest of your army, who must be well armed and excellently mounted, in order to break, if possible, this body of archers, and then your battalions must advance quickly on foot, attack the men-at-arms hand to hand, and combat them valiantly. This is the best advice that I can give you; and, if any one know a better, let him say it." The king replied; "Thus shall it be then;" and, in company with his two marshals, he rode from battalion to battalion, and selected, in conformity to their opinions, three hundred knights and squires of the greatest repute in his army, each well armed and mounted on the best of horses. Soon after, the battalion of the Germans was formed, who were to remain on horseback to assist the marshals: they were commanded by the earls of Saltzburg, Neydo, and Nassau.

King John was armed in royal armor, and nineteen others like him*. He had given his eldest son in charge to the lord of St. Venant, the lord of Landas, and the lord Theobald de Bodenay. The lord Geoffry de Chargny carried the banner of France, as being the most valiant and prudent knight of the army. The lord Reginald de Quenolle †, surnamed the Archpriest, wore the full armor of the young earl of Alençon.

CHAPTER CLX.

THE CARDINAL DE PERIGORD ENDEAVORS TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

When the battalions of the king of France were drawn up, and each lord posted under his proper banner, and informed how they were to act, it was ordered, that all those who were armed with lances should shorten them to the length of five feet, that they might be the more manageable, and that every one should take off his spurs. As the French were on the point of marching to their enemies, the cardinal de Perigord, who had left Poitiers that morning early, came full gallop up to the king, making a low reverence, and entreated him, with uplifted hands, for the love of God, to halt a moment, that he might speak to him: he thus began: "Most dear sire, you have here with you all the flower of knighthood of your kingdom against a handful of people, such as the English are, when compared to your army; you may have them upon other terms than by a battle; and it will be more honorable and profitable to you to gain them by these means than to risk such a fine army, and such noble persons as you have now with you. I therefore beseech you, in all humility, and by the love of God, that you will permit me to go to the prince, and remonstrate with him on the dangerous situation he is in." The king answered, "It is very agreeable to us; but make haste back again."

The cardinal upon this, set off, and went in all speed to the prince, whom he found on foot in the midst of his army, in the thickest part of a vineyard. When the cardinal came there, he dismounted, and advanced to the prince, who most affably received him, and, after he had made his reverence, said: "Fair son, if you have well considered the great army of the king of France, you will permit me to make up matters between you both, if I possibly can." The prince, who was but in his youth, replied: "Sir, my own honor, and that of my army saved, and I am ready to listen to any reasonable terms." The cardinal answered: "Fair son, you say well: and I will bring

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neglect, was replaced by others, so that, toward the fourteenth century, there were no more than two capitals acknowledged, that of Buch and that of France.—*Vide Gloss. Du Cange ad. verb. Capitalis.*

* The *pennon* was the proper ensign of a bachelor or simple knight. Du Fresne shows, that even squires might bear pennons, provided they could bring a sufficient suit of vassals to the field.—*Notæ in Grossi's Militaria Antiquitates.* See also p. 206, vol. i., for an account of the banner and banneret, and p. 256, vol. ii.

In computing the numbers of an army, every man-at-arms should be counted as three, for each had his squire to bear his lance, &c., and also his body squire.

Villaret, in his History of France, says that three thousand men-at-arms amounted to nearly twelve thousand men. Vol. v. 4to edit. p. 179.

* This custom of arming several in like manner to the commander of an army, seems to have been usual, and was carried down to our Richard III.'s time. Shakspeare makes Richard say in the fourth scene of the last act:

"I think, there be six Richmonds in the field:
Five have I slain to-day, instead of him."

Also in the First part of Henry IV. Douglas says:

"Another king! they grow like hydras' heads;
I am the Douglas, fatal to all those
That wear these colors on them. What art thou,
That counterfeit'st the person of a king?"

† His name was Arnaut de Cervole.

"The family of Cervole, Cervolle, or Servola, held a distinguished rank among the nobility of Perigord. Arnaut was of this family. Some authors make him a Gascon, because formerly all borderers on the Garonne were so called.

"The title of *archipresbyter de Vernis*, which Dom. Vaissete translates, 'archpriest of Vezzins,' was given to him, for though a knight and a married man, he possessed an archpriestship of that name. It is known, that Hugh, duke of France and Burgundy, earl of Paris and Orleans, who died in 956, was surnamed the Abbot; because, though a layman, he possessed the abbeys of St. Denis, St. Germain-des-prés, and St. Martin-de-Tours. Vizzins was probably an archpriestship, whose revenues Cervolle received. One cannot determine where it was situated, for villages and hamlets of this name are in Anjou, Touraine, Bouergue, and in Brittany."

For further particulars, I shall refer to M. de Zurlauben's memoir itself, in the xxvth volume of the Mémoires de l'Académie.

"In this same year [1366], about Trinity-day, sir Arnold de Cervole, surnamed the Archpriest, who commanded a large body of men-at-arms in the kingdom of France was put to death by his own men, which rejoiced many."—See more in the Grandes Chroniques de France, T. 3.

about a treaty, if I can; for it would be a great pity, that so many worthy persons, who are here, should meet in battle." The cardinal returned to the king of France, and said: "Sir, you have no occasion to be so impatient to fight with them, for they cannot escape from you: I therefore entreat you would grant them a truce from this time, until to-morrow's sunrise." The king at first would not agree to it, for a part of his council refused their consent: however, the cardinal spoke so eloquently, that the king at last assented. He ordered a very handsome and rich pavilion of red silk to be pitched on the spot where he stood, and dismissed his army to their quarters, except the battalion of the constable and marshals.

All this Sunday, the cardinal rode from one army to the other, and was very anxious to reconcile the two parties. But the king would not listen to any other terms than that four principal persons of the English should be given up to his will, and that the prince and his army should unconditionally surrender themselves. Many proposals were made: the prince offered to surrender to the king of France all the towns and castles which he had conquered in this expedition; to give up, without ransom, all his prisoners, and to swear he would not for seven years take up arms against the king of France. The king and his council refused to accept of this, and the affair remained some time in suspense: at last, they declared that, if the prince of Wales and one hundred of his knights did not surrender themselves prisoners to the king of France, he would not allow them to pass on without an engagement. The prince and his army disdained accepting of such conditions.

While the cardinal was riding from one army to the other, endeavoring to make peace, some knights of either party rode forth, skirting their enemy's army, to examine its disposition. It chanced, on that day, that sir John Chandos had rode out near one of the wings of the French army, and lord John de Clermont, one of the king's marshals, had done the same, to view the English. As each knight was returning to his quarters, they met; they both had the same device upon the surcoats which they wore over their other clothes; it was a Virgin Mary, embroidered on a field azure, or, encompassed with the rays of the sun argent.* On seeing this, lord Clermont said: "Chandos, how long is it since you have taken upon you to wear my arms?" "It is you who have mine," replied Chandos; "for it is as much mine as yours." "I deny that," said the lord of Clermont; "and were it not for the truce between us, I would soon show you that you have no right to wear it." "Ha," answered sir John Chandos, "you will find me to-morrow in the field, ready prepared to defend, and to prove by force of arms, that it is as much mine as yours." The lord of Clermont replied: "These are the boastings of you English, who can invent nothing new, but take for your own whatever you see handsome belonging to others." With that they parted, without more words, and each returned to his own army. The cardinal de Perigord, not being able by any means to reconcile the king and prince, returned to Poitiers late in the evening. That same day the French kept in their quarters, where they lived at their ease, having plenty of provisions; while the English, on the other hand, were but badly off, nor did they know whither to go for forage, as they were so straitly kept by the French, they could not move without danger. This Sunday they made many mounds and ditches round where the archers were posted, the better to secure them.

On Monday morning, the prince and his army were soon in readiness, and as well arrayed as on the former day. The French were also drawn out by sunrise. The cardinal, returning again that morning, imagined that, by his exhortations, he could pacify both parties; but the French told him to return where he pleased, and not attempt bringing them any more treaties or pacifications, else worse might betide him. When the cardinal saw that he labored in vain, he took leave of the king of France, and set out toward the prince of Wales, to whom he said: "Fair son, exert yourself as much as possible, for there must be a battle; I cannot by any means pacify the king of France." The prince replied, "that such were the intentions of him and his party; and God defend the right." The cardinal then took leave of him, and returned to Poitiers. In his company, there were some knights and men-at-arms more inclined to the French than to the English, who, when they saw that a battle was unavoidable, stole away from their master, and, joining the French forces, chose for their leader the castellan of Ampostat, who at that time was attached to the cardinal. The cardinal knew nothing of this, until he was arrived at Poitiers.

The arrangement of the prince's army, in respect to the battalions, was exactly the same as what the three knights before named had related to the king of France, except at this time he had ordered some valiant and intelligent knights to remain on horseback, similar to the battalion of the French marshals, and had also commanded three hundred men-at-arms, and as many archers on horseback, to post themselves on the right on a small hill, that was not too steep nor too high, and, by passing over its summit, to get round the wing of the duke of Normandy's battalion, who was in person at the foot of it. These were all the alterations the prince had made in his order of battle: he himself was with the main body, in the midst of the vineyards: the whole completely armed, with their horses near them, if there should be occasion for them. They had fortified and inclosed the weaker parts, with their wagons and baggage.

I wish to name some of the most renowned knights who were with the prince of Wales. There were Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Montacute earl of Salisbury, Robert Hufford earl of Suffolk, Ralph lord Stafford, the earl of Stafford, the lord Richard Stafford, brother to the earl, sir John Chandos, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Edward Spencer, the lord James Audley and his brother the lord Peter, the lord Thomas Berkley (son of the lord Maurice Berkley, who died at Calais nine years before,) Ralph lord Basset of Drayton, John lord Warren (eldest son to John Plantagenet, late earl of Warren, Strathern and Surrey, by his first lady, Maude de Hereford,) Peter lord Mauley, the sixth of the name, the lord John Willoughby de Eresby, the lord Bartholomew de Burghersh, the lord William Felton and the lord Thomas Felton his brother, the lord Thomas Bradestan; sir Walter Pavely, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Matthew Gournay, sir William de la More, and other English. From Gascony, there were the lord of Pumiers, the lord d'Albret, the captal de Buch, the lord John de Chaumont, the lord de l'Esparre, the lord of Rosen, the lord of Cousen, the lord de Montferrand, the lord de Landulas, the lord Souldich de la Traine,* and many more whom I cannot remember. Of Hainaulters, there were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, the lord John de Guystelle, and two other strangers, the lord Daniel Phaselle and Lord Denis de Morbeque. The whole army of the prince, including every one, did not amount to eight thousand; when the French, counting all sorts of persons, were upward of sixty thousand combatants; among whom were more than than three thousand knights.

CHAPTER CLXI.

THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, BETWEEN THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

When the prince of Wales saw, from the departure of the cardinal without being able to obtain any honorable terms, that a battle was inevitable, and that the king of France held both him and his army in great contempt, he thus addressed himself to them: "Now, my gallant fellows, what though we be a small body when compared to the army of our enemies; do not let us be cast down on that account, for victory does not always follow numbers, but where Almighty God pleases to bestow it. If, through good fortune, the day shall be ours, we will gain the greatest honor and glory in this world; if the contrary should happen, and we be slain, I have a father and beloved brethren alive, and you all have some relations, or good friends, who will be sure to revenge our deaths. I therefore entreat you to exert yourselves, and combat manfully; for, if it please God and St. George, you shall see me this day act like a true knight."† By such words and arguments as these, the prince harangued his men; as did the marshals, by his orders; so that they were all in high spirits. Sir John Chandos placed himself near the prince, to guard and advise him; and never, during that day, would he, on any account, quit his post.

The lord James Audley remained also a considerable time near him; but, when he saw that they must certainly engage, he said to the prince: "Sir, I have ever served most loyally my lord your father, and yourself, and shall continue to do so, as long as I have life. Dear sir, I must now acquaint you, that formerly I made a vow, if ever I should be engaged in any battle where the king your father or any of his sons were, that I would be the foremost in the attack, and the best combatant on his side, or die in the attempt. I beg therefore most earnestly, as a reward for any services I may have done, that you would grant me permission honorably to quit you, that I may post myself in such wise to accomplish my vow." The prince granted this request, and, holding out his hand to him, said; "Sir James, God grant that you may this day shine in valor above all other knights." The knight then set off, and posted himself at the front of the battalion, with only four squires whom he had detained with him to guard his person. This lord James was a prudent and valiant knight; and by his advice the army had thus been drawn up in order of battle. Lord James began to advance, in order to fight with the battalion of the marshals. In like manner, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt took great pains to be the first to engage, and was so, or near it: and, at the same time that lord James Audley was pushing forward to seek his enemies, it thus befel sir Eustace. I

* This blazonry seems erroneous; at all events it is incorrectly expressed. The words in Sauvage's ed. are "une bleue Dame ouvree d'une brodure, au ray du soleil" *a blue Madonna worked in embroidery, surrounded by sunbeams* and it is the same in Lord Berners.—Ed.

† Among the cortes of Spain was the castellan of Amposta.

* He is called *sir Sandich de la Trane* in the account of the knights of the garter. See Anstis's Order of the Garter, where there is a short history of him. He supposes the word Souldich (but says he can nowhere find the meaning of it) to be that of some office, like to captal, which, in the customs of Bordeaux, article 75, is ranked with the viscounts and barons.

† Now sirs, though we be but a small company, as in regarde to the puyssance of our ennemyes, let us nat be abasshed therefore, for the vyctorie lyeth nat in the multitude of people but wher as God wyll sende it; if it fortune that the iourney be ours, we shal be the most honoured people of all the worlde; and if we dye in our right quarell, I have the kyng my father and bretherne, and also ye have good frendes and kynsmen; these shall reuenge us. Therfore sirs, for Goddes sake, I requyre you do your deuoyers this day, for if God be pleased and Saynt George, this day ye shall se me a good knyght.—Lord Berners.

mentioned before that the Germans attached to the French interest were drawn up in one battalion on horseback, and remained so, to assist the marshals. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, being mounted, placed his lance in its rest, and, fixing his shield, stuck spurs into his horse, and galloped up to this battalion. A German knight, called lord Lewis von Coucibras (who bore for arms five roses, gules, on a shield argent, while those of sir Eustace were ermine, three humets, in pale gules,) perceiving sir Eustace quit his army, left his battalion, that was under the command of earl John of Nassau, and made up to him: the shock of their meeting was so violent, that they both fell to the ground. The German was wounded in the shoulder, so that he could not rise again so nimbly as sir Eustace, who, when upon his legs, after he had taken breath, was hastening to the knight that lay on the ground; but five German men-at-arms came upon him, struck him down, and made him prisoner. They led him to those that were attached to the earl of Nassau, who did not pay much attention to him, nor do I know if they made him swear himself their prisoner: but they tied him to a car with some of their harness.

The engagement now began on both sides: and the battalion of the marshals was advancing before those who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had entered the lane where the hedges on both sides were lined by the archers; who, as soon as they saw them fairly entered, began shooting with their bows in such an excellent manner, from each side of the hedge, that the horses, smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about and, by their unruliness, threw their masters, who could not manage them, nor could those that had fallen get up again for the confusion: so that this battalion of the marshals could never approach that of the prince: however, there were some knights and squires that were so well mounted, that, by the strength of their horses, they passed through, and broke the hedge, but, in spite of their efforts, could not get up to the battalion of the prince. The lord James Audley, attended by his four squires,* had placed himself, sword in hand, in front of this battalion, much before the rest, and was performing wonders. He had advanced through his eagerness so far, that he engaged the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, under his banner, when they fought a considerable time, and the lord Arnold was roughly enough treated. The battalion of the marshals was soon after put to the route by the arrows of the archers, and the assistance of the men-at arms, who rushed among them, as they were struck down, and seized and slew them at their pleasure. The lord Arnold d'Andreghen was there made prisoner but by others than the lord James Audley or his four squires; for that knight never stopped to make any one prisoner that day, but was the whole time employed in fighting and following his enemies. In another part, the lord John Clermont fought under his banner as long as he was able; but, being struck down, he could neither get up again nor procure his ransom: he was killed on the spot. Some say, this treatment was owing to his altercation on the preceding day with sir John Chandos.

In a short time, this battalion of the marshals was totally discomfited; for they fell back so much on each other, that the army could not advance, and those who were in the rear, not being able to get forward, fell back upon the battalion commanded by the duke of Normandy, which was broad and thick in the front, but it was soon thin enough in the rear; for, when they learnt that the marshals had been defeated, they mounted their horses and set off. At this time, a body of English came down from the hill, and, passing along the battalions on horseback, accompanied by a large body of archers, fell upon one of the wings of the duke of Normandy's division. To say the truth, the English archers were of infinite service to their army; for they shot so thickly and so well, that the French did not know which way to turn themselves, to avoid their arrows; by this means they kept advancing by little and little, and gained ground. When the men-at-arms perceived that the first battalion was beaten, and that the one under the duke of Normandy was in disorder, and beginning to open, they hastened to mount their horses, which they had, ready prepared, close at hand. As soon as they were all mounted, they gave a shout of "St. George, for Guienne!" and sir John Chandos said to the prince, "Sir, sir, now push forward, for the day is ours: God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adversary the king of France; for where he is will lie the main stress of the business; I well know that his valor will not let him fly; and he will remain with us, if it please God and St. George; but he must be well fought with; and you have before said, that you would show yourself this day a good knight." The prince replied; "John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost." He then said to sir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, "Banner, advance, in the name of God and St. George." The knight obeyed the commands of the prince. In that part, the battle was very hot, and greatly crowded; many a one was unhorsed; and you must know, that whenever any one fell, he could not get up again, unless he were quickly and well assisted. As the prince was thus advancing upon his enemies, followed by his division, and upon the point of charging them, he perceived the lord Robert de Duras lying dead near a small bush on his right hand, with his banner beside him, and ten or twelve of his people; upon which he ordered two of his squires and three archers to place the body upon a shield, carry it to Poitiers, and present it from him to the cardinal of Perigord, and say, that "I salute him by that token." This was done; for he had been informed how the suite of the cardinal had remained in the field of battle in arms against him, which was not very becoming, nor a fit deed for churchmen to do, as they, under pretext of doing good and establishing peace, pass from one army to the other, they ought not therefore to take up arms on either side. These, however, had done so, at which the prince was much enraged, and for this had sent the cardinal his nephew sir Robert de Duras, and was desirous of striking off the head of the castellan of Amposta, who had been made prisoner, notwithstanding he belonged to the cardinal;* but sir John Chandos said, "My lord, do not think of such things at this moment, when you must look to others of the greatest importance; perhaps the cardinal may excuse himself so well, that you will be convinced he was not to blame."

The prince, upon this, charged the division of the duke of Athens, and very sharp the encounter was, so that many were beaten down. The French, who fought in large bodies, cried out, "Montjoye St. Denis!" and the English answered them with, "St. George for Guienne!" The prince next met the battalion of Germans, under the command of the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Nassau, and the earl of Neydo; but they were soon overthrown, and put to flight. The English archers shot so well, that none dared to come within reach of their arrows, and they put to death many who could not ransom themselves. The three above-named earls were slain there, as well as many other knights and squires attached to them. In the confusion, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was rescued by his own men, who remounted him; he afterwards performed many gallant deeds of arms, and made good captures that day.

When the battalion of the duke of Normandy saw the prince advancing so quick upon them, they bethought themselves how to escape. The sons of the king, the duke of Normandy, the earl of Poitiers, the earl of Touraine, who were very young, too easily believed what those under whose management they were placed said to them; however, the lord Guiscard d'Angle and sir John de Saintré, who were near the earl of Poitiers, would not fly, but rushed into the thickest of the combat. The three sons of the king, according to the advice given them, galloped away, with upward of eight hundred lances who had never been near the enemy, and took the road to Chauvigny. When the lord John de Landas, who, with the lord Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of St. Venant, were the guardians of the duke of Normandy, had fled with him a good league, they took leave of him, and besought the lord of St. Venant not to quit him until they were all arrived at a place of safety; for, by doing thus, he would acquire more honor than if he were to remain on the field of battle. On their return, they met the division of the duke of Orleans, quite whole and unhurt, who had fled from behind the rear of the king's battalion. True it is, there were many good knights and squires among them, who, notwithstanding the flight of their leaders, had much rather have suffered death than the smallest reproach.† The king's battalion advanced in good order, to meet the English; many hard blows were given with swords, battle-axes, and other warlike weapons. The king of France, with the lord Philip his youngest son, attacked the division of the marshals, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk; there were also with the marshals some Gascons, such as the captal de Buch, the lord of Pumiers, the lord Amery de Charree, the lord of Languran, the lord de l'Estrade. The lord John de Landas, with the lord Théobald de Bodenay, returning in good time, dismounted, and joined the battalion of the king. On one side, the duke of Athens, constable of France, was engaged with his division; and, a little higher up, the duke of Bourbon, surrounded with good knights, from the Bourbonois and Picardy. Near to these were the men of Poitou, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Dampmaire, the lord de Montabouton, the lord de Surgeres, the lord John de Saintré, the lord Guiscard d'Angle, the lord d'Argenton, the lord de Linieres, the lord de Montrande, the viscount de Rochechouart, the earl of Aulnoy. Many others were also engaged, such as the lord James de Beaujeu, the lord of Chateau-Villain, and other knights and squires from Burgundy. In another part were the earls of Vantadour and Montpensier, the lord James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, and the lord James his brother, the lord Arnold de Cervolle, surnamed the Arch-priest,

* Their names were: Dutton of Dutton—Delves of Doddington—Fowlehurst of Crew—Hawkestone of Wainehill.—ASHMOLE'S *Garter*.

* This is incorrectly translated: the castellan's connection with the cardinal was the very reason why the prince desired his death. Lord Berners properly translates the words of the original, "pourtant qu'il estoit," "*because* he was pettay to y^e^."—ED.

† My manuscripts make here a new chapter, and it begins as follows:

"You have heard before related in this history the battle of Crecy, and how fortune was marvellously unfavorable to the French. They had equally ill-luck at the battle of Poitiers, for the French men-at-arms were at least seventeen to one. It must therefore be looked upon as very unfortunate that, with this advantage, they could not gain the field from their enemies. But, to say the truth, this battle of Poitiers was much better fought than that of Crecy; and the men-at-arms had more leisure and better opportunities to observe their enemies, than they had at Crecy; for that battle did not begin before vespers, and with an army in disorder, while the battle of Poitiers commenced early in the morning, and the French army well arranged. There were many more gallant deeds performed, without comparison, in this than in the former battle; and there were not so many great lords slain. Those that were there behaved themselves so loyally, that their heirs, to this day, are honored for their sake."

armed as the young earl of Alençon. There were also from Auvergne, the lord de Mareuil, the lord de la Tour, the lord de Chalenton, the lord de Montagu, the lord de Rochefort, the lord de la Chaire, the lord d'Achon; and from Limousin, the lord de Linal, the lord de Naruel, and the lord Pierre de Buffiere. From Picardy, there were the lord William de Merle, the lord Arnold de Renaeval, the lord Geoffry de St. Dizier, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Hely, the lord de Monsant, the lord de Hagnes, and many others. The lord Douglas,* from Scotland, was also in the king's battalion, and for some time fought very valiantly; but, when he perceived that the discomfiture was so complete on the side of the French, he saved himself as fast as he could; for he dreaded so much being taken by the English, that he had rather have been slain.

The lord James Audley, with the assistance of his four squires, was always engaged in the heat of the battle. He was severely wounded in the body, head and face; and as long as his strength and breath permitted him, he maintained the fight, and advanced forward: he continued to do so until he was covered with blood: then, toward the close of the engagement, his four squires, who were as his body-guard, took him, and led him out of the engagement, very weak and wounded, toward a hedge, that he might cool and take breath. They disarmed him gently as they could, in order to examine his wounds, dress them, and sew up the most dangerous.

King John, on his part, proved himself a good knight; and, if the fourth of his people had behaved as well, the day would have been his own. Those, however, who had remained with him acquitted themselves to the best of their power, and were either slain or taken prisoners. Scarcely any who were with the king attempted to escape. Among the slain, were the duke Peter de Bourbon, the duke of Athens, constable of France, the bishop of Chalonst in Champagne, the lord Guiscard de Beaujeu, and the lord of Landas. The archpriest, sir Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of Pompadour, were made prisoners, badly wounded. In another part of the field of battle, the earls of Vaudemont and Genville, and the earl of Vendôme, were prisoners. Not far from that spot were slain, the lord William de Nesle and the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord de la Tour and the Lord William de Montagu. The lord Lewis de Melval, the lord Pierre de Buffiere and the lord de Senerach, were taken. In this engagement, upward of two hundred knights and squires were killed or captured. A band of Norman knights still kept up the battle, in another part of the field; and of these, sir Guimenton de Chambly and sir Baudrin de la House were slain; many others were discomfited, who were fighting in small bodies.

* "Lord Douglas, forgetful of his religious pilgrimage, offered his sword to the French king. He was received with distinguished honors, 'was made a knight of his hande,' Scala Chron. ap. Leland, and his service was accepted. To say that a person received the honor of knighthood, is, in modern language, uninteresting, and sometimes ridiculous. This must always be the case, when names and ceremonies are retained, while from a total change of manners, that which gave dignity to such names and ceremonies is forgotten by the vulgar.

"Great carnage was made of the Scots at the battle of Poitiers. Lord Douglas, after having been wounded, was forced off the field by his surviving companions. Archibald Douglas, a warrior eminent in our history, fell into the power of the enemy; but, by the extraordinary presence of mind of sir William Ramsay of Colluthy, he was concealed, and escaped unknown. The story of Archibald Douglas's escape, as related by Fordun, is curious. It shall be translated as nearly as possible in his own manner. 'Archibald Douglas, having been made prisoner along with the rest, appeared in more sumptuous armor than the other Scottish prisoners; and, therefore, he was supposed by the English to be some great lord. Late in the evening after the battle, when the English were about to strip off his armor, sir William Ramsay of Colluthy, happening to be present, fixed his eyes on Archibald Douglas, and affecting to be in a violent passion, cried out, "You cursed, damnable murderer, how comes it, in the name of mischief (*ex parte diaboli,*) that you are thus proudly decked out in your master's armor? Come hither, and pull off my boots." Douglas approached trembling, kneeled down, and pulled off one of the boots. Ramsay, taking up the boot, beat Douglas with it. The English bystanders, imagining him out of his senses, interposed, and rescued Douglas. They said, that the person whom he had beaten was certainly of great rank, and a lord. "What, he a lord?" cried Ramsay "he is a scullion, and a base knave, and as I suppose, has killed his master. Go, you villain, to the field, search for the body of my cousin, your master; and when you have found it, come back, that at least I may give him a decent burial." Then he ransomed the feigned serving-man for forty shillings; and, having buffeted him smartly, he cried, "Get you gone; fly." Douglas bore all this patiently, carried on the deceit, and was soon beyond the reach of his enemies.'

"This story, as to some of its circumstances, may not seem altogether probable; yet, in the main, it has the appearance of truth. Had I been at liberty to vary the narrative, I would have made Ramsay suspect, that the feigned serving man had stripped his master, after he had been slain or mortally wounded. This Archibald was the natural son of the renowned sir James Douglas, slain by the Saracens in Granada."—Lord Hailes's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

† *The bishops of Chalons.* We see, by the example of this prelate and of the archbishop of Sens, who assisted at the battle of Poitiers, that the custom, arising out of the feudal law, which obliged ecclesiastics to personal service in the armies, subsisted in many parts of France. The laws of the church condemned this practice, to which their temporal possessions subjected the clergy. This contradiction in the form of our government with the spirit of our religion existed until the practice was insensibly abolished by different dispensations, and exchanged for contributions of money and men. Francis I. by his edict of the 4th July, 1541, regulated the clauses for their exemption. Since that period, the clergy have been exempted from service of ban and arriere ban, by different letters patent, and particularly by an edict of the 29th April, 1636, under Lewis XIII.—Villaret, *Hist. de France*, vol. v. 2. 104.

CHAPTER CLXII.*

TWO FRENCHMEN, RUNNING AWAY FROM THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, ARE PURSUED BY TWO ENGLISHMEN, WHO ARE THEMSELVES MADE PRISONERS.

Among the battles, skirmishes, flights and pursuits, which happened in the course of this day, an adventure befel sir Edward de Roucy, which I cannot omit relating in this place. He had left the field of battle, as he perceived the day was irrecoverably lost; and, not wishing to fall in the hands of the English, was got about a league off; when he was pursued by an English knight, his lance in rest, who cried to him, "Sir knight, turn about: you ought to be ashamed thus to fly." Upon this, sir Edward halted, and the Englishman attacked him, thinking to fix his lance in his target; but he failed, for sir Edward turned the stroke aside, nevertheless he did not miss his own: with his spear he hit his enemy so violent a blow on the helmet, that he was stunned and fell to the ground, where he remained senseless. Sir Edward dismounted, and, placing his lance on his breast, told him he would certainly kill him, if he did not surrender himself his prisoner, rescued or not. The Englishman surrendered, and went with sir Edward, who afterwards ransomed him.

It happened that, in the midst of the general pursuit, a squire from Picardy, named John de Helennes, had quitted the king's division, and, meeting his page with a fresh horse, had mounted him, and made off as fast as he could. At that time, there was near to him the lord of Berkeley, a young knight, who, for the first time, had that day displayed his banner: he immediately set out in pursuit of him. When the lord of Berkeley had followed him for some little time, John de Helennes turned about, put his sword under his arm in the manner of a lance, and thus advanced upon the lord Berkeley, who taking his sword by the handle, flourished it, and lifted up his arm in order to strike the squire as he passed. John de Helennes, seeing the intended stroke, avoided it, but did not miss his own; for as they passed each other, by a blow on the arm he made lord Berkeley's sword fall to the ground. When the knight found that he had lost his sword, and that the squire had his, he dismounted, and made for the place where his sword lay: but he could not get there before the squire gave him a violent thrust which passed through both his thighs, so that, not being able to help himself, he fell to the ground. John upon this dismounted, and, seizing the sword of the knight, advanced up to him and asked him if he were willing to surrender. The knight required his name: "I am called John de Helennes," said he, "what is your name?" "In truth, companion," replied the knight, "my name is Thomas, and I am lord of Berkeley, a very handsome castle situated on the river Severn, on the borders of Wales." Lord of Berkeley," said the squire, "you shall be my prisoner: I will place you in safety, and take care you are healed, for you appear to me to be badly wounded." The knight answered, "I surrender myself willingly, for you have loyally conquered me." He gave him his word that he would be his prisoner, rescued or not. John then drew his sword out of the knight's thighs and the wounds remained open; but he bound them up tightly, and, placing him on his horse, led him a foot-pace to Châtelherault. He continued there, out of friendship to him, for fifteen days, and had medicines administered to him. When the knight was a little recovered, he had him placed in a litter, and conducted him safe to his house in Picardy; where he remained more than a year before he was quite cured, though he continued lame; and when he departed, he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles, so that this squire became a knight by the great profit he got from the lord of Berkeley.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

THE MANNER IN WHICH KING JOHN WAS TAKEN PRISONER AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

It often happens, that fortune in war and love turns out more favorable and wonderful than could have been hoped for or expected. To say the truth, this battle which was fought near Poitiers, in the plains of Beauvoir and Maupertius, was very bloody and perilous: many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known, and the combatants on each side suffered much. King John himself did wonders: he was armed with a battle-axe, with which he fought and defended himself. The earl of Tancarville, in endeavoring to break through the crowd, was made prisoner close to him: as were also sir James de Bourbon, carl of Ponthieu, and the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu. In another part, a little farther off, the lord Charles d'Artois and many other knights and squires were captured by the division under the banner of the captal de Buch. The pursuit continued even to the gates of Poitiers, where there was much slaughter and overthrow of men and horses; for the inhabitants of Poitiers had shut their gates, and would suffer none to enter: upon which account, there was great butchery on the causeway, before the gate, where such numbers were killed or wounded, that several surrendered themselves the moment they spied an Englishman: and there were many English archers who had four, five, or six prisoners.

The lord of Pons, a powerful baron in Poitou, was slain there, as

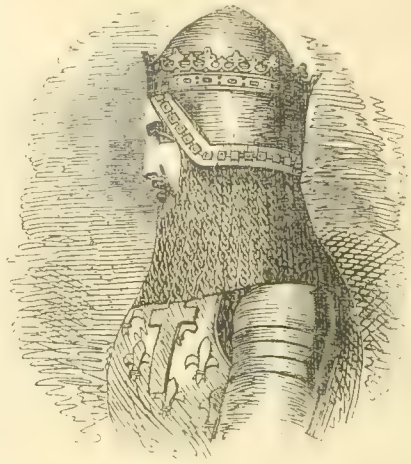
* This chap. in the original ed. is numbered CLX. and chap. XIX. is there numbered XVIII.; consequently from the latter point to this chapter, the present numbering is one higher, and henceforward will be two higher, than the original ed. of Mr. Johnes. This is here noticed to avoid confusion in quotations.—Ed.

were several other knights and squires. The viscount de Rochechouart, the lords de Partenay and de Saintonge, and the lord of Montendre, were taken prisoners: as was the lord John de Saintré, but so beaten that he never afterwards recovered his health: he was looked upon as the most accomplished knight in France. The lord Guiscard d'Angle was left for slain among the dead: he had fought well that day. The lord de Chargny, who was near the king, combated bravely during the whole engagement: he was always in the crowd, because he carried the king's sovereign banner: his own also was displayed in the field, with his arms, which were three escutcheons argent on a field gules. The English and Gascons poured so fast upon the king's division that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies, that at times there were five men attacking one gentleman. The lord of Pompadour and the lord Bartholomew de Brunes were there captured. The lord de Chargny* was slain, with the banner of France in his hands, by the lord Reginald Cobham; and afterwards the earl of Dammartin shared the same fate.

There was much pressing at this time, through eagerness to take the king; and those who were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out, "Surrender yourself, surrender yourself, or you are a dead man." In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the king of England; his name was Denys de Morbeque; who for five years had attached himself to the English, on account of having been banished in his younger days from France for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight that he was at the time near to the king of France, when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very strong and robust, pushed through the crowd, and said to the king in good French, "Sire, sire, surrender yourself." The king, who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked, "To whom shall I surrender myself: to whom? Where is my cousin the prince of Wales? if I could see him, I would speak to him." "Sire," replied sir Denys, "he is not here; but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him." "Who are you?" said the king. "Sire, I am Denys de Morbeque, a knight from Artois; but I serve the king of England, because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there." The king then gave him his right hand glove, and said, "I surrender myself to you." There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out, "I have taken him." Neither the king nor his youngest son Philip were able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng.

The prince of Wales, who was as courageous as a lion,† took great delight that day to combat his enemies. Sir John Chandos, who was near his person, and had never quitted it during the whole of the day, nor stopped to make prisoners, said to him toward the end of the battle; "Sir, it will be proper for you to halt here, and plant your banner on the top of this bush, which will serve to rally your forces, that seem very much scattered; for I do not see any banners or pennons of the French, nor any considerable bodies able to rally against us; and you must refresh yourself a little, as I perceive you are very much heated." Upon this the banner of the prince was placed on a high bush: the ministrels began to play, and trumpets and clarions to do their duty. The prince took off his helmet, and the knights attendant on his person, and belonging to his chamber, were soon ready, and pitched a small pavilion of crimson color, which the prince entered. Liquor was then brought to him and the other knights who were with him: they increased every moment; for they were returning from the pursuit, and stopped there surrounded by their prisoners.

As soon as the two marshals were come back, the prince asked them if they knew anything of the king of France: they replied, "No, sir, not for a certainty; but we believe he must be either killed or made prisoner, since he has never quitted his battalion." The prince then, addressing the earl of Warwick and lord Cobham, said; "I beg of you to mount your horses, and ride over the field, so that on your return you may bring me some certain intelligence of him." The two barons, immediately mounting their horses, left the prince, and made for a small hillock, that they might look about them: from their stand they perceived a crowd of men-at-arms on foot, who were advancing very slowly. The king of France was in the midst of them, and in great danger; for the English and Gascons had taken him from sir Denys de Morbeque, and were disputing who should have him, the stoutest bawling out, "It is I that have got him:" "No, no," replied the others, "we have him." The king, to escape from this peril, said, "Gentlemen, gentlemen, I pray you conduct me and my son in a courteous manner to my cousin the prince; and do not make such a riot about my capture, for I am so great a lord that I can make all sufficiently rich." These words, and others which fell from the king, appeased them a little; but the disputes were always beginning again, and they did not move a step without rioting. When the two barons saw this troop of people, they descended from the hillock, and sticking spurs into their horses, made up to them. On their arrival, they asked what was the matter: they were answered, that it was the king of France, who had been made prisoner, and that upward of ten knights and squires challenged him at the same time, as belonging to each of them. The two barons then pushed through the crowd by main force, and ordered all to draw aside. They commanded, in the name of the prince, and under pain of instant death, that every one should keep his distance, and not approach unless ordered or desired so to do. They all retreated behind the king; and the two barons, dismounting, advanced to the king with profound reverences, and conducted him in a peaceable manner to the prince of Wales.



EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE—From the Tomb at Canterbury.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES A HANDSOME PRESENT TO THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

Soon after the earl of Warwick and the lord Reginald Cobham had left the prince, as has been above related, he inquired from those knights who were about him of lord James Audley, and asked if any one knew what was become of him: "Yes, sir," replied some of the company, "he is very badly wounded, and is lying in a litter hard by." "By my troth," replied the prince, "I am sore vexed that he is so wounded. See, I beg of you, if he be able to bear being carried hither: otherwise I will come and visit him." Two knights directly left the prince, and coming to lord James, told him how desirous the prince was of seeing him. "A thousand thanks to the prince," answered lord James, "for condescending to remember so poor a knight as myself." He then called eight of his servants, and had himself borne in his litter to where the prince was. When he was come into his presence, the prince bent down over him, and embraced him, saying; "My lord James, I am bound to honor you very much; for, by your valor this day, you have acquired glory and renown above us all, and your prowess has proved you the bravest knight." Lord James replied; "My lord, you have a right to say whatever you please, but I wish it were as you have said. If I have this day been forward to serve you, it has been to accomplish a vow that I had made, and it ought not to be thought so much of." "Sir James," answered the prince, "I and all the rest of us deem you the bravest knight on our side in this battle; and to increase your renown, and furnish you withal to pursue your career of glory in war, I retain you henceforward, for ever, as my knight, with five hundred marcs* of yearly revenue, which I will secure to you from my estates in England." "Sir," said lord James, "God make me deserving of the good fortune you bestow upon me." At these words he took leave of the prince, as he was very weak, and his servants carried him back to his tent: he could not have been at a great distance, when the earl of Warwick and lord Reginald Cobham entered the pavilion of the prince, and presented the king of France to him. The prince made a very low obeisance to the king, and gave him as much comfort as he was able, which he knew well how to administer. He ordered wine and spices to be brought, which he presented to the king himself, as a mark of his great affection.

CHAPTER CLXV.

THE ENGLISH GAIN VERY CONSIDERABLY AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

Thus was this battle won, as you have heard related, in the plains of Maupertius, two leagues from the city of Poitiers, on the 19th day of September, 1356.† It commenced about nine o'clock, and

* Monseigneur Geoffroy de Chargny.—D. SAUVAGE.

† Courageous and *cruel* as a lion, says Lord Berners: the edition of D. Sauvage has the same word.

* The marc is 13s. 4d.—PHILLIPS.

† Froissart calls it on the 22nd day of September, 1357. Lot Bouchet proves it to be a mistake, in his Annales d'Aquitaine, from the registers of the convent where the noblemen that were slain were buried: and in my two MSS. it is 1356. Also in the Annales Rerum Anglicarum, Wilhelmi Wircestr. 1356. "Hoc anno, xix die Septembris, captus rex Johannes Francie, per Edwardum, principem."

was ended by noon; but the English were not all returned from the pursuit, and it was to recall his people that the prince had placed his banner upon a high bush. They did not return till late after vespers from pursuing the enemy. It was reported that all the flower of French knighthood were slain; and that, with the king and his son the lord Philip, seventeen earls, without counting barons, knights or squires, were made prisoners, and from five to six thousand of all sorts left dead in the field. When they were collected, they found they had twice as many prisoners as themselves: they therefore consulted, if, considering the risk they might run, it would not be more advisable to ransom them on the spot. This was done: and the prisoners found the English and Gascons very civil, for there were many set at liberty that day on their promise of coming to Bordeaux before Christmas to pay their ransom.

When all were returned to their banners, they retired to their camp, which was adjoining to the field of battle. Some disarmed themselves, and did the same to their prisoners, to whom they showed every kindness; for whoever made any prisoners, they were solely at his disposal, to ransom or not, as he pleased. It may be easily supposed that all those who accompanied the prince were very rich in glory and wealth, as well by the ransoms of his prisoners, as by the quantities of gold and silver plate, rich jewels, and trunks stuffed full of belts, that were weighty from their gold and silver ornaments, and furred mantles. They set no value on armor, tents, or other things; for the French had come there as magnificently and richly dressed as if they had been sure of gaining the victory.

CHAPTER CLXVI.

THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY GIVES TO HIS SQUIRES THE PENSION OF FIVE HUNDRED MARCS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE PRINCE.

When the lord James Audley was brought back to his tent, after having most respectfully thanked the prince for his gift, he did not remain long before he sent for his brother sir Peter Audley, the lord Bartholomew Burghersh, sir Stephen Coffington, lord Willoughby of Eresby, and lord William Ferrers of Groby: they were all his relations. He then sent for his four squires that had attended upon him that day, and, addressing himself to the knights, said: "Gentlemen, it has pleased my lord the prince to give me five hundred marcs as a yearly inheritance; for which gift I have done him very trifling bodily service. You see here these four squires, who have always served me most loyally, and especially in this day's engagement. What glory I may have gained has been through their means, and by their valor; on which account I wish to reward them. I therefore give and resign into their hands the gift of five hundred marcs, which my lord the prince has been pleased to bestow on me, in the same form and manner that it has been presented to me. I disinherit myself of it, and give it to them simply, and without a possibility of revoking it." The knights present looked on each other, and said, "It is becoming the noble mind of lord James to make such a gift;" and then unanimously added: "May the Lord God remember you for it! We will bear witness to this gift to them wheresoever and whensoever they may call on us." They then took leave of him; when some went to the prince of Wales, who that night was to give a supper to the king of France from his own provisions: for the French had brought vast quantities with them, which were now fallen into the hands of the English, many of whom had not tasted bread for the last three days.

CHAPTER CLXVII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES ENTERTAINS THE KING OF FRANCE AT SUPPER, THE EVENING AFTER THE BATTLE.

When evening was come, the prince of Wales gave a supper in his pavilion to the king of France, and to the greater part of the princes and barons who were prisoners. The prince seated the king of France and his son the lord Philip at an elevated and well-covered table: with them were, sir James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earls of Tancarville, of Estampes, of Dammartin, of Graville, and the lord of Partenay. The other knights and squires were placed at different tables. The prince himself served the king's table, as well as the others, with every mark of humility, and would not sit down at it, in spite of all his entreaties for him so to do, saying, that "he was not worthy of such an honor, nor did it appertain to him to seat himself at the table of so great a king, or of so valiant a man as he had shown himself by his actions that day." He added also with a noble air: "Dear sir, do not make a poor meal because the Almighty God has not gratified your wishes in the event of this day; for be assured that my lord and father will show you every honor and friendship in his power, and will arrange your ransom so reasonably, that you will henceforward always remain friends. In my opinion, you have cause to be glad that the success of this battle did not turn out as you desired; for you have this day acquired such high renown for prowess, that you have surpassed all the best knights on your side. I do not, dear sir, say this to flatter you, for all those of our side who have seen and observed the actions of each party, have unanimously allowed this to be your due, and decree you the prize and garland for it." At the end of this speech there were murmurs of praise heard from every one; and the French said, the prince had spoken nobly and truly, and that he would be one of the most gallant princes in Christendom, if God should grant him life to pursue his career of glory.*

* Extract taken from the convent of the Frères Mineurs, in the city of Poitiers, of the names of those knights who were slain in the battle of Poitiers, and other gentlemen that were buried in that convent.

"First, the underneath knights:

The duke of Athens, constable of France	Sir William de Linmeres
The bishop of Chalon, Reginald Chaveau	Sir Olivier de St. Giles
—Chronique de Wassebourg.	Sir William de Romeneuil
M. André, viscount de Chauvigny	Sir John de Cauches
Sir Lewis de Brosse	M. Yvon du Pont, lord of Rochechemiere
Sir John, lord of Mailly in Berry	Sir William de Mongy
Sir Geoffry de Chargny in Champagne	Sir John de Tigny
M. de Montsoman	Sir John Brigdene
Sir John de Lisle	Sir John de Norriere
Sir Gris Mouton de Chambely	Sir William de Paty
Sir Peter de Chambely, his brother	Sir Robert de Chalus
M. de Chateau Villain, in Champagne	Sir Adam de Beauvilliers
Sir John de Montigny	Sir Bonabes de Roges
Sir John de Maulmont	Sir Vymes de St. Denis
Sir John de Bourbon	Sir Macé de Grosbois
Sir Philip de Boutenuillier	Sir Louis de Nully
Sir Hugh de Maille	Sir Simon Oynepuille
Sir Geoffry de St. Dizier	Sir Henry, his brother
Sir Aymery de la Barre	M. de Champrecour
Sir William de Blese	Sir William Sauvage
Sir John de Grillon	Sir William du Retail
M. de Chitre, lord of Rademonde	Sir Seguin de Cloux
M. Clerin de Cherues	M. le Vidame de la Roche Dagon
M. Baudin de Gargalingen	Sir Raol de Resay
Sir Anselmine de Hois	Sir John de la Mirabeau
Sir Michael de Pommoy	Sir Guiscard de Chantylon
Sir Richard de Beaulieu	M. Ancelin de Carou, lord of Hes
Sir William de Fuylle	M. Guy des Barres, lord of Chaumont
Sir Hugh Bonnyn	Sir John de Cloys
M. Dannee de Melon	M. le Borgne de Prie.
Sir William de Creneur	

SQUIRES.

Bernard de Douzenac	John Defleat
Robert Gilles de Miraumont	Guy de Bournay
Guicheaux de Maronnay	Le Moine de Montigny
Girard de Pierre	Guinet de Brysson
William de la Fosse	John de Brinac
Robert de la Roche Pierre de Bras	Ymbert de Chamborant
John Ribriche, lord of Corbon	Brunet d'Augun
Celart Herausant	John Sarrayn
Hopart de Hanpedourt	Peter de St. Denis
Guymon Pery	Perrine de Pache
William de la Jarracere	Ferry Pate
William Griau	John Dyne
Olivier de la Rosay	Le Petit d'Inchequin
Girard Delec	Jehannot de Moutabis
Berart de Lemont	Jolivet Buffart
Heymonnet Embert	John de Bourmeuille
Jobert d'Artoy	John Martin
Richard de Vendel	Ardouyn de la Touche
William Seurin	William de Lusange
John du Flume	Le Petit Bidaut de la Rochedegon.

"Many other bodies slain at the aforesaid battle, by licence from the official, and permission of the mayor of Poitiers, were brought in carts from the Frères Mineurs of that town, and buried in large graves in their church-yard, without the church, the feast-day of St. Valentine, 1356; and honorable obsequies were performed in all the churches and convents in the town of Poitiers, at the cost of the good citizens of that town.

"Underneath are the names of those who were buried in the church of les Frères Prescheurs, of the town of Poitiers, which I have taken and extracted from the book called the Kalendar of the Convent, and translated from the Latin into French, chapter fifth.

The duke of Bourbon on the right of the great altar.
The marechal de Clermont on the opposite side.
Lower down, but near him, sir Aubert d'Anget.
After him the viscount de Rochechouart.
In the middle of the choir, Aymer de la Rochefoucault.
At the entrance of the choir, on the right, Sir John de Sancerre.
In the chapel of the Magdalen, Sir John de St. Didier.
In the same chapel, near the wall, Thibaut de Laval.
In the chapel of the Apostles, near the wall, sir Thomas de Motuz.
In the chapel of our lady, sir Walter de Montagu.
Adjoining to him, sir Raoul Rabinard.
In the nave, near the door, sir John Ferchaut.
Near to him, sir Peter Marchadier, and Heliot his brother.
Opposite the statue of St. Michael, sir Oliver de Mouville.
On the other side, sir Philip de Forges.
Before the great door, sir William de Bar and sir John de Nully.

"The names of those who were interred in the cloisters of the said convent.

Le chevalier Miloton,	Sir Robert Daucre
Sir John de Chambes	Sir John la Gaipe, ung appel le filz de roy
Sir John Macillon	Sir Lewis Defernel
Sir Oliver de St. George	Sir John de Vernicourt
Sir Ymbert de St. Saturnin	Sir Peter Andouyn
Sir John de Ridde	Sir John de Vernoil
Sir Hugh Odard	Sir John de Montmorillon and his son
Sir Giles Cherchemont	Sir Hugelin de Vaux
Sir John de Senycé	Sir John de Almaigne
Sir Wm. de Digoyne and his son	The lord d'Espraigny
Sir John Drouyn de Metz in Loraine	Sir Hugh de Tinctes
Sir Robert d'Aulnay	The lord of St. Gildart
Master John Dannermarie	Sir Henry de l'Annoy
Sir John de la Lang	Sir Girard de Helchemanc
Sir Simon de Renouylle	Sir Gourard Guenif
Sir Philip de Pierreficte	Sir Vipert Beau
Sir William de Mausenac	Sir Henry Michiner
Sir William de Miners	Sir John de Brie
Sir Raoul de Bouteillier	Sir Raoul Seil
Sir Peter de la Rocdete	Sir Symon de Blesy
The lord de la Fayete	Sir Hugh Orry de Melle
A German called Erroys Pincerne	Sir Segnyn de Cluys
Sir Boulenuille, viscount d'Aumalle	Sir Thomas de Baignel
Sir John Fretart	Sir Peter Baillon

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES RETURNS TO BORDEAUX, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

When they had supped and sufficiently regaled themselves, each departed to his lodging with the knights and squires they had captured. Those that had taken them asked, what they could pay for their ransoms, without much hurting their fortunes; and willingly believed whatever they told them; for they had declared publicly, that they did not wish to deal harshly with any knight or squire that his ransom should be so burdensome as to prevent his following the profession of arms, or advancing his fortune. Toward morning, when these lords had heard mass, and had eaten and drunk a little, while the servants were packing up or loading the baggage, they decamped and advanced toward Poitiers.

That same night, the lord of Roy had entered the city of Poitiers with a hundred lances, that had not been engaged in the battle, for, having met the duke of Normandy near Chauvigny, he had commanded him to march for Poitiers, and to guard it until he should receive other orders. When the lord of Roye had entered Poitiers, he ordered the gates, towers, and walls, to be well watched that night, on account of the English being so near; and on the morning he armed all sorts of people, and posted them wherever he judged most convenient for the defence of the town. The English, however, passed by, without making any attempt upon it; for they were so laden with gold, silver, jewels, and great prisoners, that they did not attack any fortress in their march, but thought they should do great things if they were able to convey the king of France and his son, with all their booty, in safety to the city of Bordeaux. They returned, therefore, by easy marches, on account of their prisoners and heavy baggage, never advancing more than four or five leagues a day: they encamped early, and marched in one compact body, without quitting the road, except the division of the marshals, who advanced in front, with about five hundred men-at-arms, to clear the country. They met with no resistance anywhere; for the whole country was in a state of consternation, and all the men-at-arms had retreated into the strong fortresses.

During this march, the prince of Wales was informed how lord James Audley had made a present of his pension of five hundred marcs to his four squires. He sent for him: lord James was carried in his litter to the presence of the prince, who received him very graciously, and said to him: "Sir James, I have been informed, that after you had taken leave of me, and were returned to your tent, you made a present to your four squires of the gift I presented to you. I should like to know if this be true, why you did so, and if the gift were not agreeable to you." "Yes, my lord," answered lord James, "it was most agreeable to me, and I will tell you the reasons which induced me to bestow it on my squires. These four squires, who are here, have long and loyally served me, on many great and dangerous occasions; and until the day that I made them this present, I had not any way rewarded them for all their services; and never in this life were they of such help to me as on that day. I hold myself much bound to them for what they did at the battle of Poitiers; for, dear sir, I am but a single man, and can do no more than my powers admit, but, through their aid and assistance, I have accomplished my vow, which for a long time I had made, and by their means was the first combatant, and should have paid for it with my life, if they had not been near to me. When, therefore, I consider their courage, and the love they bear to me, I should not have been courteous nor grateful, if I had not rewarded them. Thank God, my lord, I have a sufficiency for my life, to maintain my state; and wealth has never yet failed me, nor do I believe it ever will. If, therefore, I have in this acted contrary to your wishes, I beseech you, dear sir, to pardon me; for you will be ever as loyally served by me and my squires, to whom I gave your present, as heretofore." The prince answered: "Sir James, I do not in the least blame you for what you have done, but, on the contrary, acknowledge your bounty to your squires whom you praise so much. I readily confirm your gift to them; but I shall insist upon your accepting of six hundred marcs, upon the same terms and conditions as the former gift."

The prince of Wales and his army kept advancing, without meeting any obstacle, and, having passed through Poitou and Saintonge, came to Blaye, where he crossed the Garonne, and arrived in the good city of Bordeaux.* It is not possible to relate all the feasts and entertainments which the citizens and clergy of Bordeaux made for the prince, and with what joy they received him and the king of France. The prince conducted the king to the monastery of St. Andrew, where they were both lodged; the king on one side, and the prince on the other. The prince purchased from the barons, knights and squires of Gascony, the ransoms of the greater part of the French earls who were there, and paid ready money for them. There were many meetings and disputes among the knights and squires of Gascony, and others, relative to the capture of the king of France. On this account Denys de Morbeque truly and by right of arms claimed him. He challenged another squire of Gascony, named Bernard de Trouttes, who had declared that he had an equal right to him. There was much disputing between them before the prince and the barons present; and as they had engaged to fight each other, the prince put them under an arrest, until they should be arrived in England, and forbade anything more being said on the subject till they were in the presence of the king his father. However, as the king of France gave every assistance to sir Denys in support of his claim, and leaned more to him than to any of the other claimants, the prince ordered two thousand nobles to be given privately to Sir Denys, in order to enable him the better to support his rank.

Soon after the prince's arrival at Bordeaux, the cardinal de Perigord came thither as, it was said, embassador from the pope. It was upward of a fortnight before the prince would speak to him, on account of the castellan of Amposta and his people having been engaged against him at the battle of Poitiers. The prince believed that the cardinal had sent them thither; but the cardinal through the means of his relations, the lord of Chaumont, the lord of Montferrant, and the captal of Buch, gave such good reasons for his conduct to the prince, that he admitted him to an audience. Having obtained this, he exculpated himself so clearly that the prince and his council were satisfied; and he regained the place he before held in the prince's affection. All his people were set at liberty at moderate ransoms: the castellan's amounted to ten thousand francs, which he paid. The cardinal, soon after, began to touch upon the deliverance of king John: but I shall say little on that head, as nothing was done in the business. The prince, with his Gascons and English, remained all that winter at Bordeaux, where was much feasting and merriment; and they foolishly expended the gold and silver they had gained. In England also, there were great rejoicings, when the news arrived of the affair of Poitiers, and of the defeat of the French. Solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. Those knights and squires who returned to England, after having been in this battle, were honored in preference to any others.

CHAPTER CLXIX.

THE THREE ESTATES OF FRANCE ASSEMBLE AT PARIS, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

During the time of this defeat at Poitiers, the duke of Lancaster was in the county of Evreux, on the borders of Coutantin; and with him were sir Philip de Navarre and the lord Godfrey de Harcourt. They had made war on Normandy from that quarter, and had continued to do so all that summer, on account of the king of Navarre, whom the king of France detained in prison. Those three lords

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"Eight were buried in three graves, whose names and surnames were unknown; and among them was the body of a knight, whose surcoat of arms was three chevrons or, in a shield gules.

"The arms of all the princes, knights, and lords above-mentioned were blazoned on the stalls of the convent, in order to keep them in perpetual remembrance.

BOUCHET'S *Annales d'Aquitaine, 4me parte*, folio 15.

* "A letter from the Black Prince to the bishop of Worcester, dated 20th October 1356, relating to the battle of Poitiers, wherein the French king was made prisoner, &c. Ex registro Reginaldi Brien, Wigorn. episcopi, fol. 113.

"L'ra D'ni Principis, Wall' de Capc one R. Francie par le prince de Gales.

"Reve'nt pierre en Dieu, et tresch' amis—Nous vous mercions entierement de ce que nous avons entendu q'vous estes si bien et si naturelment porte dev's nous, en p'ant Dieux p'r nous et p'r n're exploit; et sumes tout certiens q' p'r cause de vous devoutes p'eres et dautres, Dieu nous a en toutes nos besoignes be' vuelhz aide; de quoi nous sumes a tous jo's tenuz de lui graczier, en p'ant que v're part ancy vieulhetz faire en continuant dev's nous come devant ces heures avetz fait de quoi nous nous tenons g'n'ment tenuz a vous. Et, rev'ent piere, endroit de n're estat, dont nous penceons bien q'vous desirez la v're merci doier bones nouvelles, vuelhetz entendre q' a la faisance de cestes estions sains et heures et tout en bon point, loiez en soit Dieux q' nous donit y ces mesmes de vous toutes sontz oir et saver, et de ce nous vuelhetz certifier p'r vos l'res et p' les entrevenantz a plus souvent q' vous p'res bonement eu droit de nouvelles ceandroitz. Vueillez savour q'la veille de la translation Saint Thomas de Canterbire, nouz commenceasmes a chivauch' ove n're povar v's les parties de France et souvraignement p' cause q' nous entesdismes la venue de n're treshonn're seign'r et piere le roy la endroitz, et si neismes dev's les parties de Berges en Berye, Orliens et Tours, et avions nouvelles q' le roy de France ove g' nt povar bien pres de celles marches venoit p' combattre ove no's, et approcheasmes tantq' la battaille se prist entre nous en tiele maniere q' les enemis estoient disconsitez, grace en soit Dieux, et le dit roi et son fils et plusieurs autres g'ntz pris et mortz, les noms de queauz nous vous envions p' n're tresch' bachiler mons' Roger de Cottesford portour de cestes. Rev'ent piere en Dieux, et n're tresch'ami, le Saint Espnt vous ait toute jours en sa guarde.

'Donné souz n're seal a Birdeaux, le xxe jour d'Octob'r.'"—*Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 213.

We subjoin a translation of this curious letter.—ED.

Reverend father in God, and very dear friend.—We thank you heartily for, as we have heard, you have been well and affectionntely (naturelment) inclined toward us in praying to God for us and our enterprise; which we are very certain succeeded on account of your prayers and those of others. God has been pleased to aid us in all our necessities; for which we are bound to give him thanks forever, and we pray that you will also do your part continuing with us as heretofore, for which service we hold ourselves much indebted to you. And, reverend father, in regard to our health, of which we believe that you in your kindness desire to hear good news, know that at this time we are well and happy and altogether in a good condition, praise be to God, which enables us now to let you hear and know that which we wish you to certify in your letters, and in frequent visits which you priests good naturedly permit, for the purpose of circulating news. You must know that on the eve of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, we commenced an incursion with our power, into the French territory, chiefly because we expected the arrival of our much honored lord and father in those parts; and thus we advanced into the countries of Berges in Berry, Orleans and Tours, and had news that the king of France with a great power was at hand, and was coming to fight with us, and we approached so near that a battle took place between us, in which the enemy was discomfited, thanks be to God, and the said king and his son, and several other gentlemen were taken or killed, for whose names we refer you to our very dear bachelor Mr. Roger de Cottesford, the bearer of these. Render thanks to God, and may the Holy Ghost have you our very dear friend, always in his keeping.

Given under our seal at Bordeaux, the twentieth day of October.

had done all in their power to join the prince of Wales; but it was not possible, for all the passages of the river Loire were too well guarded. When they were informed that the prince had made the king of France prisoner, and of the manner in which the battle of Poitiers had been won, they were much pleased, and put an end to their excursions; for the duke of Lancaster and Philip de Navarre wished to go to England, which they did. They sent sir Godfrey de Harcourt to guard the frontiers, at St. Sauveur le Vicomte.

If the kingdom of England and its allies were much delighted with the capture of the king of France, that realm was sore troubled and vexed. It had very good cause to be so; for there were great distresses and desolations in every quarter, and men of understanding foresaw that greater mischiefs might arise: since the king of France and all the flower of chivalry of that kingdom were either slain or made prisoners, and the three sons of the king, Charles, Louis, and John, who had escaped, were very young in years and understanding, so that no great expectation could be formed from them; and neither were they willing to undertake the government of the kingdom. Add to this, that the knights and squires who had returned from the battle were so much despised and blamed by the common people, that they very unwillingly entered the great towns.

There were many conferences held, and much discontent appeared; when the most prudent and wise perceived that this state could not continue, nor longer go on without some remedy; for the English and Navarrois were in force in Coutantin, under sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was overrunning and destroying the country. The prelates of the church, bishops and abbots, and all the noblemen and knights, the provost of merchants and citizens of Paris, as well as the council from the other capital towns in the kingdom, assembled together in the city of Paris, in order to consult and advise upon the best manner of governing the kingdom of France, until king John should be set at liberty. But they were first determined to inquire what was become of the great sums of money that had been raised in France by way of dismes, maletostes*, subsidies, by the coinage and other vexations. Notwithstanding the country had been much harassed and distressed by levying them, the army had been badly paid, and the kingdom ill guarded and defended: but there was no one who could give any account of them. The clergy, therefore, resolved to select twelve of the wisest from among themselves, to consider and determine what would be most advisable to be done. The barons and knights chose twelve also, to attend to this business. The citizens likewise did the same, according to their unanimous agreement. These thirty-six personages were to remain at Paris, in order to confer together upon the better government of the kingdom; and all affairs were to be laid before these three estates: all prelates, noblemen, and all cities, towns and commonalties, were to obey them and execute their orders. In the beginning, however, there were many in this selection that were not agreeable to the duke of Normandy, or to his council.

The first act of the three estates was to forbid the coining any money in the manner in which it was then done, and to seize the dies. They next required of the duke of Normandy, that he would order the chancellor of the king his father to be arrested, the lord Robert Lorris, the lord Simon de Buci†, as well as many other masters of accounts and counsellors in former times to the king, that they might give a just account of what sums through their advice had been levied and raised in the kingdom. When all these personages heard of this, they quitted the realm as speedily as possible, and took refuge in other kingdoms until the face of affairs should be changed.

CHAPTER CLXX.

THE THREE ESTATES SEND MEN-AT-ARMS AGAINST SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT.

The three estates, after this, established and appointed, in their names, receivers to collect whatever taxes might be due to the king, or to the realm. They coined money of fine gold, which was called Moutons‡: and they would with pleasure have seen the king of Navarre delivered from his prison in the castle of Crevecour in Cambresis, where he was confined; for it appeared to many members of the three estates, that the kingdom would be stronger and more ably defended, provided he would be true and loyal: for there were few noblemen at that time in France that were able to make any good defence, the greater part having been slain or made prisoners at the battle of Poitiers. They therefore requested the duke of Normandy to give him his liberty; for they thought he had been unjustly used, nor did they know for what reason he was a prisoner. The duke replied, that he could not advise his being set at liberty; for the king his father had ordered him to be confined, and he was ignorant of the cause or reason of it.

At this period, news was brought to the duke and to the three estates, that sir Godfrey de Harcourt was waging a destructive war against Normandy; that his army, which was not very numerous, overran the country twice or thrice a week, as far as the suburbs of Caen, of Saint Lô *, Evreux and Coutances, and no one went out to oppose him. The duke and the three estates ordered an expedition of men-at-arms, consisting of three hundred lances and five hundred with iron armor: they nominated four captains to command them, the lord de Reyneval, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Riville, and the lord de Frianville. This army set out from Paris, and marched to Rouen, where there was a large body collected from different parts. There were many knights from Artois and Vermandois, such as the lord of Crequi, the lord Lewis de Havesquerque, the lord Edward de Renti, lord John de Fiennes, lord Enguerrant de Hédin, and many others: there came also from Normandy many expert men-at-arms. These lords, with their troops, advanced until they came to the city of Coutances, which they garrisoned.

Maletoste—an extraordinary tax, or subsidy, levied the year 1296, by Philip le Bel, viz. at first the value of the hundredth, and afterwards of the fiftieth part of all either lay or churchman's goods.—Cotgrave's *Dictionary*.

† He was first president of the parliament.—Hainault.

‡ The gold coin called *Moutons* had the impression of the Agnus Dei, which the vulgar mistook for a sheep; hence it got the ridiculous name of Moutons. This coin was originally of the value of twelve sols six deniers fine silver.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. note, p. 231.

Le mouton d'or was a coin on which was impressed the figure of a lamb, with this inscription: "Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, miserere nobis; and on the reverse a cross, with these words, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat." There were fifty-two of these pieces in a marc of fine gold.—Du Cange, *Gloss.* ad verb *Muttones*.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

THE BATTLE OF COUTANTIN, BETWEEN SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT, AND SIR RAOUL DE REYNEVAL.

When sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was strong, bold, and courageous, heard that the French were come to the city of Coutances, he collected together as many men-at-arms as possible, archers and other friends, and said he would go to meet them. He left, therefore, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, accompanied by about seven hundred men, including every one. This same day, the French also sallied out, and had sent forward their scouts to examine the country, who returned and informed their lords that they had seen the Navarrois. On the other hand, sir Godfrey had sent out his scouts, who had taken a different road, and, having examined the army of the French, had counted their banners and pennons, and to what numbers they amounted. Sir Godfrey, however, paid but little attention to their report: he said, that since he saw his enemies he would fight with them. He immediately placed his archers in the front of his men, and drew up in battle array the Englishmen and Navarrois. When lord Raoul de Reyneval perceived he had drawn up his men, he ordered part of the French to dismount, and to place large shields before them to guard themselves against the arrows, and for none to advance without his orders.

The archers of sir Godfrey began to advance, as they were commanded, and to shoot their arrows with all their strength. The French, who were sheltered behind their shields, allowed them to shoot on, as this attack did not hurt them in the least. They remained so long in their position without moving, that these archers had expended all their arrows; they then cast away their bows, and began to fall back upon their men-at-arms, who were drawn up alongside of a hedge, sir Godfrey in front, with his banner displayed. The French then began to make use of their bows, and to pick up arrows everywhere, for there were plenty of them lying about, which they employed against the English and men of Navarre. The men-at-arms made a vigorous charge; and the combat was very sharp and severe, when they were come hand to hand; but the infantry of sir Godfrey could not keep their ranks, and were therefore soon discomfited. Sir Godfrey, upon this, retreated into a vineyard which was inclosed with strong hedges, and as many of his people as could get in followed him. When the French saw this, they all dismounted, surrounded the place, and considered how they could best enter it. They examined it on every side, and at last found an entrance. As they went round, seeking a passage, sir Godfrey and his men did the same, and halted at the weakest part of the hedge.

As soon as the French had gained this entrance, many gallant deeds of arms were performed; but it cost the French dear before they were complete masters of it. The banner of sir Raoul was the first that entered. He followed it, as did the other knights and squires. When they were all in the inclosure, the combat was renewed with greater vigor, and many a one was beat down. The army of Sir Godfrey would not keep the order which he had appointed, according to the promise made to him; but the greater part fled, and could not withstand the French. Sir Godfrey, on seeing this, declared, that he would prefer death to being taken, and, arming himself with a battle-axe, halted where he was; he placed one foot before the other, to be firmer; for he was lame of one leg, though very strong in his arms. In this position, he fought a long time most valiantly, so that few dared encounter his blows; when two Frenchmen mounted their horses, and, placing their lances in their rests, charged him at the same time, and struck him to the ground: some men-at-arms immediately rushed upon him with their swords, which they ran through his body, and killed him on the spot. The greater part of his army were slain or made prisoners, and those who were able to escape returned to St. Sauveur le Vicomte. This happened in the winter of 1356, about Martinmas.

* A city of Normandy, situated on the Vire, diocese of Coutances.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES CONDUCTS THE KING OF FRANCE FROM BORDEAUX TO ENGLAND.

After the death of the before-mentioned knight, sir Godfrey de Harcourt, as soon as the country had been freed from his incursions by the defeat of his troops, the French returned to Coutances, carrying with them their booty and prisoners. Shortly afterwards, they returned to Paris, to the duke of Normandy, who was styled Regent, and to the three estates, who paid much honor to the knights and squires who had been in Coutantin. From that time, the town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and all the landowners of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, attached themselves to the English; for he had sold it, subject to his life, to the king of England, and had disinherited the lord Louis de Harcourt, his nephew, because he would not follow his party. When the king of England was informed of the death of sir Godfrey, he lamented him much, but embarked men-at-arms, knights, squires, and cross-bowmen, to the amount of upward of four hundred men, to take possession of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, which was well worth thirty thousand livres annual rent. He nominated the lord John Lisle governor of the lands and castles. The three estates, all this time, paid great attention to the better ordering of the realm of France, which was governed by them.

The prince of Wales, and the greater part of those lords who had been with him at the battle of Poitiers, remained all this winter at Bordeaux, revelling, making preparations for shipping, and settling their own affairs, or engaged in making arrangements for conducting the king of France, his son, and the principal lords who were prisoners, to England. When the season was sufficiently advanced, and everything was ready for the prince's departure, he sent for the great barons of Gascony, the lord d'Albret first, and the lords de Mucident, de l'Esparre, de Longueren, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Rosem, de Chaumont, de Montferrant, de Landuras, sir Aymery de Tarse, the captal de Buch, the souldich de la Trane, and many others. He received them with every sign of affection and friendship, and promised them great rewards and profits, which is all that a Gascon loves or desires. He then informed them of his intention of going to England; that he should take some of them with him, and the rest he should leave in different parts of the province, to guard the frontiers against the French, and should put all the cities and castles under their management, as if they were their own property.

When the Gascons learnt that the prince of Wales intended taking away with him the king of France, whom they had assisted to make prisoner, they were unwilling to consent to it, and said to the prince: "Dear sir, we owe you, as it becomes us, all honor and obedience, to the utmost of our power, but it is not our intention you should carry the king of France from us, who have so largely contributed by our services to place him in the situation he is now in. Thank God, he is at present well in health and in a good city: and we are powerful enough to guard him against any force France may send to take him from us." The prince replied, "My dear lords, I willingly agree to all you have said, but the king, my father, wishes to have him, and to see him. We are very sensible and thankful for the services which you have done both to him and myself, and you may depend on being handsomely rewarded for them." These words, however, did not satisfy the Gascons, nor would they agree to the departure of the king of France, until lord Reginald Cobham and sir John Chandos found a means of appeasing them. They were well acquainted with the avaricious disposition of the Gascons, and therefore said to the prince, "Sir, sir, offer them a handsome sum of florins, and you will see they will soon comply with whatever you wish." Upon this, the prince offered them sixty thousand florins; but they would not listen to him: at last it was settled that the prince should give them one hundred thousand florins, to be distributed among the barons of Gascony, and that he might set out with the king when he pleased. After this, he nominated four of them as governors of the country until his return: the lords d'Albret, de l'Esparre, de Pumiers, and de Rosem. This being done, the prince embarked on board a handsome ship, and took with him a great many Gascons; among them were the captal de Buch, sir Aymery de Tarse, the lord de Tarse, the lord de Landuras, the lord de Mucident, the souldich de la Trane, and many others.

The king of France was in a ship by himself, in order that he might be more at his ease. In the fleet there were five hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers, to guard against any accidents at sea, and also because the prince had been informed before he left Bordeaux, that the three estates, who then governed France, had raised two large armies, which were posted in Normandy and at Crotoy,* to meet the English, and to carry off the king, but they saw nothing of them. They were eleven days and nights at sea, and on the twelfth they arrived at Sandwich, where they disembarked, and took up their quarters in the town and neighborhood. They remained there two days to refresh themselves, and, on the third, set out and came to Canterbury.

When the king of England was informed of their arrival, he gave orders for the citizens of London to make such preparations as were suitable to receive so great a prince as the king of France. Upon which they all dressed themselves very richly in companies, and the different manufactories of cloth appeared with various pageants.* The king and prince remained one day at Canterbury, where they made their offerings to the shrine of St. Thomas. On the morrow, they rode to Rochester, where they reposed themselves. The third day they came to Dartford, and the fourth to London, where they were received with every honor and distinction, as indeed they had been by all the chief towns on their road.

The king of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London, thus accompanied, to the palace of the Savoy, which was part of the inheritance of the duke of Lancaster. There the king of France kept his household for some time; and there he was visited by the king and queen of England, who often entertained him sumptuously, and afterwards were very frequent in their visits, consoling him all in their power. The cardinals de Perigord and St. Vital soon after came to England, by command of pope Innocent VI. They endeavored to make peace between the two kingdoms, which they labored hard to effect, but without success. However, by some fortunate means they procured a truce between the two kings and their allies, to last until St. John the Baptist's day, 1359. The lord Philip de Navarre and his allies, the countess of Montfort and the duchy of Brittany, were excluded from this truce.

Shortly afterwards, the king of France and all his household were removed from the palace of Savoy to Windsor castle,† where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased in that neighborhood, as well as the lord Philip his son. The rest of the French lords remained at London, but they visited the king as often as they pleased, and were prisoners on their parole of honor.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

DAVID BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY.

You have before heard how king David of Scotland had been a prisoner in England, where he had remained upward of nine years. Shortly after this truce was agreed to between France and England, the two cardinals, in conjunction with the bishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, undertook the enlargement of the king of Scotland. The treaty was formed upon this ground, that the king of Scotland should never bear arms against the king of England, in his realm; neither advise nor consent that any of his subjects should molest or wage war upon the English: that the king of Scotland, upon his return to his kingdom, should make every exertion in his power to obtain his subjects' consent that the crown of Scotland be held in fief and homage from the king of England. If the country would not submit to this, then the king of Scotland would swear solemnly to maintain and keep a firm and lasting peace with the king of England. He was also to bind himself and his kingdom, as its own real lord and heir, in the payment of five hundred thousand nobles within ten years. And, upon the demand of the king of England, he was to send good hostages and securities for the performance of this treaty, such as the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Mar, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Fife, sir Thomas Bisset and the bishop of Caithness, who were to remain in England as prisoners or hostages for their lord and king until there should have been paid the whole of the above sum. Public instruments were drawn up according to these resolutions and obligations, with letters patent, sealed by each of the kings.

The king of Scotland then left England, and returned to his own country, with his queen Johanna,‡ sister to the king of England. He was received by his subjects with every honorable mark of distinction, and, after having visited them, gave orders for his castle of Scone, near Perth, to be repaired, as it was in ruins. This is a good and commercial town, situated upon a river called the Tay.§

* A village in Picardy, near the mouth of the Somme.

* Unless Mr. Johnes's MSS. differed here from D. Sauvage's edition, he seems to have misconceived Froissart's meaning. "Adonques ceux de Londres se vesturent par Connestablies, et tre richement et tous les maistres, en draps differens des autres," are the words in D. Sauvage's edition, which Lord Berners thus translates: "Then they of London arrayed themselfe by companyes *and the chief masters clothing different fro the other*."—Ed.

† He was afterward confined in Hertford Castle, under the guard of Roger de Beauchamp. David king of Scotland was likewise a prisoner there. John was removed to different other castles, from a suspicion of his being delivered by treason or force.—Ashmole.

‡ "There is a strange diversity among historians concerning the time of the death of this unfortunate lady. Fordun, l. xiv. c. 18, says, 'she went to England in 1357, and died after she had remained there for some time. In Scala Chron. ap. Leland, t. i. p. 568, it is said, the queen of Scotland, sister to king Edward, came out of Scotland to Wyndesore, to speak with him, and after was with her mother, queen Isabella, at Hertford, and there died. This imports, that she died either before her mother, or soon after her. It is certain that her mother died in the autumn, 1358.' Fordun and the author of Scala Chronica are in a mistake. Queen Johanna must have lived beyond the year 1357 or the year 1358. Her husband speaks of her as alive on the 21st February, 1358-9, Fœdera, t. vi. p. 118. Nay more, on the 2nd May, 1362, a passport is granted by Edward III. to John Heryng, the servant of Johanna queen of Scotland, our sister; Fœdera, t. vi. p. 364; and, therefore, I incline to follow Walsingham, p. 179, who places her death in 1362."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 250.

§ "The treaty, which had been in agitation so many years was at length concluded, at Berwick, 3rd October, 1357. By it the king of Scots was released, after a captivity of *eleven* years. The Scottish nation agreed to pay one hundred thousand marks sterling as the ransom of their sovereign, by yearly payments of ten thousand marks on the 24th June.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LAYS SIEGE TO RENNES.

About the middle of May, in the year 1357, the duke of Lancaster raised a large body of men-at-arms, of English and Bretons, for the assistance of the countess of Montfort and her young son, who at that time bore arms, and was a party in their excursions. There might be a thousand men-at-arms, well equipped and appointed, and five hundred others among the archers. The army left Hennebon, scouring and burning all the country until they came to the good town of Rennes, which the duke besieged on every side, and lay a long time before it, making many assaults, by which he gained not much, for there were in the town the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Laval, sir Charles de Dinan, and many others.

There was also in the town a young knight-bachelor called sir Bertrand du Gueselin, who, during the siege of Rennes, fought with an Englishman named sir Nicholas Dagworth. The terms of the combat were to be three courses with spears, three strokes with battle-axes, and three stabs with daggers. The two knights behaved most valiantly, and parted without hurting each other. They were seen with pleasure by both armies.* The lord Charles of Blois was at that time returned to the country: but, as he could not bear arms himself, he was perpetually teazing the regent of France to send him a sufficiency of men-at-arms to raise the siege of Rennes. But the regent was too much occupied with the affairs of France, which were in great confusion, to attend to his request, and therefore the siege of Rennes was still continued.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

A KNIGHT OF THE COUNTRY OF EVREUX, CALLED SIR WILLIAM DE GRAVILLE, RECONQUERS THE CITY AND CASTLE OF EVREUX FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, WHO HAD TAKEN IT FROM THE KING OF NAVARRE.

A knight, named the lord de Graville, who was attached to the king of Navarre by his faith and oath, was much hurt at his imprisonment, as were likewise many of the inhabitants of the Evreux; but they could not help themselves so long as the castle was in the enemy's possession. This sir William lived about two short leagues from Evreux, and whenever he came to that city, was received by a citizen, who in former times had been a great friend to the king of Navarre. When sir William came to the house of this citizen, he ate with him, and, during their repasts, discoursed on various subjects, but generally of the king of Navarre, and of his imprisonment, which vexed them sorely.

It happened one day that sir William said to him: "If you will give me your assistance, I will surely reconquer this city and castle for the king of Navarre. "How will you do that?" replied the citizen, "for the governor is strongly attached to the French interest; and, without having gained the castle, we dare not show ourselves, for he is master of the town and suburbs." Sir William answered: "I will tell you. You must get three or four citizens of your friends, that are of the same way of thinking as yourself, and fill your houses well with armed men that can be depended on; and I promise you on my head, that we will enter the castle by a trick, without incurring any danger." The citizen was so active, that he soon collected a hundred of his friends, who were as well inclined as himself.

Sir William went in and out of the town without any suspicion; for he had not borne arms in the last expedition with the lord Philip de Navarre, because the greater part of his property lay near to Evreux, and the king of France, at the time he conquered Evreux, had made all the landholders in the neighborhood swear allegiance to him, otherwise he would have taken possession of their lands; he had thus only gained outwardly their affections, but their hearts remained attached to the interest of Navarre. If king John, however, had been in France, this sir William would not have dared to attempt what he performed. But he perceived the embarrassed state of public affairs, and that the three estates were desirous of giving the king of Navarre his liberty.

Sir William having made his preparations, the citizens were apprized what they were to do: he armed himself at all points, put on a [illegible] cloak. He had, under his cape, a small battle-axe, and, thus equipped, he came, attended by his servant, whom he had let into the secret, to walk upon the square before the castle, as had been of late his custom. He walked there so long a time, that the governor, who usually came to the gate twice or thrice about that time, opened the gate of the castle to look about him, but it was only the wicket-gate, and he placed himself right before it. When sir William perceived him, he approached nearer by little and little, saluting him most respectfully. The governor, though he returned the salute, kept his position. Sir William, however, at last came up to him, and began to converse with him on different subjects: he inquired if he had heard what was doing in France. The governor, from being constantly shut up in the castle, had enjoyed little communication from without, and being eager to learn the news, replied that he had heard nothing, and would thank him to let him know what was passing. "Very willingly," answered sir William. "It is reported in France, that the kings of Denmark and Iceland* have made an alliance, and have sworn never to return to their countries before they shall have destroyed England and brought back the king of France to Paris. They have an armament at sea, with upward of one hundred thousand men: and the English are so much alarmed and frightened, that they know not which way to turn themselves to defend their coasts; for it was a very old saying with them that they were to be destroyed by the Danes." The governor inquired from whom he had learnt this news. Sir William said, that a knight in Flanders had written it to him as a fact, and added, "He has sent me the handsomest set of chess men I ever saw." He had invented this tale, because he had learnt the governor was very fond of playing at chess. The governor said, he should be very glad to see them. "Well," replied sir William, "I will send for them, but on condition you play with me for some wine;" and, turning to his servant, said, "Go, look for the chess-board and men, and bring them to us at the gate."

The servant set off, and the governor and sir William entered the first gate of the castle. The governor fastened the wicket on the inside with a bolt, but did not lock it. Sir William said, "Governor, open this second gate; you may do it without any risk." The governor opened the wicket only, and let sir William pass through to see the inside of the castle, while he himself followed. The servant, in the mean time, went to those citizens who had the armed men in their houses, led them up to the castle, and then blew his horn, as had been agreed on between him and his master. When sir William heard the horn, he said to the governor, "Let us go out, and pass this second gate, for my servant will soon return." Sir William repassed this wicket, and stood close by it on the other side. When the governor had put one foot through, and had lowered his head, sir William drew out the axe he had under his cloak, and struck him such a blow that he split his head asunder, and felled him dead on the sill of the door. He then went to the first gate, which he opened.

The watch of the castle had heard with astonishment the servant's horn, for it had been proclaimed in the city, that no one should dare to sound a horn, under pain of losing his hand. He perceived also armed men running toward the castle; upon which he sounded his horn, and cried out, "Treason! treason!" Those that were in the castle hastened to the gate, which, to their surprise, they found open, the governor lying dead across it, and sir William, his axe in his hand, guarding the passage. The men-at-arms, who were to assist him, soon arrived, and having passed the first and second gates, fiercely drove back the garrison. Several were killed, and as many taken as they chose. They entered the castle: and in this manner was the strong castle of Evreux retaken. The citizens and inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered, when they drove out all the French. They sent to inform lord Philip de Navarre of this event, who was but lately returned from England. He came immediately to Evreux, and made it his principal garrison to carry the war into the rich country of Normandy. There were with him sir Robert Knolles, sir James Pipe, the lord Fricquet de Fricquant, le Bascle de Marneil, sir John Jewel, who afterward, as you will hear in this history, did much mischief to France.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

THE ARCHPRIEST ASSEMBLES A COMPANY OF MEN-AT-ARMS—HE IS MUCH HONORED AT AVIGNON.

About this period, a knight, named sir Arnold de Cervole, but more commonly called the archpriest, collected a large body of men-at-arms, who came from all parts, seeing that their pay would not be continued in France, and that, since the capture of the king, there was not any probability of their gaining more in that country. They marched first into Provence, where they took many strong towns and castles, and ruined the country by their robberies as far as Avignon. Pope Innocent VI., who resided in Avignon, was much alarmed, as not knowing what might be the intentions of the archpriest, the leader of these forces; and, for fear of personal insult, he and the cardinals kept their household armed day and night. When the archpriest and his troops had pillaged all the country, the pope and clergy entered

"Twenty young men of quality, and among them the eldest son of the Stewart, were to be given as hostages; and for further security, three of the following great lords were to place themselves in the hands of the English: the Stewart, the earls of March, Mar, Ross, Angus, and Sutherland, lord Douglas and Thomas Moray of Bothwell. It was provided, that a truce should continue between the two nations until complete payment of the ransom.

"The king of Scots, the nobility and the boroughs, ratified this treaty the 5th of October, and the bishops ratified it on the following day.

"David, immediately after his release, summoned a parliament, laid the treaty before the three estates, obtained their approbation, and then ratified the treaty anew, at Scone, 6th November."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 244.

* The historian of Brittany says, it was William de Blanchbourg, brother to the governor of Fougeral; who had been slain by Bertrand. In confirmation of this, Dugdale makes no mention of this duel, which he would probably have done, had sir Nicholas Dagworth been the person.

Bertrand, in the first course, pierced the coat of mail of Blanchbourg, and his own helmet suffered the same. The two ensuing courses were harmless. Bertrand asked if he would run three more: which was accepted. In the first course, Bertrand struck him so violently on the body, his lance entered very deep, and unhorsed him. He would not kill him, from respect to the duke of Lancaster, but seized his horse, which he carried away as a trophy of his victory.

* *Ireland*, according to De Sauvage and Lord Berners.—Ed.

into treaty with him. Having received proper security, he and the greater part of his people entered Avignon, where he was received with as much respect as if he had been son to the king of France. He dined many times with the pope and cardinals, who gave him absolution from all his sins; and, at his departure, they presented him with forty thousand crowns, to distribute among his companions. These men, therefore, marched away to different places, following, however, the directions of the archpriest.*

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

A WELSHMAN, OF THE NAME OF RUFFIN,† COMMANDS A TROOP OF THE FREE COMPANIES.

At this time, also, there was another company of men-at-arms, or robbers, collected from all parts, who stationed themselves between the rivers Loire and Seine, so that no one dared to travel between Paris and Orleans, nor between Paris and Montargis, or even to remain in the country: the inhabitants on the plains had all fled to Paris and Orleans. This company had chosen for their leader a Welshman named Ruffin, whom they had knighted, and who acquired such immense riches as could not be counted. These companies advanced one day near to Paris, another day toward Orleans, another time to Chartres; and there was no town nor fortress but what was taken and pillaged, excepting such as were strongly garrisoned. St. Arnoult,‡ Galardon,§ Broumaulx, Aloes, Estampes,‖ Chartres,¶ Montlehery,** Plouviers in the Gatinois, Mil'y,†† Larchant,‡‡ Châtillon,§§ Montargis,‖‖ Yssieres, were plundered, and so many other towns that it would be difficult to recount them all.

They rode over the country in parties of twenty, thirty, or forty, meeting with none to check their pillage; while, on the sea-coast of Normandy, there were still a greater number of English and Navarrois, plunderers, and robbers. Sir Robert Knolles was their leader, who conquered every town and castle he came to, as there was no one to oppose him. Sir Robert had followed this trade for some time, and by it gained upward of 100,000 crowns. He kept a great many soldiers in his pay; and, being very liberal, he was cheerfully followed and obeyed.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS OF PARIS KILLS THREE KNIGHTS IN THE APARTMENT OF THE PRINCE.

During the time that the three estates governed the kingdom, all sorts of people united themselves together, under the name of Free Companies; they made war upon every man that was worth robbing. I must here inform you that the nobles and prelates of the realm and church began to be weary of the government and regulations of the three estates: they therefore permitted the provost of the merchants to Paris to summon some of the citizens, because they were going greater lengths than they approved of.

It happened one day, when the regent of France was in his palace at Paris, with many knights, nobles, and prelates, that the provost of the merchants collected also a great number of the common people of Paris who were devoted to him, all wearing caps¶¶ similar to his own, that they might know each other; and attended by this crowd, the provost came to the palace. He entered the apartment of the duke, and demanded of him, in an insolent manner, to take the management of the kingdom of France, and to govern it wisely (since it would become his by inheritance,) that all those free companies, who at present were overrunning the country, might be prevented from doing further mischief. The duke replied that he would very willingly comply with his request, if he had the means to carry it into execution, but that it more properly belonged to those who had raised and received the imposts due to the realm, to perform it. I cannot pretend to say how it happened, but words increased so much and with such warmth, that at last three of the principal counsellors of the duke were slain, and so near to him that their blood flew over his robe: he himself was in very great danger, but they had put one of their caps on his head, and he consented to pardon the death of his three knights. Two of them were knights of arms, and the other of laws. Their names were, the lord Robert de Clermont, a gallant and magnificent knight, and the lord de Conflans: the knight of laws was the lord Simon de Buci.***

* "So some of his company departed: but still the archpriest kept his company together.—LORD BERNERS.

Barnes calls him *Grigath*, but mentions no authority.

‡ A town in Beauce, election of Dourdon.

§ A town in Beauce, election of Chartres.

‖ A city in Beauce, fourteen leagues from Paris.

¶ A city of Orleannois, capital of Beauce, twenty-two leagues from Paris.

** A town in the isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

†† A market-town in Gatinois.

‡‡ St. Mathurin de Larchant, a town in Gatinois.

§§ A town in Beauce, election of Chateaudun.

‖‖ Capital of Gatinois, twenty-seven leagues and a half from Paris.

¶¶ Mipartie bleu.

*** Etienne Marcel was provost of the merchants. The president, Henault, only mentions Robert de Clermont, marechal de Normandie, and Jean de Conflans, marechal de Champagne, as having been slain in the apartment of the regent. Mezeray says the same. Simon de Buci he states as premier president, and ennobled 1389. This insolence of Marcel he puts in for the year 1358, and the king of Navarre's escape from prison 1357.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

BY WHAT MEANS THE KING OF NAVARRE ESCAPES OUT OF PRISON.

Shortly after this happened, the lord John de Piquigny and some other knights, through the advice of the provost of merchants and the principal persons of some of the other considerable towns, went to the strong castle of Alleres* in Pailleul, situated in Picardy, where the king of Navarre was imprisoned, under the guard of sir Tristan du Bois. These gentlemen brought such certain and assured tokens to the governor, that he allowed them to watch the opportunity when sir Tristan should be absent, so that by their means the king of Navarre was delivered out of his prison, and carried by them with great joy to Amiens, where he was gladly and honorably received.

He dismounted at the house of a canon, who was much attached to him, whose name was the lord Guy Kyrec. The king was conducted thither by the lord John de Piquigny; and he remained with the canon fifteen days, until he had completed his equipage, and was assured of the duke of Normandy's dispositions; for the provost of the merchants, who much loved him, obtained by entreaties his pardon from the duke, as well as from his fellow-citizens at Paris. Upon this, the king of Navarre was escorted to Paris by the lord John de Piquigny and others, citizens of Amiens, where he was gladly seen by all sorts of people: even the duke of Normandy entertained him; for it was necessary he should do so, as the provost and his faction had exhorted him to it; and the duke dissembled his own inclinations, to comply with those of the provost and the Parisians.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

THE KING OF NAVARRE MAKES A SOLEMN HARANGUE TO THE PARISIANS.

When the king of Navarre had been some time in Paris, he collected an assembly of all sorts of people; prelates, knights, and the students at the university. He made to them a very long and studied harangue in Latin. The duke of Normandy was likewise present. He complained of the grievances and ills he had unjustly suffered, and said that no one could possibly entertain a doubt that his sole wish must be to live and die defending the realm and crown of France. It was his duty so to do; for he was descended from it, in a direct line, both by father and mother; and by his words he gave them to understand, that if he chose to challenge the realm and crown of France for himself, he could show that his right to them was incontestably stronger than that of the king of England.

It must be observed, that he was heard with great attention, and much commended. Thus, by little and little, he won the hearts of the Parisians, who loved and respected him more than they did the regent, duke of Normandy. Many other cities and towns in France followed this example: but, notwithstanding all the love and affection which the provost of merchants and the Parisians showed to the king of Navarre, the lord Philip de Navarre would not be seduced by it, or consent to come to Paris. He said, that in commonalties there was neither dependence nor union, except in the destruction of everything good.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INFAMOUS JAQUERIE OF BEAUVOISIS.

Soon after the deliverance of the king of Navarre out of prison, a marvellous and great tribulation befel the kingdom of France, in Beauvoisis, Brie, upon the river Marne, in the Laonnois, and in the neighborhood of Soissons. Some of the inhabitants of the country towns assembled together in Beauvoisis, without any leader: they were not at first more than one hundred men. They said that the nobles of the kingdom of France, knights and squires, were a disgrace to it, and that it would be a very meritorious act to destroy them all: to which proposition every one assented, and added, shame befal him that should be the means of preventing the gentlemen from being wholly destroyed. They then, without further counsel, collected themselves in a body, and with no other arms than the staves shod with iron, which some had, and others with knives, marched to the house of a knight who lived near, and breaking it open, murdered the knight, his lady, and all the children, both great and small; they then burnt the house.

After this, their second expedition was to the strong castle of another knight, which they took, and, having tied him to a stake, many of them violated his wife and daughter before his eyes: they then murdered the lady, her daughter, and the other children, and last of all the knight himself, with much cruelty. They destroyed and burnt his castle. They did the like to many castles and handsome houses; and their numbers increased so much that they were in a short time upward of six thousand: wherever they went, they received additions, for all of their rank in life followed them, while every one else fled, carrying off with them their ladies, damsels, and children, ten or twenty leagues distant, where they thought they

* Q. if not Allery, which is a town in Picardy, near to Amiens. It was said before, that the castle of Crevacœur was his prison. Barnes says it was *Arleux*, a town in the diocese of Cambray and Douay.

could place them in a remote, leaving their houses, with all their riches in them.

These wicked people, without leader and without arms, plundered and burnt all the houses they came to, murdered every gentleman, and violated every lady and damsel they could find. He who committed the most atrocious actions, and such as no human creature

Battle of Meaux, in Brie, where the Jacquerie were defeated by the count de Foix and the captal de Buch. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

would have imagined, was the most applauded, and considered as the greatest man among them. I dare not write the horrible and inconceivable atrocities they committed on the persons of the ladies.

Among other infamous acts, they murdered a knight; and having fastened him to a spit, roasted him before the eyes of his wife and his children, and, after ten or twelve had violated her, they forced her to eat some of her husband's flesh, and then knocked her brains out. They had chosen a king among them, who came from Clermont in Beauvoisis: he was elected as the worst of the bad, and they denominated him James Goodman.* These wretches burnt and destroyed in the county of Beauvoisis, and at Corbie, Amiens, and Montdidier, upward of sixty good houses and strong castles. By the acts of such traitors in the country of Brie and thereabout, it behoved every lady, knight, and squire, having the means of escape, to fly to Meaux, if they wished to preserve themselves from being insulted and afterwards murdered. The duchess of Normandy, the duchess of Orleans, and many other ladies, had adopted this course to save themselves from violation. These cursed people thus supported themselves in the countries between Paris, Noyon, and Soissons, and in all the territory of Coucy, in the county of Valois. In the bishoprics of Noyon, Laon, and Soissons, there were upward of one hundred castles and good houses of knights and squires destroyed.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE DEFEATS MANY OF THESE VILLAINS IN BEAUVOISIS. THE PROVOST OF MERCHANTS BUILDS A WALL ROUND PARIS.

When the gentlemen of Beauvoisis, Corbie, Vermandois, and of the lands where these wretches were associated, saw to what lengths their madness had extended, they sent for succor to their friends in Flanders, Hainault, and Bohemia: from which places numbers soon came, and united themselves with the gentlemen of the country. They began therefore to kill and destroy these wretches wherever they met them, and hung them up by troops on the nearest trees. The king of Navarre even destroyed in one day, near Clermont in Beauvoisis, upward of three thousand: but they were by this time so much increased in number, that had they been altogether, they would have amounted to more than one hundred thousand. When they were asked for what reason they acted so wickedly; they replied, they knew not, but they did so because they saw others do it; and they thought that by this means they should destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world.

At this period, the duke of Normandy, suspecting the king of Navarre, the provost of merchants and those of his faction, for they were always unanimous in their sentiments, set out from Paris, and went to the bridge at Charenton-upon-Marne, where he issued a special summons for the attendance of the crown vassals, and sent a defiance to the provost of merchants, and to all those who should support him. The provost, being fearful he would return in the night-time to Paris, (which was then uninclosed,) collected as many workmen as possible from all parts, and employed them to make ditches quite round Paris. He also surrounded it by a wall with strong gates. For the space of one year, there were three hundred workmen daily employed; the expense of which was equal to maintaining an army. I must say, that to surround, with a sufficient defence, such a city as Paris, was an act of greater utility than any provost of merchants had ever done before; for otherwise it would have been plundered and destroyed several times by the different factions.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

THE BATTLE OF MEAUX IN BRIE, WHERE THE VILLAINS ARE DISCOMFITED BY THE EARL OF FOIX AND THE CAPTAL OF BUCH.

At the time these wicked men were overrunning the country, the earl of Foix, and his cousin the captal of Buch were returning from a croisade in Prussia.* They were informed, on their entering France, of the distress the nobles were in; and they learnt, at the city of Chalons, that the duchess of Orleans, and three hundred other ladies, under the protection of the duke of Orleans, were fled to Meaux on account of these disturbances. The two knights resolved to go to the assistance of these ladies, and to reinforce them with all their might, notwithstanding the captal was attached to the English; but at that time there was a truce between the two kings. They might have in their company about sixty lances. They were most cheerfully received, on their arrival at Meaux, by the ladies and damsels; for these Jacks and peasants of Brie had heard what number of ladies, married and unmarried, and young children of quality, were in Meaux; they had united themselves with those of Valois, and were on their road thither. On the other hand, those of Paris had also been informed of the treasures Meaux contained, and had set out from that place in crowds: having met the others, they amounted together to nine thousand men: their forces were augmenting every step they advanced.

They came to the gates of the town, which the inhabitants opened to them, and allowed them to enter; they did so in such numbers that all the streets were quite filled, as far as the market-place, which is tolerably strong, but it required to be guarded, though the river Marne nearly surrounds it. The noble dames who were lodged there, seeing such multitudes rushing toward them, were exceedingly frightened. On this, the two lords and their company advanced to the gate of the market-place, which they had opened, and marching under the banners of the earl of Foix and duke of Orleans, and the

* Jacques Bon Homme.

* Barnes says that the lord Fauconbridge was with them, and quotes Dugdale, vol. ii p 4: but I do not see that he mentions anything relative to this matter, except that *he made a voyage to the Holy Land.*

pennon of the captal of Buch, posted themselves in front of this peasantry, who were badly armed. When these banditti perceived such a troop of gentlemen, so well equipped, sally forth to guard the market-place, the foremost of them began to fall back. The gentlemen then followed them, using their lances and swords. When they felt the weight of their blows, they, through fear, turned about so fast, they fell one over the other. All manner of armed persons then rushed out of the barriers, drove them before them, striking them down like beasts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order, slaying so many that they were tired. They flung them in great heaps into the river. In short, they killed upward of seven thousand. Not one would have escaped, if they had chosen to pursue them further.

On the return of the men-at-arms, they set fire to the town of Meaux, burnt it; and all the peasants they could find were shut up in it, because they had been of the party of the Jacks. Since this discomfiture which happened to them at Meaux, they never collected again in any great bodies; for the young Enguerrand de Coucy* had plenty of gentlemen under his orders, who destroyed them, wherever they could be met with, without mercy.†

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

PARIS BESIEGED BY THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, REGENT OF FRANCE.

Not long after this event, the duke of Normandy assembled many noblemen and gentlemen, as well those of his own kingdom as from the empire, by means of subsidies. They might amount, in the whole, to more than three thousand lances. With this force he marched to lay siege to Paris, toward the suburbs of St. Antoine, along the river Seine. He took up his quarters at St. Maur,‡ and encamped his army in that neighborhood; whence he made excursions with it every day toward Paris. Sometimes the duke resided at Charenton, at others at St. Maur.

Nothing could enter Paris, by land or water, on that side; for the duke had possession of the two rivers, Marne and Seine: his people had burnt all the villages around Paris, which were not inclosed, in order to chastise more severely the Parisians. Paris itself would have been destroyed if it had not been fortified, as before related; and no one dared to enter or go out of it, for fear of the duke's army, who scoured both sides of the Seine as they pleased, for none ventured to oppose them. The provost of merchants still continued his attachment to the king of Navarre as strong as ever; as did the council and commonalty of Paris; and, as before said, he employed people night and day the more strongly to fortify the city. He had also a large body of men-at-arms, Navarre soldiers and English archers, and other companions with him. There were among the inhabitants some very determined and able men, such as John Maillart, his brother Symon, and many of their relations, by whom he was very much disliked on account of his hatred to the duke of Normandy; but the provost had attached to himself such a strong party, that no one dared to contradict him, unless he wished to be murdered without mercy.

The king of Navarre, who was acquainted with all this variance between the duke of Normandy and the Parisians, justly imagined, that things could not long continue in their present state; nor had he any very great confidence in the commonalty of Paris: he therefore quitted Paris as handsomely as he could, and went to St. Denis, where there was a large body of men-at-arms in the pay of the Parisians. In this position, the king remained for six weeks, and the duke at Charenton. The two armies pillaged and ruined the country on all sides. The archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Auxerre, the bishop of Beauvais, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Fiennes and the lord de St. Venant, undertook to mediate between them. They managed so wisely with both parties, that the king of Navarre, of his own free will and accord, went to the duke, his brother-in-law, at Charenton, and made excuses for having given him cause of suspicion. First, for the death of the two marshals and master Simon de Buci; also for the insult which the provost of the merchants had offered to him in his own palace at Paris, which he swore had been done without his knowledge. He promised the duke to remain with him at all events, during this expedition. Upon this peace was made between them. The king of Navarre added, that he would have the Parisians corrected for the evil deeds they had committed. The commonalty were to be included in this peace; but the duke was to have the provost of the merchants delivered up to him, and twelve of the citizens, according to his choice, to punish in what manner he should think best.

These things being settled, the king of Navarre returned to St. Denis, and the duke went to Meaux in Brie, where he dismissed his army. Some of the citizens of Paris, to whom the treaty had given more freedom to speak their minds, entreated the duke to return to Paris, in all security, and that they would pay him every honor in their power. The duke answered, "that he should consider the peace as good, having sworn to it; that it should never, with God's permission, be infringed by him; but that he would never again enter Paris, unless he had satisfaction from those who had insulted him." The provost of the merchants, and those of his faction, frequently visited the king of Navarre at St. Denis: they remonstrated with him on the indignation of the duke, which they had incurred on his account (for they had delivered him out of prison and brought him to Paris,)and that in the name of God, they would not place any confidence in the duke, nor in his council.

The king replied: "Be assured, gentlemen and friends, that you shall not suffer any ills without my partaking of them; and, as you have at present the government of Paris, I would advise you to provide yourselves with gold and silver, so that, if there should be any necessity, you may know where to find it, and send it confidentially here to me at St. Denis, trusting to my faith: I will take good care of it, and will keep secretly a body of men-at-arms, and other companions, with whom, in case of need, you may make war upon your enemies." The provost of the merchants followed this advice; and thrice* every week afterwards, he conducted two horses laden with florins to the king of Navarre, at St. Denis, who most cheerfully received them.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

SOME PARISIANS ARE SLAIN AT ST. CLOUD, BY THE ENGLISH WHO HAD BEEN SOLDIERS IN PARIS.

There had remained in Paris a great number of the English and Navarre soldiers, whom the provost and commonalty of Paris had in their pay, to assist them against the duke of Normandy, and very loyally and well had they served them during the time the war lasted. When the treaty was concluded, between the duke and the Parisians, some of these soldiers left Paris, others remained. Those that quitted it went to the king of Navarre, who retained them all, but there were left behind in Paris about three hundred, who enjoyed themselves, and spent their money cheerfully. There happened, however, a quarrel between them and the inhabitants, when upward of sixty English were slain. The provost was exceedingly angry at this, and blamed the Parisians highly; but to appease the commonalty, he seized one hundred and fifty of the English, whom he confined over three gates, and told the Parisians, who were so much incensed that they wanted to murder them, that he would have them punished, according to their deserts, which satisfied them. When night came, the provost set them at liberty to go where they pleased; they went to St. Denis to the king of Navarre, who accepted their services.

In the morning, when the Parisians found that the English were let out of prison, they were much enraged against the provost; but he, who was a prudent and wise man, knew well how to dissemble what part he had in it, and to turn it off, so that it was soon forgotten. When these soldiers, English and Navarrois, were all collected together at St. Denis, they were upward of three hundred. They resolved to be revenged for the murder of their companions and the insults they themselves had sustained. They first sent a challenge to the Parisians, and then made war upon them, cutting off and slaying all those who issued out of the town, so that no one dared to venture beyond the gates. The provost of the merchants was, upon this, required to arm a part of the commonalty, and take the field, for they were desirous of fighting these English. He complied with their request, and said he would accompany them. He armed, therefore, a body of the Parisians, and marched out, to the number of twelve hundred, who, when they were in the plains, were informed that the English they were in search of were in the neighborhood of St. Cloud. Upon this intelligence, they divided themselves in two bodies, and took separate roads. These two parties were on their march all that day round Montmartre, but did not meet their enemies.

It chanced that the provost had the smallest division, and, after searching all about, entered Paris by St. Martin's gate, without having done anything. The other division, who were ignorant of the return of the provost, kept the field until vespers, when they began their retreat, but without any regular order, like those who did not look for or expect any hindrance. They came back in crowds quite fatigued; some carried their helmets in their hands, others slung them round their necks; some dragged their swords after them on the ground, while others hung theirs on their shoulders. They had taken their road so as to enter Paris by the gate of St. Honoré,† when suddenly they came upon the English, to the amount of four hundred, in a hollow road, who, upon seeing them, began to shout, "Here are the Frenchmen!" and fell upon them, which made them fly in every direction. At the first onset, there were upward of two

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* *Enguerrand de Coucy* was one of the hostages given by France to England, at the treaty for the liberty of king John.

Edward, to attach him to his interest, married him to Isabella his second daughter, and gave him very large possessions in England. He erected the barony of Bedford into an earldom in his favor.

For further particulars relating to Enguerrand de Coucy, see M. de Zurlauben's memoir, in the xxvth vol. of the Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, p. 168.

† Barnes says, that "their captain, James the Goodman, being here taken alive, was sent to the dauphin, who, understanding that he had assumed the name of a king, caused him to be crowned with a trivet, or the three-legged frame of an iron skellet, red hot, and so to be hanged, in requital for all his barbarous cruelties.

‡ Probably St. Maur des-Fossez, in the Isle of France.

* Lord Berners and D. Sauvage say *twice*.—Ed.

† At that period the gate of St. Honoré was near the Quinze-Vingts.—*Mémoires de l'Academie*, tom. xvii. p. 696.

hundred overthrown. The French, who had not kept any order in their march, were so much astonished that they never thought of rallying, but made the best of their way to escape, and were killed in their flight like so many sheep. There were upward of six hundred slain in this pursuit; they were followed even beyond the barriers of Paris. The commonalty of Paris threw all the blame of this accident on the provost of the merchants, and said that he had betrayed them. On the next morning, the near relations and friends of those that had been slain, issued out of Paris with cars and carts, to seek for the bodies of the dead to bury them: but the English had placed an ambuscade near the field of battle, when they killed and wounded more than six score of them.

The Parisians were thrown into great trouble and dismay, for they did not know whom to trust. They were night and day under much alarm, for the king of Navarre was grown cold in his proffered assistance to support them, on account of the peace which he had sworn to the duke of Normandy, and also for the outrage which the Parisians had committed on the English soldiers: he connived, therefore, at the chastisement they had received. On the other hand, the duke of Normandy was much enraged, that the provost of the merchants should still keep the government of Paris. The provost and his faction were not quite at their ease; for the Parisians, as they were well informed, despised them exceedingly.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

THE DEATH OF THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS OF PARIS.

THE provost and those of his party held many secret councils among themselves, to consider in what manner they could best keep their authority. They knew they should not find mercy from the duke of Normandy, whose general answer to the Parisians was, that he would never make peace with them, until twelve persons from Paris should be given up to him, according to his choice, for him to deal with as he pleased. This declaration had very much alarmed the provost and his friends; they thought it preferable to remain alive in good prosperity than to be destroyed, and that it was much better to slay than to be slain. They entered, therefore, into a secret treaty with the English, to continue on the war against Paris. It was agreed upon between them, that the provost and his friends should be posted over the gates of St. Honoré and St. Anthony, so that the English and Navarrois might together enter Paris at midnight, properly prepared to ruin and destroy the town, except such parts where signals should be placed at the doors or windows: wherever this signal was not found, they were to put men and women to the sword.

The night on which this enterprise was to take place, God showed his mercy to some of the citizens who had always been attached to the duke, that is to say, John Maillart, his brother Symon, and many others, by divine inspiration (as one may well suppose it) gained information that Paris was to be sacked and destroyed. They therefore armed themselves secretly, made all their party do the same, and whispered their suspicions abroad, in order to acquire more help. They all came properly armed, a little before midnight, to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand. Upon this, John Maillart said to him, calling him by his name: "Stephen, what do you here at this time of night?" The provost replied: "John, why do you ask it? I am here to take care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government." "By God," answered John, "things shall not go on so: you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now show you," addressing himself to those near him; "for see how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city." The provost said, "John, you lie." John replied, "It is you, Stephen, who lie;" and rushing on him, cried to his people, "Kill them, kill them: now strike home, for they are all traitors." There was a very great bustle; and the provost would gladly have escaped, but John struck him such a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others, who were present, were also killed: the remainder were carried to prison. They then put themselves in motion, and awakened every one in the different streets of Paris.

John Maillart and his party went to the gate of St. Honoré, where they found those of the provost's faction, whom they accused of treason, and whose excuses were of no avail. Many of them were taken, and sent to different prisons: those who would not suffer themselves to be made prisoners, were slain without mercy. This same night, all those who were inculpated in the treason, for which the provost was slain, were taken in their beds; for those who had been sent to prison had confessed the fact. On the morrow morning, John Maillart assembled the greater part of the commonalty of Paris in the market-place; where, having mounted a scaffold, he explained, in general terms, his reasons for having killed the provost of the merchants. All those who had been of the faction of the provost were then condemned to die by the elders of the commonalty, and were accordingly executed with various tortures.

These things done, John Maillart, who was so much in the Parisians' favor, and some of the elders attached to him, sent Symon Maillart and two masters of Parliament, at St. John Alphonso, and master John Pastorel, to the duke of Normandy, who resided at Charenton. They related to the duke the event that had happened in Paris, and besought him to return thither to direct and counsel the city henceforward, as all his adversaries were slain. The duke replied, that he would willingly comply with their request. He accordingly came to Paris, attended by sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord of Roye, with many other knights, and took up his lodgings in the Louvre.*

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* All this chapter I have translated from my own printed copy, which is conformable to Denys Sauvage's edition, and to lord Berners's translation, but, on comparing it with two of my manuscripts, there is a very great difference: they are perfectly similar in the text to the three manuscripts mentioned by M. Dacier in his memoir, "To whom ought to be attributed the glory of the revolution which saved Paris during the captivity of king John?"—*Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions & ...* vol. xlvii p. 563.

M. Dacier proves very clearly, that John Maillart, so far from being the hero who saved his country, was a rebel, and connected with the provost: that the regent, *on that account*, confiscated the property which John Maillart had in the county of Dampmartin, and gave to John de Chastilson, earl of Porcien, and his heirs for ever, on account of the services he had rendered, and was still rendering to the king, a rent charge of five hundred livres of this confiscated property to Dampmartin and elsewhere. Extracted from the Trésor des Chartes—Registro 86, piece 142.

M. Dacier continues: "If this piece should leave any doubts upon the want of exactness in the narration of Froissart, I hope to be able to show, that the commonly received narration is not the true text. I believe I have found this text in three manuscripts in the king's library, two of which are perhaps the most ancient and authentic that exist in any library. One, numbered 8318, has a date, which marks its age; upon one of the leaves of the vellum, at the beginning, is written:

"'This is a part of the chronicles done by master John Froissart, a Hainaulter, from the time of king Charles IV., of the wars between France and England, which chronicles master William Boisratier, master of requests of the king's palace, one of his counsellors, and counsellor also to the duke of Berry his lord, gave to the aforesaid duke his lord, in his hotel de Neelle, the 8th day of November in the year 1407.'—Signed FLAMEL.

"The manuscript cannot be later than this date, and one may see by the signature of W Boisratier, which is on a leaf of parchment pasted on the inside of the cover, that he had been owner of it some time before he presented it to the duke of Berry; so that it may, without difficulty, be estimated as having been written the latter end of the 14th century. The second manuscript is so perfectly conformable to the first in the quality of the vellum, the color of the ink, and the form of the letters, that it clearly belongs to the same period."

M. Dacier does not believe these manuscripts copied from the same original, nor from each other. He then goes on to the

"Third manuscript, numbered 6760, which is less ancient. It appears to have been written toward the middle of the 15th century. In comparing it with the two preceding, I have found some differences that prove it is not a copy from them. This forms a third testimony in favor of the text of Froissart. As this text has never been published, I shall transcribe the whole chapter, except the first twenty lines, in which the historian lays down the plan of the conspiracy of Marcel similar to what is in the printed editions.

"That very night which was to disclose all this mischief, (that is to say, the destruction of Paris,) God inspired and alarmed some of the citizens of Paris, who were and ever had been attached to the duke of Normandy, of whom sir Pepin des Essarts and sir John de Charny were the leaders; and these were, as we may suppose, informed by divine inspiration that Paris was to be overrun and destroyed. They soon armed themselves, made all those of their party do the same, and secretly spread abroad their intelligence in different quarters, that they might have more assistance. This sir Pepin then set out, with many other determined companions, well armed. Sir Pepin displayed the banner of France, crying out *Au Roi*, and *Au Duc*, followed by crowds of people, until they came to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provost of the merchants, holding the keys in his hands.

"John Maillart was likewise there, who, having had that day a dispute with the provost and with Josseran de Mascon, had joined the party of the duke of Normandy. The provost was severely taunted by words and arguments; and there was such a noise made by the crowd, that scarcely anything could be heard: they kept crying out, 'Kill them, kill them! kill the provost of the merchants and his allies, for they are all traitors.' There was a great tumult; and the provost, who was standing on the steps of the fort of St. Anthony, would willingly have escaped, but he was so beset that he could not. Sir John de Charny struck him to the ground by a blow of his battle-axe on the head. He was then attacked by master Peter Fouace and others, who never quitted him until he was dead, as well as six of his party: among whom were Philip Guiffart, John de Lille, John Poiret, Simon le Paonnier, and Giles Marcel. Many more were taken and sent to prison. They then made search in all the streets of Paris, put the town in a state of security, and kept a strong guard all that night.

"You must know, that as soon as the provost of the merchants and the others, had been slain and made prisoners, which happened on Tuesday, the last day of July, 1358, in the afternoon, messengers were sent in haste to carry this news to the duke of Normandy, at that time at Meaux, which gave him, and not without reason, great pleasure. He made preparations for his journey to Paris; but, before his arrival, Josseran de Mascon, who was the treasurer to the king of Navarre, and Charles Toussac, sheriff of Paris, who had been made prisoners, were executed in the square of the Grève, by having their heads cut off, because they had been traitors, and were of the provost's party. The body of the provost and of those that had been slain with him, were dragged into the court of the church of St. Catherine du Val des Ecoliers, and, naked as they were, extended before the cross in that court, and left there a considerable time for the view of all those that chose it: they were afterwards thrown into the river Seine.

"The duke of Normandy, who had sent a sufficiency of men-at-arms to Paris, to defend and reinforce it against the English and Navarrois, who were in the neighborhood continually harassing it, set out from Meaux, where he then resided, and came with speed to Paris, attended by a noble and numerous escort of men-at-arms. He was received by the good town of Paris, and by all persons with great joy, when he dismounted at the Louvre. John Maillart was at that time near his person, and much in his grace and favor; and, to say the truth, he was then very deserving of it, as you have heard related above, notwithstanding he had been formerly, as it was said, one of the allies of the provost of the merchants. Shortly afterwards, the duke sent for the duchess of Normandy his wife, and all the ladies who had for some time taken refuge at Meaux in Brie. When they came to Paris, the duchess alighted at the hotel of the duke, which had been the hotel de St. Pol, whither he had retired, and where he had remained for a considerable time."

M. Dacier then adds:

"This is the new reading I announced, and which appears to me the preferable to the common one, because it unites the double advantage of coming from the most authentic manuscripts we know, and of agreeing much better than the printed copies, as well with the contemporary historians, as with the other monuments of the times, to which it may serve both as a commentary and supplement." I shall refer the reader, for further proofs that John Maillart was not the hero who saved Paris, to the memoir of M. Dacier, in the third vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, &c.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE, THE FRENCH KING BEING AT THE TIME A PRISONER IN ENGLAND.

When the king of Navarre was informed of the death of his great friend the provost of the merchants, and of those who were attached to him, he was sorely vexed; for the provost had always been very favorable to his designs. And because he had the reputation of being the chief cause of the provost's treasons, the lord Philip de Navarre, who at that time was at St. Denis with him, advised him, as he could not see any means of getting clear of this suspicion, to declare war against the kingdom of France. He sent his challenge to the duke of Normandy, to the Parisians, and to the whole realm of France. He quitted St. Denis, and his people overran the whole country, plundering it as far as Melun-sur-Seine,* where the queen Blanche his sister, the widow of king Philip, resided. That lady received him cheerfully, and gave up to him everything she possessed.

The king of Navarre made this town and castle his principal garrison. He collected men-at-arms from all parts, and soldiers from Brabant, Germany, Hainault, and Bohemia. People everywhere came willingly to serve under him; for he paid them largely out of the treasures he had amassed, through the means of the provost of merchants, from the city of Paris, as well as from the neighboring towns. The lord Philip de Navarre withdrew his forces to Mantes,† and Meulan,‡ upon the river Seine, where he posted garrisons. Every day their forces were increased by those who were desirous of getting money. In this manner did the king of Navarre begin his war upon the kingdom of France, which was especially directed against the city of Paris, for he was master of the three rivers, the Seine, Marne, and Oise.

The Navarrois multiplied so fast, that they took the strong town of Creil:§ they were besides the masters of the river Oise, and the strong castle of Herielle‖ three leagues distant from Amiens, and afterwards of Mauconseil.¶ The capture of these three fortresses was the cause of innumerable ills to the realm of France. There were at least fifteen hundred combatants who were overrunning the country, without any attempt made to oppose them. They soon spread further, and took, shortly afterwards, the castle of St. Valery,** of which they made a very strong garrison. Sir William de Bonnemare and John de Segurest†† were governors of it. They had under them full five hundred fighting men, with whom they scoured the country as far as Dieppe and Abbeville, along the sea-coast, to the gates of Crotoy, Roye, and Montreuil-sur-mer. These Navarrois, whenever they had determined to take a castle, whatever its strength might be, never failed of succeeding. They frequently made excursions of thirty leagues in a night, and fell upon a country that never suspected they could come to them. Thus did they ruin and destroy the fortresses and castles in the kingdom of France. They took pleasure to summon knights, ladies, and damsels, before they were out of bed, for their ransoms. Sometimes they seized all they had, and then turned them out of doors.

The lord Fondrigais of Navarre was chief governor of Creil-upon-Oise. He gave passports to those who wished to go from Paris to Noyon, or from Noyon to Compiegne, or from Compeigne to Soissons, or Laon, as well as to other parts in the neighborhood. These passports were worth to him, while he remained at Creil, one hundred thousand livres. Sir John de Piquigny, who, though of Picardy, was strongly attached to the cause of Navarre, resided in the castle of Herielle. His troops grievously oppressed the inhabitants of Montdidier, Arras, Peronne, Amiens, and all that part of Picardy on the river Somme. In the castle of Mauconseil were three hundred men, under the command of Rabigeois de Dury,‡‡ Charles Frangnelin, and Hannequin François; they plundered the country all round Noyon, and all the large towns and monasteries which were not fortified, if their inhabitants did not ransom themselves from these captains, by paying them a certain number of florins weekly. On any other conditions they would have been burnt and destroyed, for these ruffians were very cruel to their enemies. From such causes as these, the lands were uncultivated; for no one dared to till them; so that very great scarcity soon added to the disasters under which the kingdom already labored.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

THE NAVARROIS ARE BESIEGED IN THE CASTLE OF MAUCONSEIL, BY THE MEN OF PICARDY.

When the duke of Normandy, who resided at Paris, heard that these men-at-arms were destroying the country, under the name of the king of Navarre, and that their numbers were daily increasing, he sent to all the principal towns in Picardy and Vermandois, to require that each should, according to his proportion, send a certain number of men-at-arms, on foot and on horseback, to oppose the Navarrois, who were ruining the kingdom of which he had the government. The cities and chief towns willingly complied with his request; they taxed themselves, according to their fortunes, with men-at-arms, both horse and foot, archers, and cross-bowmen. These advanced first toward the good city of Noyon, making straight for the garrison of Mauconseil, because they thought this the weakest of the fortresses of the Navarrois, and that which had most harassed the inhabitants of Noyon and the country of Vermandois.

The bishop of Noyon, the lord Raoul de Coucy, the lord de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Roye, and sir Matthew de Roye, his brother, were the captains and leaders of these men-at-arms, and the other troops. These lords had with them many other knights and squires from Picardy and Vermandois, who, laying siege to Mauconseil, made many assaults on it, and hardly pressed the garrison; who, when they could not hold out much longer, sent to inform sir John de Piquigny of their distressed situation. He then resided in the castle of la Herielle. All these garrisons and places were under his command. He made haste, therefore, to succor his good friends in Mauconseil, and sent orders privately to the garrison of Creil, to arm themselves directly, and to march to a certain spot which he pointed out to them; for he meant to make an excursion through the country with all the men-at-arms under his command. When they were all assembled, they amounted to one thousand lances at least. They rode on, under the direction of guides, all that night, without halting, and came before the castle of Mauconseil at daybreak. There was so thick a fog that morning, that they could not see the length of an acre of ground. Immediately on their arrival, they fell suddenly on the French army, who, not expecting them, nor having a sufficient guard, were sleeping as if in perfect safety. The Navarrois set up their cry, and began to kill and cut down both men, tents, and pavilions. The skirmish was very sharp, insomuch that the French had not time to arm themselves or collect together, but ran off, as fast as they could, to Noyon, which was hard by, and the Navarrois after them. Many were slain and unhorsed between Noyon and Orcamp,* and between Noyon and Pont l'Evêque,† and in that neighborhood. The dead and wounded lay in heaps on the ground, on the highways, and between the hedges.

The pursuit lasted as far as the gates of Noyon, which put that town in great danger of being ruined; for some of both parties who were there, have declared, that if the Navarrois had chosen, they might for a certainty have entered the town, as those who belonged to it were so much frightened, when they returned, that they forgot, or had not time to shut the gate leading to Compiegne. The bishop of Noyon was taken prisoner, near the barriers, and gave his word to surrender himself, or he would have been killed. On the morrow the lord Raoul de Coucy was taken, as were the lord Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny, and his two sons, le borgne‡ de Rouvroy, the lord de Turte, the lord de Vendueil, the lord Anthony de Coudun, and full one hundred knights and squires.

There were upward of fifteen hundred men slain; the greatest loss fell upon those who came from the city of Tournay; they suffered much, as many had come from that part. Some said, that of the seven hundred which they at first were, scarcely any returned back, but all were either killed or taken prisoners. The garrison of Mauconseil made a sally, to complete this defeat, which happened in the year 1358, on the Tuesdsy following the feast of our Lady, the middle of August. The Navarrois conducted the greater part of their prisoners to Creil, because it was a good and strong town. They acquired by this expedition much wealth, as well in jewels as by the ransoms of their prisoners. From this time they became rich, and ransomed the citizens of Tournay and those of the other towns whom they had captured cheerfully, for such sort of ware as swords, axes, spearheads, jackets, doublets, housings, and for all the different sorts of tools they were in want of. The knights and squires took their payments in ready money, in coursers or other horses; and one poor gentleman that had not wherewithal to pay, they made serve for a quarter of a year: two or three were treated in this manner.§ With regard to wines and provision, they had plenty: for all the flat countries supplied them handsomely by way of ransom. The towns got nothing, but in an underhand manner, or by means of their passports, which they sold at a high price. By this method they could obtain all they wanted, except hats of beaver, ostrich feathers, and spearheads; which things they never would insert in their passports. The garrison of Mauconseil destroyed the greater part of the fine abbey of Orchamps, at which the governor was much enraged when informed of it.

These Navarrois spread themselves over many places, along the banks of the Somme and the Oise; and two of their men-at-arms, called Rabigeois de Dury and Robin l'Escot‖ took by escalade, the

* Melun—an ancient town situated on the river Seine, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

† Mantes—in the Isle of France, capital of the Mantois, fourteen leagues from Paris.

‡ Meulan—or Meullent—in the Isle of France, four leagues from Mantes, ten from Paris.

§ Creil—situated in the Isle of France, on the Oise, twenty leagues and a half from Amiens, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

‖ La Herielle—a village in Picardy, in the county of Montdidier, near Breteuil.

¶ Q. Is it Maucourt, which is a village in Picardy near Noyon.

** A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, four leagues and a half from Abbeville.

†† Sir John Segure, an Englishman.—PARIS.

‡‡ Rabigeois de Dury and Robin Mauconseil were three captains most active under these captains, Rabigeois de Dury, an Irishman, Pierre Frangnelin, Hannekin (two squires of England, sir Robert Knolles his companion).—Froissart.

* † "Villages near Noyon.

‡ Q. Borgne—whether one eyed, or some other personal or suburb?

§ "And of a poor gentleman that had nothing to pay, they took their service for a quarter of a year, or as it is here called, three months, 'they could agree'."—*Lord Berners*—who in this agrees with Q. Sauvage.—Ed.

‖ Q. The first, see note ‡ page 61 of the second Robert Scott.

good town of Berly,* in which they placed a garrison, and strongly fortified it. These two companions had in pay, under their command, about four hundred men, to whom they gave fixed wages, and paid them every month. The garrisons of Beaulieu, Creil, Mauconseil, and la Herielle, scoured all parts of the country, as no one opposed them; the knights having sufficient employment in guarding their houses and castles. These English and Navarrois went armed or unarmed, and rode over the country at their pleasure, to amuse themselves, from one garrison to another, as if all had been at peace. The young lord de Coucy had his towns and castles extremely well guarded; he was also lord paramount of that part of the country. The canon de Robesart watched the Navarrois better than any other, and harassed them much; for frequently he had overthrown many of them.

CHAPTER CXC.

SEVERAL OF THE CITIZENS OF AMIENS ATTEMPT TO GIVE UP THAT CITY TO THE NAVARROIS. A FAMINE IN FRANCE.

The lord John de Piquigny, who was much attached to the king of Navarre, was the chief of his council, and through whose assistance he had escaped from prison, resided at la Herielle, three leagues from Amiens. He had tampered so successfully, by fine speeches and otherwise, with several of the principal citizens of Amiens, that they had consented to admit the Navarrois into the city. These treacherous citizens had even hid in their chambers and garrets some of the Navarrois that were to assist in destroying their town. Lord John de Piquigny, lord William de Graville, lord Fricquet de Friquant, lord Lin de Belaysy, and the lord Fondrigay, came one night, with upward of seven hundred men, to the gates of the city, which lead to la Herielle, on assurance of their friends within the town, that they should be open; and they kept their promise. Upon this, those who had been hid in cellars and garrets sallied forth, shouting, "Navarre!" while the inhabitants, being awakened, cried out, "Treason, treason!" and collecting themselves together, hastened toward the gate where the greatest tumult was, between the suburbs and the city. The first comers defended the gate well, and with good courage; numbers were slain on both sides. If the Navarrois had hastened to enter the city instantly on their arrival, they would have won it; but they loitered in the suburbs, and performed the enterprise in a cowardly manner enough.

This same night, God inspired the lord Morel de Fiennes, constable of France, and the earl de St. Pol, who were at Corbie in great force, with the design to go to Amiens. They rode there so fast, and came so opportunely, that the Navarrois had but just gained the suburbs: they were exerting all their efforts to win the city, and must have succeeded, if these gentlemen had not arrived. As soon as they had entered the city of Amiens by another gate, they advanced to the place where the battle raged, and having displayed their banners, drew up their men in the street, without passing through the gate to the suburbs; for they gave them up as lost, which in truth they were. They, by this timely succor, inspired courage into the men of Amiens, who lighted the streets with a number of torches, and with pitched ropes in iron lanterns. The lord John de Piquigny, and the Navarrois, on hearing that these lords and their squadrons were arrived, and drawn up in the city, thought that, if they remained, they ran a risk of losing more than they could gain: lord John, therefore, collected his people together, and sounded a retreat, which he made as handsomely as he could, but not before he had destroyed and burnt the suburbs. There were at least three hundred† houses, and a number of handsome hôtels, with parish churches, burnt; for nothing was spared. Thus did the Navarrois carry off with them great wealth, which they had found in the large suburbs of Amiens, and returned with many prisoners to their different garrisons.

The constable and the earl of St. Pol, upon the retreat of the Navarrois, separated their troops, and sent them to all the different gates of the city, with orders, under pain of death, to suffer no one to quit the town. On the morrow morning, these two lords, and some of the citizens of Amiens, who were acquainted with the manner in which the town had of late been governed, and who suspected some of the citizens of both sexes of this treason, went to the houses of those they were in search of, and arrested seven, who were soon after beheaded in the public market-place. The abbot of Gars was among the number, who had been an accomplice to this treason, and even lodged some of the Navarrois in his house. Shortly after, six of the principal inhabitants of Laon were arrested and executed, for a similar crime: and it would have gone hard with the bishop of that place if he had been caught, for he was accused of being concerned, which afterwards he could not deny: but he quitted the town secretly, as he had good friends, who gave him notice of what was likely to happen, and went immediately to the king of Navarre, at Melun-sur-Seine, who most courteously received him. Such adventures as these happened often in France: on which account, the barons and knights, as well as the cities and principal towns, were always upon their guard. To speak truly, the king of Navarre had many friends interested in every part of France; and, if they had not been discovered, much worse things would have been done, though in truth they did enough.

During this time, the duke of Normandy and his brothers resided at Paris. No merchants nor others dared to venture out of the town, to look after their concerns, or to take any journey: for they were attacked and killed, whatever roads they took. The kingdom was so full of the Navarrois, they were masters of all the flat countries, the rivers, and the principal towns and cities. This caused such a scarcity of provisions in France, that a small cask of herrings was sold for thirty golden crowns, and everything else in proportion. Many of the poor died with hunger. This famine lasted more than four years. The great towns, in particular, were much distressed for salt, which could only be had through the ministers of the duke of Normandy, who sold it at a very dear rate, in order to collect more money to pay the soldiers.

CHAPTER CXCI.

THE MEN OF PICARDY BESIEGE THE NAVARROIS IN ST. VALERY. THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE IS FILLED WITH NAVARROIS.

The constable of France and the young earl of St. Pol acquired great popularity in Picardy, for the succors which they had brought to Amiens. The knights and squires of that province united themselves to them; and they thought they were now in sufficient force to lay siege to St. Valery. The constable sent to all the principal towns, to inform them of it: upon which those of Tournay, Lisle, Douay, Arras, Bethune, St. Omer, St. Quentin, Peronne, Amiens, Corbie, and Abbeville, met together: they engaged to find a certain number of men, whom they sent to the constable and the earl of St. Pol. Even the knights and squires of Hainault put themselves in motion, and came thither, on account of the estates they had in France. The lord d'Andreghen sent thither the young seneschal of Hainault, the lord John de Verthin, magnificently equipped, the lord Hugh d'Antoing his cousin, with many others; when they marched to lay siege to St. Valery. There were full two thousand knights and squires; and the chief towns had sent twelve thousand common soldiers at their expense: Abbeville, in particular, was too heavily taxed, for thence they took all their purveyances.

The siege of St. Valery lasted some time. There were many sharp assaults and skirmishes. Almost every day there was something of the sort going forward; for the young knights and squires were eager to make trial of their arms, and they readily found those who would gratify them. The lord William de Bonnemare, sir John Segar, and several other knights, who were in the garrison, advanced from the barriers of the castle, to tilt and skirmish with those of the army; so that there were generally some killed or wounded on both sides daily. There might have been in St. Valery three hundred companions, without counting those of the town, whom they forced to fight and assist them, otherwise it would have ended badly. The chiefs of the besiegers ordered engines of war to be brought from Amiens and Abbeville, and to be pointed against St. Valery, which cast large stones, and much harassed the inhabitants, who had cannon and springalls,* with which they annoyed the army. While this siege was carrying on, and the king of Navarre making war in all parts of France, the captal of Buch, cousin to the king of Navarre, arrived at Cherbourg, according to his entreaties, being retained by him, with two hundred lances in his pay.

The captal, on his arrival in Normandy, took the field, and, passing through the lands of the king of Navarre, came to Mantes, where he found the lord Philip de Navarre, with whom he tarried some days. He then set out secretly with all his companions, and made such expedition in one night, through the good country of Vexin and Beauvoisis,† that he arrived at Clermont‡ in Beauvoisis, which is a large town, though not inclosed, with a handsome castle, having one large tower walled all round. Immediately after having summoned it, he took it by escalade, though the tower had hitherto been deemed impregnable. Nevertheless he succeeded by means of rope-ladders, and by using arrow-heads to attach them to the walls. The first person who entered was sir Bernard de la Salle, climbing like a cat. He, in his time, had taken many other places by similar means. The captal de Buch exerted himself so much that he conquered Clermont, which he and his companions kept possession of for a long time. He from that post harassed the countries of Vexin and Beauvoisis, with the assistance of the Navarrois, who were in garrison in the neighboring fortresses, such as Creil, la Herielle, and Mauconseil. All the flat countries were at their disposal, as there were none to oppose them.

In such manner was the whole kingdom of France kept in a state of warfare, under the name of the king of Navarre. Many strong castles were taken in Brie, Champagne, and Valois, in the bishoprics of Noyon, Soissons, Senlis, and Laon, of which divers knights and

* Q. If not Beaulieu, which was in Picardy in the diocese and election of Noyon.
† Lord Berners and D. Sauvage [illegible] those *thousand*.—Ed.

* Espringalles, or espringolds, or springolds, were machines whence came shot, stones, or bolts.—SKINNER'S *Dictionary*.

"And eke within the castel were
Springoldis, gonnes, bowes, and archers."
CHAUCER'S *Roman de la Rose*, verses 490, 491.

† A small province in the Isle of France. Beauvais is the capital.
‡ Fifteen leagues from Paris.

squires from foreign parts were made governors. In that part of the country, near Pont-sur-Seine,* toward Provins,† Troyes,‡ Auxerre,§ and Tonnerre,‖ they were so overrun with soldiers that no one dared to venture out of the strong cities and well-fortified towns. Sir Peter Audley resided in the castle of Beaufort, between Chalons and Troyes, which was part of the duke of Lancaster's inheritance. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, a Hainaulter, resided sometimes at Pont-sur-Seine, sometimes at the castle of Nogent, with about five hundred combatants, who pillaged all the country round about. In another part of Champagne, lived a squire from Germany called Albret. These three captains kept possession of Champagne and the country on the Marne, and upward of sixty castles and fortified houses. At any time they pleased, they could bring into the field more than two thousand combatants.

That whole district was under their subjection: they ransomed or robbed every one. They had pillaged and burnt the good towns of Ay, Epernay,¶ and Vertus,** and all the chief towns on the Marne, as far as the Château-Thierry††, with those that were in the neighborhood of Rheims.‡‡ They had also taken the good town and castle of Ronay,§§ and the strong castle of Hans‖‖ in Champagne, ascending the river as far as St. Antoine in Pertois.¶¶ Further advanced on the borders of Burgundy and Pertois, Thibat de Chaufour and John de Chaufour had taken up their quarters in the name of the king of Navarre. They had got possession of a strong castle called Mont Sangon,*** in the diocese of Langres; in which they had a garrison of four hundred men, who scoured the country as far as the bishopric of Verdun and the country of Soissons.

Between Laon and Rheims were other pillagers, whose principal garrison was at Vely, in which were six hundred men. Rabigeois de Dury, an Englishman, was the governor of it. He retained all sorts of persons, who wished to serve under him; and, as he paid well and punctually, he was duly obeyed. He had with him Robert Scott, as companion in his gains and losses, who, during the Christmas holidays, won and plundered the strong castle and town of Roucy,††† in which he established a garrison that was a great grievance to the neighborhood. He ransomed the earl, his lady, and daughter, for the sum of twelve thousand gold florins *au mouton*, and kept possession of the town and castle all that winter and ensuing summer of 1359. As soon as the earl of Roucy had paid his ransom, he went to reside in Laon, and in divers other places. During this period, there was not any tilling of the ground, so that it caused a great scarcity in a short time.

CHAPTER CXCII.

THE CANON DE ROBESART DEFEATS THE NAVARROIS IN THE LAONNOIS, NEAR TO CREIL.

About this time, as I have been informed, the canon de Robesart performed a very gallant action. It fell out, that as the lord of Pinon, a knight-banneret of Vermandois, was riding from one strong place to another, accompanied by about sixty men-at-arms, the garrisons of Vely‡‡‡ and Roucy, to the number of three hundred, but without their captains, were also abroad to see what they could capture. As they advanced toward Creil, they perceived the lord of Pinon marching in good order, in the plain near that town, with his pennon displayed. They immediately saw they were French: the lord of Pinon also knew they were his enemies, and that he had no way to escape from them. However, he and his little troop turning to the right and skirting Creil, for the Navarrois had cut off his retreat the way he had come, stuck spurs into their horses to save themselves, if possible, by flight; but the Navarrois pursued them, crying out, "St. George, Navarre!" and, being better mounted, would have come up with them in less than half a league.

It chanced that the lord de Pinon, in his flight, met with a large and deep ditch, inclosed on one side by strong hedges, and having only one entrance, which was so narrow horses could not pass through. As soon as he was come near, he noticed the advantage that might be made of it, and said, "Dismount, dismount: it is much better to wait here the chance of war, and defend ourselves, than to be slain or made prisoners in our flight." Upon which, all his people dismounted; as did the Navarrois on their arrival. In the troop of the lord de Pinon, there was a knight,§§§ who, calling his page, said, "Mount my courser, and spare him not, but gallop to the garrison of Pierrepont,* and entreat the canon de Robesart to come to our assistance." The page answered, "Suppose I should meet with him, how will it be possible for him to arrive in time, for it is five leagues distant from hence?" The knight said, "Do thy duty." The page immediately set off, and left his master fiercely attacked by these plunderers of Vely and Roucy. The lord de Pinon and his company defended themselves with great valor. He kept possession of the advantageous position in the ditch, without any loss, from ten o'clock in the morning until the afternoon.

I will now return to the page, who never broke gallop until he came to Pierrepont in the Laonnois. He delivered his message to the canon de Robesart, who replied that he would do his duty, and hasten to the place where the lord de Pinon was engaged, as he was perfectly acquainted with the spot. He ordered his trumpet to sound, and his companions, who might be about six score, to mount their horses. At the same time, he sent off one of his servants to Laon, which was not far distant, to inform a captain who was stationed there what was going forward. He would not wait for the arrival of this reinforcement, but set off directly, full gallop, which he continued until he came to the lord de Pinon and his company, whom he found so hard pressed by the Navarrois, that they could not have held out much longer. The canon immediately placed his lance in its rest, and rushed upon the Navarrois with such force, that he struck down three the first onset. His people being fresh and in spirits, drove down the Navarrois, who were quite fatigued with having combated the whole day. The canon de Robesart gave such deadly blows with his battle-axe, that none could stand before him. These plunderers were totally routed: more than one hundred and fifty were left dead on the field of battle; and if any attempted to save themselves they were met by the detachment from Laon, who made such a slaughter, that, of the three hundred they amounted to at first, fifteen only escaped; the rest were either slain or made prisoners.

CHAPTER CXCIII.

THE NAVARROIS SURRENDER ST. VALERY TO THE FRENCH, WHO HAD BESIEGED IT A LONG TIME.

I have before related, that the lords of Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu and the Boulonnois, were a considerable time before St. Valery; that they had made many grand attacks upon it by machines and other instruments. Among other events, it chanced that the lord de Bacien from Picardy, having got into a boat to reconnoitre more particularly the castle, was struck with a bolt from an espringal, of which he died. The garrison had such quantities of artillery, that every attack upon them was attended with great danger. This siege, therefore, lasted from the beginning of August until the following Lent. The lords then declared they would starve them to a surrender, since they could not take it by assault. They therefore remained a long time inactive, but took great care to guard all the passes, so that nothing could enter the town by sea or land.

Their provisions soon began to lessen, for they could not venture abroad to forage: on the other hand, they saw no appearance of any succors coming to them. They therefore determined in council to treat with the constable of France, the earl of St. Pol and the other barons of the army, to surrender the fortress upon condition that their lives and fortunes should be spared, and that they might be allowed to go wherever they pleased. This was granted them; but they were to leave the place unarmed. Some difficulties also attended the compliance with their proposals, for the earl of St. Pol insisted on their surrendering unconditionally. At this time, the lord Philip de Navarre was advanced toward St. Valery, to raise the siege, which he would have done, if the garrison had not been in such haste to surrender. He and his army were very angry at the event; but they could not now by any means prevent it.

CHAPTER CXCIV.

THE LORD PHILIP DE NAVARRE ASSEMBLES THREE THOUSAND MEN TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ST. VALERY.

The lords of France were still drawn up in the plain; and, though no one had left the army, yet they were about departing; their tents, pavilions and baggage were packing up; when news was brought them that the Navarrois were upon their march, and not more than three leagues off. It was the lord Philip of Navarre who governed all the territories of the king his brother; that is to say, the county of Evreux; and all the different parties that were making war on France obeyed his orders. He had been informed by sir John de Piquigny, that the garrison of St. Valery was on the point of surrendering. The lord Philip was encouraged to attempt raising the siege: and for this purpose he had assembled secretly, at Mantes and Meulan, three thousand men, one with the other. The young earl of Harcourt, the lord de Granville, sir Robert Knolles, and sir John de Piquigny, were there, with many other knights and squires, who had followed him to within three leagues of St. Valery when it was surrendered. He was assured of the truth of it, by the arrival

* A town in Champagne, diocese of Sens, twenty-eight leagues from Paris.
† An ancient city of Brie, diocese of Sens, twenty-two leagues from Paris.
‡ A large city of Champagne, thirty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.
§ An ancient city of Burgundy, capital of the Auxerrois, forty-one leagues and a half from Paris.
‖ A town in Champagne, diocese of Langres, forty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.
¶ An ancient city of Champagne, diocese of Rheims, thirty-three leagues from Paris.
** A town in Champagne, near Epernay.
†† A city in Brie, diocese of Soissons, twenty-one leagues and a half from Paris.
‡‡ An ancient city and archbishopric in Champagne, thirty-eight leagues from Paris.
§§ A village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.
‖‖ A village in Champagne, election of St. Menehould.
¶¶ Pertois, a fertile country in Champagne.
*** Qy. if not Mansanjon? which is in the diocese of Langres.
††† A town in Picardy, diocese and election of Laon.
‡‡‡ Vely, a chattellany in Picardy, diocese of Soissons.
§§§ A squire according to D'Estavayer and Lord Berners.—Ed.

* A village in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

of the lord de Bonneuil and sir John Segan, who had been on his march.

When the French, who had taken possession of St. Valery, heard of the approach of the Navarrois, the constable, the earl of St. Pol, the lord de Chatillon, the lord de Picquigny, the lord de Beaussault, the lord de Helly, the lord de Crestkes, lord Odoart de Renty, lord Baudoyn d'Ennekin, and some other barons and knights who were present, retired into the castle, to a council; when it was resolved they should advance to combat their enemies. The constable issued his orders for every one to fall into his rank, and prepare for combat; upon which they all marched forward in good order, as if they were immediately to fight with the lord Philip. The Navarrois, learning that the French were marching toward them in battle-array, to the amount of thirty thousand men, did not think it advisable to wait for them, but crossed the river Somme as speedily as possible, and took post in the castle of Long* in Ponthieu, with their horses, baggage, and whatever else they had, which straightened them much for room. They had scarcely entered it, when the French, who were in pursuit of them, came before it, about the hour of vespers. Their numbers were continually increasing; for the common soldiers from the cities and chief towns could not march so fast as the men-at-arms. The lords held a council, and determined to take up their quarters that night before the castle, to wait for more troops, which were dropping in one after another, and on the morrow to make a general assault upon it. This was done. But the Navarrois within the castle, being short of provisions, as soon as it was midnight sallied out at a back way, without any noise, and took the road for the Vermandois.

They were more than two leagues off before the French knew of their departure: they immediately armed themselves, and set out after them, following the tracks of their horses. Thus did both parties push forward, the Navarrois first, and the French behind them, until the Navarrois came to the little village of Thorigny, which is situated on an eminence whence there is a good view of all the country round about. It is in the Vermandois, between the St. Quentin and Peronne. There the Navarrois halted, to refresh themselves and horses, and to fight their enemies, if they were forced to it. They had formed themselves in a circle on the summit of the eminence, so that they might profit from the situation of the place. They had not remained long before they saw the whole country below them covered over, and full of Frenchmen, who seemed to amount to upward of thirty thousand. When the Navarrois perceived they had the appearance of coming to attack them, they issued out of the town, and drew up their army in three battalions: the first of them was given to sir Robert Knolles, the second to sir Lewis de Navarre, and the third to the earl of Harcourt. Neither of these battalions consisted of more than seven hundred fighting men. They cut their lances to five feet in length, and ordered their servants to carry their spurs to the slope of the hill, where they were to fix them with the rowels uppermost; so that their enemies might not ascend the hill at their ease. The lord Philip de Navarre knighted the young earl of Harcourt, who displayed his banner, as did also the young lord de Granville.

The French halted in sight of the Navarrois, and dismounted, for many were desirous to give them immediate combat, while others were against it, saying, "Our people are fatigued; besides, we have such numbers in the rear, that it is proper we wait for them, and take up our quarters where we are for the remainder of the day. It will be night soon, and we can fight them to-morrow in better order."

In this situation, the French encamped themselves, placing all their baggage-wagons round them, of which they had great numbers. When the Navarrois found that there was no intention of attacking them, they retired toward evening into their village of Thorigny, making great fires and smoke, to let them understand they meant to remain there that night: but as soon as it was dark, they got their horses ready, having previously made every other preparation, and set off in silence. The night was dark and foggy; and they marched down to the river Somme, which they crossed at a ford, near a small village not far distant from Bethencourt;† thence they took the road to the wood of Bohain,‡ which they skirted: they marched that night upward of seven leagues, which caused many of the worst mounted to remain behind, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of Bohain. The peasants also of the country slew many who were unable to keep up with their masters, and all who had lost their road.

The French were informed of the departure of the Navarrois a little before daybreak; when they resolved to cross the Somme by the bridge at St. Quentin,§ and to push forward toward Liannes,‖ and by this means to come up with them. Every one, therefore, mounted his horse as quickly as possible, and galloped on for the fastest, taking the road for St. Quentin, where they arrived as day appeared, for it was but two short leagues distant. The constable and the earl of St. Pol were among the first. When the guards of the town who were stationed over the first gate heard the bustle of their arrival, they began to be alarmed, as they knew the enemy was in their neighborhood; but recollecting that the drawbridge was up, they were somewhat reassured, as that would prevent them from doing any mischief. They asked, who they were that were come there at such an unusual hour: the constable answered, "We are such and such persons, and wish to pass through this town in pursuit of the Navarrois, who have stolen away from Thorigny, and are flying from us: we command you therefore, in the king's name, instantly to open the gates." The guard replied, that the keys were with the magistrates in the town. Two of the guard went to those that had the keeping of the keys, who told them they would not consent to open the gates till they had consulted the inhabitants. By this means, so much time was lost that it was after sunrise, before they had considered what answer to give: they then ascended over the gateway, and, putting their heads out of the windows, thus addressed the constable and the earl of St. Pol, who were waiting: "Dear lords, have the goodness to take compassion and excuse us this time; but it is the determination of the commonalty of the town, that only five or six of you may enter, out of the respect we bear you: the others must go any other way they choose." The lords were so much enraged at this, that many high words and abusive language ensued; nevertheless, those of St. Quentin would not open their gates. These lords, therefore, gave up all thoughts of following further the Navarrois, as it would have been in vain. By the advice of the constable, the French separated themselves, and the earl of St. Pol went to his castle of Bohain, in such a rage that no one dared to speak to him.

* Long et le Castelet—a village of Picardy, near Abbeville.
† A village in Picardy, diocese of Peronne.
‡ Bohain—a small town in Picardy, election of Guise, near St. Quentin.
§ A strong city in Picardy, diocese of Noyon, generality of Amiens.
‖ Liannes, a village in Picardy, generality of Amiens.

CHAPTER CXCV.

SIR PETER AUDLEY LEADS A PARTY OF NAVARROIS, IN THE NIGHT, TO TAKE CHALONS.

Thus did this grand expedition end; the French separating, went one way, and the Navarrois another: the last came that day to Vely, where they crossed the river Oise at a ford: when, finding they were out of all danger, they halted and refreshed themselves. As soon as they thought proper, they returned into Normandy, and journeyed from fortress to fortress in perfect security, as they were masters of all the rivers and flat country. Having again entered the district of Coutantin, they carried on their excursions, as before, through Normandy. During this time, the king of Navarre remained at Melun-sur-Seine, with a large body of men-at-arms.

It happened that while sir Peter Audley was governor of Beaufort, which is situated between Troyes and Châlons, he imagined, that if he could cross the Marne above the town of Châlons, and advance by the side of the monastery of St. Peter, he might easily take the town. To carry this scheme into effect, he waited until the river Marne was low, when he secretly assembled his companions from five or six strong castles he was master of in that neighborhood. His army consisted of about four hundred combatants. They set out from Beaufort at midnight. He led them to a ford of the river Marne, which he intended to cross, for he had people of the country as guides. On coming thither, he made them all to dismount, and give their horses to their servants, when he marched them through the river, which was very low. All having crossed, he led them slowly toward the monastery of St. Peter. There were many guards and watchmen scattered over the town of Châlons, and in the public squares: those who were nearest to the monastery of St. Peter, which is situated above the town, heard very distinctly the noise of the Navarrois: for as they were advancing, their arms, by touching each other, made a noise and sounded. Many who heard this wondered what it could be: for all at once, sir Peter having halted, the noise ceased, and, when he continued his march, the same sounds were again heard by the sentinels posted in St. Peter's street, as the wind came from the opposite quarter; and some among them said, "It must be those English and Navarrois thieves that are advancing, to take us by escalade: let us immediately sound the alarm, and awaken our fellow-citizens." Some of them went to the monastery, to see what it might be. They could not, however, make such speed but that sir Peter and his army were in the court-yard; for the walls in that part were not four feet high; and they immediately rushed through the gate of the monastery into the street, which was large and wide. The citizens were exceedingly alarmed, because there were cries from all parts of, "Treason, treason! To arms, to arms!" They armed themselves in haste, and, collecting in a body to be the stronger, advanced to meet their enemies, who overthrew and killed the foremost of them.

It happened, very unfortunately for Châlons, that Peter de Châlons, who had been governor of the city upward of a year, with a hundred lances under his command, had lately left it, on account of not being able to get paid according to their wishes. The commonalty of the city were numerous, and set themselves in earnest to make a good defence. It was high time; but they suffered much, and the Navarrois conquered all the lower town, as far as the bridges over the Marne. Beyond the bridges, the citizens collected themselves, and defended the first bridge, which was of great service to them. The skirmish was there very sharp: the Navarrois attacked and fought well. Some of the English archers advanced, and, passing over the

supports of the bridge, shot so well, and so continually, that none from Châlons dared to come within reach of their arrows.

This engagement lasted until midday. It was said by some, that Châlons must have been taken, if sir Odes de Grancy had not learnt, as it were by inspiration, this excursion of the Navarrois. In order to defeat it, he had entreated the assistance of many knights and squires; for he knew that there was not one gentleman in Châlons. He had come therefore, day and night, attended by sir Philip de Jancourt, the lord Anceau de Beaupré, the lord John de Guermillon, and many others, to the amount of sixty lances. As soon as they were come to Châlons, they advanced toward the bridge, which the inhabitants were defending against the Navarrois, who were exerting themselves to the utmost to gain it. The lord de Grancy displayed his banner, and fell upon the Navarrois with a hearty good will. The arrival of the lord de Grancy mightily rejoiced the people of Châlons; and well it might, for without him and his company they would have been hard driven. When sir Peter Audley and his friends saw these Burgundians, they retreated in good order the way they had come, and found their servants with their horses on the banks of the Marne. They mounted them, and, crossing the river without molestation, returned toward Beaufort, having by a trifle missed their aim. The inhabitants of Châlons were much pleased at their departure, and gave thanks to God for it. After expressing their obligations to the lord de Grancy for the kindness he had done them, they presented him with five hundred livres for himself and his people. They entreated the lord John de Besars, who was present and a near neighbor, to remain, to advise and assist them. He consented to their request, for the handsome salary they allowed him, and set about fortifying the city in those places which were the weakest.

CHAPTER CXCVI.

THE EARL DE ROUCY TAKEN A SECOND TIME.

About this period, the two garrisons of Vely and Roucy* united together, and took by assault the town of Sissonne,* which they garrisoned with all sorts of people: the captain of it was Hannequin François,† a lad from Cologne on the Rhine. He was so cruel in all his excursions, that he showed neither pity nor mercy to any one who fell in his way. He burnt all the country, slaying men, women and children, whom he could not ransom according to his will. The earl of Roucy, who had still at heart the loss of his town and castle, which these robbers had wrested from him, entreated the assistance of those knights and squires who were his neighbors. He collected upward of a hundred lances and forty horsemen, whom he conducted from the city of Laon. Among them were the earl de Porcien, lord Robert de Canency, the lord de Montegny in Ostrevant, and others. They advanced toward Sissonne, and meeting with that garrison, who were burning a village, fell upon them merrily. This Hannequin and his followers immediately dismounted, and placed their archers in the front. The engagement was very sharp; but those from Laon retreated toward their city without having done much. The other Frenchmen remained, and fought manfully for a long time. However, the fortune of the day was against them: the earl de Roucy was severely wounded, and made prisoner: the lord Gerald de Canency, the lord de Montegny and many other men-at-arms, were likewise captured. Thus was the earl of Roucy made prisoner twice in the space of one year.

The lord Eustace d'Ambreticourt resided at this time in Champagne, with seven hundred fighting men under his command; by whose means he acquired great wealth, from the ransoms of towns, castles, vineyards and private houses, as well as by granting passports. He was master of at least twelve fortresses, and much in love with the lady Isabella de Juliers,‡ daughter of the earl of Juliers, whom he afterwards married. The lady was greatly attached to sir Eustace, for his gallant deeds of arms, which had been related to her; and she sent him coursers, hackneys, and letters full of love, which so much emboldened sir Eustace, and spurred him to perform such feats of chivalry and of arms, that all those under him made fortunes.

CHAPTER CXCVII.

THREE QUEENS, WITH THE NAVARROIS, ARE BESIEGED IN MELUN.

After the surrender of St. Valery, as you have heard related, the duke of Normandy collected upward of three thousand lances, set out from Paris, and laid siege to Melun-sur-Seine, of which the Navarrois kept possession. At that time, three queens resided therein: Jane, aunt to the king of Navarre and widow of Charles king of France; Blanche, widow of king Philip of France and sister to the king of Navarre: the third was the queen of Navarre, sister to the duke of Normandy. The duke of Normandy sent his forces thither, but did not accompany them in person: they were under the command of the lord Morel de Fiennes, constable of France, the earl de St. Pol, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lord Arnold de Coucy, the bishop of Troyes, the Lord Broquart de Fenestrages, Peter du Bar and Philip des Armoyes, with others, amounting in the whole to three thousand lances. They besieged Melun all round, and had brought from Paris a number of espringals and other engines, which, day and night, kept continually throwing stones into the fortress, against which also many assaults were made.

The Navarrois within the town began to be alarmed, more particularly those queens, who would cheerfully have seen this siege raised at any rate: but the governors of the town, lord John Pippes and lord John Carbinaux*, desired the ladies not to be so much frightened, for in a few days this siege would be raised, as they had learnt from the king of Navarre, who was at that time at Vernon†. The lord Philip de Navarre also was assembling a body of men at Mantes and Meulan, to come to their assistance; and at those places all the various garrisons in the Navarre interest were collecting together. On the other hand, the duke of Normandy, who knew the Navarrois intended to attempt raising the siege, retained soldiers wherever he could get them, and sent them to Melun. But good people interposed between the duke and the king; for at that time the cardinals de Perigord and de St. Vitalis were in France, who exerted themselves so efficaciously, that a day was appointed for treating of a peace between them at Vernon. The duke of Normandy and his council came thither; as did the king of Navarre, accompanied by the lord Philip his brother; when a peace was made. The king of Navarre swore, that from henceforward he would be a loyal Frenchman. There were included in this peace as many as three hundred knights and squires, who were pardoned by the duke: some others, however, were excepted, whose evil deeds he refused to forgive.

The lord Philip of Navarre would not accept of the peace. He told the king his brother, he was bewitched for so doing, and was acting very ill toward the king of England, who was his ally, and who had always faithfully assisted him. In despite of his brother the king of Navarre, the lord Philip, with three others, set off, and rode as fast as they could to St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, where was an English garrison. The lord Thomas Dagworth commanded there, in the name of the king of England, who received the lord Philip, and told him he had acquitted himself loyally toward the king his lord.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.

SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES, WITH MANY FRENCH, DRAW UP IN BATTLE ARRAY, AGAINST SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH IN CHAMPAGNE.

By the articles of this peace, many towns and castles in Normandy, which had been in dispute, were given up to king Charles of Navarre, particularly Mantes and Meulan. Peace was also made between the young earl of Harcourt and the duke of Normandy. The lord Lewis de Harcourt, uncle to the earl, who was of the council and household of the duke, interested himself much in its success; and the duke gave to the earl in marriage the daughter of the duke of Bourbon, sister to the duchess of Normandy. The siege of Melun-sur-Seine was raised. The town remained to the French. But, in spite of this peace, the kingdom of France was torn in pieces by war as before; for the truce between the two kingdoms of France and England had lately expired; so that those captains who had carried on the war for the king of Navarre, in the provinces of Burgundy, Normandy, Champagne, Picardy, Brie, and Beauce, still continued it in a powerful and shameful manner, in the name of the king of England. They never passed any fortress without attacking it, notwithstanding the peace; for these soldiers had learnt to pillage or ransom the inhabitants of the country, and to make excursions sometimes in bodies of two thousand, many of whom had from ten to twelve horses, who, if they had not kept up this war, would perhaps have gone on foot.

After the siege of Melun had been raised, the duke of Normandy besought the lord Broquart de Fenestrages, who was from Lorraine, and who had in his pay five hundred men, to assist him in driving the English out of the province of Champagne, where they had established themselves, and were harassing the country day and night. Sir Broquart consented, on condition of receiving a large sum of florins for himself and for his people. Upon this, the bishop of Troyes, the count de Vaudemont, the count de Jouy, the lord John de Châlons, and the lord Broquart de Fenestrages, assembled men-at-arms in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy: they amounted to full two hundred lances, and fifteen hundred footmen, who advanced and posted themselves before the strong castle of Hanst in Champagne, which the English had taken and kept possession of a year and a half. They carried it by assault at the third attack; and there were upward of fourscore English slain, for none were spared. The French then retreated to the city of Troyes; and, when they had refreshed themselves, they sallied forth with twelve

* Towns in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

† Mentioned in chapter 188, as one of the garrisons of Mareonsel.—Ed.

‡ "Niece to the queen of England and widow of the earl of Kent."—*Marginal note D'Sauvage.*

* Lord James Pipe—sir Hugh Calvery—English natives.—Barnes.

† Vernon-sur-Seine—a town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

‡ Hans—a village in Champagne, in the election of St. Menehould.

hundred lances,* and nine hundred footmen, taking the road to Nogent-sur-Seine.†

Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who was informed of this expedition, collected those garrisons under his command, to the amount of four hundred lances and two hundred archers, with whom he set out from Pont-sur-Seine.‡ He was completely armed, except his helmet, and was mounted on a hackney which had been given to him, but he had a very fine war horse led by one of his people. He had not rode far before he heard of the French from his scouts, who brought intelligence that they had seen his enemies. Had sir Eustace known that they were in such numbers, he would have asked assistance from the lord Peter Audley and lord d'Albret, who could easily have sent to his aid four hundred combatants. Sir Eustace having drawn up his men beyond Nogent, placed himself on a small hillock, in the midst of a vineyard, his archers in front. As soon as the French arrived, they formed themselves into three battalions: the first under the command of the bishop of Troyes and sir Broquart; the second under the lord John de Châlons and the count de Jouy; the third under the count de Janville.§

Sir Eustace, who was in the midst of his people, said to them: "Gentlemen, let us fight courageously, and the day will be ours: we then shall be masters of all Champagne, which was formerly an earldom. Perhaps I may in time do such essential services to the king of England, whom I hold as the rightful king of France, that he may confer this earldom on me." He then called to him some young squires, such as the courageous Manny, his cousin John of Paris, Martin of Spain and others, whom he knighted. Having dismounted his men, he caused their lances to be shortened to the length of five feet, and placed his pennon before him, which had his arms, ermine, three humets in pale gules.

CHAPTER CXCIX.

THE BATTLE OF NOGENT-SUR-SEINE, BETWEEN SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES AND THE FRENCH, AND SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH.

When sir Broquart de Fenestrages, who was a bold and courageous knight, saw that sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and his battalion were not inclined to quit their position, he said, "Let us march to them, for we must fight, whatever be the consequences." Upon which, he advanced with his battalion. Sir Eustace received the attack of this battalion in such a manner, that he broke it and threw it into confusion. At the first shock he unhorsed upward of forty,‖ and would have completely routed them, if the second battalion of the French had not immediately moved forward to their assistance, who, having rallied them, collected all the stragglers together. Upon this, the English archers began to use their bows, and so well, that none dared to come within the reach of their arrows. The third battalion of the French now advanced on their flank, to support the other two; and the engagement was very sharp and bloody, but the French were three to one. Sir Eustace struck to the ground four of the most vigorous of his enemies, with the spear he had in his hand; which was no sooner perceived by sir Broquart de Fenestrages, than he flung his lance over the heads of all those that were between him and sir Eustace, and, hitting him on the visor of his helmet, it penetrated through and broke three of his teeth: this, however, did not prevent sir Eustace from continuing the combat.

The English had the advantage of the hill, and they kept so closely together that they could not be broken. The French were on horseback, the English on foot. The archers had retreated, in a battalion by themselves, to somewhat higher ground, and shot briskly against the French; and when the French attempted, by marching about, to surround them, they kept their front to face the enemy. At this time, however, the French infantry, who could not make such haste as the men-at-arms, arrived. This infantry were full nine hundred men, and, being armed with lances and large shields,¶ broke through the line of the archers, and flung them in disorder; for their shields were so strong, that the arrows made no impression on them. They kept up the fight as long as they could; but, being thrown into confusion, the second battalion of the French men-at-arms galloped after them, and slew them all. This second battalion then went to the boys who were guarding the English horses, and killed or made prisoners the greater part of them, for very few escaped.

During this time, the two other battalions of the French were engaged with the English; and in the end they broke them, that they never were able to rally: the pennon of sir Eustace, which was their standard, was taken and torn to pieces. When the English were thrown into confusion, many were beaten down, and the French made prisoners at their choice. Sir Eustace fell into the hands of a knight who served under the count de Vaudemont, whose name was sir Henry de Quenillart, to whom he surrendered himself, and who had great difficulty to save his life; for the common people of Troyes wanted to put him to death for the gallant deeds of arms he had performed in Champagne. Lord John de Paris and lord Martin of Spain were also made prisoners, as well as many other knights and esquires. Those that were able to escape fled to the garrison of Nogent; but very few were so fortunate, as almost all were slain or taken.

Sir Courageous de Manny* was left for dead on the field of battle, and by this means forgotten: but after the defeat, and when all the French were retired, he, who had been grievously wounded, and more than half killed, raised his head a little, and saw nothing but dead bodies around him. He then got up as well as he could, and seating himself, looked about to see if he were far from Nogent, which had an English garrison; and, by crawling on his hands and knees, in about an hour's time he came to the foot of the tower of Nogent. He made signs to the garrison, that he was of their party. Upon which, they carried him into the fortress; and, by dressing and sewing up his wounds with much care, he was completely cured. This engagement took place in the year 1359, the vigil of the feast of St. John the Baptist.

CHAPTER CC.

THE PILLAGERS WHO HAD KEPT POSSESSION OF DIFFERENT FORTRESSES IN FRANCE BEGIN WONDERFULLY TO FALL OFF.

After the defeat of Nogent-sur-Seine, which I have just related, the country being cleared of the enemy, the French barons and men-at-arms returned to Troyes, carrying with them their booty; but the prisoners they sent by different roads to several of the French garrisons, because the common people at Troyes were desirous of putting them to death. When those who had remained at Pont-sur-Seine heard that sir Eustace, their captain, was made prisoner; that all his army were slain or taken; they packed up their baggage and set out as quickly as possible, for they were but a very few in number. Those also who were at Torcis,† Espoye,‡ Ausy,§ Mery,‖ and Pleusy,¶ and in all the forts that had been under the command of sir Eustace, did the same, and left them void, for fear of the bishop of Troyes and sir Broquart de Fenestrages, who were great warriors: they united themselves with other garrisons at a distance. Sir Peter Audley did not, for this check, quit Beaufort;** nor sir John Segar, Nogent; nor the lord Albret, Gié-sur-Aube.††

About this time, the lord John of Piquigny died in an extraordinary manner at his castle of la Herielle, within three leagues of Amiens: it was reported that he was strangled by his chamberlain, and that sir Luke de Bekusy, who was of his council, died much in the same manner. Near this period, as some of the soldiers belonging to sir Peter Audley were riding through the country, they came to a good large village of the name of Ronay,‡‡ which they plundered; insomuch that, as the curate of the place was celebrating high mass, an English squire entered the church, took the chalice from the altar, in which the curate was preparing to consecrate the precious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and cast the wine upon the floor. Upon the curate remonstrating with him for this conduct, he struck him so hard a blow with his gauntlet upon the hand, that the blood spirted upon the altar. These pillagers then marched out into the fields, and the squire carried with him the sacred vessels and the cloth. He was, however, scarcely got into the fields, when his horse began to caper, and to play such violent tricks that no one dared to approach him: after many plunges, they both fell to the ground with their necks broken, and were immediately turned into cinders and dust. His companions, seeing this, made a vow, that from henceforward they would never violate the sanctity of any church.

The garrison of Mauconseil, not having any provisions, sold the place to the inhabitants of Noyon,§§ and those in its neighborhood, for about twelve thousand gold moutons,‖‖ with liberty to go away in safety, which they did, carrying off all that belonged to them. They withdrew into the fortresses of Creil, Clermont, la Herielle,

* Denys Sauvage has on this passage the following note, in the margin:
"From what follows it appears to me that each lance was, upon both sides, only one man." The [illegible] probably in reference to the numbers which could have been furnished by lord Audley and lord d'Albret, "four hundred *combatants*," which Froissart speaks of as sufficient to have insured sir Eustace's success. Such a reinforcement would have been of great service, if the twelve hundred French lances consisted only of that number of individuals, but would have been quite inefficient if they had amounted to three or four times that number. The remark is, however, confined to this particular instance —in general each lance was equal to three men. See Note, p. 102.—Ed

† Nogent-sur-Seine—a town in Champagne, between Paris and Troyes, diocese of Sens.

‡ Pont sur-Seine—a town in Champagne diocese of Sens, election of Nogent.

§ Q. if not Jonville.

‖ Sivy.—Lord Berners.

¶ Pavisse.—Lord Berners.

* I cannot find anything relative to this Monseigneur Courageux de Manny in Dugdale's Baronage. Lord Walter Manny seems to have left at his death only one daughter, married to the earl of Pembroke.

Barnes says, he was cousin to sir Eustace and nephew to sir Walter Manny, and was honored always with the epithet *courageous*.

† A village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

‡ A village in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

§ Ausy is a town and village in Champagne—Ay-sur-le-Poisard, election of Rheims.

‖ Mery-sur-Seine—a town in Champagne, diocese of Troyes.

¶ A town in Champagne, diocese of Troyes.

** Beaufort-les-Regnicourt, a village in Champagne, election of Rheims.

†† Gié—a village in Champagne, election of Bar-sur-Aube.

‡‡ Ronay—a village of Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

§§ Noyon—an ancient town in Picardy. It is [illegible] suffragan to the bishop of Rheims.

‖‖ Moutons—see note p. 109.

Vely, Picquigny, Roucy, and Sissonne, which, for a length of time, had been held by the Navarre party; but since the conclusion of the peace with the king of Navarre, they had remained with the English. As soon as those of Noyon were in possession of Mauconseil, they razed it to the ground.

Sir John Segar sold also Nogent to the bishop of Troyes, and gave it up for a large sum of florins, which he was to receive, and had it ratified to him under the hand and seal of the bishop. Upon this, he went to the city of Troyes, and dismounted at the hôtel of the bishop, who said to him: "John, you will stay with me two or three days; and, while you are courteously treated, I will prepare the money for your payment." Sir John, who had come thither on the bishop's word, agreed to the proposal: but the populace began to murmur, and to say, "How can our lord bishop make such a mock of us, as to entertain at his house the greatest pillager of all France, besides wanting to make us give him our money?" They then collected together, sent strong guards to each of the gates, to prevent his escape, and marched in a body of six thousand, with arms, to slay sir John Segar in the court of the bishop's hôtel. When the bishop saw this, he spoke to them, and said: "My good friends, he is come here under the security of my passport; and you know that a treaty has been made between us, with your consent: it would therefore be highly disloyal to do anything, under this assurance, that may be hurtful to him." However, notwithstanding the endeavors of the bishop, they forced into the hall and the apartments, in which they made so exact a search that they found sir John Segar, slew him, and cut him into pieces.

CHAPTER CCI.

THE FRENCH REFUSE TO RATIFY THE TREATY WHICH KING JOHN HAD ENTERED INTO WITH ENGLAND.

I have been a long time silent with regard to the king of England: but until this moment there has not been any cause for speaking of him; for as long as the truce lasted, his people did not carry on the war in his name. The truce having expired the first day of May, 1359, from that period the English and Navarre garrisons made war for him as king of France, and continued so to do daily. It happened that soon after the peace between the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre had been concluded, as has been related, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, returned to England; for he was not yet ransomed since he was made a prisoner at Poitiers. At that time also, the king of England and the prince of Wales came to Westminster, to meet the king of France and lord James de Bourbon; when these four assembled together in council, and agreed on a peace, without any arbitrator between them, upon certain conditions which were written down, and also a letter was indited to be sent to France to the duke of Normandy.

The earl of Tancarville and sir Arnold crossed the sea with these dispatches, landed at Boulogne, and hastened on to Paris; where they found the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre, to whom they delivered their letters. The duke of Normandy consulted the king of Navarre on the subject of them, who advised that the prelates, nobles, and the councils of the principal towns should be assembled, which was accordingly ordered. It appeared to the king of Navarre, the duke of Normandy and his brothers, as well as to the council of state, that the conditions of peace were too hard: and they gave an unanimous answer to the two lords who had brought them, that "they would much rather endure the great distress they were in at present, than suffer the kingdom of France to be diminished, and that king John must remain longer in England." When the king of France was informed they had not succeeded in their mission, he said, "Ha, ha, my good son Charles, you consult with the king of Navarre, who deceives you, and would deceive forty such as you." The king of England, on receiving their answer, said, that since it was so, before the winter was over, he would enter France with a most powerful army, and remain there until there was an end of the war by an honorable and satisfactory peace. He began making more splendid preparations than he had ever done before.

About this season, which was the middle of August, 1359, the lord John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the inhabitants of that town and its neighborhood, with many other knights and squires of the counties of Rethel and Laon, marched and laid siege to the castle of Roucy: they pressed it so hard for five weeks, that the garrison surrendered, on condition of saving their lives and fortunes. For this effect, they had letters, with permission to go wherever they pleased with surety, under the hands of the archbishop, the count de Porcien and the count de Braine, who were there: but when they were setting out, the common people came forth to meet them, and slew the greater part, in spite of the lords, who with much difficulty saved the life of their leader, Hannequin François. Thus had the count de Roucy once more possession of his town and castle.

CHAPTER CCII.

SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY BY A GREAT RANSOM.

Soon after the recapture of the castle of Roucy, sir Peter Audley fell sick, and died in his bed, at the castle of Pont-sur-Yonne, Champagne, which caused great grief among all the followers of his fortunes Upon this, the English and Germans, who were united in carrying on the war in the name of the king of England, consulted together, and determined that they could not fix on a more proper leader than sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who was then recovered from his wounds. They sent Faucon the herald into the county of Vaudemont, to confer with the earl of that name, and with the lord Henry de Quenillart,* who had made him prisoner, touching his redemption. His liberty was granted, on condition of his paying down twenty-two thousand French livres for his ransom. Sir Eustace thus recovered his freedom; the different garrisons in Champagne and Brie having made a subscription for that purpose, when each man cheerfully paid his part. He obtained his hackney and war-horse that he had lost at the battle of Nogent, which had been sent to him by the lady Isabella de Juliers, countess of Kent, from England, out of her affection to him. The English also surrendered at that time the castle of Conflanst in Champagne, of which they were in possession.

When these troops, who were carrying on the war against France, had thus ransomed sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, they elected him their chief, and all sorts of persons enlisted under his banner. He made an excursion into Rhetelois,‡ where no one had been before, and took by storm the good town of Attigny§ upon the Aisne, where they found upward of a hundred butts of wine. They fixed upon this as the principal garrison, and overran from it the whole country in the environs of Rheims: they pillaged Epernay,‖ Damery,¶ Touraine,** and the town of Vertus,†† where they met with very great booty; they placed there another garrison, which scoured the country from the river Marne to la Ferté-Milon;‡‡ while those of Attigny overran it as far as Mesieres§§ upon the Meuse, Donchery,‖‖ and even to le Chêne Pouilleux.¶¶

CHAPTER CCIII.

SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES FORCES PAYMENT FROM THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, REGENT OF FRANCE.

About this time it happened, that sir Broquart de Fenestrages, who had been to the aid of the duke of Normandy and the French, against the English and men of Navarre, and had much assisted them in their conquests, and in driving them out of their fortresses in Champagne, had been very badly paid for his assistance, insomuch that there was owing to him and his men, for their subsidy, thirty thousand livres. He sent therefore certain persons to the duke at Paris, who did not give them very pleasant answers, for they returned without having been able to do anything. Upon this, sir Broquart sent a defiance to the duke and to all France, and took possession of a handsome town called Bar-sur-Seine,*** where at that time there were nine hundred hôtels, and plundered the inhabitants; but the castle was so well guarded, he could not gain it. Having packed up his booty, he carried away upward of five hundred prisoners, and burnt the town so completely, that nothing remained but the walls. His men retreated to Conflans, which they had made their garrison, and afterwards committed more atrocious acts in Champagne than ever the English or men of Navarre had done. When sir Broquart and his troop had thus overrun and pillaged the country, there was an agreement made with them; and each man was paid even more than he demanded; so that sir Broquart retreated into Lorraine, whence he had come, carrying with him all his soldiers: he left peaceably the kingdom of France and country of Champagne, after having done a sufficiency of evil to each of them.

CHAPTER CCIV.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES MAKES AN EXCURSION INTO BERRY AND AUVERGNE. HE IS PURSUED BY THE GENTLEMEN OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

At this same period, in the year 1359, sir Robert Knolles prepared an expedition, consisting of three thousand persons, including every one. With this army, he quitted the marches of Brittany; and having followed the course of the Loire upward, entered the province of Berry, overrunning and destroying all that part of the country. It was reported that his intentions were to pass through Auvergne, to pay a visit to the pope and cardinals at Avignon, and get some of their florins, as the archpriest had done before. The gentlemen of Auvergne and Limousin assembled, in large bodies, to oppose this invasion; in particular, the count de Forests, who brought with him

* Barnes calls him sir Henry de Quingey, but why, I know not.
† Diocese and election of Chalons, near Chalon.
‡ A country of Champagne, near Rhetel.
§ A market-town in Champagne, diocese of Rheims and near [illegible]
‖ Diocese of Rheims, eight leagues from Chalons.
¶ Damery, a village near Epernay.
** I can find only Tournay, a village in Champagne, election of Chaumont, near Langres.
†† A town in Champagne, six leagues from Chalons.
‡‡ A town in Picardy, diocese of Soissons, election of Crespy.
§§ A strong city in Champagne, on the Meuse.
‖‖ A town in Champagne on the Meuse, bordering on Luxemburg.
¶¶ Chesne Pouilleux, a town in Champagne, in the election of Rhetel, near Sedan—noted formerly by the retreat of the duke of Brunswick, before Dumouriez, in the year 1792.
*** A town of Burgundy, on the Seine, diocese of Langres.

four hundred lances: and they were very numerous when all were assembled.

Sir Robert Knolles and his troops, who were all called Englishmen, continued their march from Brittany unmolested, until they came to the borders of Auvergne. The lords of Auvergne, with their array, advanced to within a short day's journey of sir Robert. They observed from a mountain, where they had posted themselves, all that the English were doing. On the morrow, they marched to that part; there were only two short country leagues between them; when they halted, and took post on a mountain, and the English did the same on another: each army saw the fires the other was making. The next morning, the French decamped, and advanced still nearer to meet them, for they were well acquainted with the country, and, about noon, took up their quarters on an eminence right before the English: the two armies were only separated by a meadow of about twelve acres. The English immediately drew up in order of battle, and placed their archers on the declivity of the hill, in the front. The French lords then drew up their army in two battalions, each of which consisted of upward of five thousand men. The count de Clermont, dauphin of Auvergne, commanded the first battalion; his name was Berault. He was knighted on the spot, and displayed his banner, which was quartered with the arms of Auvergne and Clermont.* There were near to his person, his uncle the lord Robert Dauphin, the lord of Montagu, the lord of Talençon, the lord of Rochefort, the lord of Serignac, the lord Godfrey of Boulogne, and many young squires from Limousin, Quercy, Auvergne, and Rouergue. In the second battalion, were the count de Forests, the lord John of Boulogne, the count d'Auvergne, the lord d'Archer and his sons, the lord d'Achon, the lord d'Uzes, the lord Reginald de Forests, brother to the count, and great numbers of knights and squires, with a thorough good will for the combat, as was apparent. On the other hand, sir Robert Knolles and his troops showed an equally good countenance to engage.

Thus then they remained until the evening, each in their intrenchments, without moving, except some young knights and squires, who, in hopes of gaining glory by feats of arms, descended into the meadow, with the leave of their marshals, in order to tilt with their opponents. He who conquered his adversary carried him off prisoner. Toward night, each party retired to his quarters, and kept a good and great guard. The lords of France held a council, and resolved at the hour of midnight to descend the mountain, not on the side next the English, but by that which they had ascended; when, by making a circuit of only two leagues, they would come to the opposite side of the hill where the English were posted, which part was not high nor difficult of ascent: they had hopes to arrive there so early, that the English would not be all armed. Each lord was to give these orders to his own people: this, however, was not done so secretly but that the English were informed of it by one of their countrymen, a prisoner in the French army, who made his escape, and told sir Robert Knolles of their intentions. Sir Robert summoned a council of those in whose opinion he most confided, who, considering the superiority of the French forces, thought it not advisable to wait for them. Upon this, their baggage was immediately loaded: they decamped, and were conducted by those of the country whom they had made prisoners.

At midnight, the French were drawn up in battle array, and marched according as it had been ordered. They arrived by daybreak on the mountain, where they thought to have found the English: but, when they saw they had decamped, they sent off some of their most expert and best mounted, over the hills, to see if they could get any tidings of them. They returned about nine o'clock, and reported that they had seen them on their march, named the roads they had taken, and added they were advancing toward Limoges. When the lords of Auvergne heard this, they broke up their expedition, and each returned to his own home.

Very soon after, a treaty of marriage was entered into, and completed, between the gallant knight the lord Berault, dauphin of Auvergne, with the daughter of the count de Forests, whom he had by a sister of the lord James de Bourbon.

CHAPTER CCV.

SOME GERMANS WAIT FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND AT CALAIS, TO ATTEND HIM IN HIS EXPEDITION INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME KING JOHN WAS IN ENGLAND.

During all this time, the king of England was making such great preparations for his expedition into France, that the like was never seen before: on which account, many barons and knights of the German empire, who had formerly served him, exerted themselves much this year, and provided themselves handsomely in horses and equipage in the best manner they could, each according to his rank, and hastened as fast as possible, by the frontiers of Flanders, to Calais, where they remained, to wait for the king of England. It happened that the king could not come thither with his army by the time appointed, which caused such numbers to remain at Calais, that there were no lodgings for them, nor stables for their horses. In addition to this, bread, wine, hay, oats, and all sorts of provisions, were so scarce, that none could be had for money.

Thus did these mercenary Germans, Bohemians, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, both poor and rich, wait from the beginning of August until St. Luke's day; so that many were forced to sell the greater part of their jewels. If the king had arrived then, they would not have known where to have lodged him and his people, except in the castle, for the whole town was occupied. There was also some doubt if these lords who had spent their all, would have quitted Calais, for the king or any one else, if their expenses had not been allowed them. The king had not sent for a fourth part of them. Some came out of good-will to him, in hopes of grace and favor: others, with the expectation of gaining from the plunder of France.

The king of England at last ordered the duke of Lancaster to Calais, with four hundred men in armor and two thousand archers and Welchmen. When the duke came to Calais, he was much rejoiced to see so many foreign lords, who made earnest inquiries after the king. He excused the king for not coming, on the impossibility of getting all preparations ready for so large an army by the time he had fixed. He then told these lords, that a longer residence there would be of no service; that as he intended making an excursion into France, to see what he could find, he entreated of them to accompany him, offering to lend to each a sum of money, to pay their landlords and other expenses, as well as to supply them with as much provision as their horses could carry. They accepted the duke's proposal, for they were ashamed to refuse it: and having had their horses new shodden, and packed up their baggage, they set out from Calais in a magnificent train, accompanying the duke toward St Omer. They might be about two thousand men with armor, without counting the archers or footmen. They passed by St. Omer, riding on toward Bethune,* which they also left unmolested, and came to Mont St. Eloy,† where there was a large and rich monastery, situated two leagues distant from Arras. Here they halted four days, to refresh themselves and their horses, as they found a sufficiency for both in the monastery.

When they had robbed and plundered the country round about, they advanced until they came to the town of Braye,‡ which they attacked a whole day. A knight-bannerets of England was slain there, with many others; for the townsmen defended themselves valiantly, owing to a reinforcement which the count de St. Pol and the lord de Lameval, with others, to the amount of two hundred lances, had thrown into the back part of the town. When the English perceived they could make no impression, they marched off, following the course of the river Somme, being in great distress for bread and wine, until they came to a town called Cherisy,‖ where they found enough of both. They crossed the river at this last place by the bridge, which was not destroyed, and remained there that night and the feast of All-Saints. That day, a messenger brought the news to the duke, that the king was arrived at Calais, with orders for him and his troops to join him immediately. Upon which they all returned to Calais. In this expedition was sir Henry of Flanders, with two hundred lances. From Brabant, there were sir Henry de Beautresen, lord of Bergues, the lord Girard de la Harde, and lord Franque de Halle.¶ From Hainault, the lord Walter de Manny and the lord John de Gommeguines. From Bohemia, sir Walter de la Hautepomme, sir Reginald de Boullant, the lord Godfrey de Harduemont, and the lord John his son, the lord Duras, Thierry de Ferram, the lord Russe de Jumeppe, the lord Giles Sorles, the lord John de Bermont, the lord Reginald de Bergehes, and many other noblemen. The Germans and mercenaries from strange countries, I am unable to name; therefore, for the present, I shall be silent on that head.

CHAPTER CCVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LEADS A GREAT ARMY INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME THE KING OF FRANCE WAS A PRISONER IN ENGLAND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY OF ENGLAND.

As the duke of Lancaster, with his barons and knights, were returning to Calais, to salute the king of England, who was impatient to see them, they met, within four leagues of Calais, such a multitude of people, the whole country was filled with them; and they were so richly armed and dressed out, that it was a pleasure to view their arms glittering in the sun, their banners waving in the wind, and the whole army marching slowly in battle array. When the

* In all my manuscripts and printed editions, it is Auvergne and *Merquel*. Denys Sauvage says, that there must be some mistake, and proposes *Clermont* in lieu of Merquel, which, as he was count de Clermont as well as dauphin of Auvergne, seems to me proper. Barnes changes the word Merquel into *Marteques*; but he gives no reason or authority for so doing.

The counts of Auvergne added the title of dauphin, in rivalship to the dauphin of Viennois, 1167. How long they continued it I know not. The last dauphin of Viennois was Humbert, who ceded the title and his estates to the crown of France, 1345, on condition of the heir apparent to that crown bearing it. Dauphin was formerly a title of honor, as duke, marquis, &c. is now.

* A strong town in Artois.

† A village of Artois, diocese of Arras.

‡ Braye-sur-Somme—a village in Picardy.

§ Barnes says it was sir Thomas Murrers, but gives no authority.

‖ A village in Picardy, diocese of Noyon.

¶ Sir Francis van Halle was afterwards captain of Calais, and a commissioner for treating of peace with France. He was installed knight of the garter in the 23rd stall, in the room of sir Otho Holland.—Buswell's *Account of the Garter*, No. 50.

duke and the above-mentioned lords were come to the king, he received them very graciously, and thanked them much for their services. Shortly afterwards, these mercenary Germans, Brabanters, and Bohemians, having assembled together, informed the king, that, having spent their money, and sold their horses and armor, very little remained with them for his service, according to the design of their coming, and that, if there should be occasion, they had not wherewithal to return to their own country: they entreated him, out of his generosity, to pay some regard to their situation. The king thus replied: "I am but ill prepared at this place to give you a complete answer; and, as I imagine, you must all be much fatigued; if you will go and refresh yourselves in Calais for two or three days, I will consider your requests this night, and to-morrow will send you such an answer as ought to be satisfactory to you in reason, and according to my means." These lords then left the king and the duke, and advanced toward Calais. When they had marched about half a league, they met a great number of handsome wagons, and soon after the prince of Wales, who, as well as all his attendants, were most brilliantly armed, and in such numbers that the whole country seemed covered with them: they marched slowly in close order, as if they were about to engage in battle, and always a league or two in the rear of the king's division, with their baggage and provisions between them; which arrangement the foreign lords viewed with delight.

These lords attentively considered this army, and respectfully saluted the prince, the barons, and the other lords that were with him. After the prince had courteously and handsomely received them, like one who knew well how to do so, on their taking leave, they informed him also of their poverty and situation, besecching him that he would have the goodness to attend to their necessities. The prince listened to them, and cheerfully complied with their request. They then rode on, and came to Calais, where they took up their lodgings. The second day after they had been there, the king of England sent them his answer by three worthy knights, who told them plainly, that the king had not with him adequate sums of money to pay all their expenses, nor what they might perhaps demand: that he had brought with him only sufficient for the enterprise he had undertaken: that, however, if they thought proper to accompany him, and partake of his good and bad fortune, should any success ensue, they should partake of it, and largely; but that he would not be understood as obliged to pay them any wages, nor anything for horses destroyed, or other expenses which they might be put to; for he had brought an army from his own country equal to the business that he had undertaken. This answer was not very agreeable to these lords, nor to their companions, who had labored hard, and expended their all; they had also pawned their horses and armor, having sold everything superfluous through necessity. Nevertheless, they could obtain nothing except some small sums lent them to carry them home again. However, some of these noblemen chose to remain with the king and share his adventures; for they would have been blamed if they had gone back to their own country without having done anything.

I shall now point out the manner of the arrangement of the king of England's forces, which he brought with him for this expedition. It ought not to be passed over in silence, for so large an army* had never left England before. Previous to the king's embarking for France, he sent all the French earls and barons, his prisoners, into different parts and strong castles in his kingdom, in order to be more under command. He placed the king of France in the Tower of London, which is very large and strong, and situated on the river Thames: his young son Philip was sent thither with him: but they were deprived of many of their attendants, curtailed in several comforts, and more closely confined than before.

When he was ready to set out, he summoned all those who had provided themselves with everything necessary to attend him in France, to advance toward Dover, where they would find vessels to cross the sea. Each man got himself ready as fast as he could: there was not knight, squire, or man of honor, from the age of twenty to sixty years, that did not go; so that almost all the earls, barons, knights, and squires of the realm went to Dover, except those whom the king and his council had ordered to remain to guard his castles, bailiwicks, mayoralties, sea-ports, havens, and marches. When all were collected together at Dover, and the vessels ready, the king ordered both small and great to assemble at a particular place out of the town, where he distinctly told them, that his intentions were to pass into France, and never to return until he should have put an end to the war, and obtained an honorable and efficient peace; that he would die sooner than not accomplish this object; and that if there were any among them who disapproved of what he had said, he desired they would return home. They all approving, embarked on board the ships, to the cries of "God and St. George!" and arrived at Calais two days before the feast of All-Saints, 1359.

* Or so well ordered.—LORD BERNERS.

CHAPTER CCVII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LEAVES CALAIS. THE ORDER OF HIS ARMY IN THEIR MARCH THROUGH PICARDY TOWARD RHEIMS.

WHEN the king of England was arrived at Calais, attended by the prince of Wales and three other sons, namely, Lionel earl of Ulster, John earl of Richmond, and Edmund, afterwards earl of Cambridge, the youngest of the four, with the following lords and their attendants, he ordered the cavalry, provision, and baggage, to be landed, and remained there four days. He then commanded every man to get ready; for he was desirous of marching after his cousin the duke of Lancaster.

WAR WAGONS AND BAGGAGE TRAINS ON THEIR MARCH. From Authorities of the Fifteenth Century. Engraved and described in Grose's Military Antiquities.

He left the town of Calais on the next morning, and took the field with the largest army and best appointed train of baggage-wagons, that had ever quitted England. It was said, there were upward of six thousand carts and wagons, which had all been brought with him. He then arranged his battalions: they were so richly and well-dressed that it was a pleasure to look at them: he nominated his cousin the earl of March, whom he much loved, his constable.

First marched five hundred knights, well armed, and a thousand archers, in the van of the king's battalion, which was composed of three thousand men-at-arms and five thousand archers; himself and attendants riding among them in close order after the constable. In the rear of the king's battalion, was the immense baggage train, which occupied two leagues in length: it consisted of upward of five thousand carriages, with a sufficiency of horses to carry the provision for the army, and those utensils never before accustomed to be carried after an army, such as hand-mills to grind their corn, ovens to bake their bread, and a variety of other necessary articles. Next marched the strong battalion of the prince of Wales: he was accompanied by his brothers: it was composed of full two thousand men-at-arms, most excellently mounted and richly dressed. Both the men-at-arms and archers marched in close order, so that they were ready instantly to engage, should there be occasion. On their march, they did not leave even a boy behind them without waiting for them, so that they could not well advance more than four leagues a-day.

In this state, they were met by the duke of Lancaster with the

foreign lords, as has been before related, between Calais and the abbey of Licques,* in a handsome plain. There were also, in this army of the king of England, five hundred pioneers with spades and pick-axes, to level the roads, and cut down trees and hedges, for the more easily passing of the carriages.

I wish now to name the great lords of England who crossed the sea with the king, and the duke of Lancaster his cousin-german: First then, there were his four sons already named; Henry duke of Lancaster; John earl of March, constable of England; the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, marshals of England; the earls of Hereford, Northampton, Salisbury, Stamford, Oxford; the bishops of Lincoln and Durham; the lords Percy, Neville, Despenser, Roos, Manny, Reginald Cobham, Mowbray, Delaware; sir John Chandos, sir Richard Pembridge,† the lord Maine, the lord Willoughby, the lord Felton, the lord Basset, the lord Charlton,‡ the lord Silvancier;‡ sir James Audley, sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, the lord Scales, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, sir Nesle Loring, and a great many others whom I cannot recollect.

These lords then rode on in the same order I mentioned on their quitting Calais, and marched through Artois, passing by Arras, taking the same road which the duke of Lancaster had done before. They, however, could not find any provision in the flat countries, for everything had been carried into the different garrisons. The country had been so pillaged and destroyed, that the ground had not been cultivated for the last three years; and there was such distress and famine in the kingdom of France, that if corn and oats had not been sent from Hainault and the Cambresis, into Artois, Vermandois, the bishopric of Laon, and Rheims, must have died with hunger. It was upon this account, that the king, who had been informed of the poverty and distress in France, had made such ample provision before he quitted England. Each lord had done the same according to his rank, except in the articles of straw and oats, and for that they did with their horses as well as they could. The season, however, was very rainy, which hurt greatly both themselves and their horses; for almost every day and night it rained in torrents, so that the vintage of this year was worth nothing.

The king continued his march, by short journeys, with his whole army, until he came near Bapaume.§ I must notice here an adventure which befel sir Galahaut de Ribemmont, a very gallant and expert knight of Picardy. I will first inform you, that all the towns, cities, and castles, near the road that the king of England was following, were well guarded; for each town in Picardy took and received knights and squires into their pay. The count de St. Pol had posted himself, with two hundred knights, in Arras; the constable of France in Amiens; the lord de Monsault in Corbie; sir Odart de Renty and sir Enguerrant de Hedin in Bapaume; sir Baldwin de Annequin, captain of the cross-bowmen, in St. Quentin: and thus from city to city, for it was well known to all that the king of England was marching to lay siege to the city of Rheims. It happened, that the inhabitants of Peronne in Vermandois had neither captain nor leader; and as their town was on the line of march the king was taking, and the English very near, they were not at their ease. This town is situated upon the river Somme; and the English followed the course of the rivers in preference: they bethought themselves, therefore, of sir Galahaut de Ribemmont, who was not at that time engaged to any town, and, as they had heard, was at Tournay. They sent thither to him most courteous letters, to entreat that he would come to assist in guarding the good town of Peronne, and bring as many companions as were attached to him; that they would pay him every day, for himself, twenty livres; for each knight under him, ten livres; and each lance having three horses, seven livres‖ a-day.

Sir Galahaut was always eager for any warlike enterprise, and, finding himself thus courteously sought after by his neighbors of Peronne, readily complied with their request, and answered, that he would set out and be with them the day after the morrow. He left Tournay with about thirty lances; but his numbers, as he rode on, increased. He sent to sir Roger de Cologne, to meet him at an appointed place, which sir Roger did, accompanied by nineteen good companions, so that sir Galahaut had now fifty lances. They took up their quarters one night, in their way to Peronne, within two short leagues of the enemy, at a village, but where they found no one, for all the inhabitants of the low countries had fled to the fortified towns. On the next morning, they were to have got into Peronne, as they were but a small distance from it. About the hour of midnight, when supper was over, after they had posted their watch, they were chatting and jesting about feats of arms, of which they had wherewithal to talk, sir Galahaut said: "We shall get into Peronne very early to-morrow morning; but, before we make our entry there, I would propose an excursion toward the flanks of our enemies; for I shall be much mistaken, if there will not be some of them who will set out early in hopes of gaining honor or booty by pillaging the country; and we may perchance meet with them, and make them pay our score. His companions immediately agreed to this proposal, kept it secret among themselves, and were ready with their horses saddled at break of day. They took the field in good order, and, leaving the road which led to Peronne, skirted the woods to see if they could meet with any one: they arrived at a village, the inhabitants of which had fortified the church: sir Galahaut dismounted at this place, where there was wine, with bread and meat in plenty, which were offered to them by those within. While they were at this place, sir Galahaut called to him two of his squires, one of whom was Bridoul de Tallonne, and said to them: "Ride forward, and examine the country round, to see if you can perceive any one: and, if you find nothing, return here to us: we will wait for you." The two squires set off, mounted on good horses, and made for a wood which was about half a French league distant.

The same morning, sir Reginald de Boullant, a German knight belonging to the duke of Lancaster's division, had rode forth since daybreak, and, having made a large circuit without seeing any one, had halted at that spot. The two squires, being come thither, imagined they might be some persons of the country, who had placed themselves there in ambuscade, and rode so near that each party saw the other. The two Frenchmen, therefore, consulted together, and said, "If they be Germans, we must pretend we belong to them: if they be of this part of the country, we will tell them who we are." When they were so near each other that they could speak, the two squires soon perceived, by their uniforms, that they were Germans and their enemies. Sir Reginald de Boullant spoke to them in German, and inquired whose soldiers they were. Bridoul de Tallonne, who well understood that language, answered, "We belong to sir Bartholomew Burghersh." "And where is sir Bartholomew?" "He is," replied he, "in that village." "For what reason has he stopped there?" "Sir, because he has sent us forward, to see if we can find anything to forage in this part of the country." "By my faith, there is not," answered sir Reginald; "for I have been all over it, and have not been able to pick up anything. Return to him, and tell him to advance, and we will ride together as far as St. Quentin, and see if we cannot find out a better country, or some good adventure." "And who are you?" demanded the squire. "I am called Reginald de Boullant," answered the knight, "and say so to sir Bartholomew." Upon this the two squires turned about, and went to the village where they had left their master. As soon as sir Galahaut saw them, he asked, "What news? have you found or seen anything?" "Yes, sir, enough, in conscience: beyond this wood is sir Reginald de Boullant, with about thirty more: he has been riding about this neighborhood all this morning, and desires much to have your company to ride further forward toward St. Quentin." "How," replied sir Galahaut, "what are you saying? sir Reginald de Boullant is a German knight, and in the service of England." "All this we know well," answered the squire. "Then how could you get away from him?" "Sir," said Bridoul, "I will tell you." He then related to him all that conversation which has just been mentioned.

When sir Galahaut heard what had passed, he was for a moment thoughtful, and then asked the opinions of sir Roger de Cologne and some other knights present, what was best to be done. The knights answered, "Sir, you are seeking for adventures, and, when they fall into your mouth, take advantage of them, for by all means, allowed by the laws of arms, every man ought to molest his enemy." To this advice sir Galahaut cheerfully assented, for he was very desirous of meeting the Germans. He ordered his steed to be got ready, and put on his helmet with the visor down, that he might not be known: the rest did the same. They quitted the village, and, getting into the fields, rode to the right for the wood, where sir Reginald was waiting for them. They might be about seventy men-at-arms, and sir Reginald had but thirty. As soon as sir Reginald perceived them advancing, he collected his men together in a very orderly manner, and thus left his ambuscade, with his pennon displayed before him, and marched with a gentle pace to meet the French, whom he believed to be English. When he was come up with them, he raised his visor, and saluted sir Galahaut, by the name of sir Bartholomew Burghersh. Sir Galahaut kept his face covered, and replied in a low voice, adding, "Come, come, let us ride on." Upon which, his people drew off on one side, and the Germans on the other. When sir Reginald de Boullant noticed his manner, and that sir Galahaut was eyeing him askance without saying a word, some doubts entered his mind. He had not rode a quarter of an hour before he stopped short, under his banner, in the midst of his people, and said aloud: "I have some suspicions, sir knight, that you are not sir Bartholomew de Burghersh; for I am well acquainted with sir Bartholomew, and hitherto I have not seen your face; therefore, you must tell me your real name, before I ride any farther in your company." At these words, sir Galahaut raised his visor, and advanced toward the knight, in order to seize the reins of his horse, crying out, "Our Lady of Ribemmont!" which was echoed by sir Roger de Cologne, crying, "Cologne to the rescue!"

Sir Reginald, perceiving his mistake, was not much frightened, but laying his hand quickly on his sword of war, which he wore by his side, that was both stiff and strong, drew it out of the scabbard;

* Licques—a small town in Picardy, sovereignty of Ardres.

† Sir Richard Pembridge is buried in Hereford cathedral. See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

‡ In my MSS. it is *Corbanton* and *Silvancier*. Barnes says, there was lord John Charlton, who was chamberlain to the king; but who Silvancier is, I cannot find out. Lord Berners repeats the word, and calls the first lord Grabalton.

§ Bapaume—a strong town in Artois, diocese of Arras.

‖ All my copies, MS as well as printed, have *sept francs* day; but as Denys Sauvage has altered it to *seven*, and says that other authors say seven, and particularly as La Chaux marks it clearly vii., I have therefore followed it.

and, as sir Galahaut advanced to take the bridle, sir Reginald gave him so furious a stroke with the sword, that it penetrated the armour, and passed through his body. Having drawn it back again, he struck spurs in his horse, and left sir Galahaut grievously wounded.

The companions of sir Galahaut, perceiving their master and captain in such a condition, were like madmen: they threw themselves up, and attacked the party of sir Reginald most fiercely, when some of them were unhorsed. As for sir Reginald himself, he had no sooner struck sir Galahaut, than, clapping spurs to his horse, he had galloped off. Some of sir Galahaut's squires pursued him, while others were engaged with the Germans, with the intention of being fully revenged: but sir Reginald, who was a bold and accomplished knight, was not much alarmed: however, when he found himself so closely pursued, that it was proper to turn about or be disgraced, he wheeled round, and struck the nearest so violently with his strong sword, that he had not any desire to follow him further: thus, as he was riding off, he beat down and severely wounded three; and had he had a sharp battle-axe in his hand, every one of his strokes would have killed a man. In this manner did the knight escape from the French, without receiving the smallest wound, which his enemies, as well as all those who heard of it, considered as a most gallant act: but it fared otherwise with his people, as they were almost all killed or made prisoners, scarcely any escaping. They placed sir Galahaut de Ribemmont, who was very severely wounded, on a litter, and carried him to Peronne to a physician. He was never perfectly cured of this wound; for he was a knight of such courage that he would not allow it time to heal, so that he died shortly afterwards.

We will now return to the king of England, and relate how he laid siege to the city and castle of Rheims.

Rheims. The Cathedral and part of the old town, as it appeared during the Siege. Designed from Original sketches.

CHAPTER CCVIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO THE CITY OF RHEIMS, AND TO THE CASTLE OF CHARGNY. THE WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE DUKE OF NORMANDY AND THE KING OF NAVARRE.

The English continued their march, until they had passed through Artois, the low country of which they found in great poverty and distress for provisions, and had entered Cambresis, where all things were in greater abundance: for the inhabitants of the plains had not carried their provisions into any fortresses, thinking themselves secure from the English, as forming a dependence of the empire; but the king of England did not consider them in that light, nor look upon Cambresis as part of the empire.

The king took up his quarters in the town of Beaurevoir in Cambresis, encamping his army in the neighborhood, where they halted four days to refresh themselves and horses, and from whence they overran the greater part of the country of Cambresis. The bishop, Peter of Cambray, and the councils of the lords of the country and the principal towns, sent divers messengers, under a passport, to inquire the grounds of the war. They received for answer, that some time ago they had contracted alliances with the French, had aided them much, had supported them in their towns and fortresses, and had before made part in the war as enemies: that these were the reasons why the war was carried on in their country: nor could they get any other answer. The Cambresians were therefore obliged to put up with their losses and grievances as well as they could. The king continued his route through Cambresis, and entered Tierache;* but his people overran the country to the right and left, and took provisions wherever they could lay hands on them. It chanced, that in one of these foraging parties sir Bartholomew Burghersh, in riding toward St. Quentin, accidentally met the governor of that place, sir Baldwin d'Annequin, when both riders and horses met together: there was great confusion, and many were unhorsed on each side; but in the end the English gained the field, and sir Baldwin d'Annequin was captured by sir Bartholomew Burghersh, to whom he had been before a prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.

The English returned to the king, who that day was lodged in the abbey of Femy,* where they found great plenty of provisions for themselves and horses; they then passed on, and continued their march without any hindrance, so that they arrived in the environs of Rheims.

The king's quarters were at St. Waal beyond Rheims, and the prince of Wales's at St. Thierry,† where they held their courts. The duke of Lancaster, after them, kept the greatest household. The counts, barons, and knights, were quartered in the neighboring villages to Rheims, so that they were not very comfortable, nor had they weather to please them; for they had arrived there in the depth of winter, about St. Andrew's day, when it was very rainy: their horses were badly housed, hardly treated, and ill fed, as the whole country was so destroyed, by having been for two or three years before the theatre of war, that no one had tilled or sowed the ground. There was such scarcity of corn of all sorts, many were forced to seek forage ten or twelve leagues off. These parties met frequently with the garrisons of the neighboring fortresses: sharp skirmishes ensued between them: sometimes the English lost, at others were victorious.

Sir John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the count de Porcien, sir Hugh de Porcien his brother, the lord de la Bone, the lord de Canency, the lord Dannore, the lord de Lore, were governors and captains of the town at the time the king of England besieged it. Many other barons, knights and squires of the district of Rheims were also there, who exerted themselves so much that the town suffered but little loss or damage from the siege: besides, it was strong, well fortified, and as well defended. The king of England was not desirous of storming it, lest his army might suffer too much from wounds or fatigue; he remained, therefore, before it, from St. Andrew's day to the beginning of Lent. Detachments from his army, however, scoured the country in search of adventures. Some of them went over the whole country of Rhetel, as far as Warq,‡ to Maisieres,§ Donchery,‖ and Mouson:¶ they quartered themselves

* Tierache—a fertile country in Picardy, watered by the Oise and the Serre, to the west of Champagne, and south of Hainault.

* Femy—a village in Cambresis, on the borders of Hainault.
† St. Thierry—a small village in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.
‡ Warq les Maisons—a village of Champagne, election of Rhetel.
§ Mezieres—a strong city of Champagne, diocese of Rheims, election of Rhetel.
‖ Donchery—a town of Champagne, on the Meuse, diocese of Rheims, election of Rhetel.
¶ Mouson—a town of Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

in the country for three or four days; and after having pillaged it without let or hindrance, they returned again to their army.

During the time that the king of England was before Rheims, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt had taken the good town of Achery-sur-Aine;* in which he had found a great quantity of provisions, and, in particular, upward of three thousand butts of wine. He sent a large portion of it to the king of England and his sons, for which they were very thankful.

While this siege lasted, many knights left it, to seek what good fortune they might find. Among others, sir John Chandos, sir James Audley, the lord of Mucident, sir Richard de Pontchardon, with their companies, advanced so near to Châlons in Champagne, that they came to Chargny-en-Dornois,† where there was a very handsome and strong castle. Having carefully examined it, they were very desirous of gaining this castle, and directly made an assault on it. Within it were two good and valiant knights as governors: the name of one was sir John de Caples, who bore for arms a cross anchored sable on a shield or.

The attack was sharp and long: the two knights and their garrison defended themselves well: and it behoved them so to do, for they were assaulted very roughly. The lord of Mucident, who was a powerful and rich lord in Gascony, advanced so forward at this attack, that he received a severe blow from a stone on his helmet, through which it found a passage to his head: he was so badly wounded, that he could not be carried away, but died in the arms of his people. The other barons and knights were so enraged at the death of the lord of Mucident, they swore they would never quit the place until they had conquered the castle, and all that were in it. They renewed the assault with double vigor: many gallant deeds were performed: for the Gascons, being irritated by the loss of their lord, rushed into the ditches, close to the walls of the castle, without sparing themselves, and, placing their shields over their heads, climbed up them: the archers, in the meantime, kept such a continual volley of arrows, that no one dared to appear. The castle was so briskly assaulted, that it was won, but it cost them dear. When the English were masters of it, they made the two knights prisoners who had so valiantly defended it, and some other squires and gentlemen: the rest of the garrison they put to the sword. They destroyed much of the castle of Chargny, because they did not wish to keep it, and returned to the king and his barons, to relate what they had performed.

During the time they were before Rheims, great animosities and hatred arose between the king of Navarre and the duke of Normandy. I am not perfectly well informed of the real cause,‡ but so it was, for the king of Navarre quitted Paris suddenly, and went to Mantes-sur-Seine, from whence he sent his challenge to the duke and his brothers. Many a baron was much surprised at this, and wondered for what cause the war was to be renewed. However, a squire from Brussels, whose name was Waustre Ostrate, under pretence of this war took the strong castle of Roulleboise upon the Seine, a short league from Mantes, which was afterwards a great annoyance to the Parisians and all the neighborhood.

While the king of England was besieging Rheims, with his whole army, it happened that the lord Gomegines, who had returned to the queen in England, at the time the king of England had sent all strangers out of Calais, as had been before related, repassed the sea, and with him some squires of Gascony and England, who accompanied him into Hainault, intending to join the army before Rheims. The young lord of Gomegines, being eager to advance himself, collected some men together on his return to Hainault. Many men-at-arms joined him, and served under his pennon. When they were all assembled, they might amount to about three hundred. They set out from Maubeuge,§ where they had been mustered, and came to Avesnes,‖ which they passed through, and then to Trelon.¶

The lord of Roye, at this period, was in garrison at Roye** in Tierache: there were a great many companions with him, as well knights as squires; and he had been informed, by the spies he kept in pay on the borders of Hainault, of the lord of Gomegines having collected a body of forces, which he was marching to the assistance of the king of England before Rheims, and that he and his troops must pass through Tierache. As soon as the lord of Roye had ascertained the truth of this intelligence, he communicated it secretly to all his fellow-soldiers in the neighborhood, and particularly to the lord Robert, canon de Robersart, who at that time managed the estates of the young earl de Courcy, and resided in the castle of Marle.†† When the canon heard it, he was not slow in obeying the summons, but came to the lord of Roye with full forty lances. The lord of Roye was chosen chief of this expedition, as indeed he had reason to expect, for he was a powerful baron in Picardy, and for the times was a good man, and a gallant soldier, much renowned, and well spoken of in various places.

These French men-at-arms, who might amount to three hundred, posted themselves in ambuscade, on the road the lord of Gomegines and his troops must necessarily pass, who was quite ignorant of their intentions, and who thought to continue his march unmolested; he entered, therefore, Tierache, and taking the road to Rheims, came very early in the morning to a village called Habergny,* where they determined to halt for a short time to refresh themselves and horses, and then to continue their route without any more delay. They dismounted in this village, and began to make preparations for feeding their horses. While his companions were thus employed, the lord of Gomegines, who was then young and wilful, said, he would ride out of the village to see if he could not meet with something better to forage. He called to him five or six of his companions, and Christopher de Mur† his squire, who bore his pennon: they quitted the village furiously, but without any order or regularity.

It happened that the French knights and their troops were in ambuscade near this village: they had followed them the preceding day and night, in order that they might combat them with more certainty; and, if a proper opportunity had not offered itself in the plain, they intended to have entered the village, for the purpose of attacking them; but the lord of Gomegines fell into their hands. When the French lords perceived the lord of Gomegines and his company advancing on this secret excursion, they were at first surprised, and could not conceive who they might be. They sent two scouts on the look-out, who brought back word that they were enemies. This news was no sooner heard than they quitted their ambuscade, each crrying out, "Roye, for the lord of Roye!" The knights advanced before the lord of Roye, who had his banner displayed in front. There were sir Flamen de Roye his cousin, sir Lewis de Robersart, the canon de Robersart his brother, who was a squire, sir Tristram de Bonne-roye, and others, each armed according to his condition, with their swords hanging to their wrists, and their spears couched, toward their enemies, crying out, "Roye, for the lord of Roye!"

When the lord of Gomegines perceived the ambuscade he had fallen into, he was much astonished; but he determined to stand his ground, and wait his enemies, for both himself and followers disdained to fly: they couched their spears, and formed themselves in order of battle. The French, being well mounted, charged these English and Gascons, who were not very numerous; and, at the first charge, the lord of Gomegines was run through with a spear, and had not afterwards an opportunity, from the situation of the place, to remount his horse. His people fought valiantly, and many gallant deeds were done; but in the end the lord of Gomegines could not hold out: he was therefore made prisoner, on his parole. Two of his squires had fought valiantly, but were forced to yield, or they would have been slain, as well as Christopher de Mur, a valiant squire, who bore the pennon of the lord of Gomegines. To make an end of this affair, all those of the Gomegine party were either slain or made prisoners, except the valets, who being well mounted, saved themselves by flight. No pursuit was made after them, more weighty considerations occupying their enemies.

CHAPTER CCIX.

THE LORD OF ROYE AND HIS COMPANY DEFEAT THE REMAINDER OF THE TROOPS OF THE LORD OF GOMEGINES. THE CASTLE OF COMMERCY‡ SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.

The knights who had taken the lord of Gomegines, and overthrown all those who had followed him out of the village, did not wish to lose time, but, putting spurs to their horses, galloped into the above-mentioned village, calling out, "Roye, for the lord of Roye!" Those who were there were much alarmed at this cry, and surprised to find their enemies so near them, as they were chiefly disarmed and scattered about, so that they could not rally nor collect together. The French made prisoners of them at their pleasure, in houses, barns, and ovens: and the canon de Robersart had many who surrendered themselves to him, because his banners were better known than those of the others. It is true, indeed, that some of them retreated to a small fortified house, surrounded by a moat, which is situate in this village of Harcigny, and consulted among themselves whether to defend it until the king of England, who was before Rheims, might hear of their disaster (for the mansion could very soon be made strong enough to enable them to hold out,) when they thought, that as soon as he should know of their situation, he would without doubt send forces to relieve them. While they were thus debating, the lord of Roye and his companions came before it, and said to them: "Listen, gentlemen; if you force us to make the slightest attack, we will not suffer any one of you to escape death; for, if we begin, we will continue the attack until we take it." These and such-like words threw them into confusion, and even the boldest were alarmed: they surrendered, therefore, on having their lives spared. They were all

* Achery—a town in Picardy, on the Oise, diocese of Laon. The river Aine falls into the Oise near Compiegne.

† Dormois—a country of Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

‡ Probably occasioned by the king of Navarre's treasonable designs being discovered. See Villaret's Hist. of France, pp. 216, &c. It is said there, that the castle of Roulleboise was taken by one of the king of Navarre's captains.

§ A strong town in Hainault, on the Sambre, diocese of Cambray.

‖ Avesnes—a strong town in Hainault, diocese of Cambray.

¶ Trelon—a village in Flanders, near Avesnes.

** Roye—a strong town in Picardy. My printed copies have it Ray, two MSS. Roy, one Rosoy.

†† Marle—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

* Habergny. Barnes calls it Harcigny, which is a village in Picardy, diocese of Laon. Habergny is not in the Gazetteer.

† Barnes makes him an Englishman, of the name of Moor, but I see no cause for it.

‡ Commercy is not in the Gazetteer. Barnes calls it Cormicy, which is a town in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

made prisoners, and sent to the castle of Coucy, and the other garrisons from whence the French had marched. This disaster happened to the lord of Gomegnies and his party about Christmas, 1359. When the king of England was informed of it, he was mightily enraged; but he could not amend it.

We will now return to the siege of Rheims, and speak of an adventure which happened to sir Bartholomew Burghersh, who had laid siege to the town and castle of Cormicy, in which was a knight of Champagne, whose name was sir Henry de Vaulx; he wore black armor, and bore for arms five almonds argent on a field sable: his war-cry was "Viane."*

During this siege of Rheims, the earls, barons, and great lords were quartered in the neighborhood, as you have before heard, in order to prevent any provision being carried into that city. Among them was sir Bartholomew Burghersh, a great baron of England: he and his suite, with his company of archers and men-at-arms, were lodged near Cormicy, where there is a handsome castle belonging to the archbishop of Rheims, who had put into it the knight before-mentioned, with many good companions, to guard it against their enemies. They were far from fearing any attack; for the castle had a large square tower, whose walls were very thick, and it was well furnished with arms of defence.

When sir Bartholomew had surrounded this castle, and, by well reconnoitering its strength, found he could not take it by assault, he ordered a number of miners, whom he had with him in his pay, to get themselves ready and do their duty in undermining the fortress, when he would reward them handsomely: upon which they replied, they would cheerfully undertake it. The miners immediately broke ground, and, having lodged themselves in their mine, worked night and day: insomuch that they advanced far under the great tower; and, as they pushed forward, they propped up the work, that those within knew nothing of it. When they had thus completed their mine so that they could throw down the tower when they chose, they came to sir Bartholomew Burghersh, and said to him: "Sir, we have carried our works so far that this tower, great as it is, shall be thrown down whenever you please." "It is well," replied sir Bartholomew, "but do nothing more without my orders:" to which they willingly consented. The knight immediately mounted his steed; and taking John de Guistelles† with him, who was one of his companions, they advanced to the castle, and sir Bartholomew made a signal that he wished to have a parley with those within. Upon this, sir Henry came forward on the battlements, and demanded what he wanted. "I want you to surrender," replied sir Bartholomew, "or you will all infallibly be destroyed." "By what means?" answered the French knight, who began to laugh; "we are perfectly well supplied with everything; and you wish us thus simply to surrender: certainly it shall not be to-day," added sir Henry. "Certainly," said the English knight, "if you were truly informed what your situation is, you would surrender instantly, without more words." "Why, what is our situation?" demanded sir Henry. "If you will come out, upon my assurance of your safety, I will show you," replied sir Bartholomew. Sir Henry accepted the condition, and came out of the fortress, with only three others, to sir Bartholomew and John de Guistelles, who immediately conducted them to the mine, and showed them that the great tower was only supported on props of wood.

When the French knight saw the peril he and his garrison were in, he told sir Bartholomew, that he had very good reasons for what he had said, and that his proceedings were truly gallant and noble: "We shall therefore surrender ourselves to your will." Sir Bartholomew took them all his prisoners, made them leave the tower one after the other with their baggage, and then set fire to the mine. The timber was soon on fire; and, when the props were burnt, the tower, which was extremely large, opened in two places, and fell on the opposite side to where sir Bartholomew was standing, who said to sir Henry and the garrison of the fortress, "Now, see if I did not tell you the truth." "We own it, sir," replied they, "and remain prisoners at your pleasure. We also return you our best thanks for your kindness to us; for if the Jacquerie, who formerly overran this country, had had the same advantage over us that you have, they would not have acted so generously." Thus were all the garrison of Cormicy made prisoners, and the castle thrown to the ground.

The king of England remained before Rheims for upward of seven weeks, but never made any assault upon it, as it would have been useless. He began to tire; and as his army found great difficulties in obtaining forage and provision, their horses perished. He broke up his camp, and marched off toward Châlons, in Champagne, in the same order as before. The king and his army passed very near to Châlons, and sat down before Bar-sur-Aube, and afterwards before the city of Troyes. He took up his quarters at Mery-sur-Seine,‡ sur-Seine, his constable,* who commanded always the van battalion, advanced and came before St. Florentin,† which was under the command of sir Odoart de Rency; and, after having displayed his banner (which was blazoned, or and azure, a chief pally, and at each of the two corners girons, and an escutcheon argent in the midst of the shield,) before the gate of the fortress, made a fierce attack on it, but in vain. The king of England and his whole army came and took up their quarters at Saint Florentin and the neighborhood, on the banks of the river Armançon.‡ When they marched from thence, they came before Tonnerre,§ which was so briskly attacked, the town was won, but not the castle. The English, however, found in that town upward of three thousand butts of wine, which were of great service to them.

The whole army lay between Mery and Troyes, which is reckoned to be eight leagues distant from each other. While he was at Mery-

At this period the lord de Ficnnes, constable of France, was in the city of Auxerre ‖ with a number of men-at-arms.

CHAPTER CCX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND, AFTER HE HAD RAISED THE SIEGE OF RHEIMS, WASTES AND DESTROYS ALL THE COUNTRIES HE PASSES THROUGH. HE COMES TO GUILLON, WHERE HE REMAINS. GREAT QUANTITIES OF PROVISION FOLLOW THE ARMY.

THE king of England and his army remained five days in Tonnerre, on account of the good wines he found there. The castle was often assaulted: but it was well provided with men-at-arms, commanded by sir Baldwin d'Annequin, master of the cross-bows. When they had well reposed and refreshed themselves in Tonnerre, they marched off, and crossed the river Armançon. The king of England left the road to Auxerre on his right hand, and took that which leads to Noyers:¶ his intentions were to enter Burgundy and pass his Lent there. He and his whole army marched above Noyers; but he would not suffer any attack to be made on it, as the lord of it was his prisoner since the battle of Poitiers. They marched on for their quarters to a town called Montroyal,** situated on a river called Sellettes; and, when the king left it, he went up that river, and proceeded straight to take possession of his lodging at Guillon,†† which is also on its banks; for one of his squires, called John d'Alençon, who bore for his arms a scutcheon argent in a field azure, had taken the town of Flavigny‡‡ in its neighborhood, and had found within it a sufficiency of provision for the whole army for a month. This was very fortunate, as the king remained there from the night of Ash-Wednesday until Mid-lent. His marshals and light troops scoured the country round, burning and destroying it, and frequently bringing to the army fresh provisions.

I must inform you, that the king of England and his rich lords were followed by carts laden with tents, pavilions, mills, and forges, to grind their corn and make shoes for their horses, and everything of that sort which might be wanting. For this purpose there were upward of six thousand carts, each of them drawn by four good and strong horses which had been transported from England. Upon these carts also were many vessels and small boats, made surprisingly well of boiled leather: they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake or pond, whatever might be its size: and they were of great use to the lords and barons during Lent: but the commonalty made use of what provisions they could get. The king had, besides, thirty falconers on horseback, laden with hawks: sixty couple of strong hounds, and as many greyhounds; so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fishing either by land or water.§§ Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king.

Their army was always in three divisions, and each person kept to his division: there was also a vanguard to every one of them, and their quarters were one league distant from each other, the king being with the third and largest division. This order was constantly kept on their march from Calais, until they came before the town of Chartres.

During the time the king of England remained at Guillon, where he was living on the provision which John d'Alençon had found in

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* In all the printed books I have seen, his name is Henry de Nor, but at the end it is Henri de Vaulx. My two MSS. have, "Messire Henri de Vaulx, et s'armoit le dit messire Henri, de noir a cinq amans d'argent, et cri est Viane."

Q. Amans—not in any of my dictionaries. Mr. Lodge supposes they must mean almonds.

[Amans, in Norman French, mean *diamonds*, or, in heraldic phrase, lozenges; the arms of Henri de Nor or de Vaulx, are not given in D. Sauvage's or Lord Berners.—Ed.]

† Barnes calls him lord John de Botetourt; but he gives no authority for it.

‡ Mery sur Seine—diocese and election of Troyes, seven leagues from Troyes.

* Roger earl of Mortimer. See more of him and his arms, in Ashmole, p. 692.

Mr. Lodge says, the arms of Mortimer have puzzled heralds at all times; but the terms heralds now use in blazoning the arms of Mortimer are these: "Barry of six or and azure, and an escutcheon argent; on a chief of the first three pallets of the second, between two girons or." [The arms of Mortimer, given in Burke's "Extinct, dormant, and suspended Peerages," are as follow: Barry of six or and azure on a chief of the first, three pellets between two esquires, bust dexter and sinister, of the second, and an escutcheon argent.—Ed.]

† St. Florentin—situated on the Armançon, thirteen leagues from Troyes.

‡ In the printed copies it is Monson, but in my MSS. Armançon.

§ Tonnerre—situated on the Armançon, diocese of Langres.

‖ It is Dampierre in the printed copies. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to have been Auxerre. It is Auxerre in my MSS.

¶ Noyers—a town in Burgundy, on the river Serin, diocese of Langres.

** I cannot find Montroyal, nor the river Sellettes, in the Gazetteer.

†† Quillon—a town in Burgundy, in the bailiwick of Avalon.

‡‡ Flavigny—a town of Burgundy, situated near the Onzerain, bailiwick of Semur-en-Auxois.

§§ Lord Berners says "he either hunted or hawked *at the river*." It is not to be supposed that he or his lords could find much pleasure in fishing in their leather boats or coracles, although they were useful to obtain a supply of fish for them in Lent. The words in D. Sauvage's ed. are, "Le roy avoit bien pour lui trent fauconiers à cheval, charges d'oiseaux, et bien soixantes couples de forts chiens et autant de leuriers: *dont* il alloit chacun jour ou en chace ou en riviere."—Ed.

Flavigny, his thoughts were employed in devising means to keep and maintain himself in France. The young duke of Burgundy and his council, at the request of his subjects, sent to the king divers lords and knights, as embassadors to treat with him, so that the duchy of Burgundy should not be destroyed or pillaged. The undernamed lords accepted this commission: first, the lord Anselme de Sallins, great chancellor of Burgundy; sir James de Vienne, sir John Derie, sir Hugh de Vienne, sir William de Thoroise and sir John de Montmartin. These lords managed the affair so well, and found the king of England in such good humor, that a treaty was soon entered into between them; and a composition was made, that for three years no part of the duchy of Burgundy should be overrun, on condition of having 200,000 livres paid down.* When this treaty was finished and sealed, the king and his whole army dislodged, and set out on his return, taking the straight road for Paris, fixing his quarters at Avalon† upon the river Cousin, below Vezelay.‡

The quarters of his army extended from the river Yonne as far as Clamecy,§ to the entrance of the county of Nevers. The English entered Gatinois; and the king made such forced marches that he came so near Paris as to take up his quarters within two short leagues of it, at Bourg-la-Reine. As he and his army passed through the country, they destroyed it on all sides. On the other hand, the garrisons which he had in Picardy, Beauvoisis, the Isle of France, Champagne and Brie, carried on a continual war, and ruined the country.

The king of Navarre resided in Normandy, and made a cruel war against France, insomuch that that noble kingdom was so grievously oppressed, it did not know which way to turn itself.

But above all, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was the most active: his quarters were at Cheny-sur-Aisne, where he had a strong garrison of soldiers and men-at-arms, who overran, pillaged and ransomed the good county of Rethel, from Donchery to Mezières, and as far as Chesne-le-Pouilleux and Stenay,‖ in the county of Bay.¶ They quartered themselves wherever they chose in all that country, for two or three nights, without opposition from any one, and then returned unmolested to their garrison at Cheny, to refresh and recruit themselves. It is true indeed, that all the neighboring lords, knights and squires, threatened them much: they met together, and appointed different days for their assembling, to take the field and besiege sir Eustace in his castle of Cheny; but nothing in fact was done.

It happened that these adventurers (whose whole thoughts, night and day, were occupied on the best means of taking towns, and in what parts of the country they should find most to pillage) came one night to a good town with a strong castle, situated in the Laonois,** tolerably near to Montagu,†† and in a very deep marshy country, the name of which was Pierrepont.‡‡ At this time, there were in it a great many people of the country, who had carried thither their goods, trusting to the strength of the place. When sir Eustace's companions arrived, the guard was asleep: they marched, therefore, through the deep marshes with much loss, for their avarice urged them on, and they came to the walls of the town, which they entered without resistance, and robbed at their pleasure. They found in it more riches than in any other place; and, when it was day, they burnt the town, and returned to Cheny, well laden with booty.§§

CHAPTER CCXI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE UNDER GREAT TRIBULATION. A CORDELIER FRIAR PROPHESIES. THE ENGLISH PLACE AN AMBUSCADE FOR THOSE WHO SHOULD COME OUT OF PARIS.

About this period, a Franciscan friar, full of knowledge and understanding,‖‖ was at Avignon: his name was John de Rochetaillade: and pope Innocent VI. kept him a prisoner in the castle of Baignoux, not only on account of the great prophecies he made of the times to come, chiefly and principally relating to the heads and prelates of the holy church, by reason of their pride and the expensive life they led, but also concerning the kingdom of France, and the great lords of Christendom, for their heavy oppressions on the common people. The above-mentioned John was willing to prove all he said from the Apocalypse, and by the ancient books of the holy prophets, which were opened to him through the grace of the Holy Ghost, by which he uttered things that were difficult to be credited. Some of the predictions he had made were seen to come to pass within the time, which he never could have foretold as a prophet but by means of the ancient Scriptures, and the Holy Spirit, that had given him the power of understanding these ancient prophecies, and of announcing to all Christians the year and time when they were to be fulfilled.

He made many books, full of much science and learning. One was written in the year 1346, which contained many marvellous things, difficult of belief, but of which some had come to pass already. When he was questioned concerning the war against France, he answered, that what they had seen was nothing to what was to happen; for there would be no peace until the realm of France was destroyed and ruined from one end to the other*. This indeed happened afterwards; for that kingdom was completely spoiled at the time the friar had fixed, in the years 1356, 1357, 1358, and 1359; insomuch that none of its princes or gentlemen dared to show themselves against those of the low estate collected from all parts, and who had arrived, one after the other, without leader or chief, while the country had not any means of resisting them. They elected (as you have before seen,) in different parts of the country, captains from among themselves, to whom they paid obedience. The captains, when they enrolled any man in their companies, made certain agreements with them respecting their shares of booty and the ransom of prisoners: they found so much pillage, that all the leaders became rich from the great wealth they amassed.

King Edward was lodged at Bourg-la-Reine, two short leagues from Paris, and his army in different parts between that and Montlhery†. He sent from thence his heralds to the duke of Normandy in Paris, who had with him a great number of men-at-arms, to offer him battle: but the duke would not accede to it. His messengers, therefore, returned without having done anything. When the king found that his enemies would not venture out of Paris, he was mightily enraged: upon which that good knight, sir Walter Manny, stepped forth and besought his lord that he would permit him to make an excursion and assault as far as the barriers of Paris. The king consented to his request, and named himself those knights that should accompany him. He made also many new knights on the occasion; among whom were, the lord Delaware, the lord de Silvacier, sir Thomas Banaster‡, sir William Torceaux, sir Thomas le Despensier, sir John Neville, sir Richard Dostmay, and many others. Colart d'Ambreticourt, son of sir Nicholas, would have been of the number; for the king was desirous of it, as he was attached to his person and squire of his body; but the young man excused himself, by saying he could not find his helmet.

Sir Walter Manny set out on this enterprise, and carried with him these new knights to skirmish and to make an attack on the barriers of Paris. Many hard blows were given and received; for there were within the city several valiant knights and squires, who would willingly have sallied forth, if the duke of Normandy had given his consent. They, however, guarded the gates and barriers so well that no damage was done to them. This skirmish lasted until twelve o'clock, and many were killed on both sides. Sir Walter then retreated with his people to their quarters, where they remained together that day and the following night. On the morrow, the king dislodged, and took the road to Montlhery.

When the camp was breaking up, some English and Gascon knights planned the following enterprise. They thought, that as there were so many knights in Paris, some of them would sally out after them: and some young adventurers would endeavor to gain, by their valor, both honor and booty. They therefore placed two hundred picked men, well armed, in an old empty house, three leagues from Paris. The chiefs of the Gascon party were, the captal de Buch, sir Aymery de Pommiers, and the lord de Courton: of the English, the lord Neville, the lord Mowbray, and Sir Richard de Pontchardon. These six knights were the leaders of this ambuscade.

When the French who were within Paris perceived that the king of England was decamping, some young knights collected together, and said among themselves: "It will be a good thing for us to sally out secretly, and follow a while the army of England, to see if we

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* See this treaty in Rymer, anno 1360. The sum was 200,000 moutons—50,000 to be paid at the ensuing feast of St. John the Baptist, 100,000 at Christmas, and 50,000 at Easter.

† Avalon—a town of Burgundy, on the Cousin, which falls into the Yonne.

‡ Vezelay—a town in Nivernois, diocese of Autun, four leagues from Clamecy

§ Clamecy—a small city of the Nivernois, diocese of Auxerre, on the conflux of the Yonne and Beuvron.

‖ Stenay—in the diocese of Treves, on the Meuse.

¶ I cannot find, in any dictionary, the county of Bay. It is Buy in Denys Sauvage. Stenay is in the diocese of Treves, but even the connection of names is so wide, I cannot suppose it to be a mistake for Treves.

** Laonois—in Picardy.

†† Montagu—in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

‡‡ Pierrepont—village of Picardy, diocese of Laon.

§§ This passage is one of those so excellently translated by Lord Berners, that we are induced to subjoin it. "These companyons who ymagined nyght and daye howe they might gent and steale townes and fortresses on a nyght ther, came to a stronge towne and a good castell in Laonnoyse nere to Montague; this fortresse was called Pierpont standyng in a maresse; the same season there were within the towne great nombre of men of the countrey that had brought thither theyr goodes on trust of the strength of the place. When they of Cheny came thither the watche within was aslepe; they spared not the dangerous maresses, but went through them and came to the walles and so entered into the towne and wanne it without defence and robbed it at their pleasure. They found ther more riches than ever they found before in any towne. And whan it was day they brent the towne and returned to Cheny well furnysshed with great pyllage."—Ed.

‖‖ "Plein de grand *clergie* et de grande entendement," are the words used in D. Sauvage's ed.—Ed.

* There is a difference here in Lord Berners, and we have therefore transcribed his version. The ed. of D. Sauvage agrees with Mr. Johnes. It will be seen that Lord Berners makes the friar *particularly* predict the Jacquerie, while in Mr. Johnes's version a general prophecy alone is ascribed to him. "The whiche sayeing was well seen after, for the noble realme of Fraunce was sore wasted and exyled, and specially in that terme that the sayd frere had sette, the which was in the yeres of our Lorde MCCCLVI, VII, VIII, and VIX. *He saude in those years the princis and gentylmen of the realme shuld not for feare shewe themselfe against the people of lowe estate* assembled of all countres without heed or capitayne, and they shulde do as they lyste in the realme of Fraunce, the whiche felle after as ye have herde, howe the companyons assembled theym toguether and by reason of theyr robbery and pyllage waxed riche and became great capitaynes," are the words of Lord Berners.—Ed.

† Montlhery—a town in the Isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

‡ Sir Thomas Banaster was afterwards elected knight of the garter in this king's reign. See his life, in Anstis's History of the Garter, vol. ii p. 153.

cannot gain something." They were all instantly of this opinion, so that sir Raoul de Coucy, sir Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Monsault, the lord de Helay, the constable of Beauvais, le bègue de Villaines, the lord de Beausiers, the lord of Ulbarin, sir Gauvain de Valouel, sir Flamant de Roye, sir Azelles de Cavilly, sir Peter de Fermoises, Peter de Savoises, and upward of a hundred lances with them, sallied out well mounted, with a thorough good will to do something; but they must first find the occasion. They took the road to Bourg-la-Reine, which they passed, and gained the open fields, when they followed the track of the cavalry and army of England, and rode beyond the ambuscade of the captal and his company.

They were no sooner passed than the English and Gascons marched out of it, after them, with their lances in their rests, shouting their war-cry. The French turned about, wondering who they could be: but they soon found they were their enemies. They immediately halted, and drew themselves up in battle array, and, with couched spears, prepared to meet the English and Gascons, who soon joined them. At this first onset many were unhorsed on both sides, for both parties were well mounted. After this tilting-bout, they drew their swords, and attacking each other more closely, many hard blows were given, and many gallant deeds performed. This attack lasted a considerable time, and the ground was so well disputed, that it was difficult to say which of the two would be conqueror. The captal de Buch shone particularly, and did with his hand many deeds worthy so good a knight. In the end, however, the English and Gascons fought so valiantly, that the field remained to them: they were more than half as many again as the French.

The lord of Campreny showed himself a valiant knight on the side of the French, and fought gallantly under his banner, the bearer of which was slain: his banner was argent, a buckle gules, between six martlets sable, three above and three below. The lord of Campreny was made prisoner. The other French knights and squires, who saw the ill success of their attempt, and that they could not recover themselves, took the road toward Paris, fighting as they retreated, and the English pursuing them most eagerly. In this retreat, which continued beyond Bourg-la-Reine, nine knights, as well bannerets as others, were made prisoners; and, if the English and Gascons who pursued them had not been afraid that others might sally out of Paris to their assistance, not one would have escaped being killed or taken. When this enterprise was finished, they returned toward Montlhery, where the king was. They carried their prisoners with them, to whom they behaved very courteously, and ransomed them handsomely that same evening, allowing them to return to Paris, or wherever else they chose, taking readily their word of honor as sufficient security for their ransom.

The intention of the king of England was to enter the fertile country of Beauce, and follow the course of the Loire all the summer, to recruit and refresh his army in Brittany until after August; and as soon as the vintage was over, which from all appearances promised to be abundant, he meant to return again and lay siege to France, that is to say, to Paris; for he wished not to return to England, as he had so publicly declared, on setting out, his determination to conquer that kingdom, and to leave garrisons of those who were carrying on the war for him in France, in Poitou, Champagne, Ponthieu, Vimeu, Valguessin,* in Normandy, and throughout the whole kingdom of France, except in those cities and towns which had voluntarily submitted to him.

The duke of Normandy was at this time at Paris with his two brothers, their uncle the duke of Orleans, and all the principal councillors of state, who, well aware of the courage of the king of England, and how he pillaged and impoverished the whole realm of France, knew also that his situation could not last, for the rents both of the nobles and clergy were generally unpaid. At this period, a very wise and valiant man was chancellor of France, whose name was sir William † de Montagu, bishop of Therouenne: by his advice the kingdom was governed: every part of it profited from his good and loyal counsel. Attached to him were two clerks of great prudence; one was the abbot of Clugny, the other friar Symon de Langres, principal of the predicant monks, and doctor in divinity. These two clerks just named, at the request and command of the duke of Normandy and his brothers, the duke of Orleans their uncle, and of the whole of the great council, set out from Paris with certain articles of peace. Sir Hugh de Geneve, lord of Autun, was also their companion. They went to the king of England, who was overrunning Beauce, near to Gallardon.‡

These two prelates and the knight had a parley with the king of England, when they began to open a treaty of peace with him and his allies. To this treaty the duke of Lancaster, the prince of Wales, the earl of March,§ and many other barons were summoned. However, this treaty was not concluded, though it was discussed for a long time. The king of England kept advancing into the country, seeking for those parts where was the greatest abundance. The commissioners, like wise men, never quitted the king, nor suffered their proposals to drop; for they saw the kingdom in such a miserable situation, that the greatest danger was to be apprehended if they should suffer another summer to pass without peace. On the other hand, the king of England insisted on such conditions as would have been so very grievous and prejudicial to France, that the commissioners, in honor, could not assent to them: so that their treaties and conferences lasted seventeen days, the two prelates and the lord of Autun constantly following the king of England this last was much listened to at the court of the king. They sent every day, or every other day, their treaties and minutes to the duke of Normandy and his brothers at Paris, that they might see what state they were in, and have answers thereto; as well as to know in what manner they were to act. All these papers were attentively examined and considered privately in the apartments of the duke of Normandy, and then the full intentions of the duke were written down, with the opinions of his council to these commissioners; by which means, nothing passed on either side without being fully specified and examined most cautiously. These aforesaid Frenchmen were in the king's apartments, or in his lodgings, as it happened, in the different places he halted at, as well on his march toward Chartres as otherwise; and they made great offers, to bring the war to a conclusion; but the king was very hard to treat with: for his intention was, to be in fact king of France, although he had never been so, to die with that rank, and also to put Brittany, Blois and Touraine in the same situation as those other provinces where he had garrisons. If his cousin, the duke of Lancaster, whom he much loved and confided in, had not persuaded him to give up such ideas, and advised him to listen to the offers of peace, he never would have come to any terms. He very wisely remonstrated with him, and said: "My lord, this war which you are carrying on in the kingdom of France is wonderful to all men, and not too favorable to you. Your people are the only real gainers by it; for you are wasting your time. Considering everything, if you persist in continuing the war, it may last you your life; and it appears to me doubtful if you will ever succeed to the extent of your wishes. I would recommend therefore, while you have the power of closing it honorably, to accept the proposals which have been offered to you; for, my lord, we may lose more in one day than we have gained in twenty years." These prudent and sensible words, which the duke of Lancaster uttered loyally, and with the best intentions, to advise the king of England to his good, converted the king to his opinion, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, who also worked to the same effect: for an accident befel him and all his army, who were then before Chartres, that much humbled him, and bent his courage.

During the time that the French commissioners were passing backward and forward from the king to his council, and unable to obtain any favorable answer to their offers, there happened such a storm and violent tempest of thunder and hail, which fell on the English army, that it seemed as if the world was come to an end. The hailstones were so large as to kill men and beasts, and the boldest were frightened.

The king turned himself toward the church of Our Lady at Chartres, and religiously vowed to the Virgin, as he has since confessed, that he would accept of terms of peace. He was at this time lodged in a small village, near Chartres, called Bretigny; and there were then committed to writing, certain rules and ordinances for peace, upon which the following articles were drawn out. To follow up this, and more completely to treat of it, the councillors and lawyers of the king of England drew up a paper called the Charter of Peace, with great deliberation and much prudence, the tenor of which follows.

CHAPTER CCXII.

THE FORM AND TENOR OF THE PAPER DRAWN UP AS ARTICLES OF THE PEACE, WHICH WAS CONCLUDED BEFORE CHARTRES, BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

"EDWARD, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. As, in consequence of the dissensions, variance, discord and strife, that have arisen, or that might have been expected to arise between us and our very dear brother the king of France, certain commissioners and procurators from us and from our dear son, Edward prince of Wales, having sufficient power and authority for us, for him and for our kingdom on the one part, and certain others commissioners and procurators from our said brother, and from our very dear nephew Charles duke of Normandy and dauphin of Vienne, eldest son to the aforesaid king of France, having power and authority from his father, in this instance, for his father and for himself on the other part, have been assembled at Bretigny, near Chartres: in which place the abovementioned dissensions, variances and strife were discussed, debated, and finally closed; and the commissioners from us and from our son, for us and for him, and the commissioners from our aforesaid brother and nephew, for his father and for himself, did swear upon the holy Evangelists, to preserve, keep and fulfil the aforesaid treaty, as we have also sworn and will swear to whatever is said or concluded in the above treaty.

"And in this treaty, among other articles, our brother of France and his son aforesaid, are held and have promised to give up and surrender to us, our heirs and successors for ever, the counties, cities,

* Most probably Vexin. Vexin Normand is bounded on one side by the Seine.

† The president Henault calls him Gille Ayscelin de Montagu, cardinal and bishop of Thérouenne, vol. i. 4to, p. 263.

‡ Gallardon—a town in Beauce, diocese and election of Chartres.

§ This is a mistake, for the earl of March was killed a month prior to this treaty, the 26th of February, at Rouvray in Burgundy.—BARNES.

towns, castles, fortresses, lands, islands, rents, and revenues, and other things which follow, with all that we are now in possession of in Guienne and Gascony, to hold for ever by us, our heirs and successors, in the same manner that the kings of France have always held them: that which is in demesne in demesne, and that which is in fief in fief, in such manner as will be hereafter explained; that is to say, the city, castle and county of Poitiers with all the lands and country of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars* and the lands of Belleville;† the town and castle of Saintes, and all the lands and territory of the county of Saintonge on each side the river Charente, with the town and fortress of la Rochelle, their appurtenances and appendages; the city and castle of Agen, and the country of Agenois: the city, town, castle, and all the lands of Perigord, with the whole country of Periguex: the city and castle of Limoges and country of Limousin: the city and castle of Cahors and country of Cahorsin: the city, castle and country of Tarbes, the territory of the country of Bigorre: the country and lands of Gaure: the city and castle of Angoulême, with all the country of Angoumois: the city and castle of Rodais, and the county and country of Rouergue: and if there should be any lords in the duchy of Guienne (such as the count de Foix, the count de Armagnac, the count de l'Isle, the viscount de Carmain, the count de Perigord, the viscount de Limorges or others,) that hold any lands within the boundaries of the above-mentioned places, they shall be bounden to do us homage, and all other services and duties due on account of their lands and places in the same manner as they formerly have performed them: and we shall rëenter upon all that we, or any other kings of England have possessed, as well as upon these places whence we formerly had received nothing.

"The viscounty of Montreuil-sur-mer has been also promised to be given up to us in the same manner as in former times, and all whatsoever we or any other king of England possessed there: and whereas there have arisen disputes relative to the division of this territory, our brother of France has promised, that he will declare it to be ours as speedily as possible after his return to France.

"Item, it is also promised that the county of Ponthieu shall be delivered over to us entire, save and except that if any part of it should have been alienated by the kings of England who reigned before us, and were formerly possessors of it and its appurtenances, to others than the kings of France, neither our aforesaid brother, nor his successors, shall be bounden to surrender them: and if the said alienations have been made to any former kings of France, immediately, without passing through a third person, and our aforesaid brother be in possession of them, he shall render them wholly up to us: excepting that if the kings of France have had them from us in exchange for other lands, we will deliver up such lands so exchanged: but if any of the kings of England at former times should have alienated or disposed of any parts to others than to the kings of France, and it should afterwards have come into the hands of our aforesaid brother, he shall not be obliged to surrender them: and if the parts aforesaid owe homage to us, or our successors, he shall grant them to others, who will pay us that homage; but, if they do not owe homage, he shall give them to a tenant that shall do us suit and service, within the year ensuing upon our departure from Calais.

"Item, the castle and town of Calais; the castle, town, and lordship of Merle; the towns, castles, and lordships of Sangato, Coulogne, Ham, Walles, and Oye, with the lands, woods, marshes, rivers, rents, lordships, advowsons of churches, and all other appurtenances and places lying within the limits and bounds following; that is to say, from Calais to the course of the river before Gravelines, and also by the course of the river which falls into the great lake of Guines, as far as Fretun, and from thence by the valley round the mountain of Chalk, inclosing that mountain, and as far as the sea, including Sangate and all its appurtenances.

"Item, the king of England shall also possess the castle, town, and the whole county of Guines, with all its castles, towns, fortresses, woods, lands, men, homages, lordships, forests, rights, as completely as the last count of Guines, lately deceased, held it during his life: and the churches and good men, being within the boundaries of the said county and other places above mentioned, shall obey him in the same manner as they did our aforesaid brother, the count of Guines, for that time. All these things comprehended in the present article, and in the preceding one of Merle and Calais, we shall hold in demesne, excepting the inheritances and possessions of the churches, which shall remain wholly to the said churches, wherever they may be situated; and also except the inheritances of the other people of the countries of Merle and Calais, as far as the value of one hundred pounds a-year in land, according to the current coin of the country; which inheritances shall remain to them of the abovesaid value and under; but the habitations and inheritances in the town of Calais, and their appurtenances, shall remain in demesne to us, for us to order and do as we please with them: and also all the possessions of the householders and inhabitants of the county and town of Guines shall remain to them, and shall be restored fully, save and except what is said and declared relative to the bounds and frontiers above mentioned, in the article of Calais.

"Item, the king of England shall have possession of all islands adjoining to the lands or places above-mentioned, together with all other islands he was possessed of at the time of this treaty.

"And it has also been discussed, that our aforesaid brother and his eldest son should renounce all right and sovereignty which they may have over the above-mentioned places, and that we should possess them as a neighbor, without any vassalage or dependence on our said brother, or on the kingdom of France; and that our brother aforesaid shall give up to us in perpetuity all right and dominion which he may have over the places before mentioned.

"And it has also been discussed, that in like manner we and our said son shall expressly renounce all those things that are not to be given up and surrendered to us by the said treaty, more especially the name of king of France, and all right and title to that kingdom, and to the homage, sovereignty, and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the county of Touraine, and the counties of Anjou and Maine; and to the sovereignty and homage of the county of Flanders; and to the sovereignty and homage of the duchy of Brittany (excepting the right of the count de Montfort, and what claim he may have on that duchy and country of Brittany, which we reserve, and by express words put out of our treaty; saving, however, that when we and our aforesaid brother shall come to Calais, we will so manage the business, by the advice of able counsellors and other deputies, that we will establish peace and concord between the count de Montford and our cousin sir Charles de Blois, who claims and challenges the inheritance of Brittany;‡ and we renounce whatever claims we made, or may have made, of any sort whatever, except those things above-mentioned which are to be given to us and our heirs; and we give up and cease from making any claims on all other things, but those which are to be yielded to us.

"Upon this subject, after many altercations had taken place, ending in a mutual agreement that these renunciations, transportations, cessions and aforesaid surrenderings should be made as soon as our said brother shall have given up to us, or to our people especially deputed for that purpose, the city and castle of Poitiers, with all the territory of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars and of Belleville: the city and castle of Agen, with all the territory of the Agenois; the city and castle of Perigord, with the territory of Perigueux; the city and castle of Cahors, with the territory of Cahorsin; the city and castle of Rodais, with the territory of Rouergue; the city and castle of Saintes, with the territory of Saintonge; the city and castle of Limoges, with all the territory of Limousin; and that which we or other kings of England have held in the town of Montreuil-sur-mer, with its appurtenances. Item, the whole county of Ponthieu, save and except the contents of the article contained in the said treaty which makes mention of the said county. Item, the castle and town of Calais; the castle, town and lordship of Sangate, Colloigne, Ham, Walles, Oye, with the lands, rivers, marshes, rents, woods, lordships and other things mentioned in the article respecting them. Item, the castle, town and entire county of Guines, with all the lands, castles, towns, fortresses, places, men, homages, woods, lordships, forests and rights, according to the tenor of the article which in the treaty makes fuller mention of them, and with the islands adjacent to the said lands, countries and places before mentioned, together with those other islands which we are now in the possession of (that is to say, at the date of this article and of the peace.) We, and our brother the king of France, have promised by faith and oath to each other to preserve and keep this treaty and maintain the peace, and to do nothing against it; and we are bounden, us and our said brother the king of France, and our eldest sons before mentioned, by obligation and promise and by faith and oath to each other pledged, to make certain renunciations one to the other according to the form and tenor of the aforesaid article of peace.

"Item, it is agreed, that the king of France and his eldest son the regent, for them and for their heirs for ever, shall as soon as possible, and without any double dealing, at the latest within the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, deliver up and give to the king of England, his heirs and successors, and convey to them the honors, royalties, services, homages, allegiances, vassalages, fiefs, obediences, acknowledgments, oaths, rights, seizures, and all manner of jurisdictions, both criminal and civil, appeals, securities, lordships and sovereignties which appertained, now appertain, or may hereafter appertain to the kings or to the crown of France, or to any other person on account of the king or for the aforesaid crown of France, in whatever time it may have been, in the cities, towns, castles, fortresses, islands, countries and places before named, or in any one of them, their appurtenances and appendages, wherever they may be, whether held by princes, dukes, counts, viscounts, archbishops, bishops, abbots or other prelates of the church, barons, knights, nobles or others whomsoever, without reserve to themselves, their heirs and successors, or to the crown of France, or to any other person whatever: nor shall they challenge or demand, at any future period, anything of the above from the king of England, his heirs or successors, or from any one of his vassals or subjects aforesaid, in any one of the places or countries before-mentioned, in behalf of the king or crown of France. Thus, therefore, all the before-named persons, and their heirs and successors, shall be liege men and subjects of the king of England, his heirs and successors for ever; and they shall hold and keep all persons, cities, counties, lands, islands, castles and places before-

* Thouars—an ancient city on a hill and on the river Thoue, seven leagues from Poitiers.

† Belleville. There are two villages in Poitou of this name—one near Noir, the other near les Sables d'Olonne.

mentioned, with all their appurtenances and appendages, and shall remain fully and peaceably for ever in their lordship, sovereignty, obedience, loyalty and subjection, as the preceding kings of France had and kept them in former times: and the aforesaid king of England, his heirs and successors, shall and will maintain, peaceably and perpetually, all the countries before-named in full freedom and liberty for ever, as sovereign and liege lord, and neighbor to the king of France and said kingdom of France, without acknowledging any sovereignty or paying any obedience, homage, jurisdiction or subjection, and in time to come without doing any service or acknowledgment to the king or crown of France for the cities, counties, castles, lands, territories, islands, places and persons before-named, or for any one of them.

Item, it is agreed, that the king of France and his eldest son shall expressly renounce the said jurisdictions and sovereignties, and all those things which by this present treaty ought to belong to the king of England; and in like manner the king of England and his eldest son shall renounce all those things which, by this present treaty, are not to be granted to the king of England, and all those claims he made on the king of France, and particularly the title, right, and arms, and the challenge he made of the crown and kingdom of France; the homage, sovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, of the county of Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the sovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders, and all other claims which the king of England made at the time of the aforesaid challenge, and might make in times to come upon the said realm of France, through any reason whatever, except those things which by the present treaty are granted to the king of England and his heirs; and they will convey, surrender, and yield, one king to the other, in perpetuity, all the right which each has or may have on all those things and places which by the present treaty are to remain or to be granted to each of them; and with regard to the time and place when these renunciations are to be made, the two kings will consult each other, and order it when they shall be at Calais together.

"And because also our said brother of France and his eldest son, in order to maintain and keep the said articles of peace and agreement aforesaid, have expressly renounced the jurisdictions and sovereignties comprised in the said articles to all rights which they had or might have had on all the above-mentioned things which our said brother has granted, delivered, and abandoned to us, and in those other things which henceforward ought to appertain and belong to us by the said treaty of peace. We, among these said things, renounce expressly all those which are not to be granted to us, for ourselves and our heirs, and all those claims which we made or might make on our said brother of France, and especially to the title and right to the crown of France and the sovereignty of that kingdom, and to the homage, sovereignty, and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and to the sovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders; and other claims which we made, or might have made, on our said brother, for whatever cause there might be, save and except that which by this present treaty is to remain to us and our heirs: and we yield, abandon, and give up to him, and he to us, mutually to each other, in the securest way we can, all the rights which each of us may have, or may have had in all things, which by the said treaty are to be respectively granted to each of us: reserving to the churches and to churchmen that which appertains or may appertain to them; and all that which has been occupied or detained of their property, on account of the wars, shall be made good and restored to them. The towns, fortresses, and all dwellings of the inhabitants, shall retain and enjoy such liberties and franchises as before they came into our hands; and, if required, they shall be confirmed by our said brother of France, if not contrary to what has been already agreed on.

"And with regard to ourselves, we submit all things belonging to us, our heirs and successors, to the jurisdiction and coercion of the church of Rome, and are willing and desirous that our holy father the pope should confirm all these things by giving monitions and gentle mandates, for the accomplishment of them against ourselves, our heirs and successors, our commonalty, colleges, universities, or any particular persons whatsoever, and by giving general sentences of excommunication, suspension or interdict, which we may incur by ourselves or by them, by this act, when we shall, either by ourselves or by others, infringe the peace, by taking or occupying any town or castle, city or fortress, or in anything else, by giving advice, aid, or assistance, public or private, against the said peace; from which sentences they cannot be absolved until they shall have made full satisfaction to all those who by this act shall have sustained or might sustain any damage. And with this we desire and consent, that by our holy father the pope (in order that the same may more firmly be kept, maintained, and observed for ever) all the agreements, confederations, alliances and conventions, under whatever name they may be, in case they become prejudicial or inimical to the said peace in the present moment or hereafter (supposing they were closed under penalties and by oaths, and confirmed by our holy father the pope or others,) should be broken and annulled as contrary to the public welfare, to the good of the peace, unprofitable to all Christendom, and displeasing to God: and that all oaths, in such a case made, shall be reported to our holy father the pope, that it may be decreed that no one should be bounden to keep such oaths or conventions; and if, in fact, any one attempted to act contrary, they shall from this moment be broken and annulled, and of no weight. nevertheless we shall punish such by corporal punishment and confiscations, as violators of the peace, if the case should require it, or it should appear reasonable: and if we should encourage or suffer anything to be done hurtful to the peace (which God forbid!) we are willing to be counted as liars and disloyal, and also to suffer in this case such blame and disrepute as a sacred king ought to undergo for such conduct: and we swear upon the body of JESUS CHRIST to conclude, maintain, and keep the aforesaid treaty, and neither by ourselves nor by others, to depart from it for any cause or reason whatsoever. And in order that these premises may be concluded and maintained, we bind ourselves, our heirs, our property, and the property of our heirs, over to our said brother the king of France, and to his heirs, and swear by the holy Evangelists, bodily touched by us, that we will complete, conclude, and preserve (according to the articles aforesaid) all the preceding conditions by us promised and agreed to, as is before mentioned. And we will, that in case our brother, or his deputies at the place and time, and in the manner before stated, do his duty, that from that time our present letters, and whatever is comprehended in them, should have as much force, effect, and vigor as any of our other letters shall have that have been promised and granted by us, as has been already said: saving, however, and reserving for us, our heirs and successors, that the letters above incorporated shall have no effect, or be of any prejudice or damage until our said brother and nephew shall have performed, sent, and given the above renunciations, in the manner before specified; and therefore they shall not avail themselves of them against us, our heirs and successors, in any manner but in the case above-mentioned.

"In testimony of which, we have caused our seal to be put to these present letters, given at Calais this twentieth day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord one thousand three hundred and sixty."

When this private charter (which is called letter of renunciation, as well from one king as the other) was written, engrossed, and sealed, it was read and published generally in the council chamber, when the two above-named kings were present with their counsellors. It appeared to each to be handsome, good, well dictated and well ordered; and then again the two said kings and their two said eldest sons, swore upon the holy Evangelists, bodily touched by them, and upon the sacred body of JESUS CHRIST, to conclude, keep and maintain, and not to infringe any of the articles included in it.

Afterwards, by the advice and deliberation of the king of France and his council, and toward the end of the conference, the king of England was requested to make out and give a general commission to all those who for the time, and under shadow of the war held towns, castles and forts in the kingdom of France, that they may have knowledge of what had passed, with orders to give them up and quit them. The king of England, who was sincerely desirous of maintaining a good understanding and peace between himself and the king of France, his brother, as he had before sworn and promised, readily acceded to this request, which he thought reasonable. He ordered his people to make it out in the clearest manner they could, to the satisfaction of the king of France and his council. The most able of the counsellors of the two kings aforesaid, united, and then was drawn up, written and engrossed by the advice of each other, a commission, the tenor of which is underneath.

"Edward, by the grace of GOD, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all our captains, governors of towns and castles, adherents and allies, being in parts of France, as well as in Picardy, in Burgundy, in Anjou, in Berry, in Normandy, in Brittany, in Auvergne, in Champagne, or Maine, in Touraine, and within the boundaries and limits of France, greeting, As peace and concord is now established between us, our allies and adherents on the one part, and our dear brother the king of France his allies and adherents on the other part, in regard to all quarrels or discords which we may have had in times past; and having sworn upon the body of JESUS CHRIST, as well our dear eldest son and others our children, and those of our blood, as likewise many prelates, barons and knights, and the principle men of our kingdom; and also our said brother, and our nephew the duke of Normandy, and our other nephews his children, with many barons, knights and prelates of the said kingdom of France, to maintain and firmly keep the peace: and as it may fall out or happen that some warriors from our kingdom, or other of our subjects, may endeavor to do or undertake things contrary to the said peace, by taking or detaining forts, towns, cities and castles, or in pillaging and arresting persons, and taking from them their goods, merchandise or other things, acting against the said peace (the which will sorely displease us, and we will not suffer it, nor pass it over under any sort of dissembling;) We, willing to remedy these aforesaid things with all our power, wish, desire and ordain, by the deliberation of our council, that none of our subjects, or allies, whatever their state or condition may be, do, or endeavor to do, anything contrary to the said peace, by pillaging, taking, or detaining forts, persons, or goods of any sort in the kingdom of France, or belonging to our said brother, his subjects, allies or adherents whomsoever. And in case there should be found any one that acts con-

trary to this said peace, and who does not cease from so doing, nor renders back the damages he may have committed, within the space of one month from the time he shall be required so to do by any of our officers, sergeants or public persons, for this act alone, without other suit or condemnation, he shall be reputed banished from our realm and from our protection, as well as from the kingdom and territories of our said brother; all his goods confiscated and subjected to our governance; and if he should be found in our kingdom, we command and expressly will, that punishment should be inflicted on him, as a rebel and traitor to us according to the customary punishment for leze majesté, without any pardon, grace or remission: and we will that the same be done to our subjects, of whatever condition they may be, who, in our kingdom on either side of the sea, shall seize, occupy or detain any forts whatever, contrary to the will of those to whom they belong; or who shall burn or ransom towns or persons, and shall pillage or be guilty of robberies, or who shall stir up war within our realm against our subjects.

We therefore order, command and expressly enjoin all our seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, captains of castles or others our officers, under pain of incurring our high displeasure, and of losing their offices, that they proclaim, or cause to be proclaimed, these presents in the most public places of their districts, bailiwicks, provostships and castlewicks; and that no one, after having seen and heard this proclamation, remain in any fort which belongs to the kingdom of France, except according to the tenor of the treaty of peace, under pain of being considered as an enemy to us and to our aforesaid brother the king of France; and that they, in all the aforesaid points, conform to, preserve and make to be strictly observed in every particular. And be it known to all, that if they fail, or are negligent, in addition to the punishment aforesaid, we will make them pay the losses to all those who through their fault or neglect may have been aggrieved, or suffered any loss; and with this we will punish them in such a manner that they shall be an example to all others: in testimony whereof, we have had these letters patent drawn up, given at Calais the 24th day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord 1360."

CHAPTER CCXIII.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE TWO KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, WHEN AT CALAIS, RESPECTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY AND SOME LANDS OF THE LATE GODFREY DE HARCOURT. KING JOHN SETS OUT FROM CALAIS AND RETURNS HOME IN FREEDOM.

When all these letters had been drawn up, and the different commissions delivered, which were mutually done by the advice and to the satisfaction of each other, there was some conversation respecting sir Charles de Blois and sir John de Montfort, and the state of Brittany, for each of them claimed it as their right of inheritance: and though there was a conference holden, how these matters could be settled, nothing was definitely done; for, as I have since been informed, the king of England and his party had no great desire of agreeing to it. They presumed, that henceforward, all men-at-arms attached to them would be obliged to surrender every fort and strong place which they at present held and possessed in the kingdom of France, and that they would retire to whatever parts they chose; it was therefore much better and more profitable that these warriors and pillagers should retire into the duchy of Brittany, which is one of the richest and best foraging countries in the world, than that they should come to England, which might be pillaged and robbed by them.

This consideration made the English shortly break up the conference respecting Brittany. It was a pity, and ill done that it so happened; for, if the two kings had been in earnest, peace would have been established, by the advice of their counsellors, between the parties, and each would have held what should have been given him. Sir Charles de Blois would have recovered his children, who were prisoners in England, and probably have lived longer than he did. As nothing was done at this conference, the wars in Normandy were more bitterly carried on than before the peace we have just spoken of (as you will hear in the continuance of this history,) and even between the knights and barons of Brittany who had supported different interests.

The duke of Lancaster (who was a valiant and discreet knight, full of devices, and who too strongly loved the count de Montfort and his advancement) then addressed himself to the king of France, in the presence of the king of England and the greater part of the counsellors: "Sire, the truces of Brittany, which were made and agreed to before Rennes, will not expire before the first of the ensuing month of May; then, or within that time, the king our Lord will send, by the advice of his council, persons from him, and from his son-in-law the young duke, sir John de Montfort, to you in France, and they shall have power and authority to explain and declare those rights the said sir John claims from the inheritance of his father in the duchy of Brittany, and accept them in such manner as you, your counsellors and ours assembled together, shall ordain; for greater safety, it is proper the truces should be prolonged until the feast of St. John the Baptist next ensuing." All this was agreed to, as the duke of Lancaster had proposed, and then the lords conversed on different matters.

King John, who had a great desire to return to France (as was natural,) testified most heartily to the king of England every proof of that affection which he had for him and for his nephew the prince of Wales: the king of England made an equal return: and, for a stronger confirmation of their friendship, the two kings (who by the articles called each other Brother) gave to four knights of each party eight thousand francs, French money of revenue; that is to say, two thousand to each. And because the lands of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, in Coutantin, came to the king of England from sir Godfrey de Harcourt by the sale the said sir Godfrey had made of them to the king, as has been before related in this history, and that the said lands were not included in the articles of peace, it was necessary for those who should hold the said lands to do homage and service to the king of France: the king of England, therefore, had reserved and given it to sir John Chandos, who had done him and his children many notable services; and the king of France, through his great affection and love, confirmed and sealed it, at the entreaty of the king of England, to the said sir John Chandos, as his right and lawful inheritance. It is a very fair estate, and worth full sixteen hundred francs of yearly rent.

In addition to these things, many other letters and alliances were made, of which I cannot relate the particulars; for, during the fifteen days or thereabouts, that the two kings, their children and their counsellors, were at Calais, there were every day conferences, and new ordinances made, strengthening and confirming the peace; and, moreover, other deeds were drawn up, without annulling or changing the former ones; and they were all made to one date, as more sure and certain, of which I have seen copies in the chanceries of the two kings.

When everything relative to the peace had been so concluded and settled, that no one could think of any means to strengthen or amend it, and that nothing could be devised to add to the strong alliance between the two kings and their children, which bound them, and by which they had sworn to maintain the peace from being infringed, which was indeed kept, as you will hereafter see in reading this book; and that those who were to be the hostages for the redemption of the king of France were arrived at Calais, whom the king of England had sworn to guard in peace in England, until the six hundred thousand francs* were paid to the deputies of the king of England, that king gave to the king of France a most magnificent and grand supper in the castle of Calais: it was well arranged; and the children of the king, and the duke of Lancaster with the greatest barons of England, waited bare-headed. After this supper, the two noble kings took final leave of each other, in a most gracious and affectionate manner, and the king of France returned to his hôtel.

On the morrow, which was the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, the king of France set out from Calais, with all those of his party who were to accompany him.† The king of France went on foot, in pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. The prince of Wales and his two brothers, Lionel and Edmund, accompanied him: and in this manner they arrived, before dinner, at Boulogne, where they were received with great joy. The duke of Normandy was there waiting for them, when all these aforesaid lords went on foot to the church of our Lady of Boulogne, where they made their offerings most devoutly, and afterwards returned to the abbey at Boulogne, which had been prepared for the reception of the king of France and the princes of England. They remained there that day, and on the following night returned to the king their father. All these lords crossed the sea together with the hostages from France: it was the vigil of All-Saints, in the year 1360. It is proper that I should name the nobles of France who went to England as hostages for the king of France. First, sir Philip, duke of Orleans, son of the late king Philip of France; his two nephews, the dukes of Anjou and Berry: after them the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, sir John d'Estampes, Guy de Blois, for his brother the count Louis de Blois: the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count dauphin of Auvergne; sir Enguerrant, lord of Coucy; sir John de Ligny; the count de Porcien, the count de Breme, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Roye, the lord of Preaux, the lord d'Estouteville, the lord de Cleritez, the lord de St. Venant, the lord de la Tour d'Auvergne, and many others, but I cannot name them all.‡ There were also from

* This seems a mistake; for in the fourteenth article of the peace of Bretigny in 1360, in Rymer, particular mention is made of the value of the crown, two of which shall be worth an English noble.

His article.—"It is agreed that the king of France shall pay to the king of England three millions of *crowns of gold, two of which shall be of the value of an English noble.*

"And there shall be paid to the said king of England, or his deputies, six hundred thousand crowns at Calais, in fourteenths, from the time the king of France shall be at Calais.

"And within the next year ensuing, there shall be paid four hundred thousand crowns of the above value, in the city of London.

"And from thenceforward, every following year, four hundred thousand crowns, like to the above, shall be paid in the said city, until such time as the aforesaid three millions shall be paid."

According to Cotgrave, a noble in his time was worth fifteen shillings.

† Froissart seems to have been mistaken as to the day king John left Calais, when he says it was the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, the 27th October; for in an ancient state of Brittany, by Nicholas Vignier, page 383, there is a letter from king John, dated Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 26, 1360.

‡ In the fifteenth article, in Rymer, they are mentioned as underneath:

Monsieur Louis, comte d'Anjou, M. Jean, comte de Poitiers; le duc d'Orleans, le duc de Bourbon, le comte de Blois, son frere, le comte d'Alençon, ou M. Pierre d'Alençon son frere; le comte de Pontieu; le comte de Valentinois, le comte de Breme, le comte de Vaudemont, le comte de Forez, le vicomte de Beaumont, le sire de

the good city of Paris, from Rouen, Rheims, Bourges in Berry, Tours in Touraine, Lyons upon the Rhone, Sens in Burgundy, Orleans, Troyes in Champagne, Amiens, Beauvais, Arras, Tournay, Caen in Normandy, St. Omer, L'Isle, Douay, from each city two or four burgesses, who all crossed the sea, and shortly arrived in London.*

The king of England commanded all his officers, under pain of incurring his displeasure, to behave courteously to all these lords and their attendants, and to preserve peace between them and his subjects, as they were under his special care. The king's orders were strictly obeyed in every respect; and the hostages were allowed to enjoy themselves, without any danger or molestation, in the city of London and its neighborhood. The lords followed the chase or hawking, according to their pleasure, and rode out as they pleased to visit the ladies without any constraint, for the king was right courteous and amiable.

We will now speak a little of the king of France on his arrival at Boulogne, after he had quitted Calais.

CHAPTER CCXIV.

COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED ON BOTH SIDES TO SEE THE GARRISONS IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE EVACUATED. DIFFERENT BODIES OF ARMED MEN OVERRUN THE KINGDOM, AND DO MUCH MISCHIEF.

The king of France did not remain long at Boulogne, but set out soon after All-saints, and went to Montreuil and Hesdin: he continued his journey until he came to Amiens; and wherever he passed he was most magnificently and honorably received. After he had remained at Amiens until Christmas was passed, he set out for Paris, when he was solemnly and reverently met by all the clergy of Paris, and conducted to the Palace,† where he dismounted, as did sir Philip his son, and all the nobles who accompanied him. The dinner was grandly magnificent, and the tables well covered; but I can never tell how warmly the king of France was received on his return to his kingdom, by all sorts of people, for he was much wished for. They made him rich gifts and presents, and the prelates and barons of the realm feasted and entertained him as became his condition; and the king gave them a most gracious reception.

Soon after king John was returned to France, the commissioners appointed by the king of England crossed the sea, to take possession of the lands, countries, counties, bailiwicks, cities, towns and castles, that were to be given up to him, according to the articles of the peace. But this was not so soon accomplished; for many of the nobles in Languedoc at first absolutely refused to obey them, or to surrender themselves to the king of England, though the king of France had acquitted them of their fidelity and homage to him: for they thought it highly contrary and adverse to their interests to be obliged to obey the English. The count de la Marche, the count de Perigord, the count de Comminges, the viscount de Châtillon, the viscount de Carmaing, the lord of Pincornet, in particular, with many others in the distant countries, wondered much that the king of France should force them from his jurisdiction. Others said, it was not in his power thus to free them; and it was not in his right so to do; for, as they were Gascons, they had very old charters and privileges from the noble Charlemagne (who was king of France,) which placed them under the jurisdiction of his court, and of no other. On which account, these lords would not at first yield obedience to the commissioners; but the king of France, who wished to uphold and maintain what he had sworn and sealed, sent thither his dear cousin sir James de Bourbon, who appeased the greater part of these nobles; and those who were bounden became liege men to the king of England; such as the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and many others, who at the entreaties of the king of France and of sir James de Bourbon, obeyed, but very unwillingly.

On the other hand, it was very displeasing to the barons, knights and inhabitants of the towns on the sea-coast, and in the country of Poitou, the Rochellois and all Saintonge, that they should be given up to the English: in particular those in the town of La Rochelle would not consent to it; they made frequent excuses, and would not, for upward of a year, suffer any Englishmen to enter their town. The letters were very affecting which they wrote to the king of France, beseeching him, by the love of God, that he would never liberate them from their fidelity, nor separate them from his government and place them in the hands of strangers; for they would prefer being taxed every year one half of what they were worth, rather than be in the hands of the English. The king of France (who knew their good will and loyalty, and had frequently received their excuses) felt great pity for them; he wrote, therefore, very affectionate letters, and sent to inform them, that it was necessary they should obey, or otherwise the peace would be infringed, which would be too prejudicial to the kingdom of France. When the inhabitants of La Rochelle received these letters, and saw the situation they were in, that neither excuses, prayers nor entreaties, were of any avail, they obeyed; but it was sore against their inclinations. The principal persons of the town said, "We will honor and obey the English, but our hearts shall never change."

Thus had the king of England seisin and possession of the duchy of Aquitaine, the counties of Poitou and Guignes, and of all those lands which he was to have beyond the sea, that is to say in the kingdom of France, which were given to him by the articles of the peace. This year sir John Chandos crossed the sea, as regent and lieutenant of the king of England, to take possession of all the lands aforesaid, and receive the faith, fidelity and homage of the counts, viscounts, barons, knights, towns and castles; he instituted everywhere seneschals, bailiffs and officers, according to his will, and fixed his residence at Niort.

Sir John kept a noble and great establishment; and he had the means of doing it; for the king of England, who loved him much, wished it should be so. He was certainly worthy of it; for he was a sweet-tempered knight, courteous, benign, amiable, liberal, courageous, prudent and loyal in all affairs, and bore himself valiantly on every occasion: there was none more beloved and esteemed by the knights and ladies of his time.

While the commissioners and deputies of the king of England were taking seisin and possession of the aforesaid lands, according to the articles of peace, other commissioners and deputies were on the frontiers of France with commissioners from that king, ordering all men-at-arms, who were garrisoned in the different castles and forts of France, to evacuate and surrender them to the king of France, under pain of confiscation and death. There were some knights and squires attached to England who obeyed, and surrendered, or made their companions surrender such forts as they held: but there were others who would not obey, saying that they had made war in the name of the king of Navarre. There were also some from different countries, who were great captains and pillagers, that would not, on any account, leave the country; such as Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons and bad Frenchmen, who had been impoverished by the war: these persons persevered in their wickedness, and did afterwards much mischief to the kingdom.

When the captains of the forts had handsomely delivered them up, with all they contained, they marched off, and when in the plain, they dismissed their people: but those who had been so long accustomed to pillage, knowing well that their return home would not be advantageous for them, but that they might perhaps suffer for the bad actions they had committed, assembled together, and chose new leaders from the worst disposed among them. They then rode on, one party following the other, and made their first stand in Burgundy and Champagne, where they formed large squadrons and companies, which were called the Late-comers, because as yet they had but little pillaged that part of the kingdom of France. They suddenly came before and took the fort of Joinville,* with great wealth in it, which the whole country round had brought thither, confiding in the strength of the place. When these troops found such riches as were valued at a hundred thousand francs, they divided it among them as far as it would go, and held the castle for a time, from whence they scoured all the country of Champagne, the bishoprics of Verdun, Toul and Langres: but, when they had plundered sufficiently, they departed, and sold the castle of Joinville to the inhabitants of the country for one thousand francs.†

They then entered Burgundy, where they reposed and refreshed themselves until they were all collected, and did many bad and villainous actions; for they had among them some knights and squires of that country, who advised and conducted them. They remained some time in the neighborhood of Besançon, Dijon and Beaune, despoiling everywhere, for none went out to oppose them. They also took the good town of Guercheyt in the Beaunois, which they sacked, and remained for a time near Vergy,§ on account of the fertility of that country. Their numbers were perpetually increasing: for those who quitted the castles and towns on their being surrendered, and who were disbanded by their captains, came into those parts; so that by Lent they amounted to at least sixteen thousand combatants.

When they found their numbers so great, they appointed many captains, whom all obeyed implicitly. I am able to name some of their greatest leaders; and first, a knight from Gascony, called sir Seguin de Batefol, who had under his command two thousand combatants. There were also Tallebert Tallabaton, Guy du Pin, Espiote, le petit Mechin, Battailler, Hannequin François, le Bourg‖ de l'Espare, Nandoz de Bauguerant, le Bourgeamus, le Bourg de Breteuil, la Nuyt, Arbrethoury the Scot, Bourdonnelle the German, Bernard de la Salle, Robert Briquet, Carnelle, Aimenon d'Ortige, Garsiot du Châtel, Gironet du Paux, l'Ortingo de la Salle, and many others.

Conerai [illegible] de Picardie, le sire de Pecquigny, le sire de St. Venant, le sire de Gamaches, le sire de Vergy, le sire de Haugest, le sire de Montmorency; monsire Guillaume de Craon, monsire Louis de Harcourt, monsire Jean de Ligny.

Chalons, Chartres, Toulouse, Carcassone, are mentioned, in addition to these, by Froissart, in the treaty at Bretigny.

Palace. I believe the hôtel de Nesle is meant, which was the hôtel de Nesle. I find, by Villaret's history, that he was lodged there after his coronation at Rheims.

The hôtel was built on the bank of the Seine, where the hôtel de Nevers was afterwards constructed, and nearly upon the site which the Collége Mazarin and the hôtel de Conti now occupy.

This hôtel must be distinguished from another hôtel de Nesle, which was built at the same time. This second hôtel de Nesle was situated on the spot where the hôtel de Soissons was built, and which was demolished 1747.

* Joinville—an ancient town in Champagne, on the Marne, diocese of Châlons.

† Lord Berners says, for 20,000 francs.—Ed.

‡ A village in Champagne, near Joigny.

§ Vergy—a village of Burgundy, bailiwick of Nuits.

‖ See note, p. 136.

These leaders, about the middle of Lent, resolved that they would advance with their forces toward Avignon, and pay a visit to the pope and cardinals. They therefore traversed the country of Burgundy and Mascon, making for the rich and fertile country of Foretz, and for Lyons situate on the Rhône. When the king of France was informed in what manner these freebooting troops overran and pillaged his kingdom, he was mightily enraged. It was stated, by special orders of the council, to his majesty, that unless these bands were repressed, they would multiply so much and do such mischief, to judge from what they had already done, that the kingdom of France would suffer equally as during the war with the English. The council, therefore, advised the king to send a sufficient force to fight them. The king in consequence wrote especial letters to his cousin the lord James de Bourbon* (who was at that time in the town of Montpelier, and had lately put sir John Chandos in full possession of the cities, lands, towns and castles of the duchy of Guienne, as has been before mentioned,) ordering him to put himself at the head of the force that was to be sent against these freebooters, and to take a sufficient number of men-at-arms to give them combat.

When the lord James de Bourbon received these orders, he set off immediately for the city of Agen,† without stopping anywhere, and sent off letters and messengers to the nobles, knights, and squires, requiring, in the king's name, their instant attendance. Every one most willingly obeyed his orders, and followed him to the city of Lyons; for he was eager to fight with these wicked people. The lord James of Bourbon was much beloved throughout the kingdom of France, and all most cheerfully obeyed his orders. Knights and squires, therefore, came to him from all quarters; from Auvergne, from Limousin, Provence, Savoy and Dauphiné. On the other hand, many attended him from the duchy of Burgundy, whom the young duke of Burgundy had sent to him.

This army began its march, making no halt at Lyons, but advanced into the country of Mascon. The lord James entered the county of Foretz, which was dependent on his sister in right of her children, for the count de Foretz was lately dead, and was governed by Reginald de Foretz in the interim, who was brother to the late count. He received the lord James and his company with great joy, and feasted them in the best manner he was able. The two nephews of the lord James de Bourbon were at home: he presented them to him, who received them very graciously, and ordered them to be posted near his person, that they might aid to defend their country.

The free companies were advancing toward this neighborhood; for those who were at Châlons‡ upon the Saône and near to Turnus,§ and in that fertile country, having heard that the French were assembling an army to fight with them, their captains called a council, to determine what steps they should take. They made a muster of their troops, and found they amounted, one with another, to sixteen thousand combatants. They then resolved to go and meet the French, who were so desirous of it, and to offer them battle, in such situations only as would be for their advantage, but upon no other terms. "If fortune," said they, "should be favorable to us, we may all be rich, and at our ease for a long time, as well by the valuable prisoners we shall make, as from the fear we excite; for no more troops will be hardy enough to come against us: but, if we lose the battle, we shall have hard blows for our pay." This resolution was adopted: they broke up their camp, and marched toward the mountains, in order to penetrate into the county of Foretz: they came to the river Loire, and, in their road, to a good town called Charlieu,‖ in the bailiwick of Mascon, which they surrounded and attacked. They exerted themselves to take it by assault, which employed them a whole day, but they could do nothing, for it was well defended and guarded by the gentlemen of the country, who had flung themselves into the town; otherwise it would have been won. They then marched off, and revenged themselves on the estates of the lord of Beaujeu, which were near, and where they did very considerable mischief, and entered the diocese of Lyons.

As they advanced, they took all the smaller forts, and lodged themselves in them, and did much damage wherever they passed. They took a castle, and a lord and lady in it; which castle was called Brignais,¶ and is situate on the Rhône, three leagues from Lyons. There they halted and took up their quarters, for they were informed that the French army was drawn out in the plain in order of battle.

CHAPTER CCXV.

THE LORD JAMES DE BOURBON AND HIS ARMY ARE DEFEATED BY THESE FREEBOOTING COMPANIONS. THE POPE ORDERS A CRUSADE TO BE PREACHED, AFTER THEY HAVE TAKEN THE PONT DU ST. ESPRIT, AND FINDS MEANS TO GET RID OF THEM.

The men-at-arms, assembled under the lord James de Bourbon, were in the city of Lyons upon the Rhône, when they heard that these companies were approaching in great strength, and had taken by assault the town and castle of Brignais, as well as several others, and were pillaging and ruining the whole country. This was very unpleasant news to the lord James, who had taken the management of the estates of the county of Foretz for his nephews, as well as to all the other chiefs. They immediately took the field, and were a numerous body of men-at-arms, knights and squires. They sent out their scouts for intelligence respecting these companies, to know where they were, that they might find them.

I must now mention the grand trick which these free companies played. They were encamped upon a high mountain,* on the summit of which there was a plain that could not be seen: in this place they had posted the geater part of their army, and permited the French scouts to come so near, they could have taken them if they had chosen it, but they were allowed to return unhurt.† They informed the lord James de Bourbon, the count d'Usez, the lord Reginald de Foretz, and those lords who had sent them, all they had observed and heard, adding, "We have seen the companies drawn up in array upon a hillock, and, according to our understanding, well formed; but, having attentively considered them, they cannot be more than five or six thousand men, and seem marvellously ill-armed."

When lord James de Bourbon heard this, he said to the archpriest, "You told me they amounted to at least sixteen thousand combatants, and you now hear the contrary." "My lord," answered he, "I still think they are not less in number: if it should be otherwise, we may thank God for it, and it is so much the better for us: you will therefore determine what you will do." "In the name of God," said the lord James, "we will go and fight them." The lord James ordered all the banners and pennons to halt immediately, and formed his battalions in good order to begin the combat, for they saw their enemies before them. He then created many new knights: the first was his eldest son Peter, who displayed his banner; his nephew, the young count de Foretz, did the same; the lord of Tournon, the lord de Molinier, and the lord de Groslèe, in Dauphiné. Among the nobility, there were, sir Louis and sir Robert de Beaujeu, sir Louis de Châlons, sir Hugh de Vienne, the count d'Usez, and many other worthy knights and squires, eager to advance to the combat, both for their own honor and to destroy these freebooters, who were wasting the country without right or reason. The archpriest, whose name was Arnaut de Cervole, was ordered to take the command of the first battalion. He willingly obeyed; for he was an expert and hardy knight, and had under his command about sixteen hundred combatants.

The freebooters, from their situation on the hill, saw but too clearly all these arrangements of the French, who could not see what they were about, nor approach them without danger and loss; for there were at least a thousand cart-loads of flints ready to be thrown against the first assailants by that body of men who appeared so ill-armed to the scouts. I must mention, that the only way these French men-at-arms, who were so desirous to fight the companions at any rate, could approach them, was to ascend sideways the hill on which they had placed themselves. When they, therefore, attempted this, those who were on the hill began to throw down on them the stones and flints, of which they had made so large a provision that they had only to stoop and pick them up: and, having full time to aim them well, they wounded and killed many, so that others were afraid to push forward. This advanced battalion was so severely treated, it was not of any good use afterwards. The other battalions marched to its succor, under the lord James de Bourbon, his son and his nephews, with their banners, and many other respectable gentlemen, who rushed on to their own destruction, so that it was a pity they had not formed better plans, or listened to wiser counsel. The archpriest and some other knights had truly said, they were going to fight with these companions at a disadvantage, with certain loss, considering the situation they had chosen for themselves. They advised waiting until they should have been dislodged from the strong-hold where they had posted themselves, that then they would have a better chance of success, but they were never listened to. Thus then, when the lord James de Bourbon and the other lords, with banners and pennons flying, approached and ascended sideways

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* Lord James de Bourbon, Count de la Marche received from king John, to whom he was always faithful, the county of Poutheu and the dignity of constable. He was famous in three battles: first in that of Crecy, where he was wounded, next in that of Poitiers, when he was taken prisoner, and lastly in that of Brignano, where he conquered. But soon after, a company of disbanded soldiers ravaging Champagne and the Lyonnois, lord James was sent against them, when, being overpowered by numbers, he and his son Peter were mortally wounded, and died three days afterwards at Lyons, 6th April, 1362.—ANDERSON'S *Royal Genealogies*.

I suspect, however, there is some mistake, and that Brignano means Brignais, where he was mortally wounded.

† Agen is a considerable city in Guienne, the capital of the Agenois, twenty-eight leagues from Toulouse, and thirty-six from Bordeaux.

‡ Châlons—an ancient town in Burgundy, twenty nine leagues from Lyons.

§ Tournus—an ancient town of Burgundy, on the Saone, in the road from Lyons to Dijon.

‖ Charlieu—a town of the Lyonnois.

¶ Brignais. In all my old editions, and in Lord Berners's translation, it is Brunay: but Denys Sauvage is certainly right to alter it to Brignais.

* "A high mountain." Denys Sauvage has written a long note to say, that he had visited this spot in 1558, and that it ought not to be called a *high* mountain, for it was but a hillock. This Froissart himself allows in the following lines, where the scouts call it a "tertre." D. Sauvage says, the place corresponds to the description, and that different weapons have been found in the adjoining grounds.

† Lord Berners, who here agrees with D. Sauvage, has these words: "Now shall I shewe you the great malice of these companyons who were lodged on a mountayne, and there they had such a place that they could nat be discryed nor auewed; and specially the chief of them, who were beste harnessed: for the residewe (who were worste harneysed) arenged alonge on the hylle side, and suffered the frenche currours to aproche nere to them, and to retourne agayne withoute any damage." The stratagem practiced is here plainly described, but is scarcely intelligible in Mr. Johnes's version.—ED.

this hall, the weaker and less completely accoutred of the freebooters were enabled to harass them: for they flung upon them so rapidly and vigorously lances and darts, that the boldest and best armed were in dread of them. When they had thus for some time kept them in check, their grand battalion, fresh and untouched, advanced by a secret road round the hill, and being in close order like a brush, with their lances cut down to six feet or thereabouts, with loud cries, and a thorough good will, fell upon the French army. In this first attack, very many were unhorsed, and many gallant deeds performed; but the freebooters fought so hardily, it was marvellous to think of it, and the French army was forced to retreat. That good and valiant knight the archpriest fought excellently well: but he was so overpowered by numbers that, after being grievously wounded, he was made prisoner, as well as several knights and squires of his company. Why should I make a longer talk of this affair? in fact, the French had the worse of the day: lord James de Bourbon and the lord Peter his son were very badly wounded: the young count de Foretz was slain: sir Reginald de Foretz his uncle, the count d'Usez, the lord Robert de Beaujeu, the lord Louis de Châlons, and upward of one hundred knights, were made prisoners. It was with great difficulty the lord James de Bourbon and his son the lord Peter were brought back to Lyons. This battle of Brignais was fought on the Friday after Easter, in the year of our Lord 1361.

All the bordering countries were thrown into the greatest confusion, when they heard that the army had been discomfited; and there was no one so bold, who had even the strongest castle, that did not tremble; for the wisest among them immediately supposed the greatest mischiefs would ensue and multiply, if God did not directly bring some remedy. The inhabitants of Lyons were confounded when they first heard that victory had declared for these freebooting companies. They, however, received in the kindest manner all those who returned from the battle, and were much hurt at what had befallen the lord James de Bourbon and his son the lord Peter. The ladies, both young and old, visited them in the kindest manner; for they were much beloved in the city of Lyons. The lord James departed this life the third day after the battle, and his son did not long survive him. They were much pitied and regretted. The king of France was greatly affected at the death of the lord James de Bourbon; but as it was not now to be amended, he was obliged to bear his mourning as well as he could.

We will now return to these freebooters, who, having resolved to keep themselves united, were rejoiced at the fortunate issue of this battle. They had been great gainers, as well by what they had seized on the spot as from the ransoms of their wealthy prisoners. These companies had the whole country under their disposal, for no one now ventured to attack them. Soon after the battle at Brignais, they entered and overspread the county of Foretz, which they completely sacked and ruined, except the fortresses; and because they were in such large bodies that no small extent of country could maintain them, they divided themselves into two parties; sir Seguin de Bastefol commanded the smallest, which, however, consisted of about three thousand fighting men. He advanced toward Ance,* near to Lyons, where he fixed his quarters. He then strongly fortified and rebuilt parts of it, and kept his troops in its neighborhood, which is one of the richest countries in the world. He overran and ransomed at his ease all the countries above and below the Saône, such as the county of Mâcon, the archbishopric of Lyons, the territories of the lord of Beaujeu, and the whole country as far as Marsilly les Nonnains,† and the county of Nevers.

The other division of these free companies under the command of Nandoz de Baugerant, Espiote, Carnelle, Robert Briquet, Ortingo and Bernard de la Salle, Lannuyt, le Bourgeamust, le bourg de Breteuil, le bourg de l'Esparre, and many others of the same sort and with the same intentions, advanced toward Avignon, saying they would go and visit the pope and cardinals, in order to have some of their money; otherwise they should be well vexed. They waited in that neighborhood to receive the amount of their ransoms for the prisoners taken at Brignais, as well as to see if the peace that had been made between the two kings was likely to be lasting. In their route to Avignon, they took towns, castles, and forts; for nothing could stand before them. The whole country was in alarm; for in those parts they had not had any war, and the guards did not know how to defend or to keep their strong holds against such men-at-arms.

These companions got information, that at the Pont du St. Esprit*, seven leagues from Avignon, there was very great wealth; and that all the riches of the country thereabouts had been carried thither, as to a place of safety, trusting to the strength of its castle. They therefore consulted together, and agreed that if they could get possession of this town of St. Esprit, it would be of the greatest advantage to them; for they then would be masters of the Rhône as well as of Avignon. After they had well digested their plan, Guyot du Pin and the little Mechin (as I have heard it related) mounted their horses, and, with their companies, rode one whole night to the extent of fifteen leagues. They arrived by break of day at the town of St. Esprit, which they took, and all those of both sexes which were therein. It was a pitiful sight; for they murdered many a discreet man, and violated many a virgin. They gained immense riches, and provision sufficient to last them a whole year. They could from this town escape easily, in an hour's time and without danger, into the kingdom of France, and in another hour into the empire. They collected their companies together, and kept advancing toward Avignon, at which the pope and cardinals were much alarmed. These companions had chosen, at the Pont du St. Esprit, a captain to command the whole of their forces, who was commonly styled the friend† of God, and the enemy of all the world.

There were at that time in France, besides these companies, many other pillagers, English, Gascons, and Germans, who were desirous of living there,‡ and who maintained many garrisons in fortresses. Although the commissaries from the king of England had ordered them to evacuate these castles, and to leave the country, they had not obeyed, which was very displeasing to the king of France, as well as to his council.

But when many of them learnt (for they had possession of different places in France) that their brethren had overthrown the lord James de Bourbon with two thousand knights and squires, had taken a great many prisoners, and had very lately surprised and conquered the town of St. Esprit, where they had found immense riches, and that they had expectations of gaining Avignon, where they would have the pope and cardinals at their mercy, as well as all Provence, each was eager to join them, in the hopes of gain and doing more mischief. This was the reason why many warriors left their forts and castles, and advanced before their companions, expecting greater pillage.

When Pope Innocent VI. and the Roman college saw themselves thus threatened by these accursed people, they were exceedingly alarmed, and ordered a croisade to be published against these wicked Christians, who were doing everything in their power to destroy Christianity (like Vandals§ of old, without right or reason) by ruining all the countries whither they resorted; by robbing, wherever they could find anything; by violating women, both young and old, without pity; and by killing men, women, and children, without mercy, who had done no ill to them; for he was reckoned the bravest, and most honored, who could boast of the most villainous actions.

The pope and the cardinals had therefore a croisade publicly preached. They absolved from every crime and sin‖ all those who should take the cross, and voluntarily give themselves up to destroy these wretches. The cardinals elected the lord Peter de Monstier, cardinal d'Arras, by some called cardinal d'Ostia, to be the chief of this croisade; who, upon his nomination, immediately left Avignon, and went to Carpentras, seven leagues distant, where he fixed his quarters. He retained all soldiers, and others, who were desirous of saving their souls, and of gaining the foresaid pardons: but he would not give them any pay, which caused many of them to depart and go into Lombardy; others returned into their own countries, and some joined these wicked companies, which were daily increasing. They divided themselves into several companies, over each of which they nominated captains, and took up their quarters in different places. Thus they harassed the pope, the cardinals, and the merchants in the neighborhood of Avignon, and did a great deal of mischief until the summer was far advanced of the year 1361.

It happened that the pope and cardinals cast their eyes upon a very

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* Ance—a very great town of the Lyonnois, situated near the Saône, diocese and election of Lyons, about a league from Villefranche.

† Marsilly les Nonnains. I cannot find it in Gazetteer of the time. There is Marcilly sur-Seine, a village in Burgundy, near Arcis-sur-Aube, which is Espiote's "nearness."

‡ *Bourg*, in the dialect-names of the old French language, seems to mean *bastard* or *illegitimate*.

Bourg, in Ducange's Glossary, is as follows: "Caligam ex Tit. C. de fund. rei privat. 'Quæ collegia, vel corpora, vel burgi certo aliquo ordini serviunt.' Ammianus non potius à burggravius per contractionem *Bourgs*, appellati sunt castellani, et præfecti castrorum, per arcium, apud Froissartem,' tom. ii. cap. 34. 'Si etoient de sa route les capitaines des autres chateaux, comme le *bourg* Calart, le *bourg* Anglois, le *bourg* de Champagne, et Raymond de Force, &c.

Bourg, adde, 'Argentina vocis Gallicæ *bourg* notione Ducange observarat nihil videtur, cum ex Froissarte exponitur de Castellano sur burgi præfecto. *Bourg* enim eo loci, quo excludunt non alius ejusdem est ac stirps, sed ex adulterio natus. Gall. *bastard*. quod apprime docet Berry in Hist. Chronol. Carol. VII. ad an. 1432, ubi quem *bourg* dicit, alibi appellat *bastard*.' Sic et ad an. 1434. *Bourgede Mesquarra*. *Bourc* in Litt. Remiss. an. 1411 ex reg. 165. Chartoph. reg. ch. 219. Icelui Pierre appellast le suppotant arbot, lucam, bourc; qui vaut autant à dire en Françoys du Pais de par delà garçon, traitre, bastart. *Bort* eodem sensu usurpat Hispan. Vuelve bort con bort."

* Pont du St. Esprit—a town of lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, diocese and receipt of Uzes; so called from one of the most beautiful bridges in Europe built over the Rhône, in the road from Montpelier to Paris.

It is probable that the town of Pont St. Esprit was taken twice; for a chronicle, written in the reign of king John, assures us positively, 'que les compagnons qui etoient sortis de la France, et qui se faisoient appeler la grande compagnie,' took possession of the town and castle of St. Esprit on Innocents' day, 1360.—*Chronique*, MSS. *du Roi Jean, Bibliot. du Roi*, No. 9652.

† "Friend." Denys Sauvage says, in a note on the margin, that instead of *ami* it was *ennemi* in all the editions; but that he had corrected it from the two abridgments. He is certainly right as to the printed editions of Verard and Eustace, as well as in lord Berners's translation and Barnes's History of Edward III.; but it is *ami* in my two MSS.

‡ Lord Berners uses these words, "*who said they must needs have*," which fully express the feelings and condition of these disbanded soldiers.—[Ed.

§ "Vandals." Denys Sauvage has *Bandes*, and says it is so in all the editions, but that he thinks it should be Vandals. It is *Vandes* in all my printed editions, as well as MSS. [Lord Berners's version is, "And than ordeyned a croysey agaynst these yuell christen people who dyde their payne to distroy chrystendome as other *bandes* had done before without tytell of any reason." May not this have reference to the expedition of the archpriest mentioned before, instead of the Vandals?]—[Ed.

‖ A pardon or indulgence.—Lord Berners.

accomplished knight and good warrior; that is to say, upon the marquis de Montferrat,* who for a long time had been engaged in war against the lords of Milan, and was at this time circumvented. They sent to him to come to Avignon, where he was received with much honor by the pope and cardinals.

A treaty was then entered into with him. He agreed, for a considerable sum of money, to free the territories of the pope and the neighborhood of those freebooting companies, and to lead them with him into Lombardy. The marquis negotiated, therefore, with the captains of these companies,† and managed so well, that by means of sixty thousand florins which he divided among them, and the high pay he promised them, they consented to follow him into Lombardy; but they also insisted on receiving pardon and absolution from all crimes and sin. Every article was fulfilled, and the money paid: they gave up the town of St. Esprit, quitted the territory of Avignon, and marched away with the marquis of Montferrat.

King John and his whole kingdom were much rejoiced, when they found themselves delivered from these people; but many of them returned back into Burgundy: sir Seguin de Batefol, who kept his garrison at Ance, would not surrender it for any treaty or promise they made him: however, France was, in many places, more at peace than it had been.

When the greater part of these companies had quitted the country, and had marched with the marquis de Montferrat into Piedmont, the marquis managed his affairs well against the lords of Milan. He conquered many towns, castles, and forts, and gained much territory from them. He had also many skirmishes and attacks, which turned out to his profit as well as honor; and these companies, within the year, gave him a superiority in the war, and were in a great measure the cause that the lords Galeas and Bernabo Visconti,‡ who were sovereigns of Milan, and who since reigned there in great prosperity, came to a proper understanding with him.

About this time sir Seguin de Batefol, who had retained his garrison at Ance upon the river Saône, took by escalade a good city in Auvergne, called Brioude, and which is situated on the river Allier. He maintained himself there for upward of a year, and fortified it so strongly that he was not afraid of an attack: from this place he overran all the country as far as Clermont,§ Tilhac, Puy,‖ Case Dieu,¶ Montferrant,** Riom,†† la Nonnette,‡‡ Ussoire,§§ Oudalle,‖‖ and the lands of the count Dauphin, who was at that time a hostage in England, and committed the greatest damages. When he had very much impoverished the whole country, he marched away, according to an agreement, carrying off with him great riches. Sir Seguin de Batefol¶¶ returned into Gascony, whence he had originally come. Of this sir Seguin I know no more, except that by accident I heard it related that he died in an extraordinary manner. God pardon him for all his misdeeds!

CHAPTER CCXVI.

THE DEATHS OF THE DUKES OF LANCASTER AND OF BURGUNDY, WHICH LAST CAUSES NEW DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE. THE PRINCE OF WALES CROSSES THE SEA AT AQUITAINE.

At this period died in England the good duke of Lancaster,*** whose Christian name was Henry. The king and all his barons, knights, and squires, were much afflicted, and wished it had not been so. He left two daughters, the lady Maude and the lady Blanche. The eldest was married to the earl of Hainault of the name of William, son of the lord Lewis of Bavaria and Margaret of Hainault. The youngest was married to the lord John, earl of Richmond, son of the king of England, who was afterwards duke of Lancaster, in right of his wife, and by the death of Henry duke of Lancaster.

In this season also died the young duke Philip of Burgundy,* earl of Burgundy, of Artois and of Boulogne, palatine of Brie and Champagne. He married the daughter of Louis earl of Flanders, by one of the daughters of John duke of Brabant, to whom fell the earldom of Burgundy, by the near relationship of Margaret his mother, who did homage and fealty for it to the king of France. The lord John of Boulogne, earl of Auvergne, came, by the same means, into possession of the earldom of Boulogne, and was homager to the king of France. King John also, from his proximity, took possession of and retained the duchy of Burgundy, and all rights over Champagne and Brie, which was highly displeasing to the king of Navarre; but he could not help himself; for he claimed Champagne and Brie, as being the nearest heir: his reasons were not listened to, for king John hated him much, and declared that he should never possess a foot of ground in Champagne nor in Brie.†

About this time, the king of France had formed a resolution to go to Avignon, and visit the pope and cardinals, and, in his road, to amuse himself by inspecting the duchy of Burgundy, which had lately fallen in to him. The king, therefore, ordered preparations to be made, and set out from Paris about St. John's day 1362, having left his eldest son Charles duke of Normandy, regent and governor of the kingdom during his absence. The king took with him the lord John of Artois, his cousin, whom he much loved; the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Dampmartin, Boucicault marshal of France, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the grand prior of France, and several others. He travelled slowly and with much expense, making some stay in all the cities and towns of Burgundy, so that he did not arrive at Villeneuve,‡ until about Michaelmas. It was there that his hôtel was prepared, as well for himself as for his attendants. He was most magnificently received and feasted by the pope and the college at Avignon; the king, pope, and cardinals, visited each other often. The king remained at Villeneuve during the whole time.§

About Christmas pope Innocent VI. departed this life: and the cardinals were in great discord about the election of another, for each was desirous of that honor; more particularly the cardinals of Boulogne and Perigord, who were the greatest in the college. Their dissensions kept the conclave a long time shut up. The conclave had ordered and arranged everything according to the desires of the two before-mentioned cardinals, but in such a manner that neither of them could succeed to the papacy: upon which they both agreed, that none of their brethren should wear the papal crown, and elected the abbot de St. Victor‖ of Marseilles, who was a holy and learned man, of good morals, and who had labored hard for the church in Lombardy and other places. The two cardinals sent to inform him of his elevation, and to desire he would come to Avignon: which he

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* The marquis de Montferrat. John Palæologus, 16th marckgrave of Montferrat, 1338, died 1371, reigned 33 years.—ANDERSON'S *Royal Genealogies*.

† "Captains of these companies." Barnes says, that the principal leader was sir John Hawkwood, but the following quotation from the life of sir John Hawkwood, published in the 4th volume of the Biblioth. Typogr. Britan. page 6, shows it was not so.

"The company of English adventurers who now entered into the service of the marquis of Montferrat, 1363, is said, by Muratori, vol. xii, p. 207, to have been commanded by one *Albaret*.

"Upon the conclusion of the peace between the marquis of Montferrat and Galeazzo, the few English who remained with the former went and joined their countrymen in Tuscany, and soon after formed a body, under Hawkwood."

There must be a mistake respecting the date of 1363, for Froissart, as well as Denys Sauvage, fixes it positively 1361.

‡ In the year 1354, Matthew II., Bernabo and Galeas II., all three sons of Stephen Visconti, brother of John, succeeded their uncle in the state of Milan and divided it into equal portions, except Milan and Genoa, which the two last individually held. Matthew dying without male children, the 26th September, 1355, his two brothers inherited his portion, except Bologna, which they suffered Visconti d'Olegio to carry from them. They obtained the same year, from the emperor Charles IV. the viceregency of Lombardy. Their union defended them against a powerful league, formed by the Florentines, the marquises of Este, of Mantua, and of Montferrat. In 1359, Galeas, assisted by his brother Bernabo, made the conquest of Pavia, in the month of November, after a long siege. In 1371, Bernabo acquired, from Feltrin de Gonzague, the city of Reggio. Galeas died 1378, aged 50 years. Muratori gives a very bad character of him.

See more of the house of Visconti, in l'Art de Vérifier les Dates, whence the above is taken.

§ Clermont, or Clermont-Ferrard, capital of Auvergne.

‖ Puy—a village in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont.

¶ Case Dieu, *Q.* an abbey, diocese of Auxerre.

** Montferrant—a town in Auvergne, near Clermont.

†† Riom—a city in Auvergne, near Clermont.

‡‡ La Nonnette—a town in Auvergne, election of Issoire.

§§ Ussoire, Usson—a town of Auvergne, four leagues from Brioude.

‖‖ Oudalle, I cannot find, nor Tilhac.

¶¶ "Sir Seguin de Batefol." Mezeray calls him Simon Batefol. Villaret calls him gentilhomme navarrois, and says that he died from some poisoned oranges, which Charles le Mauvais, king of Navarre, had served at dinner, in order to get rid of him. He was desirous of engaging sir Seguin de Batefol to make fresh disturbances in France, contrary to the promise he had made king John, on surrendering Brioude; but he asked too large a sum; and, having possession of Charles's secret, he thus poisoned him that it might not be divulged.—*Histoire de France par Villaret*, tom. v. p. 275.

*** "Henry duke of Lancaster, who died of the plague in 1360, was buried on the north side of the high altar of the collegiate church of Leicester, founded by his father (not by him, as in Dugdale,) and on the next niche to him lay a lady, by likelihood his wife."—GOUGH'S *Sep. Mon.*

"He left issue by his wife Isabel, daughter of Henry lord Beaumont, two daughters, his heiresses. Maude first married to Ralph, son and heir to Ralph Lord Stafford, and afterwards to William duke of Zealand; and Blanche by virtue of a special dispensation from the pope, in regard to their near alliance) to John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, fourth son to Edward III. and afterwards duke of Lancaster."—DUGDALE'S *Baronage*.

Maude came to England soon after her father's death, and died, supposed by poison.—KNYGHTON.

* Philip duke of Burgundy succeeded to the earldoms of Boulogne and Auvergne at the age of fifteen by the death of his mother, 29th September, 1360. Toward the latter end of November, 1371, he died at Rouvre, and was buried at Cîteaux. He lived but a short time, and was very much regretted, as he promised well. The duchy of Burgundy passed to the king of France, not by virtue of the law of appanages, but as being nearest heir to duke Philip. The earldom of Burgundy, by the same right, passed to Margaret, who married Philip, fourth son of John king of France, who was created duke of Burgundy by letters patent, 6th Sept. 1363.—*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*.

† In place of this paragraph lord Berners has the following: "The lord James of Burbone abode styll pursuynge the treaty bytwene the lord John de Mountforde and the lord Charles of Bloys for the right of the duchy of Bretayne acordyng to the treaty begon at Calais as ye have herd before. And for lacke of concludyng thereof great warres and yuels fell after in the countri of Bretayne as ye shall here in this hystorie."—ED.

‡ Villeneuve d'Avignon—a town of Lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, opposite to Avignon.

§ Villaret seems to think Froissart has made a mistake respecting this visit of the king, and that it was to prevent the marriage of Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of king Edward III. with the widow of the late duke of Burgundy, by means of the pope.

"Since his (the king's) return from London, he made only one journey to the court of Avignon, where he did not arrive till after the death of Innocent VI." This opinion will not agree with what Froissart says of the entertainments and feasts he received from the pope. John must have made two journeys, at a short distance from one another. The contrary, however, is proved by the letters of this king, preserved in the fourth volume des Ordonnances. Froissart will have, without doubt, confounded this journey with the one made before his imprisonment.—*Hist. de France*, vol. v. p. 370, note.

In the Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, vol. ii. feuillet 273. "In the month of August, 1362, the king of France set out to visit the pope, Innocent, at Avignon, who was then alive, and that same year, the 22nd Dec., he died."

"King John entered Avignon St. Catherine's day, the 22nd November. Pope Urban received him very honorably in consistory, and retained him to dinner."

There must be some mistake in these dates.

‖ "Abbot de St. Victor." Urban V. William Grimoald, abbot de St. Germain d'Auxerre, then abbot of St. Victor de Marseille, was elected pope, 28th September, 1362, at the age of 52 years. [illegible] January, 1370

did as soon as possible, and received this gift with joy. He was called Urban V., and reigned with great prosperity: he augmented much the power of the church, and did great good to Rome and other parts.

Soon after this election, the king of France heard that the lord Peter de Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, was on his road to Avignon, having crossed the sea; upon which he resolved to wait for him, as he was anxious to see one of whom so many handsome things had been related, for having made war upon the Saracens. Lately, the new king of Cyprus had taken the strong city of Satàlie* from the enemies of God, and had slain, without any exceptions, all the inhabitants of both sexes whom he had found there.

There was, during this winter, a full parliament holden in England, respecting regulations for the country, but more especially to form establishments for the king's sons. They considered that the prince of Wales kept a noble and grand state, as he might well do; for he was valiant, powerful, and rich, and had besides a large inheritance in Aquitaine, where provisions and everything else abounded. They therefore remonstrated with him, and told him from the king his father, that it would be proper for him to reside in his duchy, which would furnish him withal to keep as grand an establishment as he pleased. The barons and knights of Aquitaine were also desirous of his residing among them, and had before entreated the king to allow him so to do; for although the lord John Chandos was very agreeable and kind to them, they still loved better to have their own natural lord and sovereign than any other. The prince readily assented to this, and made every preparation becoming his own and his wife's rank.† When all was ready, they took leave of the king, the queen and their brothers: set sail from England, and were landed, with their attendants, at La Rochelle.

But we will for a while leave this prince, and talk of some other regulations which were made at this time in England. It was enacted by the king and his council, that the lord Lionel, the king's second son, and who had borne the title of earl of Ulster, should from thenceforward bear that of duke of Clarence; and the lord John, who was called earl of Richmond, was created duke of Lancaster, which estate came to him by his wife, the lady Blanche, as heiress to the good duke of Lancaster, her father. It was also taken into consideration by the king and his council, that the lord Edmund, the king's youngest son, who was called earl of Cambridge, should be well provided for, and, if it were possible, that he should be united in marriage with the daughter of the earl of Flanders, at that time a widow. However, that matter, though proposed, was not fully entered upon; for it would be necessary to go cautiously to work about it; besides, the lady herself was sufficiently young.

About this time, the lady Isabella of France, mother of the king, died. She was daughter of Philip the Fair. The king ordered a most magnificent and pompous funeral for her, at the Friar Minors,‡ at which all the prelates and barons of England, as well as the lords of France who were hostages for the performance of the articles of peace, attended.

This happened before the prince and princess of Wales left England; soon after which they set out, and arrived at La Rochelle, where they were received with great joy, and remained four whole days. As soon as the lord John Chandos (who had governed the duchy of Aquitaine a considerable time) was informed that the prince was coming, he set out from Niort§ where he resided, and came to La Rochelle with a handsome attendance of knights and squires, where they feasted most handsomely the prince, princess, and their suite. The prince was conducted from thence, with great honor and rejoicings, to the city of Poitiers. The barons and knights of Poitou and Saintonge, who at that time resided there, came and did homage and fealty to him.

The prince rode from city to city, and from town to town, receiving everywhere due homage and fealty. He at last came to Bordeaux, where he resided a considerable time, and the princess with him. The earls, viscounts, barons, knights, and lords of Gascony, came thither to pay their respects to him: all of whom he received in so gracious and pleasing a manner, that every one was contented. Even the count de Foix came to visit him, whom the prince and princess received most honorably, and treated him magnificently. A peace was at this time concluded between him and the count d'Armagnac, with whom there had been a continual warfare for a very considerable time. The lord John Chandos was soon after appointed constable of all Guienne, and sir Guiscard d'Angle marshal. The prince thus provided for the knights of his own country and his household, particularly those he loved most, with these noble and handsome offices, which were at his disposal in the duchy of Aquitaine. He nominated to all his stewartries and bailiwicks knights from England, who kept up greater state and magnificence than the inhabitants of the country could have wished: but things did not go according to their desires. We will now leave the prince and the princess of Wales, to speak of king John of France, who at this time was at Villeneuve d'Avignon.

* City of Satalie.—The Attalea of the ancients: situated in Pamphilia, a province which at this day makes part of Caramania.

Antalia, or Satalie—at the bottom of the gulf of Satalie.—D'ANVILLE'S *map, Geographie Moderne.*

Peter de Lusignan had succeeded his father Hugh. He did not arrive at Avignon until the 29th March, 1362, the Wednesday of the holy week.

Waldemar, king of Denmark, was there at this same time, who came to place his person and kingdom under the protection of the holy see.—VILLARET, *Hist. de France.*

Peter I. succeeded his father Hugh, as king of Cyprus, in 1351. January 18, 1372, he was assassinated by two lords whom he had abused. He disgraced the glories and fame of his early life by his debaucheries and cruelties in his latter days.—*Art de verifier les Dates.*

† "His wife's rank." The prince of Wales married this year the lady Joan, daughter of Edmund Plantagenet earl of Kent, commonly called the fair countess of Kent. She was a widow, and of the blood royal of England. She was first married to the earl of Salisbury, and divorced from him, then she was married to sir Thomas Holland.—FABIAN.

‡ Friar Minors—commonly called the Grey Friars—now a parish church called Christ Church.—GRAFTON.

§ Niort, a city in Poitou, department of La Rochelle.

CHAPTER CCXVII.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF CYPRUS UNDERTAKE AND SWEAR TO PERFORM A CROISADE AGAINST THE INFIDELS. THE KING OF CYPRUS MAKES EARNEST SOLICITATIONS FOR ASSISTANCE TO MANY KINGS AND PRINCES IN DIVERS PLACES OF CHRISTENDOM.

About Candlemas,* 1362, the king of Cyprus came to Avignon: at which event the whole court was much rejoiced, and many cardinals went out to meet him, and to conduct him to the palace of pope Urban, who received him very graciously, as did the king of France, who was present. When they had remained together some time, and had had wines and spices served to them, the two kings took leave of the pope, and each went to his hôtel.

During this time, there was a public combat before the king of France, at Villeneuve, from pledges given and received, between two valiant and noble knights, whose names were sir Aymon de Pommiers and sir Foulques d'Archiac. When they had fought well and valorously for a length of time, the king of France appeased them, and made up their quarrel.

The two kings remained the whole Lent at Avignon, or thereabout. They often visited the pope, who received them with joy. During these frequent visits, the king of Cyprus remonstrated with the pope, the king of France, and the cardinals present, how noble and praiseworthy a thing it would be for Christendom, to open a holy passage beyond sea, and to fall upon the enemies of the true faith. The king of France listened eagerly to this discourse, and proposed that for himself he would willingly undertake such an enterprise, if he should live three years only, for two reasons: one was, that king Philip, his father, had formerly made a vow to do the same; the other was, to draw out of his kingdom all those men-at-arms, called free companions, who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right, and to save their souls. These reasons, however, the king of France kept to himself, without mentioning them to any one, until Holy Friday, when the pope preached in his chapel before the kings of France and Cyprus, and the college of Cardinals. After the sermon, which was very humble and devout, the king of France, through his great devotion, put on the cross, and requested the pope, with great sweetness, to confirm it to him. The pope immediately and benignantly complied with his request, and crossed in like manner the lord Talleyrand cardinal de Perigord, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the earl of Tancarville, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, the grand prior of France, the lord Boucicaut, and many knights there present. The king of Cyprus was highly pleased, and returned fervent thanks to the Lord for having inspired their hearts.

Thus, as you have heard, the king of France, and those barons and knights that were with him, put the red cross upon their outward robes. The holy father gave it his benediction, and ordered it to be preached in many places: not, however, throughout all Christendom, for a reason I will give. The king of Cyprus (who had come thither with the intention of forming this croisade, having promised himself much pleasure in visiting the emperor and all the great barons of the empire, the king of England, and the chief princes of Christendom, which he did, as this history hereafter will show you,) offered to the holy father and to the king of France his personal services, his wealth, and his eloquence, wherever he should arrive or make any stay, in remonstrating and arguing the grace and devotion of this expedition, in order to excite all those princes and lords to join in it who before had not had much religion. This said king was so much honored, as it was but just he should be, that, from the eloquence and warmth with which he would display the value of this expedition to the different princes, he would gain more hearts than all the preachments. The pope assented to this proposal, which was then resolved on.

Soon after Easter, 1363, the king of Cyprus left Avignon, saying he was going to visit the emperor and the lords of the empire, and then return by Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, to the kingdom of France. He took leave of the pope and the king of France, who on every occasion showed him marked attentions; the pope gave to him and to his attendants presents of jewels and benedictions.† Soon

* "Candlemas." Denys Sauvage says, in a note on the margin, that Froissart forgets in this place to begin the year the first of January.

"By an edict given by Charles IX. at Roussillon Château in Dauphiné, 1564, he fixed the beginning of the year 1565 at the first of January; whereas formerly the year commenced at Easter. It appears to me that its commencement ought to be the 21st of March."—*Essais Historiques sur Paris*, tome iv. p. 228.

† Many [illegible] and jewels and *paraces*.—LORD BERNERS.

after the departure of the king of Cyprus, the king of France took leave of the pope, and went toward the city of Montpelier, in order to visit Languedoc, where he had not been for a long time.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus, and to the journey which he made. After many days' travel in Germany, he came to a city called Prague, and found there the emperor of Germany, the lord Charles of Bohemia,* who received him magnificently, as did all the lords of the empire who were with him. The king of Cyprus remained in Prague and in its environs three weeks, and greatly exerted himself in exhorting all the Germans to assist in this holy expedition. The emperor defrayed his expenses during the stay he made, and for his journeys in Germany. The king of Cyprus went next to the duchy of Juliers, where the duke received him with much feasting and rejoicings. From the duchy he went to Brabant, where the duke and duchess received him magnificently in the good town of Brussels. He was there entertained with grand dinners, suppers, tournaments, and other sports, in which he knew well how to play his part; and, at his departure, they made him many presents of rich jewels.

When he left Brussels, he went to Flanders, to visit earl Lewis, who received and feasted him grandly. He found at Bruges the king of Denmark, who had come thither to see him. They were magnificently treated at Bruges; insomuch that the two kings were very well pleased with earl Lewis, and with the knights and barons of his country. The king of Cyprus thus passed his summer, since he had left Avignon, in his journey through the empire and along its frontiers, exhorting all to undertake this expedition against the Saracens. This gave much pleasure to many of the great lords, who were desirous that it should be accomplished; but many others excused themselves from taking part in it.

CHAPTER CCXVIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND DETAINS THE HOSTAGES AS PRISONERS. THE KING OF CYPRUS USES GREAT ENTREATIES WITH THE KINGS OF NAVARRE AND ENGLAND AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO INDUCE THEM TO UNDERTAKE THIS CROISADE AGAINST THE SARACENS.

About this time, the king of England showed much favor to four dukes, viz. the duke of Orleans, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Bourbon. These lords had returned to Calais, whence they had liberty to make excursions whither they chose for three days; but they were to return on the fourth day by sunset. The king had granted this favor with the good intent of their being nearer to make solicitations to their friends, and that they might hasten their ransoms, which they were eager to do. During the time the four above-mentioned lords were at Calais, they sent many and pressing messages to the king of France, and to the duke of Normandy his eldest son, who had nominated them as hostages, to remonstrate with them on the subject of their ransoms, which they had sworn and promised to attend to at the time they went to England, otherwise they would have undertaken it themselves, threatening no longer to consider themselves as prisoners. But although these lords were, as you know, very near relations to the king of France, their solicitors and messengers were not listened to, nor themselves ransomed, which was very displeasing to them, more particularly to the duke of Anjou, who declared he would himself find a remedy, happen what would.

At this moment, the kingdom and the councils of the king and duke of Normandy were hardly pressed, as well on account of the croisade which the king had undertaken, as for the war with the king of Navarre, who was harassing the realm of France, and who had recalled some of the captains and companions from Lombardy, in order the better to carry on his designs. This was the principal reason why they could not immediately attend to the ransoms of the four dukes, nor give satisfactory answers by their messengers, when they came to France.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus. When he had visited the empire and other countries, as you have heard, he returned to France, where he was magnificently received by the king and the great lords of his court. Several councils were held on the subject of this croisade, to discover in what manner it could turn out to the honor of the king of France or to the good of his realm. The wisest were of opinion, that seeing the kingdom so much harassed, robbed, and ruined, by the companies and thieves that invaded it from all parts, this expedition ought not to take place until the kingdom were in a better state, or till peace were made with the king of Navarre. However, notwithstanding the good sense of this advice, the king would not listen to it, nor allow his ardor for this croisade to be cooled. He confirmed his engagement to the king of Cyprus, and promised to be at Marseilles in March the ensuing year (which would be 1364,) and that then he would without delay cross the sea, and order purveyances to all who were willing to do the same.

Upon this, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king of France, finding that he had sufficient time to return to his own country and make his preparations. He considered with himself, if he should not do well to pay a visit to his cousin the king of Navarre, and endeavor, if possible, to make a peace between him and the king of France. He therefore set out from Paris with a grand equipage, and took the road to Rouen; where, when he was arrived, he was most handsomely received by his cousin the lord John d'Alençon, archbishop of Rouen, who entertained him very agreeably for three days. On the fourth he departed, taking the road to Caen, and continued his route to Cherbourg, where he found the king of Navarre, the lord Louis* his brother, and a very small company with them.

These two lords of Navarre received the king of Cyprus graciously and honorably, feasted him grandly, as they had the means, and knew well how to use them. While he was there, he endeavored to begin a treaty between them and the king of France, and talked to them frequently and eloquently upon this subject; for he was a man of excellent understanding, master of many languages, and much beloved. The two brothers made very handsome replies to him, but excused themselves by saying, it was not their fault if they were not good friends with the king and realm of France; for their great desire was to be so, but the king must give back their inheritance which he held from them wrongfully. The king of Cyprus would willingly have brought this business to a conclusion, for the king of Navarre would have left it to him, had not their differences been too great.

When the king of Cyprus had remained at Cherbourg about fifteen days, having been entertained by the king of Navarre and his brother suitably to his rank, he took leave of them, saying he should not rest until he had been in England, and exhorted king Edward and his children to put on the cross. He departed from Cherbourg, and arrived at Caen; thence he crossed the sea at Pont de l'Arche,† and entered Ponthieu; having passed the Somme at Abbeville,‡ he came to Rue,§ to Montreuil,‖ and to Calais, where he found the three dukes of Orleans, Berry and Bourbon: for the duke of Anjou had returned to France, but by what means or in what condition I know not.¶

These three dukes, prisoners, though they were in the town of Calais, received the king of Cyprus very joyfully, and the king behaved with equal politeness to them. They continued together for twelve days. When the king of Cyprus had a favorable wind, he crossed the Straits, and arrived at Dover. He remained there two days to recover himself, while they unloaded his vessel and disembarked his horses. The king then continued his route by easy day journeys, until he arrived at the good city of London. He was honorably received on his arrival, as well by the barons of France, who were there as hostages, as by the English lords, who had rode out to meet him; for king Edward had ordered some of his knights, viz. the earl of Hereford,** sir Walter Manny, the lord Despencer,†† the lord Ralph de Ferrers,‡‡ sir Richard Pembridge,§§ sir Richard Stafford,‖‖ and others to meet him, who accompanied and conducted him to the lodgings which were prepared for him in the city of London.

It would take me a day were I to attempt relating to you the grand dinners, suppers, and other feasts and entertainments that were made, and the magnificent presents, gifts and jewels which were given, especially by queen Philippa, to the accomplished king of Cyprus. In truth, he was deserving of them, for he had come a long way and at a great expense, to visit them, to exhort the king to put on the red cross, and assist them in regaining countries now

* Lord Charles of Bohemia—Charles IV. emperor of Germany. He published the famous Golden Bull, that has ever since regulated all the elections of emperors of Germany.

* "Lord Louis." Charles had two brothers, Philip and Louis: but which is here meant, I know not. Denys Sauvage says it was Philip, my MSS. Louis.

† Pont de l'Arche—a town of Normandy, on the Seine, diocese of Evreux.

‡ Abbeville—a considerable town in Lower Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

§ Rue—a small town in Picardy.

‖ Montreuil—a town in Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

¶ See Rymer, anno 1363, for different letters from king John while at Avignon, and other matters respecting the ransoms of these princes of the blood. It appears that they were all promised their freedom, on possession being given to the officers named by king Edward of certain lands and castles belonging to each of them, dated at Westminster, 26th May, 1363. The duke of Anjou and other hostages broke their parole and escaped. In the Fœdera 1364, there are various remonstrances made by Edward on this subject.

Stowe says, in his Chronicle, that the duke of Anjou, by breaking his word and oath to return to England as one of the hostages for king John, and thus deceiving him, was the cause of his majesty's death, through grief.

Carte says, "Their negotiations not succeeding, the duke of Anjou made use of that indulgence to escape into France: the king, his father, blamed him exceedingly, and, to repair his son's faults, resolved to go himself to England, and, by a personal treaty with Edward, remove the obstructions which had hitherto prevented the full execution of the treaty of Bretigny. His ministers tried, in vain, to dissuade him from this resolution; for he told them, that though good faith were banished out of the rest of the world, it ought still to be found in the words of princes, and as the performance of the articles of that treaty was the condition of his, he would at any rate see them executed."

** The earl of Hereford—son of William Bohun, earl of Northampton, succeeded to the title and estates of Hereford, on the death of his uncle, Humphrey de Bohun, in 1361. He was afterwards nominated embassador to the duke of Milan, respecting the marriage of his daughter Violante to the duke of Clarence, and died shortly after.

†† Lord Despencer—grandson of Edward that was executed at Hereford. He enjoyed much favor under Edward III., and was buried at Tewkesbury.

‡‡ "Lord Ralph de Ferrers." I cannot find in Dugdale's Baronage any of this family that bore the name of Ralph. There is Rauf de Ferriers, banneret, in Ashmole, which I suppose must be the same.

§§ Sir Richard Pembridge—was fifty-third knight of the garter. He died 1375, and his tomb is in Hereford cathedral. The only account I can find of him is in Mr. Gough's first volume of Sepulchral Monuments, to which I refer.

‖‖ Sir Richard Stafford—was son to sir Richard Stafford, brother to Ralph, earl of Stafford. He served in Edward III.'s wars in Gascony, and was summoned to parliament among the barons, from 44th Edward III. until 4th Richard II. inclusive.

occupied by the enemies of God. But the king of England politely and wisely excused himself, by saying: "Certainly, my good cousin, I have every inclination to undertake this expedition; but I am growing too old, and shall leave it to my children. I make no doubt, that when it shall have been begun, you will not be alone, but will be followed most willingly by my knights and squires." "Sir," replied the king of Cyprus, "what you say satisfies me. I verily believe they will come, in order to serve God, and do good to themselves; but you must grant them permission so to do; for the knights of your country are eager in such expeditions." "Yes," answered the king of England; "I will never oppose such a work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee." The king of Cyprus could never obtain anything more from king Edward, in respect to this croisade; but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honorably feasted with a variety of grand suppers.

About this time, king David* of Scotland had some affairs to transact with king Edward, that made it necessary for him to come to England; so that when he heard the king of Cyprus was there, he hastened his journey, in order to meet him, and made such dispatch that he arrived in London before he had left it. The two kings were much rejoiced to meet, and congratulated each other upon it. The king of England gave them two grand entertainments in his palace of Westminster. At the last of these, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king and queen of England, who made him very magnificent presents: king Edward gave him also a ship called the Catherine, which was very beautiful and well built. The king of England had had her constructed, by his orders, to make the voyage to Jerusalem. She was valued at twelve thousand francs, and lay in the harbor of Sandwich.

The king of Cyprus was much pleased with this gift, and returned many thanks for it. He made no long stay after this in England, but returned to the king of France. The king of England, however, defrayed all his and his attendants' expenses during the time he remained, as well as the cost of his journeys in coming and returning. I do not know how it was, nor for what reason, but he left the ship in the harbor of Sandwich; for, two years afterwards, I saw it there at anchor.

The king of Cyprus left England,† and crossed the sea to Boulogne. Having learnt on the road, that the king of France, the duke of Normandy, the lord Philip, youngest son to king John, and the council of state, were to be in the good town of Amiens, the king of Cyprus took that road, and found the king of France just arrived, with part of his council. He was kindly received by them, and related to them the greater part of his travels, which they listened to with pleasure. When he had been there some time, he said that as yet he had done but little, until he should have seen the prince of Wales; and that, if it pleased God, he would go visit him, as well as the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, before he returned home. The king of France made no objection to this, but earnestly entreated, that when he set out on his return home, he would take his departure from France, to which the king of Cyprus readily assented. He therefore left Amiens, taking the road to Beauvais, passed the Seine at Pontoise, and continued his route to Poitiers.

At this time, the prince was at Angoulême, where there were shortly to be grand entertainments and justs by forty knights and as many squires, in honor of the princess, who had lately been brought to bed of a handsome son, called Edward,‡ after his father. As soon as the prince was informed of the arrival of the king of Cyprus at Poitiers, he sent by special command, sir John Chandos, attended by many knights and squires of his household, to meet him. They accompanied him, with great joy and respect, to the prince, who received him kindly and honorably. We will now leave the king of Cyprus for a while, and return to the king of France, to relate what were the reasons why he and his council had come to Amiens.

* "King David." It appears, by Rymer, from the passport granted him by king Edward, the 20th February, 1364, that David Bruce's journey into England was to pay his devotions at the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham. The same religious motives might have made him so eager to converse with the king of Cyprus on the subject of the croisade. His passport was to continue in force until the ensuing Michaelmas.

His new queen, Margaret Logie, had at the same time a passport, to pay her devotions at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury.

† Barnes, in his history of Edward III. says, that the king of Denmark and the duke of Bavaria accompanied him to England, and that their passports were dated 6th December.

In Rymer, there is a passport for Waldemar, king of Denmark, dated the 1st of February, 1364, to continue to the ensuing Michaelmas, for himself and three hundred horsemen, &c., but not one word is said of the king of Cyprus nor of the duke of Bavaria.

"Anno reg. 38. 1. 7.—Henry Picard, vintner, mayor of London, in one day did sumptuously feast Edward king of England, John king of France, the king of Cyprus (then newly arrived in England,) David king of Scots, Edward prince of Wales, with many noblemen and others; and after, the said Henry Picard kept an hall against all comers whosoever that were willing to play at dice and hazard. Unlike manner, the lady Margaret, his wife, did also keep her chamber to the same intent. The king of Cyprus, playing with Henry Picard in his hall, did win of the said king the same fifty marks and fifty marks more; which when the said king began to take in ill part, although he dissembled the same, Henry said unto him, 'My lord and king, be not aggrieved: I covet not your gold, but your play; for I have not bid you hither to give you, but that among other things I might try your play,' and gave him his money again, plentifully bestowing his own among the retinue. Besides, he gave many rich gifts to the king and other nobles and knights, who dined with him, to the great glory of the citizens of London in those days."—STOWE's *Chronicle*.

‡ "By her (the princess) he had two sons, namely, Edward the eldest, born at Angoulême in February, 1365 (Leland saith 1364,) who died in Guienne at seven years of age," and Richard, who was afterwards king of England.—ASHMOLE's *Garter*, p. 676.

CHAPTER CCXIX.

KING JOHN RETURNS, BY HIS OWN FREE WILL, TO ENGLAND, AND DIES THERE.

I was informed, and indeed truly, that king John had a wish to go to England, to visit his brother king Edward and the queen his sister, and for this effect had summoned part of his council. They could not make him change his mind, though they gave freely their opinions on the subject: and many of the prelates and barons of France told him, he would do a very foolish thing, if he again put himself in the power of the king of England. But the king answered, that he had found so much loyalty and honor in his brother the king of England, the queen, and his nephews their children, that he could not sufficiently praise them: he did not in the least doubt but that they would be courteous, polite, and loyal, and friends to him in all situations. He was also anxious to go to England, in order to make excuses for his son, the duke of Anjou, who had returned to France. On hearing this, not one of the council had a word more to say, since his majesty had thus ordered and settled it. He again appointed his son, the duke of Normandy, regent of France during his absence. He promised his youngest son, the lord Philip, that on his return from the journey he was about to make,* he would create him duke of Burgundy, and that he should inherit the lands of that duchy.

When all things were prepared according to his orders, and his purveyances sent to Boulogne, he departed from the city of Amiens, and, having begun his journey, continued it until he came to Hesdin, where he remained to pass his Christmas. The earl, Louis of Flanders, who was much attached to him, came there to visit his majesty; and they continued together about three or four days. On Innocent's day, he left Hesdin, rode forward to Boulogne, where he took up his quarters in the abbey, and remained there until he had a favorable wind. He was accompanied, when he crossed the sea, by the following nobles of his realm: the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the grand prior of France, the lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, sir Tristan de Maguelles, sir Peter and sir John de Villiers, sir John d'Anville, sir Nicholas Braque, and several great knights. When their vessels were laden, and the mariners had a wind to their wishes, they informed the king, who embarked on board his vessel about midnight, as did his attendants on board of theirs. Having set their sails for the coast of England, they arrived at Dover about vespers. It was on the day preceding the vigil of the feast of the Three Kings, called the Epiphany.†

News was brought to the king of England (who at that time was with the queen at Eltham, a very magnificent palace which the king had, seven miles from London,) that the king of France had landed at Dover. He immediately ordered many knights of his household to go and congratulate the king on his arrival; the lord Bartholomew Burghersh,‡ sir Richard Pembridge,§ sir Allan Boxhall,‖ and several others. They took leave of king Edward, and rode toward Dover, where they found the king of France, who had remained there since his arrival. They attended and conducted him with every mark of respect and honor, as they well knew how to do. Among other compliments, they told him the king their lord was much rejoiced at his coming, which the king of France readily believed.

On the morrow morning, the king and his attendants were on horseback early, and rode to Canterbury, where they dined. On entering the cathedral, the king paid his devotions to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and presented to it a rich jewel of great value. The king of France remained two days in the city of Canterbury. The third day he set out, taking the road to London, and rode on until he came to Eltham, where the king of England was, with a number of lords, ready to receive him. It was on a Sunday, in the afternoon, that he arrived; there were, therefore, between this time and supper, many grand dances and cards. The young lord de Coucy¶ was there, who took pains to shine in his dancing and singing whenever it was his turn. He was in great favor with both the French and English; for whatever he chose to do he did well and with grace.

I can never relate how very honorably and magnificently the king

* "Duke on his return, &c. King John's passport is in Rymer, dated 10th December, 1363. There, also, is that excellent collection, the patent of the creation of Philip duke of Burgundy, which is dated Germigny sur Marne, 6th September, 1363.—CARTE, vol. ii.

There are two Germignys, Germigny l'Evêque and Germigny sous Colome, villages of France, in the diocese and election of Meaux.

† This, according to a marginal note of Denys Sauvage, makes it 1364, beginning the year the 1st of January.

‡ Lord Burghersh—knight of the Garter. See DUGDALE's *Baronage*.

§ Sir Richard Pembridge. See p. 139, note.

‖ Sir Allan Boxhall—fifty second knight of the Garter. See ASHMOLE.

Walsing. Ypodigma, p. 136, saith: "Hoc anno Rob. Haule scutifer fuit occisus in ecclesia Westmon. tempore majoris misse per quo dam regis satelites quorsum ductor extitit Alanus de Buxhalle, miles per ante non gnobilis, sed hoc facto postea semper infamis;" for which he was by name excommunicated.

Anno 1378, sir Ralph de Ferrars was excommunicated with him for the same offence.

¶ "Lord de Coucy." Enguerrand de Coucy, son of Enguerrand de Coucy and Catherine, daughter of Leopold, first duke of Swabia (the present Imperial family.) He married Isabella, eldest daughter of Edward the Third.—ANDERSON's *Royal Genealogies*.

and queen of England received king John. On leaving Eltham, he went to London; and, as he came near, he was met by the citizens dressed out in their proper companies, who greeted and welcomed him with much reverence, and attended him with large bands of minstrels, unto the palace of the Savoy, which had been prepared for them. The princes of the blood-royal that remained, as his hostages, in England, were also lodged in the same palace; namely, his brother the duke of Orleans, his son the duke of Berry, his cousin the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Alençon, Guy de Blois, the earl of St. Pol, and many more.

The king passed there part of the winter very gayly with his countrymen. The king of England visited him often; as did his children, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Edmund his youngest son. There were several great feastings between them, in dinners, suppers, and other entertainments, at this hôtel of the Savoy, and at the palace of Westminster, which is not far off, whither the king went in a private manner, whenever he chose it, by the means of the river Thames. They both frequently regretted the loss of the lord James de Bourbon, and said that it was a very unfortunate business; for no one deserved better his rank among nobles.

We will now leave the king of France for a short time, and speak of the king of Cyprus, who had come to Angoulême to visit his cousin the prince of Wales. He was most graciously received by his royal highness, and by all the barons, knights and squires of Poitou and Saintonge who were then with the prince, such as the viscount de Thouars, the young lord of Pons, the lord of Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle; and, among the English, by sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton,* sir Nêle Loring,† sir Richard de Pontchardon,‡ sir Simon de Basselles,§ and several others, as well of that country as from England. The king of Cyprus was magnificently entertained by the prince, princess, and the barons and knights above-mentioned. He staid there upward of a month; and then sir John Chandos accompanied him, for his amusement, into different parts of Poitou and Saintonge, and showed him the good town of La Rochelle, where there was a grand feast made for him. When he had seen everything, he returned to Angoulême, to assist at the noble tournament which the prince held, where there were plenty of knights and squires. Soon after this feast, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the prince and of the knights of the country, but not before he had related to them the principal reason of his visit, and for what cause he had put on the red cross which he wore, how the pope had blessed this expedition, which was deserving of every praise; and how the king of France through devotion, as well as many other great lords, had put it on, and had sworn to its execution.

The prince and the knights made him a courteous answer, saying, that in truth it was an expedition in which every man of worth or honor was interested; and that, if it pleased God, and the passage were open, he would not be alone, but would be followed by all those who were desirous to advance themselves. The king of Cyprus was well pleased with this speech, and took his departure: but sir John Chandos attended him, until he had quitted the principality. It appears to me, that he went back into France, and took the road toward Paris, in the hopes of finding the king of France returned home; but it was not so; for he was still at the palace of the Savoy, confined to his bed by sickness, of which he grew worse every day, to the great uneasiness of the king of England and his queen, as the most learned physicians had declared him to be in much danger.

The duke of Normandy was informed of all this at Paris, where he resided, having the regency of the realm; for the lord de Boucicaut had crossed the sea, to convey the news of this illness to him. The king of Navarre also heard of the progress of this disorder, which gave him no displeasure, for he hoped, if the king of France died, to carry on his war more to his satisfaction: he sent letters, therefore, to the captal de Buch,‖ who at that time was with his brother-in-law the earl of Foix,¶ to desire that he would come to him in Normandy, and that he would exalt him in dignities above all other lords and knights.

The captal, who was fond of arms, and cousin to the king of Navarre, complied with his request. He left the earl of Foix, taking his road through the principality of Aquitaine, where he solicited several knights and squires to go with him; but he succeeded with only a few. Neither the English, Gascons, nor Poitevins were willing to take up arms for the king of Navarre, against the crown of France; for they considered the treaties and alliances entered into and sworn by the king of England, their sovereign lord, with the king of France at Calais, so sacred and strong, they would not by any means infringe or break them. During the time the captal de Buch was journeying toward the king of Navarre, John king of France departed this life in England. The king, queen, the princes of the blood, and all the nobles of England were exceedingly concerned at it, from the great love and affection he had shown to them since the conclusion of the peace.

His brother, the duke of Orleans, and his son, the duke of Berry, were in great affliction at his death, and sent in haste to inform the duke of Normandy of the melancholy event; who, when he was certain it was true, was much affected by it, as he had reason to be; but considering that everything which is created must in the course of nature have an end, and that he could not remedy this loss, he bore it as patiently as he was able. Finding himself thus successor to the inheritance of the kingdom of France, and being well informed that the king of Navarre was daily reinforcing his garrisons in the county of Evreux, and that he was engaging men-at-arms to carry on the war, he resolved to provide himself with an able council, and to oppose this evil by every means in his power.

CHAPTER CCXX.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE MAKES WISE PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE KING OF NAVARRE, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DEATH OF JOHN HIS FATHER, AND BEFORE HIS CORONATION.

At this period, there was a knight of Brittany, who had always borne arms in favor of the French, called sir Bertrand du Guesclin.*

Bertrand du Guesclin. From a wood cut in a rare Gothic folio, printed at Lyons, 1490, preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris; and called the "Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin."

His worth and fame were but little known except among the knights of Brittany, who were his neighbors in that country, where he had resided and carried on the war in favor of the lord Charles of Blois. This sir Bertrand was always much esteemed by them as a valiant knight, and well beloved by his brethren-at-arms: he was already in the good graces of the duke of Normandy, on account of the great acts of valor that he had heard related of him.

It happened that the duke of Normandy, soon after the death of the king his father, had very strong suspicions of the king of Navarre: he therefore gave orders to the lord of Boucicaut, saying, "Set out from hence as speedily as you can, with as many friends as possible,

* "Sir Thomas Felton," of Lutcham in Norfolk, forty-ninth knight of the Garter. He was grand seneschal and commandant de Guienne for Richard II. He was killed in opposing Henry Transtamare, before the battle of Najara. Sir Thomas Hoo, knight of the Garter, married his daughter.—Anstis's *MS. Collections*.

† "Sir Nele Loring," twentieth knight of the Garter. See his life in Ashmole. He was chamberlain to the Black Prince. He died the 9th Richard II. and was buried at Dunstable.—Anstis's *MS. Collections*.

‡ "Sir Richard de Pontchardon." I cannot find anything about him.

§ "Sir Simon de Basselles," probably Basset, but I cannot say more.

‖ "Captal de Buch," fifth knight of the Garter. M. Anstice, in his second volume, says, "It was sir John de Greilly, of royal lineage, and the most renowned commander at that time, whose unalterable loyalty to the crown of England was such, that he chose to die a prisoner at Paris, 1397, rather than deviate from it."

"Buch is a small promontory lying along the coast from Bayonne to Medoc," &c. See Anstis.

¶ "Earl of Foix." Gaston II. succeeded his father, 1344. His sister Blanca was married to John de Greilly.

* "Bertrand du Guesclin." For more of him see his memoirs in the third and fourth volumes of Les Memoires Historiques, and also in Hist. de la Bretagne, &c.

and ride toward Normandy, where you will meet sir Bertrand du Guesclin: I shall then desire that you both fall on the king of Navarre, and retake Mantes; by which means we shall be masters of the river Seine." The lord de Boucicaut answered, "Sir, this I will most willingly perform."*

He then quitted Paris, taking with him a great number of knights and squires. He followed the road toward Normandy, through St. Germain-en-Laye, and gave those to understand who accompanied him, that he was going to attack the castle of Roulleboise,† which was detained by certain persons called free companions, who did every mischief possible. Roulleboise has a very good and strong castle upon the river Seine, about a league distant from Mantes, and was at that time filled and garrisoned by these companies and their men-at-arms, who carried on the war for their own benefit, and attacked the friends of the kings of France and of Navarre without distinction. They had a captain of the name of Wautaire Austarde,‡ a native of Brussels, whom they implicitly obeyed. He paid them according to a fixed proportion of wages, and was an expert soldier of great courage. He and his people pillaged the country all around; so that none dare travel from Paris to Mantes, nor from Mantes to Rouen or Pontoise, for fear of them; for they attacked both French and Navarrois, pressing especially the people of Mantes very hard.

When the lord de Boucicaut left Paris, though he made it to be understood he was going to that part of the country, nevertheless he missed taking the right road to Roulleboise. He waited therefore for sir Bertrand du Guesclin and his army, who a short time before had made an excursion to Evreux,§ and held a parley with the inhabitants of that city; but instead of opening their gates to him, they severely attacked him with stones, &c.: he retreated, and made for the marshal, who had halted for him in a road not far from Roulleboise. Upon mustering their forces, they were full five hundred men-at-arms. These two captains had a long conference together, upon the best means of subsisting themselves, and what would be the surest method of gaining the town of Mantes, their principal object. They determined that the lord de Boucicaut, with one hundred of his knights only, should ride to Mantes, and feign themselves to be much frightened, crying out that the garrison of Roulleboise was in pursuit of them, and begging that they would give them admittance. If they consented, they were to seize the gates, and sir Bertrand would directly follow with the remainder of the army: they would then be masters of the place. Should this plan fail, they did not see by what other means they could gain it. The council being dissolved, the lords kept the secret among themselves. The lord de Boucicaut set out, according to their plan, and took the road to Mantes; sir Bertrand went with the rest of the troops another road, but placed himself and men in ambush not far from the town.

When the lord de Boucicaut was near to Mantes, he and his troops separated, like to people that had been beaten and were pursued. The marshal, attended only by ten others (followed, however, by the rest at a small distance,) came to the barricadoes of the town, and cried out, "Hollo! good people of Mantes, open your gates, I beg of you, and let us come in; for the thieves of Roulleboise have discomfited us, and are now at our heels." "Who are you?" asked those whom he had addressed. "I am, gentlemen, the lord de Boucicaut, marshal of France, whom the duke of Normandy had sent against Roulleboise: but those rogues there have beaten us, and made us fly, whether willing or not; and they will capture me and my people unless you open your gates to us." The people of Mantes, thinking he had said nothing but truth, replied: "Sir, we know well that those in Roulleboise are our enemies as well as yours, and that it is indifferent to them on which party they make war: on the other hand, the duke of Normandy hates us, on account of our attachment to the king of Navarre our lord: we are therefore in great doubt, if we shall not be betrayed by you, who are marshal of France." "By my faith, gentlemen, that shall never be; for I am come into this country solely to destroy the garrison of Roulleboise." At these words they opened the gates. The lord de Boucicaut entered, with some of his companions; but he was followed so slowly by the remainder, that the people of Mantes had not time to shut their gates upon sir Bertrand's men, who came in with the last of the lord de Boucicaut's party: for though the lord de Boucicaut went with his men directly to an hôtel, where they disarmed themselves, in order the better to blind the inhabitants, sir Bertrand and his forces came full gallop into the town, crying, "St. Yves Guesclin! death to the Navarrois." They entered, pillaged the houses of whatever they found, and made prisoners of whom they pleased: they also murdered several.

Soon after they had possession of Mantes, a detachment of Bretons advanced to Meulan, a league distant, and very cunningly entered it. They said they were men-at-arms whom sir William de Graville had sent thither, and that as many or more had remained at Mantes. The people of Meulan believed the truth of this the more readily because they came by the road from Mantes, and because they could not have crossed the river but by the bridge of Mantes. Thinking what they had told them must be true, they opened their gates, which were instantly seized by the Bretons, who entered, crying out, "St. Yves Guesclin!" and began to lay about them with their arms. When the inhabitants found themselves thus deceived, and that there were no hopes of redress, they fled and saved themselves as well as they could.

Thus were Mantes and Meulan taken, to the great joy of the duke of Normandy. The king of Navarre was in a furious rage when he was informed of it: he directly reinforced all his towns and castles with troops and well-tried officers: for he was much chagrined at losing Mantes and Meulan, as they were to him convenient entrances into France.

This same week, the captal de Buch arrived at Cherbourg with four hundred men-at-arms. The king of Navarre was well pleased thereat, and received him most graciously. In his complaints against the duke of Normandy, he was very sore upon the losses of the towns of Mantes and Meulan, which, he said, had been taken from him by stealth. The captal replied: "My lord, if it please God, we will go and meet your enemies, and exert ourselves so effectually that, God willing, you shall speedily have again possession of these, as well as many other towns and castles. It is said that the king of France will very soon go to Rheims, for his coronation: we will therefore at that time begin our attack on his country." The king of Navarre, being much rejoiced at the arrival of the captal de Buch, said he should send him on an excursion into France. The king sought for men-at-arms wherever he could get them, or where there was any likelihood of obtaining them.

There was at that time in Normandy, an English knight who formerly had borne arms for the king of Navarre: his name was sir John Jouel; a very able and expert man in his profession. He commanded about two or three hundred lances. The king of Navarre sent to entreat him to serve under him, together with his men; which sir John Jouel* consented to, and waited on him to place himself under his orders.

The duke of Normandy was informed that the king of Navarre was collecting large bodies of men-at-arms, and that the captal de Buch was to be the commander of them. He therefore formed his resolutions, and wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to order him and his Bretons to make a stand against the Navarrois, and that he would speedily send him sufficient reinforcements to offer battle to the troops of the king of Navarre. At the same time, he ordered the lord de Boucicaut to remain at Mantes and Meulan. Sir Bertrand and his Bretons departed, and took up their quarters near to Vernon. In a few days afterwards, the duke of Normandy sent to him some noble men-at-arms; such as the earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord Lewis de Châlons, the archpriest, the master of the cross-bowmen, and many other knights and squires.

About this time, several knights of Gascony came to serve under the duke of Normandy: among whom were the lord d'Albret, sir Aymon de Pommiers, the souldich de l'Estrade,† sir Petiton de Courton, and several more. The duke of Normandy felt himself much obliged to them for coming to his assistance, and begged of them to go into Normandy to oppose his enemies. The above-named lords willingly obeyed, and, having put their men in proper array, marched toward Normandy, except the lord d'Albret, who remained with the duke; but his troops went on the expedition.

At this period a knight, called Beaumont de Laval, came from the French frontiers of Brittany, and advanced toward Evreux, with about forty lances under him. A young knight, sir Guy de Graville, happened to be in that town at the time, who no sooner heard of the alarm than he hastened to arm himself, ordering all the garrison to do the same: they were soon mounted, and in pursuit after them. But sir Beaumont had already succeeded in his enterprise. However, by the fleetness of his horse, sir Guy de Graville came near enough to cry out, "Beaumont, you must not go off thus: the men of Evreux must speak to you, for they wish to be better acquainted with you." When sir Beaumont thus heard himself called upon, he turned his horse about, lowered his lance, and made straight for sir Guy. These two knights met each other with such force, that their lances were shivered on their shields; but they were so firm in their seats that neither was unhorsed, as they passed each other. On their return, they drew their swords; and, at the same time, both their companies began to fight so furiously, that in the course of the rencounter many were unhorsed on each side. The Bretons acquitted themselves most loyally; but in the end they could not maintain their ground, for numbers increased upon them every moment, so that they were all killed or made prisoners: none escaped. Sir Beaumont de Laval was taken by sir Guy de Graville, and brought as his prisoner to the castle of Evreux, whither all the other prisoners were conducted. Thus ended this adventure; for which sir Guy was much praised, and beloved by the king of Navarre and the citizens of Evreux.

* It does not appear from the memoirs of Bertrand du Guesclin, republished in the third and fourth volumes of Les Memoires Historiques, that the maréchal de Boucicaut had anything to do with the taking of Mantes, &c. as his name never once occurs. Nor are the chronicles agreed as to the exact date when this happened.—See Note 19, Mem. Hist.

† Roulleboise village in Normandy, on the Seine.

‡ "Wautaire Austarde." Barnes calls him Vautair Austart.

§ Evreux, an ancient city of Normandy. Its bishop is suffragan to the archbishop of Rouen.

* "Sir John Jouel." Barnes calls him sir John Jones, but he quotes no authority for this change from all the chronicles and memoirs of the times.

† "The souldich de l'Estrade." He was afterwards created a knight of the Garter. See *Anstis's Garter*, vol. ii. p. 157. He calls him sir Saudich de Trane.

CHAPTER CCXXI.

THE KING OF CYPRUS RETURNS TO PARIS. THE FUNERAL OF KING JOHN AT ST. DENIS. THE CAPTAL DE BUCH MAKES AN ATTACK ON SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN.

THE king of Cyprus, who was now returned from Aquitaine to France, went to meet the king, who had before borne the title of duke of Normandy. His two brothers, the duke of Anjou, and the lord Philip, since duke of Burgandy, were with the dead waiting for the corpse of their father, which was on the road from England. The king of Cyprus very cordially condoled with them on the subject of their loss, and was himself much affected by the death of the king of France, because his expedition would be retarded by it: he clothed himself in black for his mourning.*

When the body of the king of France, which had been embalmed and put into a coffin, approached near to Paris, attended by the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Dampmartin, and the grand prior of France, the duke of Normandy, his brothers, the king of Cyprus, and the greater part of the clergy of Paris, went on foot beyond St. Denis, to meet it. On being brought thither, it was buried with great solemnity; and the archbishop of Sens said mass on the day of interment. After the service was over, and dinner ended, (which was very magnificent,) the great lords and prelates returned to Paris. There were then held many councils on the state of the kingdom, which could not any longer do well without a king; and it was determined by the prelates and nobles, that they should immediately go for Rheims. The duke of Normandy (for such was still his title) wrote to his uncle,

PORTRAIT OF CHARLES V., SURNAMED THE WISE—From a Print in Mezeray's Hist. de France.

Winceslaus duke of Brabant† and Luxemburgh, and also to his cousin the earl of Flanders,‡ to request their attendance at his coronation, which was fixed for Trinity-day next ensuing.§

* And the kyng of Cypre holpe them to complayne the dethe of the kyng, and was marueyously displeased therewith, because of the hynderynge of his vyage of the croyse: and so he clothed hymself with the *vesture of dolonre*.—ED.

† Winceslaus duke of Brabant, son of the emperor Charles IV.—ANDERSON'S *Royal Genealogies*.

‡ Earl of Flanders—Lewis II. the last earl of Flanders. He was stabbed in a quarrel by John, son of the king of France, at Boulogne, 1382.—ANDERSON.

§ As the account of the funeral of king John is very different in the superb edition of Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis, in my possession, I translate it.

"This Tuesday, the 1st day of May, 1364, the body of king John, who had died at London, as has been related, was brought to the abbey of St. Anthony, near Paris. It remained there until the Sunday following, that preparations might be made for the funeral. On that day, the 5th of May, it was transported from thence to the church of Notre-Dame, attended by processions on foot from all the churches of Paris, and by three of the king's sons, namely, Charles duke of Normandy, Lewis duke of Anjou, and Philip duke of Terouenne: the king of Cyprus was also there.

"The body was carried by the members of his parliament, as had been the usage with other kings, because they represent the person of the king in matters of justice, which is the fairest jewel in his crown, and by which he reigns. On the Monday morning solemn mass was sung in the church of Notre-Dame; and, soon afterwards, the body was carried to St. Denis in the same manner as it had been brought from the abbey of St. Anthony. The three princes and the king of Cyprus followed on foot, as far as the gate of St. Landri,a where they mounted their horses, and accompanied the body to the town of St. Denis, where, on their arrival, they dismounted, and, as before, followed the body on foot to the church.

"On Tuesday, the 7th day of May, the obsequies of the late king were performed in the church of St. Denis, and the body was interred on the left of the high altar.

"Shortly after mass, king Charles, the eldest son of the late king, went into the meadow, and there received the homages of the peers of France and other great barons. He then went to dinner, and remained at St. Denis that and the following day. On the Thursday, king Charles left that town, to prepare for his coronation, which was fixed for the Trinity Sunday following."

a There was formerly a gate called Port St. Landri, near to St. Germain l'Auxerrois. It was built up in the year 1558.—M. SAUVAL, *Antiquites de Paris*.

While these things were going forward, and the nobles were making preparations for the coronation, the French and Navarrois were advancing toward each other in Normandy: the captal de Buch was already in the city of Evreux, collecting his men-at-arms and soldiers from every place he could get them. We will speak of him and of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, as well as of a famous battle which was fought the Thursday preceding Trinity Sunday, the day the duke was to be crowned king of France (as indeed he was) in the cathedral of the city of Rheims.

When the lord John de Greilly, known by the appellation of the captal de Buch, had completed his numbers of archers and foot-soldiers in the city of Evreux, he made his final arrangements, and appointed as governor of it a knight called the lord Michael d'Orgery. He sent to Conches* the lord Guy de Graville, to defend that place as a sort of frontier. He then marched with all his men-at-arms and archers; for he had heard that the French were abroad, but was not certain in what quarter.

He took the field, very desirous of finding them; and, having mustered his army, he found he had seven hundred lances, and full three hundred archers, with five hundred other serviceable men. There were among them several good knights and squires, especially a banneret of the kingdom of Navarre, named the lord Saulx; but the greatest and most expert, with the largest company of men-at-arms and archers in his train, was an English knight, called sir John Jouel. There were also the lord Peter de Saque-ville, the lord William de Graville, the lord Bertrand du Franc, Basque de Marneil, and many others, who were eager to meet sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to give him battle. They marched toward Passy† and Pont de l'Arche, thinking the French would pass the Seine there, if in truth they had not already crossed it.

It chanced that, as on the Whitsun-Wednesday, the captal and his companions were riding through a wood, he met a herald, whose name was Faucon,‡ and who had that morning left the French army. As soon as the captal saw him, he recognized him, for he was one of the king of England's heralds, and asked him from whence he came, and if he could give them any intelligence of the French army. "Yes, that I can, in God's name, my lord, replied he; "for I only left them this day: they are seeking after you, and are very anxious to meet with you." "Where are they?" asked the captal, "on this or on the other side of Pont de l'Arche?" "In the Lord's name," answered Faucon, "they have passed Pont de l'Arche and Vernon, and are, as I believe, at this moment very near to Passy." "Tell me, I pray thee," said the captal, "what sort of people they are, and who are their captains?" "In God's name," replied Faucon, "they are full fifteen hundred combatants, and all good men-at-arms. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin is there, who has the largest company of Bretons: there are the earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, the lord Lewis de Châlons, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows, the archpriest, the lord Odoart de Renty. Some lords from Gascony, your own countrymen, are likewise among them, with the men-at-arms of the lord d'Albret; as also the lord Aymon de Pommiers and the lord Souldich de la Trane."

When the captal heard the names of these Gascons, he was marvellously astonished, and turned red with anger: recovering his

* Conches—a market town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

† Passy—a town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

‡ Faucon was the title, not the name of this herald. Noble, in his History of the College of Arms, says under the title Falcon: "This heraldship was anciently written Faucon. The falcon was a badge of Edward III., who had an officer of that name; but whether king, herald, or pursuivant, authors are not agreed. Richard II. had Falcon king-at-arms: in the reign of Edward IV. the office was fallen to that of herald." Both Lord Berners and D. Sauvage calls him "king Faucon."—ED.

Lord Berners's version is so spirited that we are induced to subjoin it: "So it happened that the Friday in the whytson weke the captall and his company rode out of a wode, and by auenture they met a haraude of armes called *kynge Faucon*, and the same mornynge he was departed fro the Frenche boost. As sone as the captall se hym he knewe hym well, and made him great chere, for he was perteynynge to the kyng of England. Then he demaunded of hym fro whens he came, and if he knewe any tidynge of the Frenchmen. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'in the name of God, I knowe well where they be; I departed fro them to day: they seke you as well as ye do them.' 'Where be they,' quoth the captall: 'beyond the bridge of Tharche, or a this syde?' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'they be passed the bridge at Vernon; and, as I beleue, they are nowe about Passy.' 'What nombre be they,' quoth the captall, 'and what capitens haue they? I pray you shewe me.' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'they are well a xvc fightyng men, and there is sir Bertrand of Clesquy (Guesclin) who hath the grettest company of Bretons; also there is therle of Aucer, the vycount of Beaumont, the lorde Loys of Chalon, the lord of Beauieu, the master of the cross bowes, tharchpreest, the lorde Edward of Remy: and of Gascone, there is the company of the lorde Dalbret, and the lorde Aymon of Punyers, the lorde of Saldyche and of Lestrad:' and when the captall herd those Gascons named, he mareuyled gretly, and blussed for displeasure, and sayd, 'Faucon, is this true ye saye, that these lordes of Gascone are there, and the lord Dalbret's company?' 'Sir,' quoth the herald, 'ye without fail.' 'And where is the lorde Dalbret himselfe?' quoth the captall. 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'he is at Parys with the regent-duke of Normandy, who apareilleth himselfe to go to Reynes, for it is sayd that on Sunday next comyng he shulde be crowned kyng.' Than the captall layd his hand on his own heed and said in great displeasure 'By Saint Antones *cap* Gascon against Gascon.' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'here by taryeth for me a harald of tharchpreest, sent to speke with you fro hym; and as I understand by the harald, tharchpreest wolde speke with you.' Than the captall sayd, 'A Faucon, say to the Frenche harald he nede not to go any farther; let him shewe to tharchpreest that I wyll not speke with him.' Than sir Johan Jouell stept forthe and sayd, 'Sir, why wyll ye nat spake with hym, peraventure, it is for our profyte.' Than the captall said, 'Nay, I warrant you it is not for our profyte, for tharchpreest is so great a brauler, that if he come to us, he wyll but iangle, and in the meantyme ymagen our strengthe, and anewe our nombre, the which, paraventure, shall come more to our preiudice than aduantage—therefore I haue no hast to speke with hym.' Than Faucon the haraud went to thother haraud and excused the captall so wysely, that he was well content, and than he went to the tharchpriest and shewed him all as Faucon had sayd."—Ed.

speech, he said, "Faucon, Faucon, is it indeed true what thou hast just told me of these Gascon lords being in the French army? and the men attached to the lord d'Albret?" "Yes, in good faith, it is really as I have said," answered the herald. "And where is the lord d'Albret himself?" asked the captal. "In God's name," answered Faucon, "he is at Paris, with the regent-duke of Normandy, who is making preparations for going to Rheims, to be crowned; for it is commonly reported that that ceremony is to take place on Sunday next." The captal then put his hand to his head, and cried out in anger: "By the head of St. Anthony, Gascons against Gascons will make mischief enough."

Then Faucon spoke concerning Prie (a herald whom the archpriest had sent thither,) and said to the captal, "My lord, there is a herald hard by waiting for me, whom the archpriest has sent to you, and who, as I understand from the herald, would willingly speak to you." The captal made answer, saying, "Ha, Faucon, Faucon, tell this French herald, that he need not come nearer; and let him say to the archpriest, that I do not wish to have any parley with him." Sir John Jouel, upon this, stepped forward, and said, "Why, my lord, will you not see the archpriest? perhaps he may give us some information that we may profit by." The captal replied, "John, John, it will not be so; for the archpriest is so great a deceiver, that if he were to come among us, telling his tales and his nonsense, he would examine and judge of our strength and numbers, which would turn out probably to our disadvantage: therefore I do not wish to hear of any parleys." Faucon, king-at-arms, upon this returned to the herald Prie, who was waiting for him at the end of the hedge, and made such good and sensible excuses for the captal that the herald was perfectly satisfied, went back to the archpriest, and related to him all that Faucon had told him.

By the reports of the two heralds, both armies were acquainted with each other's situation. They therefore made such dispositions, as would speedily force them to meet. When the captal had heard from Faucon the numbers the French army consisted of, he immediately dispatched messengers to the captains who were in the city of Evreux, with orders for them to send him as many recruits and young gallants* to his assistance as they could possibly collect: they were to meet him at Cochcrel;† for, supposing that he should find the French in that neighborhood, he had determined to fight them wherever he should meet them. When the messengers came to Evreux, the lord Michael d'Orgery had it publicly cried, and strictly ordered all those who were horsemen to join the captal. Upon this, there immediately set out one hundred and twenty young companions from that town.

On the Wednesday the captal de Buch took up his quarters, about two o'clock, on a mountain, and encamped his army. The French, who were wishing to meet them, marched straight forward until they came to a river, called Yton, in that country, which runs toward Evreux, having its source near Conches, and encamped themselves at their ease, this same Wednesday, in a handsome meadow, through which this river runs. On the morrow, the Navarrois decamped, and sent their scouts out, to examine whether they could learn any news of the French. The French also sent their scouts on the same errand. Before they had gone two leagues, each brought back to his army such intelligence as could be depended upon.

The Navarrois, conducted by Faucon, marched straight by the way he had come, and, by four o'clock in the morning, found themselves in the plains of Cocherel, with the French in front of them, who were already drawing up their army in battle array. There were a great many banners and pennons flying; and they seemed to be in number more than half as many again as themselves. The Navarrois directly halted on the outside of a small wood. The captains assembled together, and began to form their men in order of battle.

They first formed three battalions well and handsomely on foot, sending their baggage and attendants into the wood. Sir John Jouel commanded the first battalion of English, which consisted of men-at-arms and archers. The captal de Buch had the second battalion, which, one with another, was about four hundred combatants. With the captal, there were the lord of Saulx in Navarre, a young knight who had a banner, the lord William de Graville, and the lord Peter de Saque-ville. The third battalion had three knights; the lord Basque de Marneil,‡ the lord Bertrand de Franc and the lord Sauseloppins, and were in the whole about four hundred men under arms.

When they had formed their battalions, they marched them not far distant from each other, taking advantage of the mountain which was on their right, between them and the wood, posting their front upon this mountain facing their enemies, and fixing, by orders of the captal, his banner in the midst of a large thorn bush. He commanded sixty men to remain there, to guard and defend it. They had so placed it to serve as a standard for them to rally round, if by chance of war they should be dispersed or separated; and they strictly ordered, that no one should, on any pretence, descend the mountain; but if their enemies wished to fight, they must come to seek them.

*"Young gallants." In all the originals, it is "jeunes armerets," which D. Sauvage thinks should be bannerets, but I do not see why. In Du Cange, armaret is a gallant, and thus I have translated it.

†Cocherel—a village in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

‡"Lord Basque de Marneil." In the memoirs of Bertrand, he is called Bascon de Manuel, and the baron de Marceuil.

CHAPTER CCXXII.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH UNDER SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, AND THE NAVARROIS UNDER THE CAPTAL DE BUCH, AT COCHERELL, IN NORMANDY. THE CAPTAL IS MADE PRISONER, AND VICTORY DECLARES FOR THE FRENCH.

Thus drawn out and formed were the English and Navarrois, who remained, as I have said, upon the mountain. The French, in the mean time, arranged themselves into three battalions also, and a rear-guard.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin commanded the first battalion, which was composed of all his Bretons, and they were fronted opposite to the battalion of the captal. The earl of Auxerre had the second battalion. There were with him, as his advisers, the viscount de Beaumont, and the lord Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows. There were also in that battalion French, Picards, and Normans, and sir Odoart de Renty, sir Enguerrant de Hesdin, sir Louis de Havenquerque, with several other good knights and squires. The third battalion consisted of Burgundians, commanded by the archpriest: with him were the lord de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord John de Vienne, the lord Guy de Felay, the lord Hugh de Vienne, and many more. This battalion was to oppose Basque de Marneil and his company. The other battalion, which was to serve as a rear-guard, was entirely composed of Gascons; and they were commanded by the lord Edmund de Pommiers, the lord Souldich de la Trane, the lord Perdiccas d'Albret, and the lord Petiton de Courton.

These captains had a grand consultation. They considered the arrangement of the captal, and that his people had fixed his banner in a bush, with part of his men guarding it, as if it were to serve as a standard: they therefore said, "It is absolutely necessary, when the combat shall begin, that we march directly for this banner of the captal, and that we exert ourselves as much as possible to gain it; for, if we be successful, our enemies will be much disheartened, and incur great danger of being conquered." These Gascons thought also of another plan which was of great service to them, and was the cause of their gaining the day. As soon as the French had formed their line, the principal Gascon chiefs withdrew together, and consulted for a long time how they could best act; for they saw that their enemies, from their position, had greatly the advantage over them. One of them made a proposal, which was cheerfully listened to: "My lords, we well know that the captal is as hardy a knight as can be found upon earth; and, as long as he shall be able to keep with his men and fight, he will be too much for us. I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldest and most expert cavaliers to do nothing but to follow and attack the captal, while we are making for his banner, his men will be thrown into some confusion: and then our thirty, by their own strength and that of their horses, will be able to push through the crowd, and advance so near the captal, that they may seize him and carry him off between them to some place of safety, where they will remain until the end of the battle; for, if he can be taken by such means as this, the day will be ours, as his army will be panic-struck."*

The Gascon knights immediately assented to this plan, saying it was well thought of, and should be followed. They chose from their battalion thirty of the most enterprising men-at-arms, and mounted them upon the strongest and most active horses they had with them. They then marched into the plain, well instructed what they were to do. The army remained where it was, on foot, in order of battle.

When the French had thus drawn up their forces, and each knew what he was to do, the chiefs held a consultation, and long debated what war-cry they should use, and whose banner or pennon they should fix on as a rallying point. They for a long time determined to cry, "Notre Dame Auxerre!" and to make the earl of Auxerre their commander for that day. But the earl would not by any means accept of it, excusing himself by saying: "My lords, I return you many thanks for the good opinion you have of me, and for the honor you offer me; but at this moment I cannot accept of such an office, for I am too young to undertake so honorable a charge. This is the first pitched battle I was ever at: for which reason I must beg of you to make another choice. We have here many very able and enterprising knights, such as my lord Bertrand du Guesclin, my lord the archpriest, my lord the grand master of the cross-bows, my lord Lewis de Châlons, my lord Edmund de Pommiers, and sir Odoart de Renty, who have been in many hard engagements, and know much better than I do what in such cases is proper to be done. I must, therefore, entreat you to excuse me from accepting your honorable offer."

The chiefs, after looking at each other, said: "Earl of Auxerre, you are the highest by birth, and of the largest property and estates of any of us; you have therefore the right of being our chief." "Certainly, my lords," replied the earl of Auxerre, "what you say is very pleasing to me; but this day I will only rank as one of your companions; and, whether I live or die, I will hazard the adventure

*The editors of the Mémoires Historiques doubt very much this fact, in a note to the Mémoires de Guesclin, and think Froissart must have heard it from a Gascon.

among you; but, as to the command, I am determined not to accept it." They again looked at each other, in order to see whom they should fix on for their chief. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was unanimously thought on, and considered as the best knight of the whole company, one who had been engaged in the greatest number of battles, and who was the best informed in military affairs. It was therefore resolved they should cry, "Notre Dame Guesclin!" and that the whole arrangement of that day should be as sir Bertrand would order it. Everything, therefore, being settled, each lord retired to his banner or pennon. They found that their enemies were still upon the hill, and had not quitted their strong situation (not having a desire or thought of so doing,) which very much vexed the French, seeing that they had greatly the advantage where they were, and that the sun was beginning to be high, which was the more to their disadvantage, for it was at that season very hot. This delay was what the most able and expert knights dreaded; for they were as yet fasting, and had not brought with them any wine or victuals worth mentioning, except some of the lords, who had small flagons of wine that were soon emptied, and none had been procured or thought of in the morning, as they imagined the engagement would begin on their arrival: but this, as it appeared, was not the case. The English and Navarrois deceived them thus by subtlety, and it was a late hour before they engaged.

When the French lords perceived their situation, they assembled in council, to know what would be the best for them to do, and whether they should march to attack them or not. In this council, all were not of the same opinion. Some wished to fight, whatever might be the consequences; for, they said, it would be shameful for them to make any difficulties about it. But others, better advised, said, that if they should begin the combat, situated as they were so much to their disadvantage, they would be in the greatest danger, and out of five men they would certainly lose three. In short, they could not agree to fight in their present position.

During this time, the Navarrois saw them very plainly, and how they were formed: they said to each other, "Look at them: they will very soon come to us, for they have a good will so to do." There were among them some knights and squires of Normandy, that had been made prisoners by the English and Navarrois, who had been allowed perfect liberty to go and ride about wherever they pleased, upon the faith of their word of honor, provided they did not bear arms in favor of the French. They rode toward the French army, and, in conversation, said to the French lords: "My lords, consider what you are about; for, should this day pass without an engagement, your enemies will to-morrow receive a very large reinforcement; as it is reported among them, that the lord Lewis de Navarre is on his road to join them with at least four hundred lances."

This intelligence much inclined the French to attack the Navarrois at all events: they were made ready for it two or three different times: but the wiser advice got the better. Those lords said, "Let us wait a little longer, and see what they will do; for they are so proud and presumptuous that they are as eager to fight us as we are to meet them." Many of them were very ill and faint, from the great heat, as it was now about noon; they had fasted all the morning, and had been under arms: they were therefore much heated by the sun, which affected them doubly through their armor. They said, therefore, "If we attempt to fight them by ascending the hill in our present state, we shall certainly be beaten; but if we retreat to our quarters, through the necessity of the case, by to-morrow morning we shall form a better plan." Thus had they different opinions on what was to be done.

When the knights of France (to whose honor the command of this army was intrusted) saw the English and Navarrois were not inclined to quit their stronghold, and that it was now midday; having heard the information which the French prisoners who had visited their army had given, and having considered that the greater part of their men were exceedingly faint, through the heat; they met together, by the advice of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whose orders they obeyed, and held another council. "My lords," said he, "we perceive that our enemies are very eager to fight us, and have a great wish for it; but, however violent they may be, they will not descend from their strong position, unless by a plan which I shall propose to you. We will make dispositions, as if for a retreat, not intending to fight this day, (our men, indeed, are severely afflicted by the great heat;) and order our servants, baggage, horses, &c. to cross the bridge and river, and retire to our quarters: we will, at the same time, keep close to them, watching attentively the enemy's motions. If they really wish to fight us, they will descend the hill, and follow us into the plain. As soon as we shall perceive their motions, if they act as I think they will, we shall be ready armed to wheel about, and thus shall have them more to our advantage." This proposal was approved of by all, and considered as the best that could have been offered. Each lord, therefore, returned to his people, under his banner or pennon. The trumpets sounded as for a retreat, and every knight and squire ordered his servants to cross the river with their baggage. This the greater part did, and afterwards the men-at-arms followed, but very slowly. When sir John Jouel (who was an expert and valiant knight, and eager to engage with the French) saw the manner of their retreat, he said to the captal, "My lord, my lord, let us now descend boldly: do you not see how the French are running away?" "Ha," replied the captal, "they are only doing so out of malice, and to draw us down."

Sir John Jouel upon this advanced forward (for he was very desirous of fighting,) crying out, "St. George!" and said to his battalion, "March: those that love me let them follow me, for I am going to engage." He then drew his sword, and, with it in his hand, marched at the head of his battalion. He and his company were almost down the hill before the captal moved: but when he found this to be so, and that sir John Jouel meant to fight without him, he considered it as a great presumption, and said to those around them, "Come, let us descend the hill speedily, for sir John Jouel shall not fight without me." The company of the captal advanced forward, with him at their head, his sword in his hand. When the French, who had been watching them all the time, saw them descend and enter the plain, they mightily rejoiced, and said, "See, now, what we have been waiting for all this day has come to pass!" They then faced about, with a thorough good will to meet their enemies, crying out, "Notre Dame Guesclin!" They dressed their banners in front of the Navarrois, and began to form under them from all parts and on foot. On the side of the Navarrois, sir John Jouel advanced, sword in hand, most valiantly, and drew up his battalion opposite to that of the Bretons, which was commanded by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and performed many gallant deeds of arms; for he was a bold knight; but he found there one who was too able a match for him. The knights and squires then spread themselves over the plain and began to fight with all sorts of weapons, just as they could lay hands upon them; and each party met the other with great courage.

The English and Navarrois shouted out, "St. George!" the French, "Notre Dame Guesclin!" In this battle, there were many good knights on the side of the French: sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the young earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, sir Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows, the lord Louis de Châlons, lord Anthony the young lord de Beaujeu, who raised his banner for the first time, the lord Anthony de Kanerley, sir Odoart de Renty, sir Enguerrand de Hêdin. In like manner, in the battalion of Gascons, who were drawn up by themselves, there combated most valiantly, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Perdiccas d'Albret, the souldich de la Trane, sir Petiton de Courton, and several others of the same sort. This battalion was formed opposite to that of the captal, which consisted of Gascons also, and they were very desirous of meeting. There were many hard blows given, and many valorous deeds of arms performed on each side; for no one should wilfully lie.*

It may be asked, "What became of the archpriest, who was an excellent knight, and had the command of a battalion, that I have not hitherto made any mention of him? I will tell the truth. As soon as the archpriest saw the enemies drawn up, and that the battle was going to begin in earnest, he quitted his company, but said to his people, and particularly to his banner-bearer: "I order and command you, under pain of my greatest displeasure, that you remain where you are, and wait the event of the battle. I set out directly from hence, not meaning to return; for I can neither bear arms nor fight against some of the knights that are with the enemy. If any one should inquire after me, this is the answer that you will give him." He then set out, accompanied by a single squire, recrossed the river, and left the others to make the best of it. They did not notice his absence, as they saw his banner, and thought that he was among them until the business was over. I will now speak of this battle, and how it was stiffly maintained. At the commencement of the conflict, when sir John Jouel had descended the hill, he was followed by all as closely as they could, and even by the captal and his company, who thought they should have gained the day; but it turned out otherwise. When they perceived that the French had wheeled about in good order, they immediately found they had been deceived. However, like determined men, they were not panic-struck at the discovery, but were resolved to recover it by their gallantry in the combat.

They retreated a little, then assembled together, and after that they opened the ranks to give room to their archers, who were in their rear, to make use of their bows. When the archers were advanced in front, they extended themselves, and began to exert themselves handsomely in shooting; but the French were so strongly armed and shielded against their arrows, they were but little hurt by them, if at all, and for this did not fight the less valiantly, but intermixed themselves with the English and Navarrois, as did the English with them, equally eager in the combat. There was much hacking and cutting of each other, with lances and battle-axes, seizing each other by main strength and wrestling. They took and ransomed prisoners from each alternately, and were so much intermixed together, that they engaged man to man, and behaved with a degree of valor scarcely to be credited but by eye-witnesses. You may easily imagine that, in such a crowd and so situated, numbers were thrown down, wounded and killed: for neither side spared the other. The French had need not to sleep on their bridles; for they had opposed to them men of ability and determined enterprise. Each, therefore, loyally agreed, not only

* These words "for no one should wilfully lie," in their present position, do not seem at all necessary. It appears probable that they originally belonged to the next paragraph, where they are natural and proper. The word "for" does not occur in D. Sauvage, the sentence being quite unconnected with the preceding: but as his arrangement, with this exception, is the same as Mr. Johnes's, we have not ventured to alter the text.—[Ed.

to defend himself and his post most vigorously, but to take every advantage that should offer; if they had not done so, they must have been defeated. In truth, I must say, that the Bretons and Gascons were good men, and performed many gallant feats of arms.

I wish now to speak of the thirty who had been selected to attack the captal. They had been excellently mounted, on the best horses of the army, and attentive to nothing but their orders (as, being so charged, they were bound to do): they advanced in a close body toward the captal, who was using his battle-axe manfully, and gave such deadly strokes with it that none dared approach him. They pushed through the crowd by the strength of their horses, as well as by the help of some Gascons who had accompanied them.

These thirty men, who, as you have seen, were so well mounted, and who knew well what they were to do, neither looking to the risk nor danger, made up directly to the captal and surrounded him. They all fell upon him, and carried him off by dint of force, quitting the spot directly. This created great confusion, and all the battalions drew thitherward; for the captal's men were like to madmen, shouting out, "Rescue, rescue the captal!" All this, nevertheless, was of no service or help to them: for, in fact, the captal was carried off in the manner I have related, and placed in safety. However, at the moment this happened, it was not truly known which side had the best of the battle. In this grand bustle and confusion, while the Navarrois and English, like madmen, were following the captal, who had been captured before their eyes, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Petiton de Courton, the souldich de la Trane, and the company of the lord d'Albret, determined unanimously to make for the banner of the captal, which was fixed in a bush, and which served as a standard for the Navarrois.

The attack and defence was equally sharp and vigorous; for it was guarded by good men: particularly by sir Bascon de Marneil and sir Geoffry de Roussillon: many were wounded, killed, unhorsed, and rescued. The Navarrois, at last, who were near this bush and about the banner, were broken in upon and forced to retreat. Sir Bascon de Marneil with several others were slain. Sir Geoffry de Roussillon was made prisoner by sir Aymon de Pommiers. The banner of the captal was immediately seized: and those who defended it were either killed, taken, or had retreated so far that there was no news of them. While the banner of the captal was thus conquered, torn and dragged upon the ground by the Gascons, the Bretons, the French, the Picards, the Normans and Burgundians were most valiantly fighting in another part of the field; and well it behoved them so to do, for the Navarrois had made them retreat. Among the French, there was already killed the viscount de Beaumont; the more the pity, for he was a young knight well formed to do great things. His people, to their great sorrow, had carried him out of the battle, and guarded him, as I have heard related, by those of both sides. No one had ever seen a battle, with the like number of combatants, so well fought as this was; for they were all on foot, and combated hand to hand, intermixing with each other, and striving for victory with the arms they used, and, in particular, with those battle-axes which gave such astonishingly fatal blows.

Sir Petiton de Courton and the souldich de la Trane were sorely wounded, insomuch that they could do no service during the remainder of the day. Sir John Jouel, by whom the combat began, and who had most courageously attacked and fought the French, performed, that day, many very gallant feats of arms, and never deigned once to retreat. He had been engaged so far in the battle that he was grievously wounded in several parts of the head and body, and at last made prisoner by a squire of Brittany under sir Bertrand du Guesclin: he was then carried out of the crowd. At length, the French gained the field; but on their side there were killed the grand master of the cross-bows, sir Louis de Havenquerque, and many others. On the side of the Navarrois, the lord de Saulx and numbers of his people were slain. Sir John Jouel died in the course of the day. There were made prisoners, sir William de Graville, sir Peter de Sequainville, sir Geoffry de Roussillon, sir Bretrand du Franc, and several more. Few of the Navarrois escaped being slain or taken. This battle was fought in Normandy, pretty near to Cocherel, on a Thursday, the 24th day of May, 1364.*

After this defeat, when all the dead were stripped, and those who had made prisoners had put them aside and attended to the wounded; when the greater part of the French, having repassed the bridge, were retiring bruised and weary, to their quarters; sir Guy de Graville, son of sir William de Graville, who had been made a prisoner, having in haste left Conches (a garrison town of the Navarrois,) with fifty lancemen,† intending to join the captal, came on full speed to the field where the battle had been fought. Upon which the French in the rear cried out, "Let us turn back, for here are more enemies." On hearing this, sir Aymon and his company, who had remained on the field, seeing these Navarrois advancing, fixed his pennon aloft in a bush as a rallying-post for the French. When sir Guy saw this, and heard the shout of "Notre Dame Guesclin!" and that none of his party appeared, but plenty of dead bodies were lying around, he soon found that the Navarrois had been discomfited; he therefore quickly faced about, and returned the way he came. In the evening, the French examined those prisoners whom they had in their tents. The archpriest was much inquired about and spoken of, when it was found that he had not been in the engagement: his people made the best excuses for him they could. You must know that the thirty cavaliers who had carried off the captal, as you have heard, never halted until they had brought him safe to Vernon, and lodged him in the castle. On the morrow the French decamped, and marched to the city of Rouen, where they left a part of their prisoners.

* "It is singular enough, that the date of so memorable a battle should not have been more certainly known. Historians place it the 23rd May, 1351. Du Chatelet reports ancient acts, which prove it to have been the 16th May.

"Froissart, in relating this battle, differs from our memoirs in several details," &c.—*Mémoires Historiques*, vol. iv.

† Lord Berners and D. Sauvage say fifty *spears;* when *individuals* are meant, the word *combattans*, fighting men, is generally to be made use of by Froissart. Mr. Johnes's reason for translating "lances" *lancemen* in this instance is not apparent.—Ed.

CHAPTER CCXXIII.

CHARLES V. SURNAMED THE WISE, IS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE. HIS BROTHER PHILIP IS INVESTED WITH THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY, AND SENT AGAINST THE FREE COMPANIES OF PILLAGERS.

On Trinity-day, 1364, king Charles, eldest son of the late John of France, was crowned and consecrated king, in the great church of our Lady at Rheims, by the archbishop of that city; and with him his queen, the daughter of duke Peter of Bourbon. The king of Cyprus, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, the lord Wenceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, the earls of Eu, of Dampmartin, of Tancarville, of Vaudemont, and great numbers of other lords and prelates, were present at this ceremony. There were great entertainments and feasts at Rheims, during the time the king remained, which was five days: he then departed for Paris. It would take me a long time were I to relate all the fine shows and feasts the Parisians made for him at his entry. The lords after this, that is to say, the strangers who had come to his coronation, returned to their own countries. When the king of France was come back to Paris, he gave the investiture of the duchy of Burgundy to his youngest brother, who left Paris with a noble company, in order to take possession and receive the homage of the barons, knights, cities, castles and large towns in that duchy. After he had visited the whole country, he returned to Paris.

He brought with him the archpriest, who appeased the anger of the king, which he had incurred by not fighting at the battle of Cocherel, by the fair reasons he gave for not bearing arms against the captal.* The captal had been brought a prisoner to Paris, and, through the intercession of the lord d'Albret, obtained his liberty on his parole. He also assisted the archpriest to excuse himself toward the king, as well as toward the French knights who had talked very scurvily of him, notwithstanding he had overthrown lately, in a part of Burgundy, beyond Dijon, four hundred pillagers; over whom Guillot du Pin, Taillebert, Taillebourdon and John de Chaufour were captains.

About this time, the king of France ordered sir Peter de Sequainville to be beheaded in the city of Rouen, for having taken the part of the Navarrois. Sir William de Graville would have undergone the same punishment, if his son, sir Guy, had not signified to the king of France, that whatever treatment his father suffered, he would do the like to sir Beaumont de Laval, a great lord of Brittany, whom he kept as his prisoner. Upon this, the family of sir Beaumont interceded with the king, and exerted themselves so effectually that they obtained the exchange of sir Beaumont for sir William de Graville.† Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, at this time, gained the castle of Roulleboise, by presenting the governor of it, sir Vautaire Austard, with six thousand francs, who retired to Brabant, whence he had come. Many large companies of pillagers still kept possession of different forts in the countries of Caux, Normandy, Beauce, and Perche, whence they greatly harassed the kingdom of France: some under pretence of serving the king of Navarre; others, for themselves robbed and destroyed the country, without any claims of right or of reason.

The king of France sent his brother, the duke of Burgundy, against the pillagers, who appointed his rendezvous in the city of Chartres. He then took the field, accompanied by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lord de Boucicaut, the earl of Auxerre, the lord Louis de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, sir Aymon de Pommiers, the lord Raineval, Pierre de Villaines, surnamed le Bègue, the lord Nicholas de Ligne, grand master of the cross-bows, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand de Héden, and full five thousand combatants. When they found they mustered so strong, they divided themselves into three bodies; from which sir Bertrand took, at the most, one thousand fighting men, and marched for the country of Coutantin, toward the

* The archpriest, according to the life of Charles V. by the abbé de Choisy, had oftentimes changed sides sometimes for the king of France, but oftener for the king of Navarre, because there was more licence allowed the soldiers of his army. After the peace, he pillaged various provinces of France. In his retreat from the emperor Charles IV., near Macon in Burgundy, he was assassinated by his own men. His death gave great joy to the people, whom he had robbed for ten years successively.—*Histoire de Charles V.*, p. 88.

† In the Mémoires Historiques, note 31, of Bertrand du Guesclin, it is said, that sir William de Graville was ransomed from sir Guy de Bayeuz, who had taken him, for one thousand florins, and that the king was so much angered by it, against Bayeux, and his children, they were forced to leave the kingdom: the king afterwards pardoned them. In the continuation, however, of this note, it is related nearly the same as Froissart tells us.

neighborhood of Cherbourg, to guard the frontiers, and to prevent the Navarrois from doing any mischief to Normandy. The lord of Sancerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, and a crowd of knights and squires from Brittany and Normandy, accompanied sir Bertrand. Another division was under the command of the lord John de la Riviere; and with him were many knights and squires of France and Picardy, whom he sent toward Evreux. The duke had the largest division. He went and laid siege to the castle of Marcheville,* which was a very strong fortress, in possession of the Navarrois. He ordered many machines to be brought from Chartres, by which he flung into it stones and other things day and night, that much annoyed the garrison.

Coronation of Charles V. and his Queen. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

CHAPTER CCXXIV.

THE LORD LEWIS OF NAVARRE MAKES INCURSIONS INTO FRANCE. THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY PLANS SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS AGAINST HIM, BUT IS FORCED TO GO INTO BURGUNDY, TO DEFEND IT AGAINST THE EARL DE MONTBELLIARD.

While these men-at-arms were harassing the Navarrois, and enemies of the realm, in Beauce and in Normandy, the lord Lewis of Navarre (the lord Philip being dead) had taken upon himself the management of the war for his brother the king of Navarre, and had sent a challenge to the king of France, because the object of this war was personal to their family, being for a right of inheritance. He had therefore assembled men-at-arms ever since the battle of Cocherel, and was collecting them from every part he could get them. He had been so active himself, and by means of the captains of companies, of which great numbers still remained in France, that he had assembled upward of twelve hundred lances. With him were sir Robert Knolles,† sir Robert Ceny,‡ and sir Robert Briquet de Carsnelle.§ The men-at-arms, who were every day increasing, were quartered between the rivers Loire, and Allier,‖ and had overrun a part of the Bourbonnois and Auvergne, between Moulins,¶ St. Pierre le Moustier** and St. Poursaint.†† From this body, whom the lord Lewis d'Navarre commanded, a company of about three thousand were detached under the orders of Bertrand de la Salle and Ortingo. They crossed the Loire above Marcilly les Nonnains,‡‡ and pushed forward with so much haste, that by daybreak, they came before La Charité,* a large and well inclosed town upon the Loire.

This they immediately scaled without any opposition; and, having entered the town, took possession of that part of it; but as they were fearful lest the townspeople might have laid an ambuscade for them, they dared not advance further until it should be broad day.

During this delay, the inhabitants of the town embarked all their most valuable things in boats which were on the river Loire, and having also placed their wives and children in them, sailed off in safety toward the city of Nevers, which was five leagues distant. The English, Navarrois and Gascons, who entered the town, upon day appearing, marched forward, but found all the houses empty. Upon this, they called a council, to consider if they should keep possession of the town, and fortify it; for it would be very convenient for them, as a place of strength, to attack each side of the Loire. They sent to inform the lord Lewis de Navarre of their situation, who was at that time in Auvergne, and who immediately dispatched to them sir Robert Briquet, with three hundred armed men. They crossed the country without molestation, and entered the town of La Charité, by the bridge over the Loire. When they were thus assembled together, they were in such force, they began to make grievous war upon the kingdom of France.

We will return to the duke of Burgundy, whom we left besieging Marcheville. He had done so much by his machines and by his assaults, that the garrison surrendered upon having their lives and fortunes spared. The duke sent the lord de Boucicaut, and the lord John de Vienne, marshal of Burgundy, to take possession of it. He gave the castle to a squire of Beauce, called William de Chartres, and forty men to guard it. The duke then led his army to the castle of Camerolles, which he surrounded, for it is situated in the flat country.

It is time to say something of the lord John de la Riviere, who was besieging Acquigni, near to Passy, in the county of Evreux. He had under him two thousand good combatants; for he was so great a favorite with the king that he managed the finances according to his pleasure. The castle of Acquigni was garrisoned by English, Normans, French and Navarrois, who had fled thither after the battle of Cocherel. They defended themselves well, and were amply provided with artillery and provision. Notwithstanding this, matters were so well managed, that they surrendered upon having their lives and fortunes spared, and carried their property with them to Cherbourg, whither they retired. The lord John placed a new garrison in the castle, and marched toward the city of Evreux. Under his command, were sir Hugh de Châtillon, the lord of Sanny, the lord Louis de Sancerre, sir Matthew de Roye, the lord of Monfang, the lord of Eloy, the lord of Crequi, the lord of Campy, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand de Hédin, and many other knights and squires of France.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy pressed so hard upon the garrison of Camerolles, that they were forced to surrender at discretion. All the foreign soldiers were pardoned; but some French pillagers, who had taken refuge there, were put to death. Some of the principal burgesses of Chartres came to the duke's camp, to entreat of him to give them the castle of Camerolles, as a recompense for the use of their machines; for it had done them much harm in former times. The duke consented to their request; and immediately they sent workmen, who levelled the castle with the ground.

The duke marched next to a castle called Drue, which is situated in the plains of Beauce, and was in the possession of pillagers. He took it by storm, and killed all that were found in it. He then halted before a castle called Preux, and surrounded it on all sides. He made many an assault, in hopes of carrying it; but at last the garrison surrendered on having their lives spared: they carried nothing with them; but all the French remained prisoners at the duke's will. The

* Marcheville—a town in Beauce, diocese of Chartres.

† Sir Robert Knolles was a great captain, and the maker of his own fortune. There is a doubt if he were or were not a knight of the Garter. No. 74. See St. Lucia. Having considered the different very great employments he held, &c., I am inclined to believe he was of the Garter.

‡ "Sir Robert Ceny," sir Robert Cheney. See his pedigree in M. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. His descendants were called to the house of Peers, 3rd Henry VII.

§ "Sir Robert Briquet de Carsnelle." I can find nothing about him.

‖ Allier—a river in Languedoc, which rises in the Gevaudan, near the village of Coudray, whence, flowing northward, it traverses Auvergne and the Bourbonnois, and then, entering the Nivernois, falls into the Loire, about a league above Nevers.

¶ Moulins—capital of the Bourbonnois, on the Allier.

** St. Pierre le Monstier—a town of the Nivernois.

†† St. Poursaint—a town of Auvergne.

‡‡ Marcilly les Nonnains—a village in Berry, election of La Charité.

* La Charité, a town in the Nivernois.

duke ordered the castle to be taken possession of by his marshals, and made a present of it to a knight of Beauce, called sir Peter du Bois, in order that he might sufficiently guard and repair it. The duke, and the greater part of his army, went after this to Chartres, to refresh themselves.

When he had been there five or six days, he set out to besiege the castle of Connie,* which had done so much mischief to all the country round, and pointed against it six large machines. During the time these sieges, assaults, and conquests were going forward in Beauce and Normandy, the lord Lewis de Navarre was overrunning Auvergne. He kept the field, and impoverished the whole country; for no one went forth against him. Those also who were at La Charité upon the Loire did in those parts just what they pleased.

On the other hand, the earl of Montbelliard, with some allies from Germany, had entered the duchy of Burgundy, near Besançon, and was despoiling it. On which account, the king of France ordered the duke of Burgundy to raise the siege of Connie, and come to Paris; for it was necessary that he should go into Burgundy.

The duke, on receiving this news, was very pensive; for he had publicly declared, that he would never depart from Connie until he had subjected it to his will. But those of his council made him understand, that since the king, who had sent him thither, ordered him to return, he might very well leave the place without disgrace. Those in Connie had no information whatever respecting this: they were, therefore, summoned by the marshals to surrender unconditionally, which they refused. They said, they were willing to surrender, on having their lives and fortunes spared. These terms were then agreed upon. The duke gave the castle to a squire of Beauce, whose name was Philip d'Arcieres, who repaired it, and garrisoned it with good and trusty men.

The duke went to Chartres, and then gave up the command of the greater division of his army to the earl of Auxerre, Boucicaut, and the lord Lewis de Sancerre. He set out for Paris, taking with him the lord Louis d'Alençon, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Vienne. He ordered the Burgundians to march toward Burgundy as speedily as possible. But the duke himself went to meet the king, who was at that time at Vaux-la-Comtesse in Brie. He remained but one day there, and then set out for Troyes in Champagne; whence he took the road to Langres, sending everywhere for men-at-arms. The Burgundians were already collected, and drawn out as a frontier to their enemies: the archpriest, the lord of Château-Vilain, the lord of Vergey, the lord of Grancy, the lord of Soubournon, the lord of Rougemont, and a very rich man called John of Boulogne, the lord of Prises, sir Hugh de Vienne, the lord du Châtel, the bishop of Langres, and several more, who were all mightily rejoiced on the arrival of the lord duke. They immediately marched against their enemies, who were full fifteen hundred lances; but they retreated across the Rhine. Upon which, the Burgundians entered the county of Montbelliard, and burnt the greater part of it.

CHAPTER CCXXV.

KING CHARLES ORDERS THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO BESIEGE LA CHARITÉ. HE WANTS IT TO SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY, THAT HE MAY SEND ASSISTANCE TO LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS, WHO IS CONTESTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY WITH THE EARL OF MONTFORT.

In the interim, the king of France sent his constable, the lord Moreau de Finnes, and two marshals, the lord de Boucicaut and John de Mauquerchi, lord of Blainville, accompanied by many knights and squires, to besiege La Charité upon the Loire. On their arrival, they attacked it one side, and every day had skirmishes with the garrison of the place.

When the duke of Burgundy and the greater part of his troops, who had accompanied him into the county of Montbelliard, were returned to Paris, the king sent him, with upward of a thousand lances, to La Charité. There were then at that siege three thousand knights and squires, of whom many went every day to skirmish with the garrison; when several were killed and wounded on both sides. At a sally which the garrison made, the lord Robert of Alençon, son of the earl of Alençon, who was killed at Crecy, and the lord Louis d'Auxerre, who was the son of the earl of Auxerre, then present, were knighted, and displayed their banners. The inhabitants of La Charité were very hard pressed, and would willingly have surrendered upon terms; but the duke was resolved to have them unconditionally, and for that reason had guarded the river so that no provision could enter the town.

During this time, the lord Lewis de Navarre, who was destroying everything before him in the country of Auvergne, exerted himself much, and assembled a sufficient body of men to enable him to raise the siege of La Charité: he had collected two thousand combatants at the least, and had also sent into Brittany to request that sir Robert Knolles, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Cournay, and several other knights and squires, would hasten to his assistance. They would have complied cheerfully; but at the time they were engaged with the earl of Montfort, besieging the castle of Auray,† who had sworn he would not depart until it had submitted to his pleasure.

When the lord Lewis found he could not have their aid, he retreated, by the orders of his brother, toward Cherbourg. Upon which, the king of France, that the lord Charles de Blois might have more men-at-arms, commanded the duke of Burgundy to treat with the garrison for their surrendering the town and fort, on condition of not bearing arms for the king of Navarre during three years. The garrison complied with these terms, surrendered La Charité, took nothing with them, and marched out on foot: they passed through the kingdom of France under passports of the duke of Burgundy. The old inhabitants of La Charité now returned back to it, having been forced to reside in other places. The duke went to Paris.

After this, the king of France granted permission for his cousin, the lord Charles de Blois, to raise in his kingdom a thousand lances. He again wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who at the time was in Normandy, to march to the assistance of the lord Charles, against the earl of Montfort. These orders gave sir Bertrand great pleasure, for he had always considered the lord Charles as his natural lord. He set out, therefore, from Normandy, with all the troops that were under him, and marched through Tours, in his way to Brittany. The lord de Boucicaut went to guard Normandy in his place. Sir Bertrand continued his march until he came to Nantes, where he met the lord Charles de Blois and his lady. They received him very kindly, and thanked him much for coming to their assistance. They had then a long conference, upon what was to be done: for they were in the best parts of Brittany, which were much attached to the lord Charles de Blois, as their duke and lord, and willing to support him. They conferred also on the means of raising the siege of Auray, and fighting with the lord John de Montfort. Within a very short time, many barons and knights came thither from France and Normandy: among whom were the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord de Franville, the lord de Prie, le Bègue de Villaines, and many other knights and squires, all of the right sort, and good men-at-arms.

News was brought to the lord John de Montfort, at that time besieging Auray, that the lord Charles de Blois was assembling large bodies of men; that a number of the lords of France were come to him, and were daily arriving, to assist him, in conjunction with those barons, knights and squires of Brittany, who had remained steady to his interest. As soon as lord John heard this, he made it known in the duchy of Aquitaine to the knights and squires of England who were there, and in particular to sir John Chandos, earnestly entreating them to come to his aid in the difficulties they were about to encounter: adding, that he expected Brittany would afford such a field of honor, that all knights and squires who were desirous of advancing their name ought most cheerfully to come thither.

When sir John Chandos saw himself thus affectionately entreated by the earl of Montfort, he spoke of it to the prince of Wales, to know how he should act. The prince said, he might go there without any blame, since the French had already taken part against the earl in support of the lord Charles; and he advised him to accept the invitation. Sir John Chandos was much rejoiced at this, and made accordingly grand preparations. He asked several knights and squires of Aquitaine to accompany him; but few went except the English. However, he conducted full two hundred lances, and as many archers, and marching through Poitou and Saintonge, entered Brittany. He went straight to the siege of Auray, where he found the earl of Montfort, who was very happy at his arrival; as were sir Olivier de Clisson, sir Robert Knolles, and the other companions. It seemed to them, that now no evil could befal them, since sir John Chandos was in their company.

Many knights and squires crossed the sea in haste from England, eager to advance their fortunes, and to fight with the French. They came to the aid of the earl of Montfort, before Auray, who received them all with great joy. They were therefore in all, as well Bretons as English, when mustered, sixteen hundred men-at-arms, and from eight to nine hundred archers.

We will now return to the lord Charles de Blois, who remained in the good city of Nantes, and made there his muster of knights and squires from all parts; for he had been informed that the earl of Montfort had been strongly reinforced by the English. He therefore entreated those barons, knights and squires whose homage he had received, to assist him in guarding his inheritance, and in defending him against his enemies.

Among the barons of Brittany who came to serve him, in obedience to his summons, were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Rieux, de Tournemine, d'Ancenis, de Malestroit, de Quentin, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, du Pont, and many others whom I cannot name. These lords and their companies were quartered in the city of Nantes, and in the villages around it. When they were mustered, they were estimated at two thousand five hundred lances, including those who had come from France. These lords did not wish to make any long stay, but advised the lord Charles to march against his enemies.

When the lord Charles was about to set out, and was taking leave of the lady his wife, she said to him, in the presence of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and some of the barons of Brittany: "My lord, you are going to defend your inheritance and mine (for that which is mine is yours,*) which the lord John de Montfort had seized, and has kept for

* Connie—a village in Beauce, election of Chateaudun.

† Auray—a port in Brittany—diocese of Vannes. One of my MSS. says it was founded by Arthur.

* Joanna, countess of Penthievre, born 1319, was made heiress of Brittany by her

a long time most wrongfully, without any right, as God knows. The barons of Brittany, who are here present, know well that I am the rightful heiress of it. I therefore most earnestly beg and entreat of you, that you will not listen to any treaty, or composition, which may be offered, so that the whole body of the duchy may be ours." The lord Charles promised to comply with her request.

All the lords, knights, and barons who were at Nantes departed, each having bid adieu to his lady, whom he considered as his duchess, they began their march, and took the road to Rennes,* where, on their arrival, they were quartered, and in its environs. They halted there to refresh themselves, as well as to learn the numbers and countenance of their enemies, and to consider of the best place to offer battle, in case they should not be able to find a situation which might give them an advantage. Many fine speeches and harangues were made by the knights and squires of France and of Brittany, who had come to the succor of the lord Charles de Blois. Lord Charles was very courteous and polite, and perhaps would willingly have listened to terms of peace, and been content with a part of Brittany, without much wrangling: but he was, in God's name, so hard pressed by the last words of the lady his wife, and the knights of his party, that he could neither draw back nor dissemble.

CHAPTER CCXXVI.

THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS ADVANCES AGAINST THE EARL OF MONTFORT IN ORDER OF BATTLE. SIR JOHN CHANDOS, AFTER HAVING DRAWN UP THE BATTALIONS OF THE EARL OF MONTFORT, PREVENTS THE TREATY FROM TAKING PLACE WHICH THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR WAS NEGOTIATING BETWEEN THE TWO PRETENDERS TO THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY.

Between Vannes and Auray, where the earl of Montfort was encamped, there are eight country leagues; so that news was soon brought to him that the lord Charles was advancing with the finest body of men-at-arms, the handsomest equipped and the best ordered that had ever left France. This intelligence gave great joy to the English who were there; for they were eager for the fight. These companions, therefore, immediately set about putting their armor in good repair, and refurbishing their lances, daggers, battle-axes, coats of mail, helmets, skull-caps, visors, swords, and all sorts of weapons, as they well imagined they should soon have use for them.

The commanders of the army then waited on the earl of Montfort; first, sir John Chandos (whose advice he meant in particular to follow,) sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calvery, sir Matthew Gournay.† These knights and barons, having deliberated on their present situation, resolved that it would be most advantageous to quit their quarters early in the morning, and take the field. They might then consider on the best mode of acting against the enemy, when they should have had more exact information concerning them. Orders were therefore given, that the whole army should, on the following morning, be ready armed and in battle-array, as if they were immediately to begin the engagement.

This night passed quietly. On the morrow, which was a Saturday, the English and Bretons issued forth from their quarters, marching gayly in order of battle, to the rear of the castle of Auray, where they halted, and, having chosen a situation, declared they would wait there the coming of their enemies. Almost immediately after day-break, the lord Charles and his army appeared. They had marched on the Friday after dinner from Vannes, and had rested that night three small leagues distant from Auray. The troops of the lord Charles were in the handsomest and best order, and drawn up in the most brilliant manner that could be seen or imagined. They marched in such close order, that one could not throw a tennis-ball among them, but it must have struck upon the points of some of their lances, so stiffly did they carry them. The English took great pleasure in looking at them

The French halted in this order in front of their enemies, and took their ground on an extensive heath. Their marshals gave strict charge that no one should quit his ranks without orders, and that there should be no tilting, justs, or assaults. The men-at-arms, having halted, formed their line of battle, and made preparations for an immediate combat, as they expected nothing less, and were very desirous of it. The lord Charles de Blois, by the advice of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, (who was a great captain, and much praised and confided in by the Bretons,) formed his army again. He divided it into three battalions and a rear-guard. It seems to me, that sir Bertrand had the command of the first; and with him were numbers of knights and squires of Brittany. The earl of Auxerre had the second, with the earl of Joigny and many knights and squires from France. The third battalion was commanded by the lord Charles himself: under him were the principal lords of Brittany; among whom were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, d'Avaugour, Charles de Dinan, d'Ancenis, de Malestroit, and several others. In the rear-guard were, the lords de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, du Pont, and many good knights and squires. Each of these battalions was composed of a thousand men. The lord Charles de Blois entreated every one in the fairest manner, that they would loyally and discreetly assist him. He swore, upon his soul, and his hopes of Paradise, that it was for a just and right cause they were going to engage. He assured each, that, if they acquitted themselves well, he should feel himself ever obliged to them.

We must now speak of the dispositions of the English and Bretons, and in what manner they drew up their army. You first must understand that, though the earl of Montfort was the commander-in-chief, yet it was under the sole direction of sir John Chandos: for the king of England had thus settled it with the earl of Montfort. He had also ordered sir John Chandos to have especial regard to whatever concerned the interests of his son-in-law; for the earl of Montfort had received one of the king's daughters* in marriage. In obedience to such orders, sir John Chandos advanced before the knights and squires of Brittany who were about the person of the earl of Montfort, and having well considered the dispositions of the French in his own mind, thought so highly of them, he could not remain silent, but said: "As God is my help, it appears to me that all the flower and honor of chivalry is there, most wisely and expertly drawn up." He then added aloud to those knights who were within hearing: "Gentlemen, it is time that we form our line of battle; for the enemy have set us the example." Those who heard him replied: "Sir, you say truly; and, as you are our commander, you will form us according to your wish; for there is none higher than yourself to look to, and you know much better than any one how to order such things."

Sir John Chandos formed three battalions and a rear-guard. He placed over the first, sir Robert Knolles, sir Walter Huet, and sir Richard Burley.† The second battalion was under the command of sir Olivier de Clisson,‡ sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and sir Matthew Gournay. The earl of Montfort had the third, which was to remain near his person. There were in each battalion five hundred men-at-arms, and four hundred archers. When he came to the rear-guard, he called sir Hugh Calverly to him, and said: "Sir Hugh, you will take the command of the rear-guard of five hundred men, and keep on our wing, without moving one step, whatever may happen, unless you shall see an absolute necessity for it; such as our battalions giving way, or being by accident broken: in that case, you will hasten to succor those who are giving way, or who may be in disorder: and assure yourself, you cannot this day do a more meritorious service."

When sir Hugh heard sir John Chandos give him these orders, he was much hurt and angry with him, and said: "Sir John, sir John, give the command of this rear-guard to some other; for I do not wish to be troubled with it;" and then added, "Sir knight, for what manner of reason have you thus provided for me? and why am not I as fit and proper to take my post in the front-rank as others?"

Sir John discreetly answered: "Sir Hugh, I did not place you with the rear-guard because you were not as good a knight as any of us; for, in truth, I know that you are equally valiant with the best: but I ordered you to that post, because I know you are both bold and prudent, and that it is absolutely necessary for you or me to take that command. I therefore most earnestly entreat it of you; for, if you will do so, we shall all be the better for it; and you yourself will acquire great honor: in addition, I promise to comply with the first request you may make me." Notwithstanding this handsome speech of Sir John Chandos, sir Hugh refused to comply, considering it as a great affront offered him, and entreated, through the love of God, with uplifted hands, that he would order some other to that command; for, in fact, he was anxious to enter the battle with the first. This conduct nearly brought tears to the eyes of sir John. He again addressed him, gently saying: "Sir Hugh, it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command: now, consider which can be most spared." Sir Hugh, having considered this last speech, was much confused, and replied: "Certainly, sir, I know full well that you would ask nothing from me which could turn out to my dishonor; and, since it is so, I will very cheerfully undertake it." Sir Hugh Calverly then took the command of the battalion called the rear-guard, entered the field in the rear, on the wing of the others, and formed his line.

It was on Saturday the 8th day of October, 1364, that these battalions were drawn up facing each other, in a handsome plain, near to Auray in Brittany. I must say, it was a fine thing to see and reflect on; for there were banners and pennons flying, with the richest armor on each side: the French were so handsomely and grandly drawn up, it was great pleasure to look at them.

While either party was forming or dividing its battalions, the lord of Beaumanoir, a very great and rich baron of Brittany, was going to and from each army, with propositions for peace. Very willingly

uncle, John III., who, to strengthen her title, gave her in marriage to Charles de Blois, lord of Guyse and Mayenne, nephew of Philip IV. king of France.

"When the earl of Montfort gained the dukedom, and held it from the crown of France, he engaged to give Johanna lands that should yield her 20,000 francs yearly, besides Penthievre and Limoges."—ANDERSON.

* "Rennes." I believe, with Denys Sauvage, it should be Vannes, consistently with what follows; but it is Rennes, in all my printed editions and MS. and also in the Histoire de Bretagne.

† Sir Matthew de Gournay. See more of him in the second volume of Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, page 30. He died at the age of 96

* The princess Mary.

† Sir Richard Burley—was nephew of sir Simon Burley, knight of the Garter, who was beheaded early in Richard II.'s reign.—GOUGH'S *Sep. Mon.* vol. i., p. 150.

‡ "Sir Olivier de Clisson." Dom Morice, in his Histoire de la Bretagne, says the true Olivier de Clisson was not the nephew of sir Walter de Clisson, who was killed, 1341, at the siege of Chateauceau, but seems to have been the "veritable seigneur de Clisson." —Vol. i. p. 148.

would he have labored, if he had been able to ward off the perils that were on the point of happening. He was earnest in the business: and the English and Bretons on the side of Montfort, allowed him to pass and repass, to parley with sir John Chandos, and the earl of Montfort, because he had pledged his honor, as a prisoner, and therefore could not bear arms against them. This same Saturday, he brought many proposals, in hopes to make a peace; of which, however, none succeeded: he was occupied with one party or the other until noon. He nevertheless obtained, through his good sense, a truce between the two armies for this day and the following night, until the morrow at sunrise. Each army retreated to their quarters, and refreshed themselves with what they had.

During the time the truce lasted, the governor of the castle of Auray came out of it, on Saturday night, and went peaceably to the army of the lord Charles de Blois, who graciously received him. The name of the governor was Henry de Hauternelle, a very expert warrior, who brought with him forty lances, good companions, well armed and well mounted, who had aided him in guarding that fortress. When the lord Charles saw the governor, he asked him, laughingly, the state of the castle. "In God's name," replied the squire, "and praise be to him, we are still sufficiently provided with everything for two or three months, should there be occasion." "Henry, Henry," answered lord Charles, "to-morrow by daybreak, you shall be made free in every respect, either by a treaty of peace or by a battle." "My lord," replied the squire, "God grant us his assistance." "By my faith, Henry," said the lord Charles, "I have under my command two thousand men-at-arms, of as good stuff, and as much inclined to acquit themselves well, as there are in the kingdom of France." "My lord," answered the squire, "this is a great advantage: you should therefore praise God, and thank him most gratefully: likewise sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and the Barons of France and Brittany, who have come so courteously to your assistance." Thus the lord Charles amused himself in conversation with sir Henry, and with one or another, and passed the night much at his ease.

In the course of this evening, some English knights and squires earnestly begged of sir John Chandos that he would not listen to any overtures of peace between the earl of Montfort and the lord Charles de Blois; for they had expended their whole fortune, and were so poor, that they hoped by means of a battle, either to lose their all, or to set themselves up again. The knight assented to the request.

When Sunday morning came, each army made itself ready, and armed. Many masses were said in that of lord Charles, and the sacrament was administered to all who wished it. The same was done in the army of the earl of Montfort; and a little before sunrise, each person posted himself in the same battle array as on the preceding day.

Shortly after, the lord de Beaumanoir, who had prepared different proposals of peace, and who would willingly have brought them to some agreement, had he been able, returned to the charge, and came galloping toward sir John Chandos, who left his battalion and the earl of Montfort, at the time with him, as soon as he perceived his intentions, and advanced into the plain to meet him. When the lord de Beaumanoir came up, he saluted him very humbly, and said; "I entreat of you, sir John Chandos, in the name of God, that we may bring these two lords to some agreement; for it is a great pity that so many good persons who are here should slaughter each other in support of their opinions." Sir John Chandos gave him a very different answer than what he expected, from what had passed on the preceding evening: "Lord de Beaumanoir, I would advise you not to make any more attempts at peace to-day; for our men declare that, if they can inclose you within their ranks, they will kill you. You will say to lord Charles de Blois, that happen what may, the lord John de Montfort is determined to risk the event of a combat. Have done, therefore, with all ideas of peace or agreements; for he will this day be duke of Brittany, or die in the field."

When the lord de Beaumanoir had received this answer from Chandos, he was mightily enraged, and replied: "Chandos, Chandos, that is not less the intention of my lord, who has as good a will to fight as the lord John de Montfort; his army are also of the same mind." At these words, he set off without saying anything more, and went to lord Charles and the barons of Brittany, who were waiting for him.

Sir John Chandos returned to the earl of Montfort, who asked, "How goes on the treaty? What does our adversary say?" "What does he say?" replied Chandos: "why, he sends word by the lord de Beaumanoir, who has this instant left me, that he will fight with you at all events, and remain duke of Brittany, or die in the field." This answer was made by sir John, in order to excite the courage of the earl of Montfort; and he continued saying, "Now consider what you will determine to do, whether to engage or not." "By St. George," answered the earl of Montfort, "engage I will, and God assist the right cause: order our banners to advance immediately."

With regard to the lord de Beaumanoir, he said to lord Charles de Blois: "My lord, my lord, by St. Ives I have heard the proudest speech from John Chandos that my ears have listened to for a long time; he has just assured me, that the earl of Montfort shall remain duke of Brittany, and will clearly show to you that you have not any right to it." These words brought the color into lord Charles's cheeks; when he answered, "Let God settle the right, for he knows to whom it belongs;" and thus said all the barons of Brittany. He then ordered his banners and men-at-arms to march, in the name of God and St. Ives.

CHAPTER CCXXVII.

THE BATTLE OF AURAY, IN WHICH SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER. CHARLES DE BLOIS IS SLAIN; AND JOHN DE MONTFORT IS VICTORIOUS.

A LITTLE before eight in the morning, the two armies advanced near to each other It was a very fine sight, as I have heard those relate who saw it; for the French were in such close order that one could scarcely throw an apple among them without its falling on a helmet or lance. Each man-at-arms carried his spear right before him, cut down to the length of five feet; a battle-axe, sharp, strong, and well steeled, with a short handle, was at his side, or hung from his neck. They advanced thus handsomely a foot's pace, each lord in array and among his people, with his banner or pennon before him, well knowing what they were to do. On the other hand, the English were drawn up in the handsomest order.

The Bretons, under the command of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, posted themselves with his banner opposite to the battalion of sir Robert Knolles and sir Walter Huet. The Bretons of either party placed the banners of their two lords, who was each called duke, opposite to the other.

In this first onset, there were hard blows between the lancemen, and a sharp scuffle. True it is, that the English archers shot well at the commencement; but their arrows hurt not, as the French were too well armed and shielded from them. Upon this, they flung away their bows; and being light and able men, they mixed with the men-at-arms of their party, and attacked those of the French who had battle-axes. Being men of address and courage, they immediately seized several of these axes, with which they afterwards fought valiantly and successfully. There were many gallant feats of arms performed; many a struggle, many a capture, and many a rescue. You must know, that whoever had the misfortune to fall, found great difficulty to rise again unless he was speedily succored.

The battalion of lord Charles marched straight to that of lord John de Montfort, which was very strong and deep. In his company were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Quintin, d'Ancenis, and de Rochfort, each with his banner displayed before him. The engagement between these two battalions was very severe and desperate, and well fought on both sides. That of the earl of Montfort was at first thrown into confusion; but sir Hugh Calverly, who was upon its wing with a good battalion of gallant men, perceiving them giving way and opening their ranks, drove the enemy back, and replaced everything by force of arms. This action was certainly of great use to them.

In another part of the plain, sir Olivier de Clisson, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Matthew Gournay and several other valiant knights and squires, fought valorously with the battalion of the earls of Auxerre and Joigny, which was very numerous and deep, and crowded with several able men-at-arms. Many bold actions were performed on both sides: prisoners and rescues were frequent. The French and Bretons fought in earnest with their battle-axes. The lord Charles showed himself a marvellously good knight, eagerly seeking for and engaging his enemies. His adversary, the earl of Montfort, fought with equal gallantry; and each person spoke of them according to their deserts.

Sir John Chandos proved himself more able than his opponents; for he was at the same time bold and hardy, redoubted by his adversaries in battle, as well as wise and discreet in council, giving the clearest orders. He advised the earl in everything, and, in order to animate him and his people, said to them, "Do so and so; march to to this side or to that." The young earl of Montfort believed all he said, and followed his advice.

In another part, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lords du Pont, de Tournemine, d'Avaugour, de Raix, de Lohéac, de Malestroit, de Prie, and many other able knights and squires of Brittany and Normandy, who were there on the side of the lord Charles, fought very determinedly, and did many handsome deeds of arms. The battle was so warmly contested that all the battalions were engaged, except the rear-guard of the English, which sir Hugh Calverly commanded. This battalion kept always on one wing, and never engaged with any, but was solely occupied in recovering and bringing back to their ranks those who were thrown into confusion.

Among other knights, sir Olivier de Clisson played his part handsomely, and did marvels with his battle-axe, by which he opened and cut through the ranks, so that none dared to approach him. Once, indeed, his eagerness brought him into great peril; for he advanced so forward that he had the battalion of the earl of Auxerre and Joigny upon him, and had hard work to extricate himself. He received in this affair a stroke of a battle-axe, which struck off the visor of his helmet; and its point entered his eye, which he afterwards lost. He was not, however, for this, a less gallant knight during the whole of the day.

Battalions and banners rushed against each other, and sometimes were overthrown, and then up again. Among the knights, sir John Chandos showed his ability, valorously fighting with his battle-axe: he gave such desperate blows, that all avoided him: for he was of

great stature and strength, well made in all his limbs. He advanced to attack the battalion of the earl of Auxerre and the French. Many bold actions were performed; and through the courage of himself and people, he drove this battalion before him, and threw it into such disorder that, in brief, it was discomfited. All their banners and pennons were thrown on the ground, torn and broken: their lords and captains were in the greatest danger; for they were not succored by any, their people being fully engaged in fighting and defending themselves. To speak truly, when once an army is discomfited, those who are defeated are so much frightened, that if one fall, three follow his example, and to these three ten, and to ten thirty; and also, should ten run away, they will be followed by a hundred. Thus it was at the battle of Auray.

These lords shouted again and again their cries of war, as well as their banner-bearers, which some who heard them answered; but others were too much in the rear, and from the greatness of the crowd could not advance, so that the earl of Auxerre was desperately wounded, and taken, under the pennon of sir John Chandos: he gave his pledge as a prisoner, as well as the earl of Joigny and the lord de Prie, a great banneret in Normandy. The other battalions fought very valiantly, and the Bretons made a good appearance still. It must however, to speak loyally of this battle, be allowed, that they did not keep their line nor array (as it seemed) like the English and Bretons on the side of Montfort. The wing commanded by sir Hugh Calverly was to them, in this battle, of the greatest advantage. When the English and Bretons of the Montfort party perceived the French to be in confusion, they were much rejoiced. Some of the French had their horses got ready, which they mounted, and began to fly as fast as they could.

Sir John Chandos then advanced with a part of his company, and made for the battalion of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, where many courageous deeds were doing; but it had been already broken, and several good knights and squires slain. Many a hard blow was given by the battle-axes, and many a helmet opened, so that several were wounded and killed. To say the truth, neither sir Bertrand nor his people were able to withstand the strength of their adversaries. Sir Bertrand was made prisoner by an English squire, under the pennon of sir John Chandos. In this conflict, sir John received the pledge as prisoner, from a baron of Brittany, called the lord of Raix, a wonderfully hardy knight. After this, the Bretons and their battalion being broken, were as good as defeated: the others being in disorder, took to flight, each in the best way he could to save himself, except some good knights and squires of Brittany, who would not quit their sovereign, the lord Charles de Blois, preferring death to reproach. They collected themselves together, and rallied round him, fighting valiantly. The lord Charles and his companions kept their ground a long time, by their valor in defending themselves: at last, however, it was of no avail, for they were defeated and put to the rout by numbers; for the whole strength of the English was drawing toward them. The banner of the lord Charles was conquered, cast to the ground, and the bearer of it slain: he himself was also killed facing his enemies, as well as a bastard of his called the lord John de Blois, with many other knights and squires of Brittany.

It appears to me, that orders had been given to the English army, that if they should gain the battle, and the lord Charles were found or made prisoner, no ransom should be taken for him, but that they should kill him. In a similar case, the French and Bretons had given the like orders respecting the lord John de Montfort; for in this day each party wished, by battle, to put an end to the war.

When a pursuit took place, great slaughter and many mischiefs happened, and several good men were killed or made prisoners. The whole flower of chivalry, who had that day taken the side of lord Charles de Blois, were either prisoners or slain, particularly the bannerets of Brittany. Among the dead, lay the lord Charles de Dinan, the lords de Léon, d'Ancenis, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, de Gargolle, de Malestroit, du Pont, and many whose names I cannot remember. There were made prisoners, the viscount de Rohan, sir Guy de Léon, the lords de Rochefort, de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, sir Henry de Malestroit, sir Olivier de Mauny, the lords de Riville, de Franville, de Raineval, with several from Normandy, and many good knights and squires from France, with the earls of Auxerre and Joigny. In a word, the defeat and loss were immense: numbers were slain in the field, as well as in the pursuit, which continued for eight good leagues, even as far as Vannes. A variety of accidents happened this day which had never come to my knowledge, and many a man was killed or made prisoner. Some fell into good hands, where they met with kind and civil masters.

This battle was fought near to Auray, in the year of our Lord 1364.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII.

THE CHIEFS ATTACHED TO THE EARL OF MONTFORT RETIRE AFTER THE VICTORY AT AURAY. THE EARL'S CONDUCT, ON SEEING CHARLES DE BLOIS DEAD. TRUCES GRANTED FOR BURYING THE SLAIN. IN WHAT MANNER THE KING OF ENGLAND WAS INFORMED OF THE EVENT OF THIS BATTLE OF AURAY.

After the total defeat of lord Charles's army, when the field of battle was free, and the principal leaders, English and Bretons, were returned from the pursuit, sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Matthew Gournay, sir John Boursier,* sir Walter Huet, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Richard Burley, sir Richard Tancon,† and several others, drawing near to the earl of Montfort, came to a hedge, where they began to disarm themselves, knowing the day was theirs. Some of them placed their banners and pennons in this hedge, with the arms of Brittany high above all, in a bush, as a rallying post for their army.

Sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverly and others, then approached to the earl of Montfort, and said to him, smiling; "My lord, praise God, and make good cheer, for this day you have conquered the inheritance of Brittany." He bowed to them very respectfully, and then said, loud enough to be heard by all around him; Sir John Chandos, it is to your valor and prudence that I am indebted for the good fortune of this day: this I know for a truth, as well as all those who are with me: I beg you will, therefore, refresh yourself out of my cup." He then extended to him a flagon full of wine, and his cup, out of which he himself had just drank, adding, "After God, I owe more thanks to you than to all the rest of the world." As he finished these words, the lord de Clisson returned, out of breath and very hot. He had pursued the enemy a long way, and had just left them, bringing back his men, with a number of prisoners. He advanced directly to the earl of Montfort and the knights who were about him, leaped off his courser, and refreshed himself with them. While they were thus together, two knights and two heralds returned, who had been sent to examine the dead bodies in the field, to know what was become of the lord Charles de Blois: for they were uncertain if he had been slain or not. They cried with a loud voice, "My lord, be of good cheer, for we have seen your adversary lord Charles de Blois among the dead." Upon this, the earl of Montfort rose up and said, he wished to see him himself, for that, "he should have as much pleasure in seeing him dead as alive." All the knights then present accompanied him to the spot where he was lying apart from the others, covered by a shield, which he ordered to be taken away, and looked at him very sorrowfully. After having paused a while, he exclaimed; "Ha, my lord Charles, sweet cousin, how much mischief has happened to Brittany from your having supported by arms your pretensions! God help me, I am truly unhappy at finding you in this situation, but at present this cannot be amended." Upon which he burst into tears. Sir John Chandos, perceiving this, pulled him by the skirt, and said: "My lord, my lord, let us go away, and return thanks to God for the success of the day: for without the death of this person, you never would have gained your inheritance of Brittany."

The earl then ordered that lord Charles's body should be carried to Guingamp,‡ which was immediately done with great respect, and he was most honorably interred. This was but his due, as he was a good, loyal, and valiant knight. His body was afterwards sanctified by the grace of God, and venerated as Saint Charles. Pope Urban V. who was the reigning pontiff, approved of it, by canonizing it; for it performed then, as it does to this day, many miracles.§

After these orders, when the dead were stripped, and the victors returned from the pursuit, they all retired to the quarters which they had left that morning. They disarmed themselves; and having taken some refreshments, of which they had an ample provision, they attended to their prisoners. Those that were wounded, were moved and dressed: even the servants who had suffered were well taken care of.

On the Monday morning, the earl of Montfort sent information to the city of Vannes, and to the neighboring towns, that he should grant a truce for three days, in order that those slain in the battle might be buried in consecrated ground. This conduct was very pleasing to all.

The earl of Montfort sat down before the castle of Auray, declaring he would not depart thence until he had possession of it. News was spread abroad with great celerity, and in different places, that the earl of Monfort, by the help and assistance of the English, had gained the victory; that the lord Charles was defeated and slain; and that all the knights of Brittany, who had sided with the lord Charles, were either taken prisoners or dead. Sir John Chandos had the whole honor of this battle; for all the knights, lords, and squires who had been engaged in it, declared that it was solely owing to his prudence and prowess they had gained the day.

The friends and allies of lord Charles were much afflicted at this news, as was natural for them to be; but the king of France was the most hurt; for this defeat affected him greatly, considering that many of the knights of his realm had been made prisoners and killed. Among the first, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whom he much loved; the earls of Auxerre, of Joigny, and all the barons of Brittany without exception. The king of France, therefore, sent his brother, the duke of Anjou, to the borders of Brittany, to the assistance of the

* Sir John Bourchier.—Barnes. † Sir Richard Taunton.—Barnes.

‡ Guingamp—a town of Brittany, diocese of Treguier.

§ This is a mistake of Froissart. There was some such intention in the pope's mind, as there are extant letters from him to John duke of Brittany on this subject; but, when he understood the manner of his death, he was not looked upon as a martyr. He was very angry with those who had given him such honors, without the approbation of the apostolic see, and, by his letters to the bishops of Brittany, enjoined them to prohibit such things being done in future.—Barnes's *Hist. Edw. III.*, p. 60.

country, which was much distressed by the loss of their lord, Charles de Blois; and to comfort and condole with the duchess of Brittany, his widow, who was in the deepest affliction. This it was the duty of the duke to do; but he was the more earnestly engaged in this melancholy task, having married her daughter. He therefore most willingly gave his promise of advice, assistance, and succor to the large cities, towns, castles, and to all the country of Brittany in which the duchess, whom he called his mother, and the whole country, had for a long time great confidence, until the king of France, to avoid all difficulties, made other arrangements, as you shall hereafter be informed of.

News of this victory was brought to the king of England; for the earl of Montfort had written to him on the fifth day after the battle of Auray, and sent the intelligence, with credential letters, by a pursuivant-at-arms, who had been in the engagement, to the town of Dover. The king of England nominated him his herald, and gave him the name of Windsor,* with a handsome present of money. Through this herald, and from some knights of both parties, I have been informed of the whole. With regard to the cause why the king of England was then at Dover, you shall immediately learn. It is a well-known fact, that proposals for a marriage between the lord Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of the king of England, and the daughter of earl Lewis of Flanders, had been treated of, and different negotiations entered upon three years before:† to which marriage the earl of Flanders had but lately given his consent, provided a dispensation could be obtained from pope Urban V., as they were very nearly allied.

The duke of Lancaster, and the lord Edmund his brother, attended by many knights, had been to visit the earl of Flanders, who received them with every mark of distinction; and, to show greater affection and love, he had accompanied them to Calais, and crossed the sea to Dover, where the king and part of his council had remained. When the before-mentioned pursuivant brought to this place the news of the affair at Auray, as it has been told, the king and his barons were much rejoiced at the event; as was also the earl of Flanders, on account of the advancement of his cousin-german the earl of Montfort.

The king of England, the earl of Flanders, and the other barons, staid at Dover three days, which were spent in feasts and entertainments. When they indulged in these sufficiently, and had finished the affairs on which they had met, the earl of Flanders took his leave of the king, and departed.

It seems to me, that the duke of Lancaster and the lord Edmund crossed the channel with the earl, and attended him until he arrived at Bruges. We will not speak longer of this matter, but return to the earl of Montfort, and mention how he conducted himself in Brittany.

CHAPTER CCXXIX.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT CONQUERS AURAY AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES FROM THE WIDOW OF LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS. KING CHARLES INTERPOSES BETWEEN THEM, AND MAKES PEACE. A PEACE IS ALSO MADE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE CAPTAL DE BUCH.

THE earl of Montfort, as it has been before related, laid siege to Auray, and declared that he would not leave it until he had conquered it; at which those of the castle were not very well pleased. They had lost their captain, Henri de Hauternelle, who had fallen in the battle with the flower of the garrison; so that they were very few to defend it, and without hope of assistance. They took counsel together, whether it would not be advisable to surrender, on having their lives and fortunes saved, and on these terms entered into a negotiation with the earl. The earl, who had many other places to look to, and was not certain how the country would act after this victory, accepted their terms, allowing those who would not remain with him to depart according to their inclinations. He then took possession of the castle, new garrisoned it, and marched forward with his whole army, which increased daily; for men-at-arms and archers came to him in crowds, and many knights and squires turned to his party, especially those of Lower Brittany.

He came before the good town of Jugon,‡ which shut its gates against him. He remained there three days, and ordered it to be assaulted twice, which occasioned many within and without the walls to be badly wounded. Those in Jugon, seeing themselves thus hardly pressed, and no hopes of aid, did not wish to be further harassed: they acknowledged, therefore, the earl of Montfort for their lord, opened the gates, and swore homage and fealty to him, which they faithfully promised to keep. The earl changed all the municipal officers, appointing new ones in their stead.

He then advanced toward the city of Dinan,§ and laid siege to it, which continued during the winter; for that town was well furnished with men-at-arms and provision: besides, the duke of Anjou had exhorted them to behave themselves as good men should do (for he had assisted them:) this made them hold out, and suffer many a sharp assault. When they found their provision growing low, and that no relief was coming to them, they entered into a treaty of peace with the earl, who willingly listened to it; for he was desirous of nothing but that they should acknowledge him as their lord, which they did. He made a solemn entry into the town of Dinan, where all the inhabitants swore homage and fealty to him.

After this, the earl marched with his army to the city of Quimper Corentin.* He laid close siege to it, and ordered large machines to be brought from Vannes and Dinan, saying, he would have it before he left it. I must now inform you, that the English and the Bretons of Montfort's party, such as sir John Chandos and others, who had made prisoners at the battle of Auray, would not accept of ransoms for them, nor allow them to go and seek for money; because they were unwilling they should again assemble in a body and offer them battle: they sent them into Poitou, Saintonge, Bordeaux, and la Rochelle, to remain there as prisoners. During this time, the English and Bretons conquered all Brittany, from one end to the other. While the earl of Montfort was besieging the city of Quimper Corentin, to which he did much damage by his machines that played night and day, as well by his assaults, his men overran the country, leaving nothing unpillaged.

The king of France was duly informed of all that was going on: many councils were held to consider how he could turn these affairs of Brittany to his own interest; for they were in a desperate situation, unless promptly remedied, and he would be forced to call upon his subjects to support him in a new war against England on account of Brittany. This his council advised him not to think of; but, after many deliberations, they said to him: "Our most dear lord, you have supported your cousin, the lord Charles de Blois, in Brittany, as did the king your father, and your grandfather Philip, who gave to him the heiress of the last duke of Brittany in marriage; by which means much evil has befallen Brittany and the neighboring countries. Since the lord Charles de Blois, your cousin, was slain in defending that country, there is no one now of his party in a situation to resume the war; for at this moment those to whom it belongs, and whom it touches so nearly, are prisoners in England: we mean the lord John and lord Guy de Blois, his two sons. We hear every day of the earl of Montfort conquering towns and castles, which he possesses as his lawful inheritance: by this means you will lose your rights, as well as the homage of Brittany, which is certainly a great honor and a noble appendage to your crown. This you ought to endeavor to keep; for, if the earl of Montfort should acknowledge for his lord the king of England, as his father did, you will not be able to recover it without great wars with England, with whom we are now at peace, and which we would advise you not to break. Everything, therefore, fully considered, we recommend to you, our dear lord, to send embassadors and wise negotiators to the earl of Montfort, to find out what his intentions are, and to enter upon a treaty of peace with him, as well as with the country, and the lady of it, who bears the title of duchess. You will derive from these negotiators positive information as to what are his intentions. At the worst, it will be much better he should remain duke of Brittany (provided that he will acknowledge you for his lord, and pay you all your rights, as a loyal man should do,) than that this business should continue longer in peril."

The king of France willingly assented to this proposal. The lord John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the lord de Craon his cousin, and the lord de Boucicaut, were ordered to set out for Quimper Corentin, to treat with the earl of Montfort and his council, as it has been above related. These three lords departed, after having received full instructions how they were to act, and rode on until they came to the siege which the English and Bretons were laying to Quimper Corentin, where they announced themselves as embassadors from France. The earl of Montfort, sir John Chandos, and the members of the council, received them with pleasure. These lords explained the cause of their coming. To this first opening, the earl of Montfort replied, "We will consider of it," and fixed a day for his answer: during this interval, these three lords retired to Rennes, where they resided.

The earl of Montfort dispatched lord Latimer† to the king of England to inform him of the proposals for a peace he had received, and to have his advice on the subject. The king of England, having considered them, advised the earl to make a peace, on condition the duchy should be his; and also to make handsome reparation to the lady who was called duchess, by assigning her a fixed annuity, or rent-charge, on certain lands where they might collect it without danger.

Lord Latimer brought back the opinion of the king of England to the earl of Montfort, who was still before Quimper Corentin. Upon the arrival of these letters, the earl and his council sent to the embassadors from France, who had remained at Rennes: they came immediately to the army, and had a very courteous and civil answer given to them. They were told that the earl of Montfort would never give up his claims to the duchy of Brittany, which he was now possessed of: that, nevertheless, wherever the king of France should

* This was the first institution of a Windsor herald, an office which has continued to the present time.—ED.

† The first mention I find in Rymer is dated 7th February, 1352—the second, 20th July, 1354—the third, the articles of marriage, dated 19th October, at Dover, 1355—the fourth, to postpone the day of the marriage, Windsor, 8th December, 1354.

‡ Jugon—a town in Brittany, diocese of St. Pol.

§ Dinan—a considerable town in Brittany, diocese of St. Malo.

* Quimper Corentin—a town in Brittany, generality of Nantes.

† Lord Latimer. See DUGDALE'S *Baronage*.

cause any cities, towns, or castles to surrender peaceably upon the same terms of homage, fealty, and rights, as they were held from the preceding duke of Brittany, he would willingly acknowledge him for his liege lord, and would do him homage and service in the presence of the peers of France. Moreover, on account of the affinity between him and his cousin, the widow of the lord Charles de Blois, he was willing to do everything to assist her; and would also use his endeavors to obtain the liberty of his cousins, the lords John and Guy de Blois, who were detained prisoners in England.

This answer was very agreeable to the French lords who had been sent thither: a day was appointed for them to declare the acceptance of these terms or not: they instantly sent information of what had passed to the duke of Anjou, who had retired to Angers, to whom the king had referred the acceptance of the terms, according to his pleasure. When the duke of Anjou had considered the proposals for some time, he gave his assent. The two knights who had been sent to him returned with his answer sealed. The embassadors of France again left Rennes, and went to Quimper Corentin, when a peace with the lord of Montfort was finally agreed to and sealed.

He was to remain duke of Brittany; but, in case he should have no legal heirs by marriage, the duchy should revert, after his decease, to the children of lord Charles de Blois. The lady who had been the wife of lord Charles was created countess of Penthievre, with the lands attached to it; which lands were supposed worth about twenty thousand francs a-year, or if not, that sum was to be made up to her. The earl of Montfort engaged to go to France, whenever he should be summoned, to do homage to the king of France, and acknowledge that he held the duchy of him. Charters and publicly sealed instruments were drawn up of all these articles. Thus had the earl of Montfort possession of Brittany: he remained duke of it for a time, until new wars began, as you shall hear in the following history. Among these articles, it was stipulated, that the lord de Clisson should repossess those lands which king Philip had formerly taken from his family. This lord de Clisson gained the confidence of the king of France, who did whatever he wished, and without him nothing was done. The whole country of Brittany was full of joy upon the conclusion of a peace. The duke received homages from cities, towns, castles, prelates, and gentlemen.

Soon afterwards, the duke married* the daughter of her royal highness the princess of Wales, which she had borne to her former husband, the lord Thomas Holland. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in the good city of Nantes.

It also happened this winter, that queen Jane, aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his sister, labored so earnestly for peace that it was concluded between the kings of France and Navarre, assisted much by the advice and prudence of the captal de Buch, who took great pains in the business. He also obtained his liberty by it. The king of France showed him great marks of esteem, and, as a proof of it, gave him the handsome castle of Nemours, with all its rights, appurtenances, and jurisdictions, which were worth three thousand francs of revenue. The captal became, by this means, liege man to the king of France. The king was well pleased at receiving him a homager; for he loved much the service of a knight such as the captal; but he was not so long, for, when he was returned into the principality to the prince, who had been informed of what had passed, he was much blamed, and told that he could not acquit himself loyally in his service to two lords: that he was over covetous, when he accepted of lands in France, where he was neither honored nor beloved. When he found himself in this situation, and so treated and taunted by the prince of Wales, his own natural lord, he was quite ashamed of himself, and made excuses, saying, "that he was not by any means too much connected with the king of France, and that he could very easily undo all that had been done." He sent, therefore, by his own squire, his homage back to the king of France, renounced all that had been given him, and remained attached to the prince.

Among the articles of the treaty between the kings of France and Navarre, the towns of Mantes and Meulan were to be given the king of France, who restored to the king of Navarre other castles in Normandy.

About this time, the lord Louis de Navarre set out from France, and passed through Lombardy, to espouse the queen of Naples.† At his departure, he borrowed of the king of France sixty thousand francs, upon the security of some castles which belonged to him in Normandy. He survived his marriage with that queen but a short time. May God forgive him his faults! for he was a good and courteous knight.

* Johanna of Holland, daughter of Thomas earl of Kent—married 1366—died, without issue. 1386.—ANDERSON.

† "The queen of Naples." This must have been the too celebrated Jane, but I cannot find the marriage mentioned in any other book. [Queen Joan of Naples married James of Arragon, called the infant of Majorca, in 1362, he died in 1375. It is probably to this marriage that Froissart alludes, but he is mistaken in naming Louis as the husband.—ED.]

CHAPTER CCXXX.

A WAR IN SPAIN BETWEEN THE KING, DON PEDRO OF CASTILLE, AND HIS BASTARD BROTHER HENRY—TO WHOSE AID THE LORD JOHN DE BOURBON AND SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN LEAD THE PILLAGING COMPANIES. HENRY, BY THEIR MEANS, IS CROWNED KING OF CASTILLE.

At this period,* those companies of freebooters were so much increased in France that the government did not know what to do with them, since the wars in Brittany and those with the king of Navarre were now put an end to. These companies having been brought up to arms, and taught to live on pillage and plunder alone, neither could nor would abstain from it. Their great resource was France; and these companions called the kingdom of France their domain. They dared not, however, make any attempts on Aquitaine, for the country would not have suffered it; besides, to say the truth, the greater number of their captains were Gascons and English, or persons attached to the king of England or prince of Wales. Some lords of Brittany were among them, but they were few in number. On this account, many of the inhabitants of France murmured much, and complained secretly of the king of England and the prince, that they did not act well toward the king of France in not assisting him to drive these bad people out of the realm. They were better pleased to see them with their neighbors than among themselves. The wisest of the kingdom declared, that if something were not speedily done in this business, either by fighting or getting rid of them out of the country, by a handsome present in money, they would destroy the noble kingdom of France.

There was at the time a king in Hungary who was desirous of having their assistance, and would have given them full employment against the Turks, with whom he was at war, for they had done him much mischief. He wrote, therefore, to pope Urban V. (who was then at Avignon, and who would gladly have seen France delivered from these companies,) and also to the king of France and to the prince of Wales. He wished to enter into a treaty with their leaders, and offered large sums of money to them and a free passage; but they would not listen to it, saying, that they would not go so far to make war. It was told them by their oldest captains, who were well acquainted with the country of Hungary, that there were such narrow passes, if they should in any combat be engaged in them, they would never be able to get out, but must infallibly be cut off. This report frightened them so much, that they had not any desire to go thither. When pope Urban and the king of France found these wicked people were not likely to come into their plan, and would not quit the kingdom, but, on the contrary, multiplied daily, they thought upon another method to free the country from them.

There was in these times a king of Castille, of the name of Don Pedro,† whose mind, full of strange opinions, was very rebellious and refractory to all the regulations and commands of the church: he wanted to subdue his Christian neighbors, more especially the king of Arragon, of the name of Peter,‡ who was a good Catholic: he had even taken from him part of his possessions, and was preparing to seize the remainder.

This king, Don Pedro of Castille, had three bastard brothers, children of the good Alphonso his father and a lady called la Riche Dona.§ The eldest was named don Henry; the second, don Tello; the third, don Sancho.‖ Don Pedro hated them mortally; and, could he have laid hands on them, he would have had them beheaded. They had been, however, much loved by their father, who in his lifetime had given to Henry, the eldest, the county of Trastamare; but the king, don Pedro his brother, had taken it from him by force, and every day was harassing him. This bastard Henry was a very valiant and worthy knight: he had been a long time in France, where he followed the profession of arms, and had served under the king of France,¶ whom he loved much.

The king don Pedro, as common report told the story, had by different means caused the death of their mother, which, as was natural, gave them great displeasure. He had banished and murdered many of the greatest barons of the realm of Castille. He was withal so cruel, and of such a horrid disposition, that all men feared, suspected and hated him, but dared not show it. He had also caused the death of a very good and virtuous lady, whom he had married, the lady Blanche, daughter of duke Peter de Bourbon, and cousin-german to the queen of France and to the countess of Savoy. All her relations, who are of the noblest blood in the world, were most exceedingly irritated by the manner of her death.** There was also a report current among the people, that king Peter had even formed an alliance with the kings of Benamarine,†† Granada and Treme-

* This period—1365. † Don Pedro—the fourth, surnamed the cruel.

‡ Peter—the fourth, surnamed the Ceremonious.

§ La Riche Dona—Eleanora de Guzman.

‖ Sancho. In L'Art de verifier les Dates, the second son is called Frederick, and the third D. Tello. Frederick was murdered by Don Pedro, 1358.

¶ King of France—John. Don Henry was at the battle of Poitiers.

** She was poisoned, by Don Pedro's orders, in the castle of Medina Sidonia, where he had confined her.—*Choisy. Hist. Charles V.* Others say, smothered between two cushions.

†† Benamarine. Aben Jacob, king of Fez, sent his son Abomelique to take possession of lands given him by the king of Granada, as a barrier against Alphonso XI. He landed with his fleet at Algeziras 1331, with a number of Benamarine Moors, and formed a new kingdom in Spain, styling himself king of Algeziras and Ronda.—DILTON'S *Hist. Peter the Cruel*, vol. i. p. 14.

çen,* who were enemies to God, and infidels. Many were uneasy at wrongs he might do to his country, and lest he should violate the churches: for he had seized their revenues, and detained the priests of holy church in prison, where he vexed them with all sorts of tyranny.

Great complaints of these proceedings were sent daily to the pope, entreating him to put a stop to them. Pope Urban received and attended to these complaints. He sent embassadors to the king, don Pedro, ordering and enjoining him to come forthwith in person to the court of Rome, to purge and clear himself from all the villainous actions he was charged with.

Don Pedro, proud and presumptuous as he was, not only refused to obey the mandate, but even received with insults the embassadors from the holy father, for which he fell grievously under his indignation. This wicked king still persevered in his sin. It was then considered how or by what means he could be corrected; and it was determined that he was no longer worthy to bear the title of king, nor to possess a kingdom. He was therefore publicly excommunicated, in full consistory, held in the apartments of the pope, at Avignon, and declared to be a heretic and infidel. They thought they should be able to punish him by means of the free companies who were in France. They requested the king of Arragon, who hated very much this Don Pedro, and Henry the bastard of Spain, to come immediately to Avignon. The holy father then legitimated the birth of Henry the bastard, so that he might be in a condition to obtain the kingdom from Don Pedro, who had been cursed and condemned by the sentence of the pope.

The king of Arragon offered a free passage through his kingdom, with a supply of men-at-arms, and all sorts of provision and aid, to whoever should enter Castille, and attack don Pedro to deprive him of his throne. The king of France was much pleased with this intelligence, and took great pains that sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whom sir John Chandos held as his prisoner, should be ransomed. This was fixed at one hundred thousand francs.† The king of France paid one part, the pope and Henry the bastard the other. Soon after his liberty was obtained, they entered into a treaty with the chiefs of those companies, promising them great advantages if they would go into Castille. They readily assented to the proposal by means of a large sum of money, which was divided among them.

The prince of Wales was informed of this intended expedition, as well as his knights and squires, but particularly sir John Chandos, who was solicited to be one of the leaders of it, in conjunction with sir Bertrand du Guesclin. He excused himself, and said he could not go. This, however, did not put a stop to it: many knights who were attached to the prince, among whom were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Perducas d'Albret, and several others, were of the party. The lord John de Bourbon, earl of March, took the chief command, in order to revenge the death of his cousin the queen of Spain: but he was under the advice and control of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, as he was at that time a very young knight.

In this expedition were also the lord of Beaujeu, whose name was Anthony, and many worthy knights: such as lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lords Begue de Villaines, d'Antoin in Hainault, de Brisnel, John de Neufville,‡ Guimars de Bailheul, John de Bergutes, the German lord de St. Venant, and others whom I cannot name. All these men-at-arms assembled together in order to begin their march at Montpellier in Languedoc.

These men-at-arms might be about thirty thousand. They all passed through Narbonne, in their march to Perpignan, in order to enter Arragon by that town.§ All the leaders of these companies were there: the lords Robert Briquet, John Carsneille, Nandon de Bagerant, La Nuit, le petit Meschin, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, Battiller, Espiote, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, and numbers more: all of one mind and accord, to dethrone don Pedro from his kingdom of Castille, and to place there in his room the bastard Henry, earl of Trastamare.

Don Pedro had received information that this army was marching against him: he collected his troops, in order to meet them, and fight boldly on their entering Castille. When they were about to enter Arragon, they sent to him, in order to cover and mask their real intentions, to ask a free passage through his country, and that provision might be supplied to some pilgrims of God, who had undertaken, through devotion, an expedition into the kingdom of Grenada, to revenge the sufferings of their Lord and Saviour, to destroy the infidels, and to exalt the Cross. Don Pedro laughed at this request, and sent for answer, that he would never attend to such beggarly crew. When the men-at-arms and companions heard this reply, they thought him very proud and presumptuous, and made every haste to do him as much mischief as they could.

They marched through the kingdom of Arragon, where every accommodation was prepared for them, and they found all sorts of provision plenty and cheap; for the king of Arragon was very joyful on their arrival, because this army would soon reconquer from the king of Castille the whole country which he had taken from him, and kept by force. Whenever they won any towns, castles, cities or fortresses, which don Pedro had seized from Arragon, sir Bertrand and his army gave them back to the king of Arragon, who declared, that from that day forward, he would assist Henry the bastard against don Pedro. All the men-at-arms passed the great river* which divides Castille from Arragon, and entered Spain.

News was brought to the king of Castille, that French, English, Bretons, Normans, Picards and Burgundians had crossed the Ebro, and entered his kingdom: so that they had reconquered every place on the other side of the river that separates Castille from Arragon, which had cost him so much trouble to gain. Upon hearing this, he was in a great rage, and said things should not go on thus. He issued a special ordinance throughout his kingdom, ordering all those to whom it was addressed to meet him without delay, as he was determined to combat these men-at-arms, who had entered the kingdom of Castille.

Too few obeyed his mandate; for, when he thought to have assembled a large force, scarcely any came to the rendezvous. All the barons and knights of Spain fell off from him, in favor of his brother the bastard. This event forced him to fly, or he would have been taken; and so much was he hated by his subjects and enemies, that not one remained with him, save one loyal knight called Ferdinand de Castro.† He was determined never to quit don Pedro, whatever ill-fortune might happen to him. The king of Castille went to Seville, the handsomest city in Spain; but, not thinking himself in security there, he ordered all his treasures and other things to be packed up in large coffers, which he embarked on board of ships, leaving Seville with his wife, his children, and Ferdinand de Castro. Don Pedro arrived that same evening‡ (like a knight that had been beaten and discomfited) at a town called Corunna, in Galicia, where there was a very strong castle. He immediately flung himself into it, with his wife and children; that is to say, two young damsels, called Constance§ and Isabella.‖ None of his courtiers followed him, nor had he any of his council with him except the above-named Ferdinand de Castro.

We will now return to his brother, Henry the bastard, and relate how he persevered in his designs. I have before said, that don Pedro was much hated by all his subjects, for the great and numberless acts of injustice he had committed, and for the various murders by which he had cut off so many of the nobility, some of them even by his own hands; so that, as soon as they knew his brother the bastard had entered Castille with a powerful army, they all joined him, acknowledged him for their lord; and, having increased his army, caused all the cities, towns, and castles to open their gates to him, and the inhabitants to do him homage. The Spaniards shouted with one voice, "Long live king Henry! down with don Pedro, who has treated us so cruelly and wickedly." Thus they conducted Henry throughout the kingdom of Castille; that is to say, the lord Gomez Garilz,¶ the grand master of the order of Calatrava,** and the master

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* Tremecen. By Morem, this appears to have been a town in Africa, dependent on the kingdom of Tolemsin.

† The oldest money says, it was 30,000 francs.

In a record of the Marquis de Du Guesclin, it is said, that "it cost Du Guesclin 100,000 francs, besides ransom. As he and his family, one of the sons of Montmorency, and Du Leu, were to be security to the general Condole, Charles V. paid of it 40,000 francs, the pope and Henry Trastamare, afterwards king of Castille, made up the remainder."—*Memoires Historiques.*

In a MS. entitled Histoire, called Les Faits de Messire Bertrand du Guesclin, which I consider as the editio princeps (from the style and manner of printing) in the Hafod Library, no mention is made of a ransom.

"Les Faits du Messire Bertrand du Guesclin, total figures, ancienne edition, gothique."

"Je n'ai vu cette belle partie ancienne que dans le catalogue du marechal d'Estrees, num. 1262. On sent le porte a croire que le meme que le manuscrit de Metayal, qu'a publié comme inconnu jusqu'alors, ainsi qu'il dit dans son avis au lecteur."—*Extract from the Bibliotheque Historique de la France du Pere le Long.*

In the Memoires de Bertrand du Guesclin de Berville, 2 vols. 12mo it is said that Charles V. paid part of the 100,000 francs of the ransom, and that Bertrand found the rest himself.

‡ "Neufville." Sir John Neville.

§ Choisy says, that one part is buried at Arave, Motte de Barcelona, and that the rest went by land.

* The Ebro—probably at Alfaro or Calahorra.

† "Ferdinand de Castro." In the history of Spain by Ferraras, don Pedro publicly marries the daughter of a don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, widow of don Diego de Haro, during the life of his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, and of Maria di Padilla, in the year 1354; whether the daughter of this knight who accompanied him in his flight, I know not.

‡ Don Pedro retired first to Portugal, where he offered his daughter Beatrice to the infant of Portugal, in marriage, with a large portion of money he had brought with him. This proposal was rejected, for fear of embroiling the two kingdoms. He retreated to different castles, the governors of which refused to admit him, and stopped at the castle of Montery in Galicia, from whence he went to San Jago, and murdered the archbishop, and thence to Corunna, where finding twenty-two vessels, he embarked for Bayonne. Don Ferdinand de Castro did not accompany him, but remained to support his interest in Biscay.

He could not at that time have any wife; for he had murdered Blanche de Bourbon, and Maria di Padilla died before this. He indeed owned his marriage with Maria very solemnly, but was not believed.

Don Pedro had entered into an alliance with the king of England and prince of Wales, as early as 1363, for fear of the vengeance of France, for the murder of queen Blanche.

For more particulars, see Ferraras's Hist. of Spain, Dillon, &c.

§ Constance married John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who claimed the kingdom of Castille after don Pedro's death.

‖ Isabella—first wife of Edmund, duke of York, married 1372, much lamented for her youthful wantonness, died 1392.—ANDERSON'S *R. Gen.*

¶ "Gomez Garilz." Dunus Sanchez Garilz, and make out who this is, not the account correct, according to other historians. Many of the king's friends remained steady to him, as did the bulk of his army. Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, master of the knights of St. James, who commanded at Logrono; Garcia de Padilla, governor of Agreda: Fernando de Toledo, brother to the master of St. James; and Boccanegra, admiral of Castille, were among the number.—DILLON.

** "Master of Calatrava." Martin Lopez de Cordova, master of Calatrava, followed don Pedro's fortunes, and went with him from Seville to Portugal.—DILLON.

of the order of St. James, making all the people obey him. They crowned him the king in the city of Burgos, where all the prelates, earls, barons, and knights paid him their homage, and swore they would serve and obey him as their king for evermore, and if there should be occasion, would sacrifice their lives for him. King Henry then passed from city to city, all the inhabitants of which treated him as their king.

Henry made large presents and gifts to the foreign knights who had put him in possession of the kingdom of Castille. They were so magnificent that he was considered as a most generous and bountiful lord: the Normans, French and Bretons, who had been partakers of his bounty, said he was deserving of a large fortune, and that he ought to reign with great prosperity. Thus the bastard of Spain found himself master of Castille. He created his two brothers, don Tello and don Frederick, earls, and gave them large estates, with other revenues. He continued king of Castille, Galicia, Seville, Toledo and Leon, until the forces of the prince of Wales deprived him of them, replacing the king, don Pedro, in possession of these realms, as you will find related in the following history.

When king Henry saw himself thus situated, and the business completed, so that all obeyed him, both nobles and serfs, as their king and lord; that there was not an appearance of opposition to his crown; he imagined it would add lustre to his name, if he made an irruption into the kingdom of Granada with those free companies that had come from France, as a means of giving them employment. He mentioned it therefore to several of the knights who were about him, when they consented to it. He retained constantly near his person those knights who were attached to the prince of Wales; namely, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly and others, showing them the most marked attentions and kindness, in expectation of being aided by them in his intended expedition to Granada, which he was desirous of undertaking.

Soon after his coronation, the greater number of French knights took their leave and departed. On their going away, he made them very rich presents. The earl de la Marche, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord de Beaujeu and many more returned to their own country. However, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Olivier de Mauny and the Bretons, as well as the free companies, remained in Castille until other news arrived. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was made constable of Castille by Henry, with the assent of all the barons of the realm. We will now return to don Pedro.

CHAPTER CCXXXI.

KING DON PEDRO SENDS TO ENTREAT THE PRINCE OF WALES'S ASSISTANCE AGAINST HIS BROTHER, HENRY THE BASTARD. HE RETIRES INTO GUIENNE, WHERE HE IS WELL RECEIVED BY THE PRINCE.

You have heard how don Pedro had cast himself into the castle of Corunna near the sea, with only his wife, his two daughters, and don Fernando de Castro; while in the mean time, his brother, the bastard, through the assistance of the men-at-arms, whom he had drawn from France, was conquering Castille, to whom the whole country had surrendered. All this much alarmed him; and he did not think himself in perfect safety in the castle of Corunna; for he had a great dread of his brother the bastard, and well knew that, if he were informed where he was, he would come and seek him with his forces, to besiege him in the castle. He would not wait this danger, but embarked on board a vessel, with his wife, his daughters, don Fernando de Castro, and whatever he had amassed of money and jewels, and put to sea in the night. The wind, however, was so contrary, that they could not clear the coast, but were obliged to return, and again to enter the castle of Corunna. Don Pedro then demanded from his knight, don Fernando de Castro, complaining of his evil fortune, which was so much against him, what was best to be done. "My lord," replied the knight, "before you leave this place, I think it would be proper that you send some person to your cousin, the prince of Wales, to know if he will receive you, and to entreat of him, for God's sake, that he would attend to your distress. He is in a manner bound to it, from the strong connection that has subsisted between the king, his father, and yours in former times. The prince of Wales is of such a noble and gallant disposition that, when he shall be informed of your misfortunes, he will certainly take compassion on you; and, if he should determine to replace you on your throne, there is no one, sir, that could oppose him, so much is he redoubted by all the world, and beloved by soldiers. You are now safe where you are; for this fortress will hold you out until some intelligence shall be brought you from Aquitaine."

Don Pedro immediately assented to this: a letter, in a most lamentable and piteous strain, was written: and a knight, with two squires, having been instructed to undertake this employ, cheerfully accepted it, directly put to sea, and made sail for Bayonne, a city dependent on the king of England, where they safely arrived. They made inquiries after the prince, and learnt that at that time he was at Bordeaux. Upon this, they rode to Bordeaux, and took up their quarters at an inn. Soon afterwards they made for the monastery of St. Andrew, where the prince resided.

The knight and squires who had come from Spain informed the knights of the prince, that they were Spaniards, and embassadors from don Pedro, of Castille. The prince, when informed of it, wished to see them, and to know what business had brought them. They were, upon this, introduced, and having cast themselves on their knees, saluted him according to their custom, recommending the king their lord to him, as they presented him his letter. The prince made them rise: having taken the letter, he opened it, and afterwards read it more at his leisure. He found that don Pedro had written a most melancholy account of himself, informing him of his hardships and distress, and in what manner his brother the bastard, by means of the great alliances he had made, first, with the pope, then with the kings of France and Arragon, and the free companies, had driven him out of his inheritance, the kingdom of Castille. In that letter, he entreated the prince, for the love of God, and for pity's sake, that he would attend to his situation, and find some remedy to it; for it was not a Christian-like act, that a bastard, through force, should disinherit a legitimate son, and seize his possessions.

The prince, who was a valiant and wise knight, having folded up the letter in his hands, said to the embassadors, who had remained in his presence, "You are welcome to us from our cousin the king of Castille: you will stay here in our court, and will not return without an answer." The knights of the prince were already prepared; for they well knew what was proper to be done, and took with them the Spanish knight and his two squires to entertain them handsomely. The prince had remained in his apartment, thinking much on the contents of the letter from the king of Castille. He immediately sent for sir John Chandos, and sir William Felton, the chiefs of his council: one was high steward of Aquitaine, and the other constable.

When they were come, he said, smiling, "My lords, here is great news from Spain. The king, don Pedro our cousin, complains grievously of Henry his bastard brother, who has seized his kingdom, and driven him out of it, as perhaps you may have heard related by those who are come hither. He entreats of us help and assistance, as his letter will more fully explain to you." The prince then again read it over, word for word, to the knights, who lent a willing ear. When he had read it, he said, "You, sir John, and you, sir William, who are my principal counsellors, and in whom I have the greatest confidence and trust; tell me, I beg of you, what will be most advisable for us to do in this business." The two knights looked at each other, but uttered not a word. The prince again appealed to them, and said, "Speak boldly, whatever be your opinion." The prince was then advised by these two knights, as I have heard it told afterwards, to send a body of men-at-arms to king don Pedro, as far as Corunna, where he was, and whence he had dated his letter; to conduct him to Bordeaux, in order more fully to learn what were his wants and intentions: that then they should be better informed from his conversation how they were to act.

This answer pleased the prince. Sir William Felton was ordered to take the command of the expedition; and the prince asked sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Nêle Loring, sir Simon Burley* and sir William Trousseaux to accompany it into Galicia, to escort from Corunna the king don Pedro, and the remnant of his army. The armament for this expedition was to consist of twelve vessels, which were to be filled with archers and men-at-arms. The above-named knights made proper purveyances for the occasion, and set out from Bordeaux accompanied by the embassadors from don Pedro. They continued their journey to Bayonne, where they remained three or four days, waiting for a favorable wind, and to load the ships. On the 6th day, as they were on the point of sailing, don Pedro, king of Castille, arrived there. He had left Corunna in great suspense, being afraid to stay there longer, and had brought with him a few of his people, and as much of his treasures as he could carry away.

This was great news for the English. Sir William Felton and the other knights waited on him, on his landing, and received him handsomely. They informed him, that they had prepared themselves, and were on the point of sailing to Corrunna, or farther, had it been necessary, to seek for him, by orders from the prince their lord. Don Pedro heard this with great joy, and returned his warmest thanks to the prince, as well as to the knights then present. Sir William Felton immediately sent the prince information of the arrival of the king of Castille at Bayonne, who was much pleased thereat. These knights did not make any long stay at Bayonne, but, taking the king with them, made for the city of Bordeaux, where they safely arrived.

The prince, who was anxious to see his cousin the king, don Pedro, and also to do him the more honor, rode out of Bordeaux, attended by his knights and squires, to meet him. When they met he saluted him very respectfully, and paid him every attention by speech and action; for he knew perfectly well how so to do: no prince of his time understood so well the practice of good breeding. After their meeting, when they had refreshed themselves as was becoming them to do, they rode toward Bordeaux. The prince placed don Pedro on his right hand, and would not suffer it to be otherwise. During their return, don Pedro told the prince his distresses, and in what manner his brother the bastard had driven him out of the kingdom of Castille. He complained bitterly of the disloyalty of his subjects; for all had deserted him except one knight, don Fernando de Castro, then with him, and whom he pointed out to the prince. The prince comforted him by a most courteous and discreet answer: he begged of him not

* Sir Simon Burley—knight of the Garter, &c.—beheaded in the reign of Richard II.

to be too much cast down; for, if he had lost everything, it was fully in the power of God to give him back what he had lost, and more, as well as vengeance upon his enemies.

Conversing on this subject, as well as on other topics, they rode on to Bordeaux, and dismounted at the monastery of St. Andrew, the residence of the prince and princess. The king, don Pedro, was conducted to an apartment which had been prepared for him. When he had dressed himself suitably to his rank, he waited on the princess and the ladies, who all received him very politely. I could enlarge much on the feasts and entertainments which were made: but I will briefly pass them over, and relate to you how don Pedro conducted himself toward his cousin the prince of Wales, whom he found courteous and affable, and willing to attend to his request of aid, notwithstanding some of his council had given him the advice I will now mention.

Before the arrival of don Pedro at Bordeaux, some lords, as well English as Gascons, who had much wisdom and forethought, were of the prince's council, and by inclination as well as duty, thought themselves bound to give him loyal advice, spoke to the prince in words like the following: "My lord, you have often heard the old proverb of 'All covet, all lose.'* True it is, that you are one of the princes of this world the most enlightened, esteemed, and honored, in possession of large domains and a handsome principality on this side of the sea, and are, thank God, at peace with every one. It is also well known, that no king, far or near, at this present moment dares anger you; such reputation have you in chivalry for valor and good fortune. You ought, therefore, in reason, to be contented with what you have got, and not seek for enemies. We must add, likewise, that this don Pedro, king of Castille, who at present is driven out of his realm, is a man of great pride, very cruel, and full of bad dispositions. The kingdom of Castille has suffered many grievances at his hands: many valiant men have been beheaded and murdered, without justice or reason; so that to these wicked actions, which he ordered or consented to, he owes the loss of his kingdom. In addition to this, he is an enemy to the church, and excommunicated by our holy father. He has been long considered as a tyrant, who, without any plea of justice, has always made war upon his neighbors; such as the kings of Arragon and Navarre, whom he was desirous to dethrone by force. It is also commonly reported, and believed in his kingdom, and even by his own attendants, that he murdered the young lady, his wife, who was a cousin of yours, being daughter to the duke of Bourbon. Upon all these accounts, it behoves you to pause and reflect before you enter into any engagements; for what he has hitherto suffered are the chastisements of God, who orders these punishments as an example to the kings and princes of the earth, that they should never commit such wickedness."

With similar language to this was the prince also addressed by his councils, on the arrival of the king of Castille at Bordeaux: but to this loyal advice they received the following answer: "My lords, I take it for granted and believe that you give me the best advice you are able. I must, however, inform you, that I am perfectly well acquainted with the life and conduct of don Pedro, and well know that he has committed faults without number, for which at present he suffers: but I will tell you the reasons which at this moment urge and embolden me to give him assistance. I do not think it either decent or proper that a bastard should possess a kingdom as an inheritance, nor drive out of his realm his own brother, heir to the country by lawful marriage; and no king, or king's son, ought ever to suffer it, as being of the greatest prejudice to royalty. Add to this, that my lord and father and this don Pedro have for a long time been allies, much connected together, by which we are bounden to aid and assist him, in case he should require it." These were the reasons that instigated the prince to assist the king of Castille in his great distress, and thus he replied to his council. No one could afterwards make the smallest change in his determination, but every day it grew firmer.

When don Pedro arrived at Bordeaux, he humbled himself to the prince, offering him many rich presents, and the promise of further advantage; for he said, he would make his eldest son, Edward, king of Galicia, and would divide among him and his people the great riches he had left in Castille, where it was so well secured and hidden that no one could find its situation except himself. The knights paid a willing attention to these words; for both English and Gascons are by nature of a covetous disposition. The prince was advised to summon all the barons of Aquitaine to an especial council at Bordeaux, so that there might be a grand conference held; when the king don Pedro might lay before him his situation, and his means of satisfying them, should the prince undertake to conduct him back to his own country, and to do all in his power to replace him upon his throne. Letters and messengers were therefore sent to all parts, and the lords summoned: first, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Carmaing, the captal de Buch, the lord de Tande, the viscount de Châtillon, the lords de l'Escut, de Rosem, de l'Esparre, de Chaumont, de Mucident, de Courton, de Pincornet, and other barons of Gascony and Guienne. The earl of Foix was requested to attend; but he would not come, and excused himself, having at the time a disorder in one of his legs, which prevented him from mounting on horseback: he sent, however, his council in his stead.

* He that to moche embraseth, houldeth the wekelyer.—Lord Berners.

CHAPTER CCXXXII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES HOLDS A GRAND CONFERENCE AT BORDEAUX ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE KING OF CASTILLE. HE RECEIVES LETTERS FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND, TO ASSENT TO THE PROPOSALS OF ASSISTING DON PEDRO. HE MAKES OVERTURES TO THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR A FREE PASSAGE THROUGH HIS KINGDOM, TO ENABLE HIM TO CONDUCT DON PEDRO BACK TO CASTILLE.

To this conference, which was holden at Bordeaux, there came all the counts, viscounts, barons, and men of abilities, in Saintonge, Poitou, Quercy, Limousin, Gascony, and Aquitaine. When they were all assembled, they formed a parliament; and, having entered upon the business of their meeting, they for three days discussed the situation and future prospect of this don Pedro, king of Castille, who was all the time present, placing himself near his cousin the prince, who spoke in his behalf, and gave the best account he was able of his affairs. It was at last resolved, that the prince should send sufficient embassadors to the king, his father, in England, to know his opinion on the subject: and that, as soon as they should have the king's answer, they would then assemble, and give the prince such good advice as reasonably ought to be satisfactory to him.

The prince immediately named four knights; the lord Delawar, sir Nele Loring, sir John and sir Hely de Pommiers; and ordered them to set out for England. This conference then broke up, and each returned to his home. The king, don Pedro, remained at Bordeaux with the prince and princess, who entertained him handsomely, and with due honor.

These four knights began their journey, according to their orders, for England; and, having embarked on board two ships, they arrived safely at Southampton, through God's good will and favorable winds. They remained there one day, to refresh themselves and to disembark their horses and equipage. On the second day, they mounted their horses, and rode on to the city of London, where they inquired after the king, and where he was. They were told he was at Windsor. They set out for that place, and were very well received by the king and queen, as much through love for the prince their son, as because they were lords and knights of great renown.

These lords and knights gave their letters to the king, who opened them and had them read. After having for a short time considered their contents, he said: "My lords, you may retire: I will send for some of my barons and learned men of my council: we will then give you our answer, that you may return back soon." This reply was very pleasing to the embassadors, who went the next day to London. It was not long before the king of England came to Westminster, where he was met by the greater part of his council; that is to say, his son the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Salisbury, sir Walter Manny, sir Reginald Cobham, earl Percy, lord Neville, and many others. Among the prelates were the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and London. They deliberated for a long time on the letters from the prince, and on the request he had made to the king his father. It appeared reasonable to the king and his council, that the prince should attempt to conduct back and replace the king of Spain on his throne and in his inheritance, which was unanimously agreed on. Upon this, they drew up excellent answers, from the king and council of England, to the prince and all the barons of Aquitaine. They were carried back by the same persons who had brought the letters, to the city of Bordeaux, where they found the prince, and the king don Pedro; to each of whom they gave other letters which the king of England had sent by them.

Another conference was determined upon: and, a day being fixed for holding it in the city of Bordeaux, all those who were summoned attended. The letters from the king of England were publicly read, who clearly and decidedly gave his opinion, that the prince his son, in the names of God and St. George, should undertake the restoration of don Pedro to his heritage, from which he had been driven unjustly, and, as it would appear, fraudulently. In these letters, mention was also made, that the king thought himself obliged, from certain treaties which had been formerly entered into between him and his cousin don Pedro, to grant him help and succor, in case he should be required so to do. He ordered all his vassals, and entreated his friends to help and assist the prince of Wales, by every means in their power, throughout this affair, in the same manner as if he himself were present. When the barons of Aquitaine had heard these letters read, and the commands and requests of the king and of the prince their lord, they cheerfully made the following answer: "Sir, we will heartily obey the commands of the king our sovereign. It is but just that we should be obedient both to him and to you: this we will do, and will attend you and don Pedro upon this expedition; but we wish to know from whom we are to have our pay, as it is not customary for men-at-arms to leave their habitations to carry on a war in a foreign country without receiving wages."

The prince, on hearing this, turned toward don Pedro, and said: "Sir king, you hear what our people say: it is for you to give them an answer; for it behoves you so to do who are about to lead them into action." Don Pedro made the following reply to the prince: "My dear cousin, as long as my gold, my silver, and my treasure will last, which I have brought with me from Spain, but which is not so great by thirty times as what I have left behind, I am willing it should be divided among your people." Upon which the prince said: "My

lord, you speak well: and for the surplus of the debt, I will take that upon myself toward them, and will order whatever sums you may want to be advanced you as a loan, until we shall be arrived in Castille." "By my head," replied don Pedro, "you will do me a great kindness."

Several of the most experienced among them, such as the earl of Armagnac, the lord de Pommiers, sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, and some others, having considered the business, said, the prince of Wales could not well undertake this expedition without having gained the consent and good-will of the king of Navarre; for he could not enter Spain without traversing his kingdom, and by the pass of Roncevaux.* This entrance to Spain they were not quite sure of obtaining; for the king of Navarre had lately formed fresh alliances with the bastard Henry. It was therefore debated for a long time, in what manner they could succeed in gaining this important point. The wisest were of opinion, that another meeting should be appointed, and that it should be held in the city of Bayonne; and that the prince, when there, should send able embassadors to the king of Navarre, to entreat he would come to this conference at Bayonne. This resolution was adopted; and the conference broke up. They had all a wish to attend the meeting at Bayonne, and a day was fixed for holding it.

During this interval, the prince sent sir John Chandos and sir William Felton to the king of Navarre, who was at that time in the city of Pampeluna. These two knights, having wisdom and eloquence, exerted themselves so effectually with the king of Navarre, that he agreed to their request, and gave it under his seal that he would attend the conference at Bayonne. Upon which they returned to the prince, and related to him what they had done. On the appointed day for this meeting in the city of Bayonne, the king of Spain, the prince, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and all the barons of Gascony, Poitou, Quercy, Rouergue, Saintonge, and Limousin came thither. The king of Navarre was also there; to whom the king of Spain and the prince paid every attention, thinking they should not lose by it.

This conference in the city of Bayonne was long. It lasted five days. The prince and his council had many difficulties before they could get the king of Navarre to consent to their wishes; for it was not easy to make anything of him whenever he found that his services were wanted. However, from the great influence which the prince had over him, he brought him at last to swear, promise and seal a treaty of peace, alliance, and confederation with don Pedro. The king of Castille entered into certain engagements with the king of Navarre, which had been proposed to him by the prince of Wales. These engagements were, that don Pedro, as king of both Castilles, should give, under his seal, to the king of Navarre and his heirs, to hold as their inheritance, all the domain of Logrono, with the lands on each side of the river, and also the town, castle, territory, and dependencies of Salvatierra, with the town of St. Jean Pied du Port and its surrounding country; which towns, castles, and lordships he had in former times taken possession of, and held by force. In addition to this, the king of Navarre was to receive twenty thousand francs, for laying open his country, and permitting the army to pass peaceably through, finding them provisions upon being paid for them: in which sum he acknowledged himself debtor to the king of Navarre.†

When the barons of Aquitaine learnt that these treaties were made, and that don Pedro and the king of Navarre were friends, they made inquiry who was to pay them their wages: the prince, who was very eager for this expedition, took that upon himself, king don Pedro having promised punctual repayment.

CHAPTER CCXXXIII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR REPLACING DON PEDRO ON HIS THRONE OF CASTILLE. HENRY THE BASTARD, THOUGH LATE INFORMED OF IT, ENDEAVORS TO PREVENT IT.

When all those things had been so ordered and settled that every one knew what he was to do, and they had remained in the city of Bayonne twelve days amusing themselves together, the king of Navarre took his leave, and set out for the kingdom of Navarre whence he had come. The other lords departed also, and each returned to his own home. Even the prince came back to Bordeaux; but the king of Castille remained at Bayonne. The prince immediately sent his heralds into Spain, to the knights and other captains, who were English or Gascons, attached to or dependent on him, to signify his orders to take their leave of the bastard, and to return as speedily as possible; for he had need of them, and should find them employment elsewhere. When the heralds who were the bearers of these orders to the knights of Castille came to them, they guessed they were sent for home; they immediately took leave of king Henry in the most courteous manner they could, without discovering either their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was liberal, courteous, and honorable, made them very handsome presents, thanking them most gratefully for their services. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Gournay, sir John Devreux, with their men, left Spain, and returned as speedily as possible. They were followed by several other knights and squires of the prince's household, whose names I cannot remember.

The free companions were at this time scattered in different parts of the country, and did not receive this intelligence so soon as the other knights. Upon their receiving the information, sir Robert Briquet, John Treuelle,* sir Raboursf sir Perducas d'Albret, sir Garsis du Chastel, Nandon de Bagerant, the bastard de l'Esparre, the bastard Camus, the bastard de Breteuil, assembled together and set out on their return.

King Henry had not heard of the prince's intentions to bring his brother, don Pedro, back to Castille, so soon as these knights; and well it was for them he had not; otherwise if he had received this intelligence, they would not have been suffered to desert so easily; for he had the power to detain and vex them. However, when he knew the truth of it, he did not seem much affected by it: nevertheless, he spoke to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was still with him, as follows: "Sir Bertrand, think of the prince of Wales: they say, he intends to make war upon us, to replace by force this Jew, who calls himself king of Spain, upon our throne of Castille. What do you say to this?" To which sir Bertrand replied: "He is so valiant and determined a knight that, since he has undertaken it, he will exert himself to the utmost to accomplish it. I would therefore advise you to guard well all the passes and defiles on every side, so that no one may enter or go out of your kingdom without your leave. In the mean time, keep up the affections of your subjects. I know for a truth, that you will have great assistance from many knights in France, who will be happy to serve you. I will, with your permission, return thither, where I am sure of finding several friends: and I will bring back with me as many as I possibly can." "By my faith," replied king Henry, "you say well; and I will, in this business, follow everything you shall order."

Not long after, sir Bertrand took leave of king Henry, and went to Arragon, where he was received with joy by the king; with whom he remained fifteen days, and then departed. He continued his journey to Montpellier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who was very happy to see him, as he loved him much. When he had passed some time there, he took his leave, and went to France, where he had a most gracious reception from the king.

When it was publicly known through Spain, Arragon and France, that the intentions of the prince of Wales were to replace don Pedro in the kingdom of Castille, it was a matter of great wonder to many, and was variously talked of. Some said, the prince was making this expedition through pride and presumption; that he was jealous of the honor sir Bertrand du Guesclin had obtained, in conquering Castille in the name of king Henry, and then making him king of it. Others said, that both pity and justice moved him to assist don Pedro in recovering his inheritance; for it was highly unbecoming a bastard to hold a kingdom, or bear the name of a king. Thus were many knights and squires divided in their opinions. King Henry, however, was not idle; he sent embassadors to the king of Arragon, to entreat him not to enter into any treaty or convention with the prince and his allies; for that he was, and would continue to be, his good neighbor and friend.

The king of Arragon, who esteemed him much, for in former times he had found don Pedro very overbearing, assured him, that upon no account, no, not for the loss of one half of his kingdom, would he enter into any treaty with the prince nor with don Pedro, but would lay open his kingdom to all sorts of men who should wish to enter Spain to his assistance, and would shut it up to all who had evil intentions against him. This king of Arragon kept faithfully all he had promised to king Henry; for as soon as he knew that don Pedro was aided by the prince, and that the companies were marching that way, he ordered all the passes of Arragon to be closed, and caused them to be strictly guarded. He posted men-at-arms and watchmen on the mountains and in the defiles of Catalonia, so that no one could pass that way without great danger.

The companies, however, on their return, found out another road; they had much to endure from famine and other evils before they could be free from danger in Arragon. They advanced to the frontiers of the country of Foix, but could not obtain permission to pass through it; for the earl was not desirous that such people should enter his territories. News was brought of their distress to the prince, who was then at Bordeaux, occupying his mind night and

* Roncevaux—a village in Navarre, made famous by the defeat of Charlemagne, in which Orlando and Rinaldo, so much celebrated by the old romances, were slain.

† See the Fœdera for the underneath treaties, which relate to these transactions.
The first treaty between Edward III. and don Pedro, king of Castille, appears to be the 22nd June, 1362. Confirmed 1st February, 1363, and 1st March, 1363.
"Forbidding all soldiers to enter Spain as enemies," addressed to sir John Chandos, sir Hugh Calverly, &c. December 6th, 1365.
A treaty, in which don Pedro acknowledges himself debtor to the prince of Wales in 56,000 gold florins, of good weight, &c., which the prince, by the king's directions, had paid to the king of Navarre, &c., dated Libourne (a city on the Dordogne, ten leagues distant from Bordeaux,) Sept. 23rd, 1366. The number of witnesses to this deed shows that Froissart was misinformed when he says that don Pedro was solely attended by don Fernando de Castro.
Articles of convention between Pedro king of Castille, Charles king of Navarre, and Edward prince of Wales—dated Libourne, Sept. 23rd, 1366.
There are various other treaties between the king and prince, as well as the prince's letter to Henry de Trastamare and the answer, before the battle of Navarette. See Rymer.

* "John Treuelle." Barnes calls him sir John Charnelle.
† "Sir Rabours." Sir Robert Cheney.—BARNES.

day on the best means of executing this expedition with honor. He saw that these companies could neither pass nor return to Aquitaine, for the defiles of Arragon and Catalonia were well guarded, and they were now on the borders of the country of Foix very ill at their ease. He was therefore alarmed, lest the king of Arragon or don Henry should gain by force, or by large gifts and promises, these companies (who were upward of twelve thousand men, from whom he expected great assistance,) and they might be engaged to fight against him. The prince, therefore, determined to send sir John Chandos to meet and to retain them. He at the same time ordered him to wait on the earl of Foix, to beg that, for his love to him, he would allow these companies to pass through his country, and that he would pay double the value for any mischief they might commit in their march. Sir John Chandos undertook this journey most willingly, to oblige his lord; he set out from Bordeaux, and rode on to Dacqs;* thence he continued his route until he arrived in the country of Foix, where he waited on the earl.

He found these companies in a country called Basques,† where he entered into a treaty with them, and managed it so well that they all agreed to serve the prince, in his intended expedition, upon having a handsome sum of money paid down to them, which sir John Chandos swore to see done. He again returned to the earl of Foix, and entreated him most earnestly that he would permit those companies, who now belonged to the prince, to pass through one end of his domain. The earl, who was desirous of pleasing the prince, and firmly attached to him, in order to gratify his wishes, complied with the request, provided they did no damage to him or to his lands. This sir John Chandos promised to be answerable for, and sent back one of his squires, attended by a herald, with the treaty he had made with the earl of Foix, to the commanders of the companies. He then returned to Bordeaux, and related to the prince his journey, and the successful issue of it. The prince, who loved him and had great confidence in him, was well pleased with both. The prince was at this time in the full vigor of youth, and had never been weary or satiated with war, since the first time he bore arms, but was always looking forward to some achievement of high renown. This Spanish expedition occupied his mind entirely. Both honor and compassion urged him to replace on his throne, by force of arms, a king who had been driven from it.

He conversed frequently on this subject with sir John Chandos, and sir William Felton, who were his principal advisers, and asked them their opinions. These two knights truly said: "My lord, this undoubtedly is, without comparison, a much more difficult enterprise than driving him out of his realm; for he was detested by his subjects, insomuch that they all fled from him when he most wanted their help. The bastard king at this moment possesses the kingdom from the affection which the nobility, prelates and commonalty bear him; and therefore they will do everything in their power to keep and maintain him as their king, whatever may be the consequences. It behoves you then to have a sufficient number of archers and men-at-arms; for you will find, on your entering Spain, work enough for them. We advise you also to melt the best part of your plate and treasure, of which you are abundantly furnished, that it may be coined into money, for you to distribute liberally among the companions who are to serve under you in this expedition, and who, from affection to you alone, will engage to do so; for as to Don Pedro, they will do nothing on his account. You should send likewise to the king your father, to beg of him to allow you to receive the hundred thousand francs which the king of France is bound to send to England in a short time. You ought also to collect money wherever you can procure it (for you will have need of an immense quantity,) without taxing your subjects or country; by which means you will be more beloved by them."

These and such like counsels, equally good and loyal, were at times given by those two knights, and followed by the prince. He had his plate, both gold and silver, broken and coined into money, which he liberally distributed among the free companies. He also sent to England, to request that he might obtain from the king the hundred thousand francs before mentioned. The king of England, who knew the wants of the prince, immediately complied, wrote to the king of France on this subject, and sent him proper acquittances for the sum he was to pay him. The hundred thousand francs were by this means paid to the prince, who divided them among different men-at-arms.

During the time the prince passed at Angoulême, he was one day amusing himself in his apartment with many knights of Gascony, Poitou and England, joking each other alternately upon this Spanish expedition (sir John Chandos was at the time absent, on his journey to retain the companies,) when he turned himself toward the lord d'Albret, and said; "My lord d'Albret, how many men can you bring into the field for this expedition?" Lord d'Albret was quick in his answer, replying, "My lord, if I wished to ask all my friends, that is, all my vassals, I can bring full a thousand lances, and leave a sufficiency behind to guard the country." "By my head, lord d'Albret, that is handsome," returned the prince; then looking at sir William Felton and other English knights, he added in English, "On my faith, one ought to love that country well where there is a baron who can attend his lord with a thousand lances." Then, again addressing himself to the lord d'Albret, he said; "Lord d'Albret, with great willingness, I retain them all." "Let it be so, then, in God's name, my lord," answered the lord d'Albret. This engagement was the cause of much mischief hereafter, as you will see in the course of this history.

* Dacqs, or Dax—an ancient city of Gascony, on the Adour, forty two leagues and a half from Bordeaux, fifteen from Pau. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to be Auch. This town is certainly more in a direct line to Foix, from Bordeaux, than Dax. It is d'Ast in his edition: but my MSS. have Dax.

† "Basques." Le pays de Basques is a small country of France, near the Pyrenees, between the river Adour, the frontiers of Spain, the ocean and Béarn. It comprehends le Labour, la Basse Navarre, and the country of Soule. Bayonne is the capital.

CHAPTER CCXXXIV.

THE VISCOUNT OF NARBONNE, THE SENESCHAL OF TOULOUSE, WITH OTHER FRENCH LORDS, HAVING ATTACKED SOME OF THE FREE COMPANIES THAT WERE COME INTO FRANCE ACCORDING TO THE ORDERS OF THE PRINCE, ARE DISCOMFITED NEAR MONTAUBAN. THE FOE FORBIDS THE PRISONERS WHOM THE COMPANIES HAD TAKEN, AND SET FREE ON THEIR PAROLE AFTER THE COMBAT, TO KEEP THEIR FAITH, OR TO PAY ANY RANSOM.

We must now return to those free companies who had become allied and connected with the prince. I have already said, that they suffered great hardships before they entered his principality. As soon as they found themselves clear of all danger from Arragon and Catalonia, they divided themselves into three bodies, with the consent of the earls of Foix and Armagnac and the lord d'Albret. One of these divisions marched along the borders of the countries of Foix and Toulouse; another through the country of Armagnac, and the third toward Albret. The first division consisted chiefly of Gascons; and they might, in the whole, amount to three thousand; but they had again divided themselves into companies of three and four hundreds, and thus advanced toward Toulouse and Montauban.

At this time, there was a knight of France, high steward of Toulouse, whose name was Guy d'Asai.* When he learnt that these companies were near at hand, that they were advancing in divisions, and did not amount, in the whole, to more than three thousand combatants, who were pinched by hunger, badly armed and mounted, and still worse clothed and shod, he declared that no such persons should enter Toulouse, nor the kingdom of France, to recruit themselves; and that, if it pleased God, he would march out, to offer them battle. He directly gave notice of his intentions to the lord Aimeri, viscount of Narbonne, to the high stewards of Carcassonne and of Beaucaire, and to all knights, squires and officers in that quarter, commanding them to give him aid and assistance to defend the borders against these wicked companions. Those who had been sent to, obeyed, and came with all speed to the city of Toulouse. They amounted to five hundred men-at-arms, knights and squires, with upward of four thousand infantry, who immediately took the field, and marched toward Montauban, seven leagues distant from Toulouse. Those who arrived first, and the others as they came in, instantly quitted the town, to wait until the whole were assembled together.

When the viscount of Narbonne and sir Guy d'Asai, who were the commanders of these men-at-arms, had left Toulouse, they fixed their quarters near to Montauban, which was at that time dependent on the prince of Wales, who had appointed for its governor a knight, called sir John Combes. These French lords ordered their scouts, with the vanguard, to advance to Montauban, in hopes of drawing out some of the companions who had lately arrived there, and who were entertained by sir John Combes. The governor of Montauban was much surprised, on hearing that the French were come with a numerous army so near to his town, because the territory belonged to the prince; he ascended, therefore, the battlements of the gates, and, having obtained a hearing from these scouts, demanded who had sent them thither, and for what reason they had thus come upon the lands of the prince, who was their neighbor, and who had sworn friendship to the king and kingdom of France.

They answered him, that they were not charged by the lords who had sent them thither to give any reasons for so doing; but that, in order to be satisfied, he might come himself, or send any one to their commanders, who would give him an answer. "Indeed," replied the governor of Montauban, "I shall beg of you then to go back, and tell them to send me a passport, that I may safely come to them and return, or let them send to inform me fully for what reasons they have marched in this warlike manner against me; for did I think they were in earnest to make war, I would immediately inform my lord the prince of it, who would speedily provide a remedy." They willingly accepted his proposal, and returned to their lords, to whom they exactly repeated the governor's words.

The passport was made out in sir John's name, and sent to Montauban. Upon the receipt of it he set out, attended only by four persons, and went to the quarters of these lords, who were ready dressed to receive him, and prepared with their answers. He saluted them, which they returned; he then asked them their reasons for

* "Guy d'Asai." When Bertrand saw the duke d'Anjou at Montpellier, he requested him to prevent those companies from returning to Aquitaine: he thereupon assembled the militia of the country, and collected a force of five hundred lances and four thousand archers. He gave the command of this army to Guy d'Asai séneschal de Toulouse, Arnould d'Espagne seneschal de Carcassonne, Guy de Prolins seneschal de Beaucaire, and Aimeri vicomt de Narbonne.—*Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 332.

ordering troops to advance to the fortress, which was a dependency on the prince. They replied, "We wish not to invade the rights of any one, nor to make war; but we are determined to pursue our enemies where we know they are." Who are your enemies? and where are they?" demanded the knight. "In God's name," answered the viscount of Narbonne, "they are at this moment in Montauban. They are robbers and pillagers, who have severely oppressed the kingdom of France. And you, sir John, if you had become courteous to your neighbors, ought not thus to have supported them in their robberies of poor persons, without a shadow of justice; for these are the causes that give rise to hatred between the great. If you do not therefore drive them out of your fortress, you are neither a friend to the king nor kingdom of France."

"My lords," replied the governor, "it is true there are men-at-arms in my garrison, whom my lord the prince has ordered thither, and whom I retain for him. I am not therefore inclined to send them away thus suddenly. If they have given you any cause of displeasure, I do not see from whom you can right yourselves; for they are men-at-arms, and they will support themselves in their usual manner, either on the territories of the king of France or on those of the prince." The lord of Narbonne and sir Guy d'Asai made answer by saying: "They are indeed men-at-arms, but of such a sort that they cannot exist without pillage and robbery, and have very unbecomingly trespassed on our boundaries, for which they shall pay dearly, if we could but once meet with them in the open plains. They have burnt, stolen, and done many shameful acts within the jurisdiction of Toulouse, complaints of which have been made to us, which if we suffer to go unpunished, we shall be traitors to the king our lord, who has appointed us to watch over and guard his country. You will therefore tell them from us, for, since we know where their quarters are, we can find them, that they shall make us amends for their proceedings, or they will fare the worse for it."

The governor could not, at that time, get any other answer from them. He returned very ill pleased, and said that all their menaces would not make him change his mind. Upon his return, he told the companions all that had passed, as well as the message he was to deliver. The leaders on hearing it, were not much satisfied; for they were unequal in numbers to the French, so that they kept themselves on their guard as much as they could.

Now it chanced, that exactly five days after this conversation, sir Perducas d'Albret with a large body of companions were on their march to pass through Montauban, for that was the direct road into the principality. He sent information of it to the governor: which when sir Robert Cheney and the other companions who had shut themselves up in the town heard, they were mightily rejoiced. They secretly made sir Perducas acquainted with the arrival of the French, and how they kept them besieged, threatening them much: they also informed him of the numbers of the French, with the names of their commanders.

When sir Perducas learnt this, he was no way frightened, but, collecting his men in a body, galloped into Montauban, where he was joyfully received. Upon their arrival, they discussed, among themselves, what would be most advisable to do: they unanimously resolved, that on the morrow they would arm, issue out of the town, and address themselves to the French, to request they would allow them peaceably to pass on. If they would not agree to this, and it were absolutely necessary to fight, they would then exert themselves, and risk the event of a battle.

What they had determined the preceding day, they put in execution the following. On the morning, having armed themselves and mounted their horses, their trumpets sounded, when they sallied out of Montauban. The French had already drawn up before the town, from the alarm of what they saw and heard the preceding evening, so that the companies could not pass but through them. Upon this, sir Perducas d'Albret and sir Robert Cheney stepped forward, to demand a parley of the French, and to beg of them to allow them quietly to pass. But these lords sent to inform them, they would have nothing to say to them, and that they should not pass but over the points of their spears and swords. They instantly began to shout their war-cry, and to call out, "Advance, advance upon these robbers, who pillage the world, and who live upon every one, without reason or justice."

When the companions saw that they must fight in earnest, or die with dishonor, they dismounted and formed their line, to wait for the French, who advanced very boldly on foot to meet them. Much fighting and pursuing now commenced: many hard blows were given, which knocked down several on each side. The combat was severe and long; many gallant deeds were performed, and several knights and squires unhorsed. The French, however, were more in number than the companions by at least two to one. They had not, therefore, any cause of fear, and by valiantly fighting, drove the companions all back, even within the barriers. When they were in that situation, the combat became more hot: many were killed and wounded on both sides. It would have been very hard with the companions, if the governor had not ordered all the towns-people to take arms and assist, to the utmost of their power, those who were attached to the service of their prince. The inhabitants immediately took to their arms, and united themselves with the companies in the fray. Even the women, having collected stones, ascended their garrets, whence they flung so many on the French that they had sufficient employment in shielding themselves from them, and by wounding many made them retreat. The companions upon this took courage (for they had been for a considerable time in great peril,) and boldly attacked the French. Many as gallant deeds were performed by captures and rescues as had been seen for some time, though the companies were but few in comparison of the French: every man exerted himself to do his duty well, and to drive the enemy by force out of the town.

It happened, that during this engagement, the bastard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, with about four hundred men whom they commanded, entered the back way into the town. They had marched all night with the greatest expedition; for they had had information how the French were besieging their comrades in Montauban. The battle was now renewed with fresh vigor; and the French were sadly beaten by these new comers. All those combats lasted from eight o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. At last, the French were completely discomfited and put to flight: happy were those who could find horses to mount and escape.

The viscount de Narbonne, sir Guy d'Asai, the earl of Uzés, the lord de Montmorillon, the séneschal de Carcassonne, the séneschal de Beaucaire, with upward of a hundred knights, as well of France as of Provence, and the adjoining countries, many rich squires, and others of large property in Toulouse and Montpellier, were made prisoners. They would have taken more, if they had pursued them; but, as they were few in number and badly mounted, they were afraid to follow them, contenting themselves with what they had got.

This battle was fought before Moutauban, the vigil of the feast of our Lady, in August 1366. After this defeat, sir Perducas d'Albret, sir Robert Cheney, sir John Combes, the bastard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, divided the booty they had gained among themselves and their companions. All those who had made any prisoners were to keep them, in order to gain by their ransom, or to give them their liberty, as they pleased. They were very attentive to them, accepting moderate ransoms, suitable to their rank, or the state of their affairs. They were the kinder to them, because this affair had turned out fortunately, and through their own gallantry. Those who had pledged their faith went away, having fixed a time for bringing their ransoms to Bordeaux, or other places more agreeable to them. Each now departed, and returned to his own country. The companies marched to join the prince, who received them very graciously, and sent them to their quarters in a country called Basques, which is among the mountains.

I will now relate the end of this business, in what manner the viscount of Narbonne, the high steward of Toulouse and the other prisoners, paid their ransoms. Pope Urban V., who at this time reigned, hated mortally these free companies, whom he had for a long time excommunicated on account of their wicked deeds. Upon being informed of this engagement, and how the viscount of Narbonne, having exerted himself to the utmost to succeed in his attack upon them, had been miserably defeated, he was in a great rage. This was increased on learning that, having given pledges for their ransoms, they were returned home. He immediately sent expresses to them, strictly forbidding them to pay any ransom, and at the same time dispensations and absolutions from all engagements on this subject.

Thus were these lords, knights and squires, who had been made prisoners at Montauban, acquitted of their ransoms; for they dared not disobey the orders of the pope. It turned out luckily for some, but quite the contrary to the companions, who were expecting the money: indeed they were in want of it, and intended out of it to equip themselves handsomely, as soldiers should do who have a sufficiency, but they never received anything. This order of the pope was so hurtful to them that they made frequent complaints of it to sir John Chandos, who, being constable of Aquitaine, had the superintendence of such affairs by right of office: but he turned them off as well as he could, because he was fully acquainted that they were excommunicated by the pope, and that all their thoughts and acts were turned to pillage. I do not believe they ever received any of this debt at any time afterwards.

CHAPTER CCXXXV.

DURING THE TIME THE PRINCE OF WALES IS PREPARING FOR HIS EXPEDITION INTO CASTILLE, THE KING OF MAJORCA SEEKS REFUGE WITH HIM AGAINST THE KING OF ARRAGON. THE PRINCE DISPLEASES THE LORD D'ALBRET.

We will now return to the prince of Wales, and show with what perseverance he continued to make preparations for his expedition. He had, as I have before related, gained over all the free companies, who might be about twelve thousand fighting men. It had cost him much to retain as well as to subsist them, which he did at his own expense, from the end of August until they quitted the principality the beginning of February. In addition to these, the prince accepted the services of men-at-arms from every quarter whence he could obtain them, under his dependence.

From the kingdom of France, there came none; for king Henry had every person from that kingdom, on account of the alliances

that existed between their sovereign and king Henry, who had also some of the free companies that came from Brittany, and were attached to sir Bertrand du Guesclin; of these, sir Bertrand de Bades, sir Alain de St. Pol, sir William de Brueix, and sir Alain de Couvette, were the leaders. The prince might have had foreign men-at-arms, such as Flemings, Germans and Brabanters, if he had chosen it; but he sent away numbers, choosing to depend more on his own subjects and vassals than on strangers. There came, therefore, to him a great reinforcement from England; for, when the king his father found this expedition was near taking place, he gave leave for his son, the duke of Lancaster, to go to the prince of Wales, with a large body of men-at-arms; that is to say, four hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers. As soon as the prince heard that his brother was coming to him, he was much rejoiced, and gave orders accordingly.

At this period, the lord James, king of Majorca, came to visit the prince in the city of Bordeaux; for such was his title, though he possessed nothing, the king of Arragon having kept his kingdom from him by force, and caused his father to be put to death in prison, in a city of Arragon called Barcelona. On which account, this king James, to revenge the death of his father, and to recover his inheritance, had left the kingdom of Naples, whose queen was at that time his wife.*

The prince of Wales received the king of Majorca very kindly, and entertained him handsomely. After he had heard from him the reasons of his coming, and the cause why the king of Arragon did him so much wrong, in keeping his heritage from him, and destroying his father, the prince replied: "Sir king, I promise you most loyally, that upon our return from Spain, we will undertake to replace you on your throne of Majorca, either by treaty or by force of arms." These promises were highly pleasing to the king. He remained at Bordeaux with the prince, waiting for his departure for Spain with the others. The prince, through respect, equipped him as handsomely as he could; because he was a stranger, far distant from his own country, and his finances were but low.

Great complaints were daily made to the prince of the bad conduct of the free companies, who were doing all possible mischief to the inhabitants of the countries where they were quartered. They pressed the prince to hasten his march, who would willingly have complied, if he had not been advised to let Christmas pass over, so that he should have winter in his rear. The prince listened to this counsel the more, because his lady the princess, being far gone with child, was melancholy and sorrowful at the thoughts of his absence. He was desirous to wait until she should be brought to bed, as she wished to detain him.

During this time, he was collecting great quantities of purveyances of all kinds; and well he had need to do so, for he was about to enter a country where he would find little enough. While he remained at Bordeaux, the prince and his council held many consultations together. It seems to me, that the lord d'Albret and his thousand lances were countermanded, and that the prince, by the advice of his council, wrote to him in such terms as these. "My lord d'Albret, whereas, out of our liberal bounty, we have retained you with a thousand lances, to serve under us in the expedition which, through the grace of God, we intend speedily to undertake, and briefly to finish: having duly considered the business, and the costs and expenses we are at, as well for those who have entered into our service as for the free companies, whose number is so great that we do not wish to leave them behind, for fear of the dangers which may happen, we have resolved that several of our vassals should remain, in order to guard the territories. For these causes it has been determined in our council, that you shall serve in this expedition with two hundred lances only, as has been written to you. You will choose them out from the rest; and the remainder you will leave to follow their usual occupations. May God have you under his holy protection! Given at Bordeaux, the eighth day of December."

These letters were sealed with the great seal of the prince of Wales, and sent to the lord d'Albret, who was in his own country, busily employed making his preparations; for it was daily reported that the prince was on the point of setting out.

When he received these letters from the prince, he opened them deliberately, and read them twice over, in order the better to comprehend them; for what he saw of their contents astonished him greatly. Being mightily vexed, he exclaimed, "How is this? My lord, the prince of Wales laughs at me, when he orders me to disband eight hundred knights and squires, whom, by his command, I have retained, and have diverted from other means of obtaining profit and honor." In his rage, he called for a secretary, and said to him, "Write;" and the secretary wrote as follows from his dictating: "My dear lord—I am marvellously surprised at the contents of the letters you have sent me; and I neither know nor can imagine what answer to make to them. Your orders will be to me of the greatest prejudice, and subject me to much blame; for all the men-at-arms, whom I have retained by your commands, are ready prepared to do you service, and I have prevented them seeking for honor and profit elsewhere. Some of these knights were engaged to pass the sea, to Jerusalem, to Constantinople, or to Prussia in order to advance themselves. They will, therefore, be much displeased if left behind. I am equally so, and cannot conceive for what reason I have deserved this treatment. My dear lord, have the goodness to understand I cannot separate myself from them. I am the worst and least among them; and, if any of them be dismissed, I am convinced they will all go their ways. May God keep you in his holy protection! Given," &c.

When the prince of Wales received this answer, he looked upon it as a very presumptuous one; as did also some knights from England, who were present, and of his council. The prince shook his head, and said in English (as I was told, for at that time I was not at Bordeaux;) "This lord d Albret is too great a man for my country, when he thus wishes to disobey the orders of my council: but, by God, it shall not be as he thinks to have it. Let him stay behind, if he will; for we will perform this expedition, if it please God, without his thousand lances." Some English knights added; "My lord, you are but little acquainted with the thoughts of these Gascons, nor how vain-glorious they are: they have but little love for us, nor have they had for some time past. Do you not remember how arrogantly they behaved to you when king John of France was first brought to Bordeaux? They then declared publicly, that it was by their means alone you had succeeded at Poitiers, and made the king of France your prisoner. It is apparent that they had intended carrying things farther; for you were upward of four months negotiating with them before they would consent that king John should be carried to England, and it was first necessary for you to comply with their demands in order to preserve their attachment." Upon hearing this, the prince was silent, but did not the less occupy his thoughts with what had just been said.

This was the first ground of the hatred between the prince of Wales and the lord d'Albret. The lord d'Albret was at this time in great peril: for the prince was of a high overbearing spirit, and cruel in his hatred: he would, right or wrong, that every lord who was under his command should be dependent on him: but the earl of Armagnac, uncle to the lord d'Albret, hearing of this quarrel between the prince and his nephew, came to Bordeaux to wait on the prince. Sir John Chandos and sir William Felton (by whose advice and counsels the prince solely acted) managed the matter so well that the prince was appeased, and said nothing more. However, the lord d'Albret received orders to join with only two hundred lances, which was equally disagreeable to him and to his vassals: they never afterwards were so affectionate to the prince as they had formerly been. They were forced, nevertheless, to bear this disappointment as well as they could, for they had no remedy for it.

* Don Jayme, king of Majorca, married Jane, queen of Naples, 1363.—Ferraras. Toward the end of this year, the infant Philip of Navarre died. *Idem.*—If, as before mentioned, he married Jane, don Jayme must have married the widow.

CHAPTER CCXXXVI.

THE BIRTH OF RICHARD, SON OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO ACCOMPANY HIS BROTHER ON HIS INTENDED EXPEDITION. NEW TREATIES WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR THE SECURITY OF PASSING THROUGH HIS KINGDOM. SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN RETURNS TO THE ASSISTANCE OF KING HENRY

Time passed away so quickly while the prince was collecting his stores, and awaiting the arrival of his brother the duke of Lancaster, that the princess was taken in labor, and, through God's grace, delivered of a fine boy on a Wednesday, the feast of the Epiphany, in the year 1367. The child was born about eight o'clock in the morning.* The prince and his whole household were very much rejoiced at this event. On the following Friday, he was baptized, about noon, at the holy font of St. Andrew's church, in the city of Bordeaux. The archbishop of Bordeaux performed the ceremony: the bishop of Agen and the king of Majorca were his godfathers. They gave him the name of Richard: he was afterwards king of England, as you will hear in the continuation of this history.

On the ensuing Sunday, the prince set out from Bordeaux, with a grand army, about eight o'clock in the morning: he carried with him all the men-at-arms who had been quartered there. The greater part of his force had already marched forward, and were cantoned in the city of Dax in Gascony. The prince arrived that Sunday evening at Dax, where he halted, and remained for three days; for he was there informed that his brother the duke of Lancaster was on the road to him, having crossed the sea to Brittany, where he had landed a fortnight since, at St. Mahé de fine Pôterne: he went thence to Nantes, where he was magnificently entertained by the duke of Brittany.

The duke of Lancaster continued his route, through Poitou and Saintonge, to Blaye, where he crossed the river Gironde, and landed at the quay at Bordeaux. He went to the monastery of St. Andrew, where the princess lay in, and was joyfully welcomed by her and by all the ladies of her court. At this time, however, the duke would not remain in Bordeaux: but, having bid adieu to his sister the

* Heure de *tierce*—Heure de *prime* (canonical hours.) These do not both point out the same hour at the same season of the year. The former, according to Cotgrave, is "in summer eight of the clock, in winter ten;" the latter, "in summer four o'clock, in winter eight." The Dict. de l'Académie explains "tierce" as equivalent to nine o'clock of our calculation of time, but does not state the hour to which "prime" corresponds.—Ed.

princess, he and all his troops departed, never halting until they were arrived in the city of Dax, where he found his brother the prince of Wales. The two brothers were very happy in this meeting, for they had a mutual affection for each other; and many proofs of friendship passed between them and their men. Soon after the arrival of the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Foix came thither, who paid much court and respect, at least in outward appearance, to the prince and his brother, offering himself and vassals for their service.

JOHN OF GAUNT, DUKE OF LANCASTER. From a painting on glass in an ancient window, Library of All Souls' College, Oxford.

The prince, who knew how to pay every honor and attention according as they were due, showed him all respect, thanking him much for his obliging offers, and for having come to visit them. He afterwards gave him in charge the government of the country, and desired that, during his absence, he would be attentive to guard it. The earl very willingly accepted this charge: having taken his leave of the prince and the duke, he returned to his home. The prince, however, remained at Dax with his army, which was spread all over the country, as far as the entrance of the defiles which lead to Navarre; for they were uncertain if they could pass through them or not, or if the king of Navarre would lay open his country to them according to his treaty.

It had been currently reported, that he had entered into new conventions with king Henry, which had much astonished the prince and his council, and made don Pedro very melancholy. While these reports were believed, and during the stay at Dax, sir Hugh Calverly and his men entered Navarre, and took the city of Miranda and the town of Puenta della Reyna, which alarmed the whole country, so that information was immediately sent of it to the king of Navarre. Upon hearing that the companies were forcibly entering his kingdom, he was much enraged, and wrote to the prince, who made very light of it, because he thought the king of Navarre did not perform the articles of his treaty with don Pedro: he therefore wrote back to him to come himself, or to send some person to explain those things which were laid to his charge, as it was publicly reported he had changed sides, and had joined king Henry.

When the king of Navarre heard that he was accused of treachery, he was more enraged than before, and sent an experienced knight, called don Martin de la Carra, to wait on the prince. When he arrived at the city of Dax, to exculpate the king of Navarre, he spoke so ably and eloquently to the prince that he satisfied him. It was then agreed that he should return to Navarre to his king, and induce him to come to St. Jean Pied de Port,* where, when he should be arrived, the prince would consider whether he would meet him in person or not. Upon this, don Martin de la Carra quitted the prince, and returned to Navarre, where he related to the king all that had passed, in what disposition he had left the prince and his council, and upon what terms he had been sent back. Don Martin exerted himself so much that he brought the king to St. Jean Pied de Port: he himself went to wait on the prince at Dax. When it was known that the king of Navarre was on his road, the prince was advised to send, to meet him, his brother the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos. These two lords, with a few attendants, set out, accompanied by don Martin, who conducted them to St. Jean Pied de Port to the king of Navarre, who very graciously received them, and they had a long conference together. It was after some time settled, that the king of Navarre should advance, to meet the prince, to a place called in that country Peyre Hourarde,† where the prince and don Pedro should be; and that then and there they should renew their treaties, so that each party might for a certainty know on what he was to depend. The king of Navarre was thus dissembling, because he wished to be more sure of the articles of the treaty being complied with than he was at that moment; for he was afraid, that if these companies should once enter his territories before what he demanded was fully signed and agreed to, it would never be thought of afterwards.

The duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos, having finished their business, returned, and related what they had done to the prince and don Pedro. This agreement was satisfactory to both of them. They kept the appointment, and went to the place fixed on, where they met the king of Navarre and his privy council. There were at Peyre Hourarde these three princes, the prince of Wales, don Pedro, and the duke of Lancaster, on one part, and the king of Navarre on the other, where conferences were held between them. At last, it was finally settled what each party was to receive and to perform; and the treaties which had been made before, at Bayonne, were renewed. The king of Navarre then knew for certain what was to be given up to him in the kingdom of Castille. He swore to maintain and preserve faithfully peace and friendship with don Pedro. They broke up their conferences very amicably, having settled that the prince and his army might pass through his country whenever he pleased, as all the defiles were left unguarded; and provision would be had for the men, upon paying for it. The king of Navarre returned to the city of Pampeluna, and the king don Pedro, the prince, and his brother, to their quarters at Dax.

There were at this time many great barons from Poitou, Gascony, and Brittany, who had not joined the army of the prince. They had remained behind, because, as has been before said, it was not quite clear, until after this last conference, if the prince would have a free passage through Navarre. It was even thought in France, that it would be refused him, and that the king of Navarre would cause this expedition to fail. However, the contrary happened. When the knights and squires of each party found that the passage was open, they hastened their preparations, and made speed to join their friends; for they knew the prince would pass soon, and that he would not return without a battle. Sir Olivier de Clisson came with a handsome company of men-at-arms; and also, but very unwillingly, came last, the lord d'Albret, with two hundred lances: he was accompanied in this expedition by the captal de Buch.

Everything which had passed in these conferences was known in France; for there were messengers constantly going and coming, who carried with them all the news they could pick up. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin (who was with the duke of Anjou) was no sooner informed that the passes in Navarre were opened, and that the prince was on his march, than he hastened his departure, and reiterated his summons; for he knew now, that this business would not be settled without an engagement. He took the road to Arragon, in order to join king Henry as speedily as possible. He was followed by all sorts of men-at-arms to whom he had sent his orders. Many came from France and other countries, who were attached to him, or who were desirous of acquiring honor. We will now return to the prince, and relate what befel him and his army in his passage through Navarre.

CHAPTER CCXXXVII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND HIS ARMY PASS THE MOUNTAINS OF NAVARRE, AND ARRIVE AT PAMPELUNA. KING HENRY OF CASTILLE WRITES LETTERS TO HIM. SIR WILLIAM FELTON COMMANDS AN ADVANCED PARTY OF THE ARMY.

BETWEEN St. Jean Pied de Port and Pampeluna are the defiles and strong passes of Navarre, which are very dangerous: for there are a hundred situations among them which a handful of men would guard and shut up against a whole army.

It was very cold in these countries when the army passed, for it was the month of February. But before they began their march, though very eager to get forward, the principal leaders held a council to determine in what numbers and in what manner they should march through these mountains. They learnt that the whole army could not pass together; for which reason, they ordered it to be divided into three bodies, and to pass one at a time three days successively; that is to say, on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

On the Monday, the vanguard marched, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. He was accompanied by the constable of Aquitaine, sir John Chandos, who had under him full twelve hundred pennons, all ornamented with his arms, which were a sharp pile gules, on a field argent.* It was a handsome sight to behold. The two marshals of Aquitaine were also in this first division, namely, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, with whom was the pennon of St. George. There were also in this division, with the duke, sir William Beauchamp,† son of the earl of Warwick, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Ralph Neville,‡ who served under sir John Chandos with thirty lances at his own expense and charges, out of what he had gained at the battle of Auray. There were likewise

* St. Jean Pied de Port—a small town in Navarre, on the Nive, and at the foot of the Pyrénées.

† Peyre Hourarde—a town in Gascony, diocese of Dax.

* Barnes.—See the arms in Ashmole.

† Barnes says, he was lord Abergavenny, and fourth son to the earl of Warwick.

‡ Lord Ralph Neville.—BARNES.

the lord d' Aubeterre, sir Garses du Chatillon, sir Richard Causton, sir Robert Cheney, sir Robert Briquet, sir John Tyrrel, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, sir Gaillart de la Moitre, sir William Clayton, Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier.* All these, with their pennons, were under the command of sir John Chandos, and might amount in the whole to ten thousand cavalry, who all crossed the mountains, as before related, on the Monday.

On the Tuesday, passed the prince of Wales and don Pedro, accompanied by the king of Navarre, who had returned to them, in order to serve as their guide. In this division of the prince were the lord Louis de Harcourt, the viscount de Châtelleraut, the viscount de Rochechouart, the lords de Partenay and de Pinane, sir William Felton, high steward of Aquitaine, sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Eustace d' Ambreticourt, the high stewards of Saintonge, of la Rochelle, of Quercy, of Limousin, of Agenois, of Bigorre, the lord de Cannaibouton and all the men of Poitou, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Nêle Loring, the earl of Angus, sir Thomas Banaster,† sir Louis de Merval, sir Aymon de Marnel, the lord de Pierre-Buffiere, and four thousand men-at-arms at least: there were in the whole about ten thousand horse. This Tuesday was bitter cold, with a sharp wind and snow, so that their march was very painful: however, they passed the mountains, and took up their quarters in the valley of Pampeluna. The king of Navarre, indeed, conducted the prince of Wales and don Pedro to the city of Pampeluna to supper, and entertained them handsomely, as he was enabled to do.

The king of Majorca crossed these mountains on the Wednesday, accompanied by the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret his nephew, sir Bernard d'Albret, lord de Gironde, the earl of Perigord, the viscount de Carmaing, the earl of Comminges, the captal de Buch, sir Olivier de Clisson, the three brothers de Pommiers, sir John, sir Elias, and sir Edmund, the lords de Chaumont, and de Mucident, sir Robert Knolles, the lords de l'Esparre, de Condon, de Rosem, the souldich de la Trane,‡ sir Petiton de Courton, sir Aimery de Tarse, the lord de la Barde, sir Bertrand de Caude, the lord de Pincornet, sir Thomas Winstanley, sir Perducas d'Albret, the bastard de Breteuil, Nandon de Bagerant, Bertrand de la Salle, Ortingo, La Nuit, and all the other captains of the free companies, amounting to full ten thousand horse. They had much better weather than the preceding division which crossed on the Tuesday. All these different bodies of men-at-arms were encamped in the vale of Pampeluna, to recruit their horses. They remained in the country about Pampeluna (where they found abundance of provision, such as meat, bread, wine, and all sorts of food for themselves and horses) until the following Sunday.

I must say, that all these companies did not pay the demands which were made upon them; nor could they abstain from pillaging as heretofore; they also caused great disturbances in the country round Pampeluna, as well as on their march. The king of Navarre was much vexed at this; but better himself he could not: he repented more than once that he had ever consented to the passage of the prince and his army through his dominions, or that he had left unguarded the defiles; for there was more loss than profit by what he had done. This, however, was not the time to show what his thoughts were; for he was not then master of his own country. He daily received great complaints from his subjects on this head, which, though the circumstance grieved him much, he could not remedy. Nevertheless, he entreated the men-at-arms of the prince, by means of some of his principal barons, who had served longest with them in Normandy and in other places in France, that they would refrain from robbing the country in the manner they were doing, which they promised and engaged to do.

King Henry was duly informed of the march of the prince of Wales through Navarre, for he had his messengers and spies constantly upon the look-out. He was therefore increasing his forces as much as possible by earnest and kind entreaties to the knights of Castille (of which he had assumed the title of king) in order to have a sufficient army to resist the attack. He also impatiently expected the arrival of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with great reinforcements from France. He had besides issued special orders throughout the kingdom, to all his vassals, under pain of death, that each, according to his rank, should immediately come to his assistance, and defend the realm. This king Henry was much beloved, as the Castillians had exerted themselves in aiding him to drive don Pedro out of the kingdom: they therefore willingly obeyed his summons, and flocked in great numbers every day to the rendezvous he had appointed at St. Domingo de la Calçada. They amounted in all to upward of sixty thousand, as well horse as foot, ready to act for him, and resolved to live or die for his service.

Scenery of the Pyrenees on the French Side.—From an Original Sketch.

Upon king Henry having sure intelligence that the prince of Wales, with his whole army, had passed the straits of Roncesvalles, and was in the kingdom of Navarre, whence he was about to advance toward him, he knew that a battle must be the consequence. This seemed to give him great pleasure, and he said aloud: "The prince of Wales is a valiant and worthy knight; and in order that he may know that I am waiting for him, to defend my right, I will write him a part of my mind." He then called for a secretary, who advancing into his presence, "Write," said king Henry to him, "a letter in such terms as these:

"To the high, puissant, and honorable lord, the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine.

"My lord—We have been informed, that you have with an army passed the mountains, and have entered into treaties and alliances with our enemy, to make war upon and to harass us; all this has caused in us much astonishment; for we have not done anything, nor ever had the smallest hostile intentions against you, that should justify your advancing hitherward with a large army, to deprive us of the small inheritance which it has pleased God to give us. But as you are the most powerful and most fortunate prince of the age, we flatter ourselves and hope that you glorify yourself in it. Since we have received certain intelligence that you seek us in order to offer us battle, if you will have the goodness to inform us by what road your intentions are to enter Castille, we will advance to meet you, in order to guard and defend our realm. Given," &c.

When this letter was written, king Henry had it sealed, and calling his own herald to him, said: "Go thou as fast as possible, by the nearest road, to the prince of Wales, and give him from me this letter." The herald replied, "Willingly, my lord." He left the king, and taking the road to Navarre, came up to the prince; when, bending on his knee, he delivered to him the letter from king Henry. The prince made the herald rise, and taking the letter, opened it, and read it twice over, the better to understand it. When he had read, and considered a little its contents, he ordered part of his

* "Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier." Barnes calls him sir William Botelor, or Butler, of Oversley in Warwickshire; but I see no authority for it. Some of the other names I have altered from Barnes, as being probable: but lord Berners, who ought to have been better informed, keeps the very names in Froissart, who, from being a foreigner, might easily mistake them.

† Sir Thomas Banaster—fifty-sixth knight of the Garter.—See his life in Anstis's *Garter*.

‡ Souldich de la Trane. See Anstis.

council to be summoned, telling the herald to quit the place where the council was to be held.

When the council was assembled, he read again the letter, and explained it to them word for word; after which, he asked their advice upon it. While they were thinking what advice to give, the prince said: "This bastard is a gallant knight, and of good prowess; for he must be a valiant gentleman to write me such a letter." The prince and his council were a considerable time together, for they could not agree as to what answer they should send. They said to the herald: "My friend, you cannot yet set out on your return. When it shall suit my lord the prince, he will write back by you, and by no one else: you will, therefore, tarry with us until you have your answer, for the prince wishes it to be so." The herald answered, "Please God, it shall be as you say." He remained, therefore, with them quite at his ease.

The evening of the same day that the herald had brought this letter, sir William Felton came to the prince, and asked him a favor. The prince, who was ignorant what he wanted, demanded what favor he had to request: "My lord," replied sir William, "I entreat permission to quit the army, and make an excursion into the enemy's country; for I have many knights and squires under my command, as good men as myself, that are anxious to do something worthy of notice. I promise you, if you will permit us to ride forward, we will see what appearance the enemy makes, and where their quarters are." The prince immediately granted his request, as he was pleased with him for having made it. Sir William Felton left the prince's army, as the leader of this expedition, accompanied by the following knights: sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Thomas Hufford, sir Robert Knolles, sir Gaillard Viguier, sir Ralph Hastings, the earl of Angus, and several other knights and squires. They were in all one hundred and sixty lances well mounted, and three hundred archers. There were also with him, sir Hugh Stafford, sir Richard Causton, and sir Simon Burley, who are not men to be forgotten.

This body rode on through the kingdom of Navarre, under the direction of guides, who conducted them to the river Ebro, which, at Logrono, is very deep and rapid. They, however, advanced beyond it, and took up their quarters at a village called Navarretta:* there they halted, in order to be the better informed where king Henry was, and to learn the state of his army.

CHAPTER CCXXXVIII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE IS MADE PRISONER BY SIR OLIVIER DE MAUNY, A BRETON AND PARTISAN OF KING HENRY. THE PRINCE OF WALES ADVANCES TO SALVATIERRA, IN SPAIN. SIR WILLIAM FELTON SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY NEAR THE QUARTERS OF THE KING OF SPAIN. THE TWO ARMIES ADVANCE TOWARD EACH OTHER.

While all these things were going on, the knights remained at Navarretta, and the prince and his army in the country round Pampeluna. The king of Navarre, in riding from one town to another on the side where the French lay, was made prisoner by sir Olivier de Mauny. The prince and all the English were much astonished at it: some in the army thought it might have been done designedly, in order to prevent his accompanying the prince farther in this expedition, as he was uncertain what would be the issue of the business between king Henry and don Pedro.† Although there was no one who was not clear as to the cause of this capture, the lady his queen was much alarmed and dispirited at it. She cast herself at the feet of the prince, exclaiming, "For God's mercy, my dear lord, have the goodness to inquire about the king my lord, who has been treacherously made prisoner by some means unknown to us; and exert yourself in such manner that, through pity to us, and the love of God, we may have him back again." The prince courteously replied as follows: "Certainly, fair lady and cousin, this capture is highly displeasing to us; and we will provide shortly a remedy for it. I beg, therefore, you will not be cast down, but take comfort; for when once this expedition is over, he shall be delivered: this I faithfully promise, for I will attend to nothing else: immediately on our return, you shall have him restored to you."

The queen of Navarre then departed. But one of her noble knights, called don Martin de la Carra, undertook to conduct the prince through the kingdom of Navarre, and to procure guides for the army; otherwise they would not have been able to have found the roads, or the easiest passes through the mountains.

The prince broke up his encampment, and began his march. They came to a place called Echarriaranas, where they met with many difficulties; for it was a narrow pass, with very bad roads. In addition to this, there was a great scarcity of provision; for they found nothing on this road until they arrived at Salvatierra, which is a very good town, situated in a fertile and rich country according to the appearance of the adjoining lands.‡ This town of Salvatierra is on the confines of Navarre, on the road to Spain, and was attached to king Henry. The whole army spread itself over the country. The free companies advanced eagerly toward Salvatierra, in hopes to take it by assault and plunder it: they much wished to do so: for they had learnt there were great riches collected, which had been brought thither from all the neighborhood, confiding in the strength of its castle. The inhabitants of Salvatierra, however, were too wise to wait for this danger: they well knew they could not withstand the great army of the prince, if he should think proper to lead it against them: they came and surrendered themselves to don Pedro, craving his pardon, and presenting to him the keys of their town. By the advice of the prince, don Pedro forgave them, or they would have fared worse, for he wished to destroy them: however, they were all pardoned; and the prince, don Pedro, the king of Majorca, and the duke of Lancaster, entered the town, where they took up their quarters: the earl of Armagnac and the rest lodged themselves in the villages round about.

We will for a while leave the prince, to speak of that advanced corps which was in Navarretta. The before-named knights, who had remained there, were very desirous of distinguishing themselves: for they had advanced five days' march before their main army. They made frequent excursions from Navarretta to the country of their enemies, to find out where they lay and what they were doing. King Henry was encamped in the open plain, with his whole army. He was desirous of hearing some intelligence of the prince, and much surprised that his herald did not return.

His people made also daily excursions, to learn something of the English, and even advanced near to Navarretta; so that don Tello, brother to king Henry, was informed there was an enemy's garrison in that town; which made him resolve to go thither with a greater force, in a more regular manner, to see if what he had heard were true. But before this was done, it happened that the English knights made, one evening, so long an excursion, that they fell in with king Henry's quarters. A grand skirmish was the consequence, which threw the whole army into a great alarm. They slew some, and made several prisoners: in particular, the knight who commanded the guard was taken, without loss to themselves, and carried clear off. On the morrow, they sent a herald to the prince, who was at Salvatierra, to inform him what they had discovered. They told him the situation the enemy had chosen, and what numbers they consisted of; for they had obtained every information from their prisoners. The prince was delighted with this intelligence, and with the good success of his knights.

King Henry was much enraged that the English who were quartered at Navarretta should thus alarm his army, and said that he would advance toward them. He therefore decamped with all his army, designed to fix his quarters in the plains near Vittoria: he crossed the river* which runs near Navarretta, in order to march to that country.

Sir William Felton, as soon as he heard that don Henry had passed the river, and was on his march toward the prince, held a council of all the knights who were with him. They determined to quit their present quarters, and take the field in order to be satisfied of the truth in regard to the Spaniards. They therefore marched from Navarretta, sending information to the prince, that king Henry was advancing toward him in great force, and that, from appearances, he seemed desirous to meet him. When the prince received the news at Salvatierra, where he still was, that king Henry had crossed the river, and was on his march to meet him, he was right glad, and said aloud to those about him: "By my faith, this bastard is a bold and gallant knight, and shows great valor and enterprise in thus coming to seek us. Since he is as eager to find us as we are desirous of meeting him, it is most probable it will so happen, and a combat ensue. Our best way, therefore, will be to decamp hence immediately, in order to gain possession of Vittoria before our enemies."

The prince and his army marched from Salvatierra very early in the following morning, and halted at Vittoria, where he found sir William Felton and his party, whom he graciously entertained, asking them different questions. While they were thus discoursing, the scouts brought news that they had seen the scouts of the enemy, and were certain that king Henry and his whole army was not far distant, from the signals they had observed, and from the demeanor of the Spaniards. The prince, on hearing this, ordered the trumpets to sound an alarum through the army; which being heard, every man made for his post. They were all instantly drawn up in regular order of battle: for each man had been informed what he was to do before he had left Salvatierra, so that every man made directly for his banner. It was a noble sight to see so great a number of banners and pennons, ornamented with different arms.†

The vanguard was excellently well drawn up, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. With him were, sir John Chandos,

* A small village on the frontiers of Navarre.—Ed.

† This was a trick of the king of Navarre, thinking to exculpate himself for having suffered the prince of Wales to pass through his strong country; for he had, before his last treaty with the prince, entered into one of a contrary tendency with the king of Arragon and king Henry.

‡ According to the map of Spain by Jaillot, 1781, Salvatierra is in the division of Guipuscoa, in the principality of Biscay.

* I imagine this must be the Ebro; for by the map, there is no river that runs near Navarretta which it was necessary for don Henry to cross in his march from St. Domingo de la Calçada, where he was encamped, to Vittoria in Biscay.

Barnes says, don Henry advanced as far as St. Miguel to meet the English; but it is not so in my copies, nor can I find St. Miguel in my maps. It seems, however, probable, as Vittoria was far distant, and out of the line to Navarretta.

† Ther might have been seme great nobleness, and baners and penons beaten with armes waving in the wynde. What shulde I say more? It was great nobleness to beholde the vanward was so well ranged that it was marueyle to beholde.—Lord Berners.

constable of Aquitaine, with a great retinue, and in fine order. Many received the order of knighthood. The duke of Lancaster, in the vanguard, knighted as many as twelve: among whom were, sir Ralph Camois, sir Walter Loring, and sir Thomas Danvery. Sir John Chandos advanced some good squires to that honor in his division; such as Mr. Cotton, Mr. Clifton,* Mr. Prior, William Firmeton, Aimery de Rochechouart, Girard de la Motte and Robert Briquet.

The prince made also several knights; first, don Pedro, king of Spain, sir Thomas Holland, the son of the princess, his lady, sir Philip and Sir Denis Courtenay, sir John Covet, sir Nicholas Bond, and many more. The other lords bestowed similar honors on their battalions; so that there were upward of three hundred knights, who remained drawn up the whole day, waiting for their enemies, to give them battle, if they had advanced to them; but they did not come nearer than where the scouts were.

King Henry was expecting great reinforcements from Arragon; and he waited also for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was coming to his assistance with upward of four thousand combatants; for he was not desirous of engaging before their arrival. The prince was not displeased at this delay; for his rear-divisions, which consisted of more than six thousand men, were above seven country leagues behind. The prince was, during the whole time he lay before Vittoria, in the greatest anguish of mind at their being so long in coming up to him. Nevertheless, had the Spaniards thought proper to advance nearer them with the intent of offering battle, the prince, without waiting for this division, would not have refused the combat.

CHAPTER CCXXXIX.

THE ARRIVAL OF SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, TO THE AID OF KING HENRY. DON TELLO ATTACKS THE ADVANCED GUARD OF THE PRINCE OF WALES —DEFEATS SIR WILLIAM FELTON AND HIS BODY OF MEN.

When evening came, the two marshals, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, ordered every man to retire to his quarters; but, on the trumpets sounding on the morrow morning, they were all to take the field in the same position they had done before. Every one obeyed these orders, except sir William Felton and his company, whom I have before mentioned. They left the prince that same evening, and advanced farther into the country, to learn the state of the enemy: they took up their quarters about two leagues distant from their army.

Don Tello happening this very evening to be in his brother king Henry's tent, conversing on various topics, said to the king: "Sire, you know that our enemies are encamped very near us, and yet none of our men think of beating up their quarters. I therefore entreat you will give me permission to make an excursion toward them to-morrow morning, with a detached body of the army, who are well inclined: I promise you to advance so far that we will bring you back certain news of them, and what they are about." King Henry, observing the eagerness of his brother, wished not to baulk him, and gave his consent directly.

At this same hour, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with upward of four thousand fighting men, arrived at the army, from France and Arragon. The king was much rejoiced at this: he received them in the most honorable and gracious manner, as was becoming him to do. Don Tello was anxious not to let his plan sleep, but immediately mentioned it to several of his friends who he knew would join him. He would have done the same to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bègue de Villaines and the viscount de Roquebertin, if he had dared; but, as they were just arrived, he did not: besides, king Henry had forbidden him to speak to them on this subject. Don Tello, therefore, left them alone. Nevertheless, he had with him some French and Arragonian knights, who had been with the army the whole season: he had exerted himself so much that, in the whole, he had collected a body of more than six thousand horsemen, well mounted and accoutred. His brother, don Sancho, accompanied him.

At the first break of day, they were all ready mounted. They left the army, advancing in good order toward the quarters of the English. About sunrise, they met, in a valley, part of sir Hugh Calverly's company, with his baggage, who had slept about a league distant from the main army, and also sir Hugh himself. When the Spaniards and French perceived them, they immediately attacked and defeated them. The greater part were slain, and the baggage seized: but sir Hugh, who was behind, had taken another road: he was, however, seen, pursued, and forced to fly with all his attendants, as fast as they could, to the army of the duke of Lancaster. The Spaniards, who were upward of six thousand in one body, rode on, and made a violent assault upon the outskirts of the quarters of the vanguard, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. They began to shout, "Castille!" with loud cries, to overthrow tents, huts, and everything that came in their way, killing and wounding all that opposed them; so that when the vanguard heard this noise, the leaders as well as men were alarmed, and hastened to arm themselves and draw up before the lodgings of the duke of Lancaster, who was already armed, with his banner flying in front. The English and Gascons hurried to the field, each lord to his banner or pennon, according to the arrangements made at Salvatierra, supposing that they were instantly to have a general engagement.

The duke of Lancaster marched straight for a small hill: he was followed by sir John Chandos, the two marshals, and several other knights, who drew themselves up in order of battle. After a short time, the prince and don Pedro came thither, and, as they advanced, formed themselves in like manner.

Don Tello and his brother were also very desirous of gaining this eminence, it being a favorable position; but they were disappointed in their wishes, as you have just heard. When, therefore, they saw that they could not attempt it, without great risk, for the whole English army was in motion, they formed themselves into a compact body, to return to their own army, and thus retreated, marching in handsome array, and hoping to have some fortunate adventure ere they got home. Before they had retired, several gallant actions were performed; for some of the English and Gascons had quitted their ranks, to tilt with these Spaniards, many of whom they had unhorsed: but the main body of the English army remained upon the mountain, expecting a general engagement.

When the Spaniards, in their retreat from the prince's army, were approaching their own, they met the detached part of the English under the command of sir William Felton and his brother, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Richard Causton, the earl of Angus, and many more, who might amount in the whole to two hundred knights and squires, as well Gascons as English. They immediately charged them in a wide valley, shouting out, "Castille, for king Henry!" The above-named knights, perceiving they had but little chance of success against such superior numbers as the Spaniards were, comforted themselves the best they could, and, advancing into the plain, took possession of a small eminence, where they drew up in order of battle. The Spaniards marched toward them, and halted to consider what would be the most advantageous manner of fighting them.

Sir William Felton performed that day a most brilliant action: descending the hill full gallop, with his lance in its rest, he dashed into the midst of the Spaniards, when meeting a Spanish knight, he he drove his spear with such force, it passed through his armor, body and all, and threw him dead on the ground. Sir William was surrounded on all sides; but he fought as manfully as any knight could have done, and did them much mischief before they were able to bring him down. His brother and the other knights were witnesses, from the eminence, of his valor, and the gallant acts he was doing, as well as the peril he was in; but it was out of their power to assist him, without running every risk themselves. They remained, therefore, steadily upon the mountain in order of battle. The knight fought as long as his strength lasted, but in the end was unfortunately slain.

The French and Spaniards, after this, began to attack the English, and to endeavor to take them that had drawn themselves up on the hill. That day, many good actions were done. At one time, they made a general attack, and descended in a body upon their enemies; and then, wheeling suddenly about, they wisely regained their mountain, where they remained until high noon. Had the prince known their dangerous situation, he would have relieved them; but he was quite ignorant of it. They were therefore obliged to wait the issue of this business in the best way they could.

When the combat had been thus carried on, advancing and retreating, until the hour I have mentioned, don Tello, tired at their holding out so long, cried angrily aloud: "My lords, shall we remain here all the day, with this handful of men? By St. Jago, we ought to have swallowed them up before this time. Forward! forward! let us attack them in a better and more vigorous manner than before. One cannot gain anything without taking some pains." Upon hearing this, the Spaniards and French advanced courageously, mounted the hill, with their spears presented before them, in such close order and in such numbers, that the English could neither break nor force through them. Many valorous deeds were done on this mountain; for the English and Gascons defended themselves most valiantly, but, from the moment the Spaniards had gained the hill, they could not make any long resistance. They were all taken or slain; and not one of the knights escaped: only a few boys saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses, who returned to the army of the prince, which had all that day continued drawn up in battle array, in the expectation of an engagement.

CHAPTER CCXL.

SIR ARNOLD D'ANDREGHEN GIVES GOOD ADVICE TO KING HENRY OF CASTILLE. THE PRINCE OF WALES SENDS A TARDY ANSWER TO THE KING'S LETTER.

After having conquered the before-named knights, don Tello and don Sancho returned with their detachment in great joy to the army, and went in the evening to the quarters of king Henry. The two brothers who had been in this expedition made a present to the king of their prisoners, and related to him, in the presence of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen and others, how the day had passed, and what road they had taken; how they had first fallen in with the people of sir Hugh Calverly, whom they had slain or chased even to the army of the English: that they had beaten up the quarters of the duke of Lancaster, alarmed the whole army, and done much mischief: that upon their retreat they had met those knights,

* This name is given according to Barnes. Lord Berners says Clisson.—Ed.

whom they had taken prisoners. King Henry, who had listened to this account with great pride, replied most graciously to his brother, don Tello, and said: "Amiable brother, well have you performed your promise: I will reward you handsomely for it; and I feel, that all the rest of our enemies must ultimately come to this pass."

Sir Arnold d'Andreghen, on this, stepped forth and said: "Sire, sire, with your permission, I wish not to doubt your majesty's words, but to make an amendment by informing you, that when you shall meet the prince of Wales in battle, you will find men-at-arms such as they ought to be; for with him is the flower of chivalry of the whole world, and hardy and tough combatants: those who, in truth, would rather die on the spot than think of flying. It therefore behoves you to weigh maturely this point, before you determine: and, if you will believe what I am going to say, you may take them all, without striking a stroke. You have only to guard the passes and defiles, so that no provision can be brought them, when famine will do the business for you: they must then return back to their own country in disorder and spiritless, so that you may easily gain your object, and defeat them without striking a blow."

King Henry answered, "By the soul of my father, marshal, I have such a desire to see this prince, and to try my strength with him, that we will never part without a battle. Thank God, I have enow of men to assist me. In the first place, there are already in our army seven thousand men-at-arms, each mounted on a good courser, and so well covered with armor that they fear not the arrows of the archer. In addition, I have twenty thousand more, mounted on genets and armed from head to foot. I have besides forty thousand common soldiers, with lances, darts and shields, who will do much service, for they have all sworn they will rather die than leave me; so that, my lord marshal, I ought not to be afraid, but rather place great confidence in the power of God and of my men." Thus ended this conversation: wine and spices were brought in by some knights, of which the king and the lords present partook; and then they all retired to their quarters. The knights and squires who had that day been made prisoners, gave their oaths as such, and were put under the care of different knights.

We will return to the prince, to speak of his arrangements. He and the duke of Lancaster had remained in the position they had taken in the morning, until about vespers, when they were informed that their advanced detachment had been all taken or killed; at which they were much vexed, but they could not then amend it. They retired to their quarters, where they remained that night. On the morrow morning, they called a council, and determined to leave their present position, to advance more into the country. They decamped, and took up their quarters nearer to Vittoria, marching full armed, as if immediately to engage; for they had heard that king Henry and his brothers, with their army, were not far distant: however, they made no advances to meet them.

You must know, the prince and his brother were in great want of provision for themselves and their horses, as they had entered a very barren country, while king Henry and his army enjoyed a quite contrary situation. A loaf of bread, and of no great size, was sold in the prince's army for a florin; and many were very eager to pay this price, whenever they were able to get it. The weather was also extremely bad, with high wind, rain and snow; and in this miserable distressing plight they remained for six days.

When the prince and his lords found the Spaniards make no advances to offer them battle, and that their distress was great where they were, they held a council, and resolved to seek elsewhere for a passage over the Ebro. They therefore decamped, and took the road toward Navarretta, through a country called La Guardia, which having passed, they came to a town called Viana. There the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac and the other lords, halted two days, to refresh themselves. They then crossed the river which divides Castille from Navarre, at the bridge of Logrono, in the midst of gardens and olive trees. They found there a richer country than that which they had left; but even here they were much distressed for want of provision.

When king Henry was told that the prince and his army had crossed the Ebro at the bridge of Logrono, he left St. Miguel, where he had kept his quarters for a long time, advanced to Najarra upon the same river, and there encamped. News was soon brought to the prince of king Henry's approach. This gave him great joy; and he said aloud, "By St. George, this bastard proves himself a valiant knight, from the desire he shows to meet us in battle. We shall certainly soon see each other; for we cannot fail doing so much longer." He then summoned his brother, the duke of Lancaster, and some other barons of his council who were there, and wrote, with their advice, an answer to the letter which king Henry had sent to him, in the following terms:

"Edward, by the grace of God, prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, to the renowned Henry earl of Trastamare, who at this present time calls himself king of Castille:

"Whereas you have sent to us a letter by your herald, in which, among other things, mention is made of your desire to know why we have admitted to our friendship your enemy, our cousin the king don Pedro, and upon what pretext we are carrying on a war against you, and have entered Castille with a large army: in answer to this, we inform you, that it is to maintain justice and in support of reason, as it behoveth all kings to do, and also to preserve the firm alliances made by our lord the king of England, with the king don Pedro, in former times. But as you are much renowned among all good knights, we would wish, if it were possible, to make up these differences between you both; and we would use such earnest entreaties with our cousin, the king don Pedro, that you should have a large portion of the kingdom of Castille, but you must give up all pretensions to the crown of that realm, as well as to its inheritance. Consider well this proposition; and know further, that we shall enter the kingdom of Castille by whatever place shall be most agreeable to us. Written at Logrono, the 30th day of March, 1367."

When this letter was finished, folded up and sealed, it was given to the herald who had brought king Henry's, and who had waited for an answer for three weeks. He took his leave of the prince and the other lords, and rode on until he came to Navarretta, near to which place the king was encamped upon the heath. He made for the king's tent, followed by the principal lords of the army, who, having heard of the return of the herald, were anxious to know what news he had brought.

The herald, on his knees, presented the king the letter which the prince had sent by him. The king took and opened it, calling sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and some of the lords of his council, to its perusal. When the letter had been read and well considered, sir Bertrand du Guesclin thus spoke to king Henry: "Sire, be assured that very shortly you must have a battle: from what I know of the prince, I am convinced that it must be so. I therefore advise you to look well to this business, to order and arrange your men the best possible manner." "Sir Bertrand," replied king Henry, "in God's name so it shall be. I have no dread of the prince's army: for I have three thousand barbed horses, which will be on our two wings, seven thousand warders,* and upward of twenty thousand men-at-arms, the best that can be found in all Castille, Gallicia, Portugal, Cordova and Sicily, besides ten thousand cross-bows, and full forty† thousand foot, armed with lances, darts, swords and all sorts of weapons, who have sworn to die rather than desert me. I trust, therefore, sir Bertrand, that through God's grace, in whom I put my trust, we shall have the best of it, as well as from the justice of our right in this affair. I therefore entreat you all to be of good courage."

Thus the king and sir Bertrand conversed together, as well as on different subjects, laying aside all thoughts of the letter which the prince had sent, for king Henry was determined to have a battle. Don Tello and don Sancho began to draw up their men in proper order, and to busy themselves in preparing everything: they were much esteemed, for the success of their late expedition. But we must now return to the prince, and show how he was going on.

CHAPTER CCXLI.

THE BATTLE OF NAVARRETTA, WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES, SUPPORTING THE PART OF KING DON PEDRO AGAINST HIS BROTHER THE BASTARD, GAINS. SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER, AND KING HENRY FORCED TO FLY, AFTER HAVING FOUGHT MOST VALIANTLY.

On Friday, the 2nd of April, the prince decamped from Logrono, where he and all his army had halted. He marched in order of battle, as if an engagement were on the point of commencing; for he knew that king Henry was not far distant. After having marched about two leagues, he arrived before the town of Navarretta, about nine o'clock, where he took up his quarters. As soon as they had dismounted, the prince sent his scouts, to observe the countenance of the enemy and where they lay. These scouts, being mounted on the best of horses, left the army, and advanced until they saw the whole of the Spanish force encamped upon the heaths beyond Navarretta: they instantly informed the prince of this, who was very glad to hear it. Toward evening he gave out secret orders for the army to hold itself in readiness at the first sound of his trumpet: that at the second sound it should arm, and on the third mount, and immediately follow the banners of the marshals and the pennon of St. George; and that no one, under pain of death, should break his rank, without being ordered so to do.

King Henry had done exactly as the prince of Wales, and had sent out his scouts on this Friday evening, to learn the condition of the prince's army, what appearance they made, and where they were quartered. Those sent brought back true intelligence: upon hearing it, the king and sir Bertrand held a consultation on the subject. They made their men sup and go to bed very early, that they might be more fresh and hearty by midnight, when they were commanded to make themselves ready, arm, and take the field in battle-array; for they well knew that a battle must ensue on the morrow. The Spaniards, therefore, made themselves merry, for they had wherewithal largely to do so: but the English were in the greatest want of provision; for which reason they were anxious to fight‡.

The trumpets of king Henry sounded at midnight: on which, his whole army was on foot: at the second blast, they left their tents,

* This word in D. Sauvage is "guetteurs"—a warder, a watcher, or a spy: this is not very intelligible. Lord Berners says *gentcours*, that is, men mounted on the light Spanish horses called *genets*.—Ed.

† D. Sauvage and Lord Berners say *sixty*.—Ed.

‡ They had great desyre to fight *outher to wynne or to lese all*.—Lord Berners.

took the field, and formed in three battalions. The first battalion was commanded by sir Bertrand du Guesclin and sir Robert de Roquebertin, a viscount of Arragon. Under him were all the foreigners, as well from France as from other countries; among whom were two barons from Hainault, the lord d'Antoing and sir Alard lord de Brisueil. There was also in this division the bègue de Villaines, the bègue de Villiers, sir John de Bergettes, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, l'Allemant de Saint Venant, who was there created a knight, with many other knights from Arragon, France, Provence, and the neighboring countries. There were in this battalion full four thousand knights and squires, excellently armed, and drawn up according to the French manner.

Don Tello and his brother don Sancho commanded the second division. There were under them twenty-five thousand lancemen, as well on horse as on foot,* who drew up a little behind the division of sir Bertrand, on his left hand.

The third, and largest battalion without comparison, was commanded by king Henry himself. There were in it, and drawn up in array, upward of seven thousand horsemen and forty† thousand infantry among the cross-bowmen.

When they were thus formed, king Henry mounted a handsome and strong mule, according to the custom of his country, and rode through the ranks, paying his compliments to the lords, graciously entreating them to exert themselves this day in defending his honor, and pointing out to every one of them what they were to do with so much cheerfulness and good-humor, that they were all in high spirits. After he had thus visited his army, he returned to his own battalion. It was soon broad day. About sunrise, they began their march toward Navarretta, in order of battle, to meet and engage the enemy.

The prince of Wales, as it has been before related, drew up his army in the manner he intended they should engage, while he lay before Vittoria, when the enemy did not appear according to his expectations. He had not since then made any alterations concerning it, and had always marched in this order. At break of day, therefore, the prince's army took the field, marching in battle-array, as expecting to meet the Spaniards. No one advanced before the battalion of the marshals excepting those who received orders, as scouts; and the two leaders, as well as both the armies, knew, from the intelligence of the scouts, that they should shortly meet; they therefore marched forward with a gentle pace.

When the sun was risen it was a beautiful sight to view these battalions, with their brilliant armor glittering with its beams. In this manner, they nearly approached to each other. The prince, with a few attendants, mounted a small hill, and saw very clearly the enemy marching straight toward them. Upon descending this hill, he extended his line of battle in the plain, and then halted. The Spaniards, seeing the English had halted, did the same in order of battle; then each man tightened his armor, and made ready as for instant combat.

Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions, with his banner uncased in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying: "My lord, here is my banner: I present it to you, that I may display it in whatever manner shall be most agreeable to you; for thanks to God, I have now sufficient lands to enable me so to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold." The prince, don Pedro being present, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules on a field argent: after having cut off the tail to make it square, he displayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, said: "Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you strength and honor to preserve it.‡"

Upon this, sir John left the prince, went back to his men with the banner in his hand, and said to them: "Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as it becomes you." His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulness, that "if it pleased God and St. George, they would defend it well, and act worthily of it, to the utmost of their abilities." The banner was put into the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry, who bore it with honor that day, and loyally acquitted himself in the service. The English and Gascons soon after dismounted on the heath, and assembled very orderly together, each lord under his banner or pennon, in the same battle array as when they passed the mountains.

It was delightful to see and examine these banners and pennons, with the noble army that was under them. The two armies began to move a little, and to approach nearer each other; but, before they met, the prince of Wales, with eyes and hands uplifted toward heaven, exclaimed: "God of truth, the Father of Jesus Christ, who has made and fashioned me, condescend, through thy benign grace, that the success of the battle of this day may be for me and my army; for thou knowest, that in truth I have been solely emboldened to undertake it in the support of justice and reason, to reinstate this king upon his throne, who has been disinherited and driven from it, as well as from his country." After these words, he extended his right arm, took hold of don Pedro's hand, who was by his side, and added, "Sir king, you shall this day know whether you will have anything in the kingdom of Castille or not." He then cried out, "Advance, banners, in the name of God and St. George!"

As he said this, the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos came up to him. The duke said to sir William Beauchamp: "William, there are our enemies; you shall see me this day act like a true knight, or die for it." At these words, the two armies advanced. The first conflict was between the battalion of the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos and that of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the marshal d'Andreghen, who had under them four thousand men-at-arms. At its commencement, there was a terrible medley of spears and shields. They were in this situation a considerable time before they could make any opening into each other. Many gallant deeds were performed, and many a knight unhorsed, who could not again raise himself.

When these two divisions were thus engaged, the others were not willing to remain idle, but advanced to the combat with eagerness. The prince of Wales, accompanied by the king don Pedro of Castille, and don Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre, charged the division which was commanded by don Tello and don Sancho. But it seems that, as the prince and his battalion were on the point of engaging, a sudden panic seized don Tello, so that he wheeled about, and fled in disorder without striking a blow, carrying with him two thousand cavalry of his division. No one knew how to account for this conduct. This second division was no sooner broken than it was discomfited; for the captal de Buch and the lord de Clisson, quitting the battalion of the earl d'Armagnac with their men, fell upon them, and slew and wounded immense numbers. The prince and don Pedro, upon this, advanced to the division commanded by king Henry, in which there were at least forty thousand men, as well on foot as on horseback. The fight now began in earnest on all sides; for the Spaniards and Castillians had slings, from which they threw stones with such force as to break helmets and scull-caps, so that they wounded and unhorsed many of their opponents. The English archers, according to their custom, shot sharply with their bows, to the great annoyance and death of the Spaniards. On one side, there were shouts of "Castille, for king Henry!" on the other, "St. George, for Guienne!"

During this time, the first battalion, commanded by the duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, and the two marshals, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, was warmly engaged with that of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the other knights from Arragon and France. Many valorous actions were done; and each tried his strength to open a passage through the enemy. Several fought with their spears in both hands, with which they dealt about lustily their blows; others made use of short swords and daggers. At the commencement the French and Arragonians made a desperate resistance, and gave the good knights of England much trouble.

Sir John Chandos showed himself an able knight, and performed many gallant deeds under his banner; but, in his eagerness in fighting and driving his enemies before him, he was so far engaged as to be surrounded, and in the crowd unhorsed. A large man of Castille, called Martin Ferrand, who was much renowned for courage among the Spaniards, threw himself upon him with a determined resolution to kill him, and kept him down in the greatest danger. Sir John, however, bethought himself of a knife he had in his bosom, which he drew, and struck so well with it this Martin in the sides and back that he gave him his death-blow as he was lying under him: he then turned him over, and rose up as speedily as he could: his people were now all ready about him, for they had with great difficulty broken through the crowd to come to the place where he had fallen.

It was on a Saturday, in the morning, between Najarra and Navarretta, that this severe and bloody battle was fought, in which multitudes of men were slain. In this engagement many were the brilliant actions performed by the prince of Wales, his brother the duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the captal de Buch, the lords de Clisson and de Raix, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons and de Partenay. On the other hand, among the Gascons, the lords d'Armagnac, d'Albret, de Pommiers and his two brothers, de Mucident, de Rosem, the earls de Perigord, de Comminges, de Carmain, the lords de Condon, de l'Esparre, de Chaumont, de Pincornet, Bartholomew de Cande, de Geronde, sir Bernard d'Albret, sir Aimery de Tarse, the souldich de l'Estrade, sir Petiton de Courton, with many other knights and squires, gave equal proofs of gallantry.

* Lord Berners says, "In that battayle *with the gentlemen* there were *fifteen thousand* a fote and a horsebacke." D. Sauvage here uses the word *Gentaires* instead of *guetteurs*, but no reason appears for Mr Johnes's omitting it altogether. The difference in the numbers is remarkable. D. Sauvage had this note in the margin: "The abridgments say *sixteen* thousand; but Sala adds *horses* only; and La Chaux, simply *men*.—Ed.

† Lord Berners and D. Sauvage both say *sixty*.—Ed.

‡ This ceremony gave Chandos the rank of Knight Banneret, which it is surprising that he, who had seen so many stricken fields, had not received before. This order of knighthood was the most honorable, being conferred only on the field of battle. All the treatises on heraldry say that it must be conferred *after* the battle, although in this case we see an instance of its being obtained before the fight, the strict rule being probably waived in consideration of the knight's former fields. It is generally supposed that this order, which took precedence of all others below barons, and whose members were anciently called to parliament by summons, originated in the reign of Edward I., but Edmondson in his Body of Heraldry says they were first created in 736; he does not however quote any authority in support of his assertion. The order was hereditary in France, but in England endured only for life. Knights Bannerets were allowed to bear arms with supporters, which is denied to all others under the degree of a baron. The last Knight Banneret created in England was sir John Smith, who was advanced to the dignity after the battle of Edgehill for rescuing the royal standard; he was slain in battle at Alresford in Hampshire.—Ed.

Under the pennon of St. George, and attached to the banner of sir John Chandos, were the free companies, who had in the whole twelve hundred streamers.* Among them were good and hardy knights and squires, whose courage was proof; namely, sir Robert Cheney, sir Perducas d'Albret, Robert Briquet, sir Garsis du Chastel, sir Gaillard Viguier, sir John Charnels, Nandon de Bagerant, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, le bourg de Breteuil, Espiote, and several others. I must therefore say, that sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, don Sancho, don Gomez Garilz,† and the French and Arragonian knights who had engaged with this battalion, did not find themselves the better for it, as these companies were composed of tried men, who had been long accustomed to arms.

There were besides many other knights and squires from England, under the banners of the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos; among whom were sir William Beauchamp, son to the earl of Warwick, sir Ralph Camois, sir Walter Urswick, sir Thomas de Demery, sir John Grandison, sir John Draper, sir John du Pré, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, sir Gaillard de la Motte, and upward of two hundred other knights whom I am not able to name.

To say the truth, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the marshal d'Andreghen, le bègue de Villaines, the lords d'Antoing and de Briseuil, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, sir John de Bergettes, le bègue de Villiers, l'Allemand de St. Venant, and the good knights who were then from France, acquitted themselves most valiantly: truly, had the Spaniards as well performed their parts, the English and Gascons would have suffered more than they did.

Those who were near king Henry did their duty like men; for he had before entreated of them to behave courageously. He himself set the example, and performed such valorous acts as gave courage to all around him. He advanced before those who were beginning to give way and fly, calling to them: "My lords, I am your king. You have placed me upon the throne of Castille, and have sworn that you would die sooner than forsake me. For the love of God preserve your oaths sacred which you have sworn to me, and behave yourselves handsomely in my cause. I will acquit myself toward you, for I will not fly one step as long as I shall see you combating by my side." By these words, or others of a similar tendency, did king Henry thrice bring back his men to the combat. He himself behaved so valiantly, that he ought to be much honored and respected. This battle was fought with great perils: many were slain, wounded, and put to flight.

The Spanish commonalty made use of slings, to which they were accustomed, and from which they threw large stones which at first much annoyed the English; but when their first cast was over, and they felt the sharpness of the English arrows, they kept no longer any order. King Henry had in his battalion a large number of good men-at-arms, as well from Spain as from Lisbon, Arragon, and Portugal, who acquitted themselves exceedingly well, and did not give up so easily, but fought very courageously with lances and guisarmes,‡ pikes, and swords. He had also upon his two wings bodies of lancemen, mounted on excellent coursers, who kept up the courage of his division; for when they saw any part of it likely to be broken, or willing to give way, they galloped up to them, and drove them back. The English and Gascons had not much advantage here, but what they gained from their experience and by dint of deeds of prowess and vigor. The prince had indeed with him the flower of chivalry, and there were under him the most renowned combatants in the whole world.

A little to the right of the battalion of the prince was the king of Majorca and his company, who fought vigorously, and exerted themselves to the best of their power. On the other hand was don Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre, and did his duty well. I cannot particularize all that were deserving of notice; but the prince had in his division many well-famed knights from England and Gascony: namely, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Thomas Despenser, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nêle Loring, sir Hugh and sir Philip Courtenay, sir John Combes, sir Nicholas Bond, sir Thomas Combes, and several others, such as the séneschal of Saintonge, sir Baldwin de Franville, the high stewards of Bordeaux, of la Rochelle, of Poitou, of Angoulême, of Rouergue, of Limousin, of Perigord, sir Louis de Marnel, sir Raymond d'Ondueil, and many more. All these you must know fought in earnest, as indeed they had need to do: for the Spaniards and Castillians were near one hundred thousand men in arms, so that their great numbers kept up their courage: there could not but be among them many who fought well and did their utmost.

The king don Pedro was much heated, and very anxious to meet his brother the bastard: he galloped about, calling out, "Where is this son of a whore who calls himself king of Castille?" King Henry was engaged in another part of the field, where he fought manfully, and kept up the courage of his men, as well as he could, by his speeches to them; he said, "My good people, you have made me your king, and have crowned me: help me to defend the inheritance which you have given to me." By such words as these which he every now and then addressed to them, many were so bold and valorous that for their honor they fell on the spot, disdaining to fly.

The division on the side of the Spaniards which behaved the best, and was also the best fought with, was that commanded by sir Bertrand du Guesclin; for there were on both sides true men-at-arms, who exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities. Many gallant deeds were performed by them. Sir John Chandos distinguished himself particularly. He governed, that day, the duke of Lancaster, in the same manner he had done the prince of Wales at the battle of Poitiers; for which he was exceedingly praised and honored, as was indeed but just; when such a valiant and good knight thus acquits himself toward his lords, he is worthy of honor and respect. Sir John, therefore, during the day, never thought of making any prisoners with his own hand, but was solely occupied in fighting and pushing forward. However, many good knights and squires from Arragon, France, and Brittany, were made prisoners by his people, and under his banner: particularly sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bègue de Villaines, with upward of sixty knights; consequently the battalion of sir Bertrand was discomfited. All those who had come thither from France and Arragon were either slain or taken. Among the slain was the bègue de Villiers. The lord d'Antoing in Hainault, the lord de Briseuil, sir Gauvin de Bailleul, sir John de Bergettes, sir l'Allemand de St. Venant, with many others, were made prisoners.

Upon this the banners and pennons, that is to say, the banner of the duke of Lancaster, the banner of sir John Chandos, the banner of the two marshals, and the pennon of St. George and others, returned toward the division which was commanded by king Henry, shouting out, "St. George, for Guienne!" Upon this the Spaniards, and those who supported them, were repulsed. On one side, was seen the captal de Buch and the lord de Clisson manfully engaged: on another, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly, the souldich de l'Estrade, and sir John Devereux, showed themselves good knights.

The prince shone prëeminently: he proved his noble birth, and the gallantry of his knighthood, by his eagerness to seek his enemies, and bravely fighting with them.

On the other hand, king Henry acquitted himself right valiantly in every situation: he more than once rallied his men to the combat; for when they saw don Tello take flight, accompanied by two thousand men, they began to be cast down, and the greater part of them were so much frightened, that they were willing to follow his example; but king Henry galloping up to the foremost, said, "My good lords, what are you doing? why would you thus seek to abandon and betray me? you who have chosen me for your king, and placed the crown of Castille upon my head, giving me the inheritance of it? Return back, and help me to guard, defend, and maintain it: remain steady near to me, for, through God's grace, the day shall still be ours" By such speeches as these, he encouraged many, and caused them to fight boldly: they could not for shame fly, when they saw their king and lord act himself so vigorously in the combat, and address such friendly words to them. More than fifteen hundred persons lost their lives by this management, who would otherwise have been saved by taking advantage of a favorable opportunity, if it had not been for their love of the king.

After the defeat of the battalion of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the marshal d'Andreghen, when all the divisions of the prince were formed into one large body, the Spaniards could no longer keep their ground, but began to fly in great disorder, much frightened, toward the town of Najarra,* and to cross the river which runs by it: in spite of everything king Henry could say, they would not rally nor return to the fight.

When king Henry perceived that his army was totally defeated, without hopes of recovery, he called for his horse, mounted it, and galloped among the crowd of runaways, but was careful not to take the road either to Najarra or to the river: for he wished not to be surrounded; he followed another road, to avoid every danger; in which he acted wisely, as he was fully aware that, if he should be made prisoner, he would be slain without mercy. The English and Gascons now mounted their horses, and went in pursuit of the Spaniards, who were flying in dismay, as far as Najarra. There was much slaughter and effusion of blood at the entrance of the bridge: many were killed and drowned: for great numbers leaped into the river, which was both rapid and deep, preferring the being drowned to being murdered.

In this flight, there were two valiant men of Spain, knights at arms, who wore, however, the dress of monks: one was called the grand prior of St. Jago, the other the grand master of the order of Calatrava: they and their attendants threw themselves for safety into the town of Najarra, but were so closely pursued by the English and Gascons, who were at their heels, that they won the bridge with great slaughter, and entered the town with them. They took pos-

* "Pennonceaux"—the *pansels*, as lord Berners calls them, or flags attached to the lance of a *knight*: they were in the form of a swallow's tail, and when the points were cut off, as in the case of sir John Chandos, the flag became a *banner*, and its master a leader, with *knights* as well as squires under his particular guidance.—Ed.

† "Gomez Garilz." Gomez Carillo di Quintano.—Dillon's *Peter the Cruel*.

‡ Guisarme—"a kind of offensive long handled and long headed weapon; or as the Spanish *visarma* a staff that hath within it two long spikes, which, with a shoot or thrust forward, came forth.—Cotgravl's *Dictionary*.

* D. Sauvage will have it Navarretta; but I think it must be Najarra, for they would never run away toward Navarretta, but on the contrary toward their own homes. The battle was fought between Najarra and Navarretta. A river runs by Najarra, none by Navarretta. The Ebro is not far distant; but, if they had crossed that river, there would have been mention made of Logrono: and besides, they would then have been in an enemy's country.

session of a strong house, which was well built with worked stone: but this was soon gained, the knights taken, many of the people killed, and the whole town pillaged. The English and Gascons gained considerable riches: they went to the lodgings of king Henry and the other Spanish lords, where the first comers found quantities of plate and jewels; for king Henry and his army had come thither with much splendor, and after the defeat had not leisure to return to place in security what they had left behind them in the morning.

The defeat was very complete and dreadful, especially upon the banks of this river, where numbers were slain. Some said, as I have heard from those who were there, that the river below Najarra was tinged with the blood of men and horses there killed. This battle was fought between Najarra and Navarretta, in Spain, on Saturday the third day of April, in the year of our Lord 1367.

CHAPTER CCXLII.

ALL CASTILLE, AFTER THE BATTLE OF NAVARRETTA, ACKNOWLEDGES DON PEDRO. HE PROTRACTS THE STAY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT VALLADOLID, WHILE HE SEEKS FOR MONEY TO PAY THE ARMY.

After this defeat at the battle of Navarretta, which was completed before noon, the prince of Wales ordered his banner to be fixed in a bush, on a small eminence, as a rallying-point for his men, on their return from the pursuit of the enemy. The duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, the lord de Clisson, the captal de Buch, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret and the other barons came thither; their banners were displayed to assemble their men, who formed themselves under them as they returned. The lord James, king of Majorca, was there, with his banner before him: his men collected themselves. A little higher was don Martin de la Carra, with the banner of his lord, the king of Navarre. In similar order were all the other earls and barons drawn up; so that it was a beautiful sight to look at and contemplate.

The king, don Pedro, came thither in a great heat from the pursuit, mounted upon a black courser, with his banner, emblazoned with the arms of Castille, borne before him: he dismounted as soon as he perceived the banner of the prince, and advanced toward it. When the prince saw him coming, he hastened, out of respect, to meet him. Don Pedro would have cast himself on his knees, to return thanks to the prince, but he would not suffer it, and took him by the hand; upon which don Pedro said: "Dear and fair cousin, I owe you many thanks and praises for the event of this day, which I have gained through your means." The prince replied: "Sir, render your thanks to God; for to him alone belongs the praise: the victory comes from him, and not from me."

The lords of the council of the prince were now assembled, and conversed on different matters. The prince remained there so long that all his men were returned from the pursuit, when he ordered four knights, with as many heralds, to search the field of battle, and see what men of rank had been killed; and also to know of a truth what was become of king Henry called the Bastard, if he were among the dead or not, for at that time they knew nothing certain about him. After having given these orders, the prince and his barons descended toward the quarters of king Henry and the Spaniards. The army, according to orders, spread itself abroad among the tents of the enemy, where they found plenty of every sort of provision, from the want of which they had so lately suffered. They made themselves very comfortable, and supped with great joy. After supper, the knights and heralds who had been sent to examine the field of battle, returned, and reported, from the account they had taken, that only five hundred and sixty men-at-arms lay dead; that they had not found the body of king Henry, which was displeasing information to don Pedro. Among the dead, they had only found four knights of their party; two of whom were Gascons, one a German, and the other an Englishman. But of the commonalty they said there were about seven thousand five hundred dead, without counting those drowned, the numbers of whom they were ignorant of; and of their own party about forty common men.

They reposed themselves this Saturday night at their ease; they were well enabled to do so, from the great plenty of provision and wine they had met with. They remained there the whole of the ensuing day, which was Palm-Sunday, to refresh themselves.

On that morning, about six o'clock, when the prince was risen and dressed, he came forth from his tent, and the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, the lord de Pommiers, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the king of Majorca, with a great number of knights and squires, advanced to pay their respects to him. Soon afterwards, the king don Pedro came thither, to whom the prince paid every respect and honor. Don Pedro, having saluted him, said: "Dear lord and fair cousin, I entreat and beseech you, as a mark of your friendship, that you will have the kindness to deliver up to me the traitors to my country, especially my brother Sancho the bastard, and the others, that I may cut off their heads; for they have done me much injury."

The prince of Wales, after having considered for a moment the request which don Pedro had just made him, answered: "Sir king, I have also a request to make you; and I beg of you, in the name of our friendship and connection, that you will not deny it to me." Don Pedro, who could refuse him nothing, assented, saying: "My lord and fair cousin, whatever I have is yours." Upon which the prince replied: "Sir king, I entreat and beg of you to pardon all the ill which your rebellious subjects have done against you. You will do an act of kindness and generosity, and will by this means remain in peace in your kingdom. But I except from this amnesty Gomez Garilz; for I am willing you should do with him as best pleases you."

The king don Pedro granted this favor, though much against his inclination: he dared not refuse it, feeling himself under so many obligations: he therefore answered, "Fair cousin, I will grant your request." All the Spanish prisoners who were in the army of the prince were then sent for, and he gave them up to the king don Pedro, their lord. The king kissed the earl don Sancho, his brother, and forgave him all his misdeeds toward him, as well as all the others, on condition that they would swear fealty, homage, and service, and would become his vassals, and acknowledge him for their lord.

This courtesy and much more did the prince to don Pedro, who but very little remembered them, as you will see in the continuation of this history. He made very liberal presents to the barons of Spain who had been his prisoners. If the king could have had them given up to him, in his rage he would infallibly have put them all to death. Gomez Garilz was delivered up to him; for whom he would not hear of any ransom, so much did he hate him, but had him beheaded before his eyes, on the outside of the tent. After this, don Pedro mounted on horseback, attended by his brother don Sancho, and all those who were again become his subjects, with the two marshals of the prince, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, and upward of five hundred men-at-arms; they set out from the army of the prince, and rode toward Burgos, where they arrived on the Monday morning.

The inhabitants of Burgos, who had been informed of the defeat of king Henry, had neither the will nor inclination to shut themselves up in the town, to hold out against their prince. The richest and principal persons of the city went out of the gates, to present the keys to don Pedro, whom, after acknowledging for their lord, they conducted with all his company, in great pomp and solemnity, into the city of Burgos.

The prince remained all Sunday in his newly-acquired quarters. On Monday, after vespers, he and his army decamped, and marched to Villorado, where he halted until the Wednesday following, when he marched to Burgos. The prince entered the town in great parade. With him were the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac, and others of the principal lords. The army encamped in the plains without the town, in which there was not room to quarter them comfortably. The prince visited his army every day during its encampment on the plain; for his tent was there pitched, and he gave judgment concerning arms and all things thereunto belonging; he there kept the field and wager of battle; so that one may truly say, all Spain was for some days under his command.

The prince of Wales and the king don Pedro celebrated the festival of Easter in the city of Burgos, where they tarried upward of three weeks. On Easter-day, the deputies from Asturias, Leon, Cordova, Seville, and from all the other towns and provinces dependent on the crown of Castille, came to Burgos to do homage to don Pedro. That loyal knight of Castille, don Ferdinand de Castro, came also thither to pay his respects, whom they handsomely entertained, and were happy in seeing.

When the king don Pedro had resided in Burgos rather more than the time I have mentioned, and had learnt from exact information that the rebellion was at an end, all having returned to their allegiance, the prince of Wales, in order to satisfy his army, and to act conformably to what was becoming him, said to the king: "Sir king, you are now, thanks to God, king and lord over your country: all rebellion and opposition to you are at an end: we therefore remain here at such very great expense, that I must desire you will provide yourself with money sufficient to pay those who have replaced you in your kingdom, and that you now fulfil all the articles of the treaties which you have sworn and sealed to perform. We shall feel ourselves obliged by your so doing, and as speedily as it may be possible, which may be the more profitable to you; for you know that men-at-arms will live, and, if they be not paid, will help themselves." The king don Pedro replied as follows: "Sir cousin, we will punctually perform, as far as shall be in our loyal power, whatever we have promised and sworn to: but at this moment we have no money: we will therefore set out for Seville and its environs, and will there collect a sufficiency to satisfy every one. If you will march to Valladolid, which is a fertile country, we will return to you, as soon as it shall be in our power, but at the latest by Whitsuntide."

This answer was agreeable to the prince and his council. The king don Pedro left the prince abruptly, and went to Seville with the intention of procuring money. The prince marched to Valladolid, where he fixed his quarters. The army was spread over the country about that town, in order to find provision for themselves and horses; they continued there with little profit to the peasants, for the companies could not refrain from pillaging.

News was immediately carried through France, England, Germany, and other countries, that the prince of Wales had defeated

king Henry (who was himself either taken, drowned, or slain,) with upward of a hundred thousand men, in a regular battle. The prince was therefore the more honored and renowned for it wherever true knighthood and deeds of enterprise were esteemed, particularly in the empire of Germany and in England. The Germans, Flemings, and English declared the prince of Wales was the mirror of knighthood, and that such a prince was worthy of governing the whole world, who, by personal prowess, had gained three glorious victories: the first at Crecy in Ponthieu, the second at Poitiers ten years afterwards, and the third in Spain at Najarra. The citizens of London made solemn shows, triumphs, and feasts, for this victory; such as were formerly done in honor of their kings, who had taken a town or defeated their enemies.

But in France, there was much lamentation for the knights of that kingdom, who had been either slain or made prisoners; more especially for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, and several others, who, however, were courteously treated, and some immediately set at liberty on their ransom. Sir Bertrand had not his freedom so soon; for sir John Chandos, whose prisoner he was, being unwilling to consent to it, sir Bertrand was not over-pressing on the subject.

We will now speak a little of king Henry, what became of him after his flight from the battle, and then return to the prince of Wales and king don Pedro of Castille.

CHAPTER CCXLIII.

KING HENRY OF CASTILLE HAVING ESCAPED FROM THE BATTLE OF NAJARRA, MAKES WAR UPON AQUITAINE. THE PRINCE OF WALES LEAVES SPAIN, DISCONTENTED WITH THE KING DON PEDRO.

KING HENRY, as has been before related, escaped the best way he could, and leaving his enemies behind him, conducted his wife and children as quickly as he was able to the city of Valencia, where the king of Arragon resided, who was his godfather and friend: to him he related the ill success of the battle. Upon considering the state of his affairs, he determined to make a long journey, and visit the duke of Anjou, who was then at Montpellier, to tell him of his misfortunes.

The king of Arragon approved of this plan, and consented to his leaving him, because the duke was an enemy to the prince of Wales, who was his too near neighbor. King Henry then departed from the king of Arragon, leaving his wife and children in the city of Valencia. Pursuing his journey, he passed through Narbonne, which is the first city of the realm of France on that side; then through Beziers, and that country, until he arrived at Montpellier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who loved him much and as cordially hated the English, though he was not at war with them.

The duke, who had before heard of his ill fortune, received king Henry in the handsomest manner and comforted him by every means in his power. He remained with him some time, and then set out for Avignon, to visit pope Urban V., who was about to depart for Rome, which he shortly afterwards did. King Henry then returned to Montpellier, to the duke of Anjou, when some treaties were entered into between them. It was related to me, by those who at the time thought themselves well informed of what was going on (and there is every appearance from ensuing circumstances that it was true,) that king Henry bought or borrowed of the duke of Anjou, a castle near Toulouse, upon the borders of the principality; which castle was called Roquemaure.* He there assembled some of the free companies, such as Bretons and others, who had not followed the prince into Spain: they amounted, at this commencement, to three hundred.

News was immediately dispatched to the princess of Wales, who had remained at Bordeaux, that king Henry was seeking for assistance, and making preparations on all sides, to wage war upon the principality and the duchy of Guienne. She was much astonished on hearing it; but, since he was upon the territories belonging to the crown of France, she sent special embassadors to the king of France, to entreat he would not suffer the bastard of Spain to make war upon her, nor to have any support from France to carry such designs into effect, for too serious evils would arise from it.

The king of France immediately assented to the request of the princess: he sent messengers in haste to the bastard Henry (who still remained in the castle of Roquemaure, near to Montauban, and who had already begun to make war upon Aquitaine and the territories of the prince,) commanding him as he was a resident in his kingdom, not to wage war on the principality of his dear nephew the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine. To give greater weight to these orders, and as an example for his subjects not to form any alliance with the bastard Henry, he sent the young earl of Auxerre to prison in the castle of the Louvre in Paris, because he had entered into treaties with king Henry, and as it was said, was to join him with a large body of men-at-arms: the king of France made him give up this expedition, and dissolve the connection.

King Henry paid obedience to the orders of the king of France, as it was natural he should: but for all this he did not think the less of his attempt. He departed from the castle of Roquemaure, with about four hundred Bretons, having for his allies the following knights and squires: sir Arnold de Limousin, sir Geoffry Ricons, sir Pons de Laconet, Silvester Budes, Aliot de Calais,* and Alain de St. Pol. These men-at-arms, Bretons as well as others, advanced into the territories of the prince, and galloping boldly through the mountains, entered the principality by Bigorre, and took by escalade a town called Bagnieres.† They repaired and fortified it very strongly; whence they made irruptions on the territories of the prince, to which they did much mischief. But the princess sent after them sir James Audley, who had remained as governor in Aquitaine, to guard the country. Notwithstanding this, king Henry and the Bretons did a great deal of damage; for his army was continually increasing.

We will now return to the prince of Wales and his army, who had been encamped at Valladolid and its environs waiting for the return of don Pedro.

The prince had continued at Valladolid until after the feast of St. John the Baptist, expecting don Pedro, who did not return, nor could he learn any certain tidings of him. He became very melancholy, and assembled his council, that they might deliberate what was best to be done. The council advised the prince to send two or three knights to remonstrate with the king on his situation, and to demand the reason why he did not keep to the engagement he had made, nor return the day he had himself appointed. Sir Nèle Loring, sir Richard Pontchardon, and sir Thomas Banister were ordered to make themselves ready to wait on don Pedro. These knights of the prince set out immediately, and rode on until they came to the city of Seville, where don Pedro was, who, in outward appearance, received them with great joy.

The knights delivered their message punctually and literally, as they had been ordered by the prince. The king don Pedro replied, and by way of excusing himself, said: "It is, my lords, very displeasing most certainly to us, that we have not been able to perform what we covenanted to do with our cousin the prince. We have remonstrated ourselves, and made others do so with our subjects, frequently on this business; but our people excuse themselves, and say they cannot collect any money as long as the free companies remain in the country, for they have killed three or four of our treasurers, who were carrying sums of money toward the prince our cousin. You will therefore tell him from us that we entreat he will have the goodness to send out of our kingdom these wicked companies, and that he will leave us some of his knights, to whom, in his name, we will pay such sums of money as he demands, and which we hold ourselves obliged and bound to pay him."

This was all the answer the knights could obtain. They took leave of don Pedro, and returned to the prince at Valladolid; to whom, and to his council, they related all they had seen or heard. This answer made the prince more melancholy than before, because he clearly found that, though the king don Pedro entered into agreements, he put off the fulfilling of them.

During the stay the prince made at Valladolid, which was upward of four of the hottest months, the king of Majorca was confined to his bed, through sickness; at which the prince and the other lords were very much concerned. At this place sir Arnold d'Andreghen, and le bègue de Villaines, with several knights of France and Brittany, who had been made prisoners, were ransomed, or exchanged, for sir Thomas Felton, sir Richard Causton, sir Hugh Hastings, and others. But sir Bertrand du Guesclin remained still in the power of the prince, for he was not ransomed so soon. The English and council of the prince thought, that if he obtained his liberty, he would immediately join the bastard Henry, and carry on the war with fresh vigor. The prince heard that Henry had entered Bigorre, had taken Bagnieres, and was wasting his principality: on which account he was not in any haste to grant sir Bertrand his liberty.

When the prince of Wales had considered the answer of don Pedro, he was more disturbed than ever, and ordered his council to give him their opinions on it. His people, who were anxious to return, (for the air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their health; even the prince himself was unwell, and in low spirits;) recommended a retreat, and declared that don Pedro had shamefully and dishonorably failed in his engagements.

Orders were immediately given for the return of the army. When they were on the eve of their departure, the prince sent sir Hugh Courtenay and sir John Chandos to inform the king of Majorca of the reasons why he was about to quit Spain; and that he should be very

* "Roquemaure." From all the search I have made, Froissart seems to have been misinformed as to the castle king Henry retired to from Montpellier.

"Henry and the duke of Anjou went together to Avignon. On their return, they entered into a treaty, as well as I can find, against don Pedro as the English: but this was kept secret. Henry then retired to his comte de Cessenon, in the diocese of St. Pons and of Beziers. Being distressed for money, he sold this county, with the castles of Cessenon, of Servian, Thesan, &c., to the king of France, for the sum of 27,000 gold francs. Henry gave a receipt for this sum, 27th July, and then went with his family to reside at the castle of Pierre Pertuse, where he had rested on coming from Spain."—*Hist. de Languedoc.*

This castle of Pierre Pertuse I believe to be the castle which Froissart calls Roquemaure. It was demolished by Louis XIV. after the peace of Nimeguen, who built the castle of Belregarde on its ruins. It is a very strong situation, commanding the Col de Pertus. Roussillon at that time was attached to the crown of Arragon.

There is a town called Roquemaure in Upper Languedoc, near to and in the diocese of Montauban, so that Froissart may be right, notwithstanding what the historian of Languedoc says, which I have just quoted.

* Barnes calls him Eliot du Carbais.

† "Bagnieres"—a town of Bigorre, diocese of Tarbes.

much concerned to leave him behind, in case he wished to return. The king of Majorca replied to the knights: "I give my lord the prince, our brother soldier, my best thanks; but for the present I cannot ride, nor, until God please, can I raise my foot to the stirrup." The knights answered, by inquiring if he wished the prince should leave behind some men-at-arms, as a guard for him, and to conduct him when he should be in a situation to mount on horseback? The king said, "By no means, for it is uncertain how long I may be forced to remain here."

Upon this, the knights took leave of the king, and returned to the prince; to whom they related what had passed, with the answers of the king of Majorca. He replied, "Be it so, then." The prince and his whole army now began their march toward a good city called Madrigay,* where he stayed a short time. He then advanced to a valley called de Foirie,† upon the borders of Spain, Arragon, and Navarre, where he and his army remained upward of a month: for some of the passes on the borders of Arragon were shut against him; and it was reported in the army, that the king of Navarre (who had lately come out of prison) had compromised his quarrel with the bastard of Spain and the king of Arragon, and had engaged to cut off the retreat of the prince through his dominions. However, as it appeared afterwards, there was no truth in this report: nevertheless, it was suspected, because he was in his kingdom, and had not waited on the prince.

While the prince remained in this situation, he sent negotiators to an appointed place between Spain and Arragon, where they met others from the king of Arragon, with whom they had long conferences for several days: at last, it was finally agreed, that the king of Arragon should open his country for the peaceable return of the prince and his army: through which they were to pass, without doing any violence or molestation, and paying courteously for whatever they should want.

The king of Navarre, when he found that a treaty had been entered into with the king of Arragon, came to meet the prince, attended by don Martin de la Carra. He paid him every respect and honor, handsomely offering a passage through his dominions, for himself, his brother, the duke of Lancaster, as well as for several barons and knights of England and of Gascony; but he was anxious that the free companies should take any other road than through Navarre.

The prince and the lords, who knew that their march would be much shortened by going through Navarre, were not willing to renounce such a favor: they therefore greatly thanked the king for his offer: and the prince managed him so well that he obtained the same permission for the companies as for the rest of his army, assuring the king, upon his word and oath, that they should pass so peaceably, and pay so well for what they might want, that he would be satisfied with them.

The prince, therefore, and his men-at-arms, quitted the kingdom of Castille, on their return, marching as quietly as they could through Navarre. The prince was attended by the king of Navarre and don Martin de la Carra, as far as Roncevaux; whence he continued his march to Bayonne, where he was received with great joy. He remained there four days, to repose and recruit himself. When he approached Bordeaux, he was received with great solemnity; the princess of Wales came out to meet him, accompanied with her eldest son, Edward, who was then about three years old.

He there disbanded his army; the men-at-arms departed different ways: the lords, barons, and knights of Gascony, to their castles; the knights of England to their governments, or high stewardships; and the free companies as they returned, remained in the principality waiting for payment. The prince, who thought himself much obliged to them, was desirous of satisfying them as far as was in his power, and as soon as money could be raised. He said, that "although don Pedro had not kept his engagements, it was not becoming him to act in like manner to those who had so well served him."

* "Madrigay." Agreda—COLLINS's *Hist. of the Black Prince.*

† "Foirie." Vale of Soria, between Arragon and Spain.—COLLINS.

CHAPTER CCXLIV.

AFTER THE RETURN OF THE PRINCE TO AQUITAINE, HENRY KING OF CASTILLE LEAVES BAGNIERES IN EVORRE, AND RETIRES TO THE KINGDOM OF ARRAGON. SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN OBTAINS HIS RANSOM. THE FREE COMPANIES OF THE PRINCE ENTER THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE. SOME OF THE GREAT BARONS OF AQUITAINE COMPLAIN TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE OF A CERTAIN TAX, CALLED FOUAGE,* WHICH THE PRINCE WAS ABOUT TO LAY ON THEIR LANDS.

As soon as king Henry, who had remained in the garrison of Bagniers for a considerable time, heard of the prince's return from Spain into the principality, he set out, accompanied by all his men-at-arms,

SCENERY OF THE PYRENEES, on the Spanish side. From an original Sketch.

Bretons and companions, toward the king of Arragon, who had much affection for him, and who received him with great joy. He passed there the whole winter: when new treaties were entered into between them, to carry on the war against don Pedro. The Bretons, who were his adherents, had already made incursions into Spain, in the name of king Henry: they were commanded by sir Arnold de Limousin, sir Geoffry Ricons and sir Pons de Lakonet.

We will now relate how sir Bertrand du Guesclin obtained his liberty. After the prince was returned to Aquitaine, his brother the duke of Lancaster to England, and all the other barons to their different homes, sir Bertrand du Guesclin remained prisoner to the prince and to sir John Chandos; for he could not by any means obtain his ransom; which was highly displeasing to king Henry, but he could not remedy it.

Now it happened (as I have been informed) that one day, when the prince was in great good humor, he called sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and asked him how he was. "My lord," replied sir Bertrand, "I was never better: I cannot otherwise but be well, for I am, though in prison, the most honored knight in the world." "How

* "Fouage." "A yearly tax levied in old times, by supreme lords, upon every chimney or house fire kept within their dominions." In Charles V.'s time, it was four livres tournois. Since that time, in most places the tailles have been introduced in lieu thereof. The tailles were originally only allowed in four cases; nouvelle chevalerie, marriage des filles, voyage d'outre mer, et captivité. Charles VII. made them ordinary. All gentlemen, or such of age as mainly profession, are exempted from them." COTGRAVE's *Dictionary—Fouage—Taille.*

"The taille was levied on goods, moveable and immoveable. It amounted to the tenth part of the revenues. A false declaration occasioned the confiscation of the overplus.—(Beaumanoir, chap. L.) When the kings imposed the taille on the subjects of their domain, the barons who were bound to serve them in their wars laid it on their vassals. According to a regulation of St. Louis, the parishes elected thirty or forty men, who from among themselves chose twelve that were appointed to apportion this tax: and they swore on the Gospels, neither to favor nor injure any one through love or hatred. These twelve men elected in their turn four who were appointed to raise this tax.

"The aide was a tax which the principal barons levied in money from their vassals. There were two sorts of aides, 'l'aide légitime,' which was rigorously exacted in certain instances, such as the ransom of the lord, the marriage of the eldest daughter, the knighthood of the son, the accession of the presumptive heir to the estate. From this aide, the clergy were not exempted. The other was called "l'aide gracieux." It was demanded as a gift in certain cases, and depended on the will of the inferior. It was granted when the lord went croisading to Palestine—when he himself, or his brother, was armed knight—when he married his sister or younger children—when he built or repaired any castle—when he was at war for the defence of his lands. This voluntary tax was not long before it became a forced one." Introduction to M. LEVESQUE's *Hist. of France under the first five Valois*, vol. i. pp. 225, &c.

so?" rejoined the prince. "They say in France," answered sir Bertrand, "as well as in other countries, that you are so much afraid of me, and have such a dread of my gaining my liberty, that you dare not set me free; and this is my reason for thinking myself so much valued and honored." The prince, on hearing these words, thought sir Bertrand had spoken them with much good sense; for, in truth, his council were unwilling he should have his liberty, until don Pedro had paid to the prince and his army the money he had engaged to do: he answered, "What, sir Bertrand, do you imagine that we keep you a prisoner for fear of your prowess? By St. George, it is not so; for my good sir, if you will pay one hundred thousand francs, you shall be free." Sir Bertrand was anxious for his liberty, and now having heard upon what terms he could obtain it, taking the prince at his word, replied, "My lord, through God's will, I will never pay a less sum." The prince, when he heard this, began to repent of what he had done. It is said, that some of his council went farther, and told him; "My lord, you have acted very wrong, in thus granting him so easily his ransom." They wanted to break through the agreement; but the prince, who was a good and loyal knight, replied, "Since we have granted it, we will keep to it, and not act any way contrary; for it would be a shame, and we should be blamed by every one for not agreeing to his ransom, when he has offered to pay so largely for it as one hundred thousand francs."

From the time of this conversation, sir Bertrand was taking great pains to seek the money, and was so active, that by the assistance of the king of France and the duke of Anjou, who loved him well, he paid in less than a month the hundred thousand francs, and went to the aid of the duke of Anjou, with two thousand combatants, in Provence, where the duke was laying siege to Tarascon, which held out for the queen of Naples.

At this period,* a treaty of marriage was entered into between the lord Lionel, duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, with the daughter of the lord Galeas, sovereign of Milan. This young lady was niece to the earl of Savoy, being daughter of the lady Blanche, his sister. The treaty was so well conducted on both sides that it was agreed upon. The duke of Clarence came from England, attended by a great number of English knights and squires to France, where he was received by the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Courcy, and magnificently feasted at Paris. He passed through France, and entered Savoy, where the gallant earl received him most honorably, at Chamberry: he was handsomely entertained there, during three days, by the ladies, both young and old. On the fourth day, he departed. The earl of Savoy conducted him to Milan, where he espoused his niece, the daughter of the lord Galeas, on the Monday after Trinity, in the year 1368. We will now return to the affairs of France.

You have before heard of the expedition which the prince of Wales made into Spain; how he had left it, discontented with the conduct of don Pedro, and was returned to Aquitaine. When he arrived at Bordeaux, he was followed by all the men-at-arms; for they were unwilling to remain in Spain longer, because they could not obtain their pay from don Pedro, according to the engagements he had entered into with them. At the time of their return, the prince had not been able to collect money sufficient for them as speedily as he could have wished; for it was wonderful to imagine how much this expedition had impoverished and drained him: for which reason, those men kept their quarters in Aquitaine, and could not be prevented from doing mischief, as they were upward of six thousand fighting men. The prince had them spoken to, and entreated that they would change their quarters, and seek elsewhere for a maintenance, for he could not longer support them.

The captains of these companies (who were all English or Gascons; namely, sir Robert Briquet, John Tresnelle, sir Robert Cheney, sir Gail'ard Viguier, la bourg de Breteuil, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, Nandon de Bagerant, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, la Nuit, and several others) were not willing to anger the prince; they therefore quitted the principality as soon as possible, and entered France, which they called their home, by crossing the river Loire. They halted in Champagne, in the archbishopric of Rheims, in the bishobrics of Noyons and Soissons, and their numbers were daily increasing. They were so much blamed for their former deeds by the French, which greatly irritated them, that they would willingly, as it appeared, have fought with all France, if they had been listened to: and to put this to the hazard, they made incursions through the kingdom of France, where they did so much damage and such wicked acts, as caused great tribulation. Complaints were frequently made of them to the king of France and to his council; but they could not remedy it, for they were afraid of risking a battle, and some of those who had been made prisoners from the French garrisons said that the prince of Wales encouraged them underhand. Many in France were astonished at this conduct of the prince. At last, the king of France sent for the lord de Clisson, and appointed him captain against these disorderly companies, because he was a good and hardy knight, for which the king was very fond of him.

At this time, a marriage was concluded between the lord d'Albret and the lady Isabella de Bourbon, which was not very agreeable to the prince of Wales, who would have wished that he had chosen his wife from another house. He spoke very coarsely and rudely both of him and his bride. The principal persons of his council, as well knights as squires, made excuses for him as well as they could, by saying, "Every one advances and aggrandizes himself in the best way he can; and a gallant knight ought never to be blamed, if he seek for honor and profit in the way most agreeable to himself, provided he do not fail in his service to the lord whose vassal he is." By these, and such like words, was the prince answered, in hopes of appeasing him: but nevertheless, in spite of appearances, he was very far from being satisfied; for he was well aware that this marriage would cause an estrangement of affection from him and from his party, as in truth it happened, according to what will be hereafter more fully explained.

During the time the companies were quartering themselves in France, the prince of Wales was advised by some of his council to lay a tax on the lands of Aquitaine: the bishop of Rhodez in Rouergue, in particular, took great pains to persuade him to it. The establishments of the prince and the princess were so grand, that no prince in Christendom maintained greater magnificence.

The barons of Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge and Rouergue, who had the right of remonstrating, as well as those from the principal towns in Aquitaine, were summoned to a council on this tax. This parliament was held at Niort; when the bishop of Rhodez, chancellor of Aquitaine, in the presence of the prince, explained fully the nature of this tax, in what manner it was to be levied, and, that the prince had not any intentions to continue it longer than for five years, or until he should have satisfied the large debt which had been caused by the Spanish expedition. The deputies from Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Rouergue and La Rochelle, were agreeable to this imposition, provided the prince would keep his coin to the same standard for seven years: but it was refused by those from the upper parts of Gascony, namely, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, his nephew, the earl of Comminges, the viscount of Carmain, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Cande, the lord de Pincornet, and several great barons from the counties, cities and good towns under their jurisdiction, saying, that "in former times, when they were under the vassalage of the king of France, they were not oppressed by any tax, subsidy, or imposition or gabelle, and that they never would submit to any such oppression so long as they could defend themselves: that their lands and lordships were free from all duties, and that the prince had sworn to maintain them in this state. Nevertheless, in order to leave the parliament of the prince in an amicable manner, they declared, they would, when returned to their own country, consider this business more fully: and that they would consult several prelates, bishops, abbots, barons and knights, to whom it belonged to speak more deliberately on this demand than had hitherto been done." The prince of Wales and his council not being able to gain more at this time, the parliament broke up at Niort, and each person returned to his own home; but they were commanded by the prince to return again by a certain day, which had been fixed upon before they broke up.

These lords and barons of Gascony being arrived in their own country, and having their opinions strengthened, were resolved neither to return again to the parliament of the prince nor to suffer this tax to be imposed upon their lands, even should they be obliged to oppose force in preventing it. Thus this country began its rebellion against the prince. The lords of Armagnac, d'Albret, de Comminges, the earl of Perigord, and several great prelates, barons, knights and squires of Gascony, went to France, to lay their complaints before the court of the king of France (the king and his peers being present) of the wrongs the prince was about to do them. They said, they were under the jurisdiction of the king of France, and that they were bound to return to him as to their sovereign lord.

The king of France, who was desirous not openly to infringe the peace between the king of England and him, dissembled his joy at these words, and replied in a guarded manner to the barons of Gascony, saying; "Certainly, my lords, we shall always be very anxious to preserve and even augment the jurisdiction of our inheritance, and of the crown of France; but we have sworn, as our father had done, to several articles of the peace, all of which we do not now recollect; we will have them looked into and examined, and all that shall be in them to our and to your advantage we will aid you to preserve. We will endeavor to make up your differences with our dear nephew the prince of Wales; for perhaps it has been through evil advisers that he has wished to encroach upon you and your vassals' franchises." With this answer, which the king made to them off-hand, the Gascons were mightily satisfied, and remained at Paris, near the king's person, without wishing to return home.

The prince was not pleased at this conduct. He continued to persevere, and to make his council persevere, in the affair of the hearth-tax. Sir John Chandos, who was one of the principal of his council and a valorous knight, was of a contrary opinion, and wanted the prince to desist: so that, when he saw he could not succeed, in order that he might not be accused, nor have any blame, he requested leave of the prince to visit his estate of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, of which he was lord, for he had not been there these three years. The prince granted him leave; and sir John Chandos set out from Poitou to Coutantin, and remained in the town of St. Sauveur upward of

*See Rymer, 1366, 1367, 1368, where the treaty is at length, and the names of those who accompanied the duke of Clarence to Milan.

half a year. In the mean time, the prince proceeded with this tax, which, if it had been properly managed, would have been worth twelve hundred thousand francs, one paying with the other one franc each fire. We will now return to king Henry, who had remained in the kingdom of Arragon, and relate how he conducted his affairs.

CHAPTER CCXLV.

THE BASTARD HENRY OF CASTILLE, BY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE KING OF ARRAGON AND SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, AGAIN MAKES WAR UPON HIS BROTHER DON PEDRO. HAVING DEFEATED HIM IN A BATTLE, HE IS MADE PRISONER, AND MURDERED. HENRY REMAINS KING OF SPAIN.

THE situation of the prince of Wales and the state of his affairs were well known to the neighboring monarchs; particularly to the king of Arragon and king Henry; for they took great pains to gain information concerning them. They had been truly told how the barons of Gascony were gone to Paris, to wait on the king; and that all that country was beginning to rebel against the prince. This intelligence was not displeasing to either of the above-mentioned kings, especially king Henry, who looked forward to the conquest of Castille, which he had lost through the power of the prince of Wales.

King Henry took leave of the king of Arragon, and set out from the city of Valencia, accompanied by the viscounts de Roquebertin* and de Rhodez. They had with them three thousand men-at-arms and six thousand infantry, including some Genoese, who served for a subsidy. This body of men-at-arms advanced into Spain, to the city of Burgos, which instantly opened its gates, and surrendered to king Henry, receiving him as its lord. From thence they marched to Valladolid; for king Henry had received information that the king of Majorca had been left there, which gave him great joy.

When the inhabitants of Valladolid heard that those of Burgos had surrendered and had acknowledged king Henry, they no longer thought of making any resistance, or holding out against him, but surrendered also, and received king Henry as their lord, in the same manner as formerly. As soon as king Henry had entered the town, he inquired where the king of Majorca was lodged, and when the place was pointed out to him, he immediately, on his going thither, entered the hôtel and the room where he was confined by illness. King Henry advanced toward him, and said: "King of Majorca, you have been our enemy, and have entered our kingdom of Castille with a large army; for which reasons we lay our hands on you, and make you our prisoner, or you are a dead man." The king of Majorca, sensible of the difficulty of his situation, and that opposition would be of no avail, replied: "Sir, I am certainly dead, if you order it so; but I am very willing to surrender myself as your prisoner, and to you alone. If you intend to place me in any other's hands, say so; for I had much rather die than fall into the hands of my adversary the king of Arragon." "By no means whatever," answered king Henry, "will I act so disloyally by you, for which, and with good reason I should be greatly blamed. You shall remain my prisoner, for me to ransom or set at liberty according to my own will and pleasure."† Thus was the king of Majorca made prisoner, on his oath, by king Henry, who placed a numerous garrison in Valladolid, for the more securely guarding it, and then advanced toward the city of Leon in Spain, which immediately opened its gates on hearing he was marching that way.

Upon the surrender of the city of Leon to king Henry, the whole province of Galicia did the same, and changed their party. The principal barons and lords, who had lately done homage to the king don Pedro, came out to meet king Henry; for, notwithstanding their outward appearances of friendship to don Pedro during the presence of the prince of Wales, they could not love him, from the cruelties he had formerly exercised upon them, and from their doubts of what he might do in future; while king Henry had always treated them kindly: not only did he not oppress them, but promised to do them much good: all the country, therefore, returned to their allegiance to him.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin had not as yet arrived in Spain, but was hastening to join king Henry with two thousand fighting men. He had left the duke of Anjou, who had put an end to the war in Provence, and broken up the siege of Tarascon by a capitulation with its inhabitants, the terms of which I do not know.‡ He had therefore set out for Spain, attended by several French knights and squires who were desirous of signalizing their prowess, and had already entered Arragon to join king Henry, who was laying siege to the city of Toledo.

News was brought to the king don Pedro of all these conquests; that the whole country was turning to his brother the Bastard, during the time he tarried in the neighborhood of Seville, and on the borders of Portugal, where he was but little loved. Upon hearing these tidings, he was in a violent rage against his brother and against the Castillians, who had abandoned him, and declared with an oath, that he would avenge himself so severely upon them, they should be a warning to all others. He immediately issued his commands to all those from whom he expected help or service. He sent to some, however, who never came, but excused themselves to the best of their ability: while others turned to king Henry, and paid to him their homage. When the king don Pedro found his people were wavering, and failed to obey his summons, he began to be alarmed: he therefore applied to don Fernando de Castro for counsel, who had never yet deserted him. He advised him to collect as large a force as he could from all countries, as well in Granada as elsewhere, and to hasten to meet his brother before he should have made any further progress into the kingdom.

Don Pedro did not hesitate following this advice, but sent to the king of Portugal, who was his cousin-german, from whom he had a large body of men; and also to the kings of Granada, Bellemarine, and Tramesames,* with whom he entered into alliances, and engaged to support them in their kingdoms, and not to make war against them for the space of thirty years. These kings, on their part, sent him upward of twenty thousand Moors to assist him in his war. Don Pedro used so much activity that he had assembled, as well Christians as Moors, forty thousand men, in the country round Seville.

While these treaties and negotiations were going forward, and during the time of the siege of Toledo, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with his body of two thousand men, arrived in the camp of king Henry, where he was received with great joy, as was naturally to be expected: the whole army was happy at his arrival. The king don Pedro, who, as I have already said, had assembled his whole force at Seville and in its environs, was desirous of giving his brother battle: he left Seville with his numerous army, in order to raise the siege of Toledo. There may be between these two places, Seville and Toledo, seven days' march.

Intelligence was brought to the army of king Henry, that don Pedro was approaching with forty thousand men, including those of every description. He called a council, to consider what was to be done, to which all the French and Arragonian knights were summoned; and in particular sir Bertrand du Guesclin, by whose opinion they wished to act. Sir Bertrand gave the following advice, which was followed; namely, that king Henry should immediately collect as many of his army as he could spare from the siege, advance by forced marches to meet don Pedro, and, in whatever situation he should meet him, begin the battle; "For," added he, "we have heard that he is marching against us with a strong army, and he would be too powerful, were he to come regularly upon us: let us, therefore, be beforehand with him, without his knowing anything of our intentions; that we may surprise him and his army so unexpectedly as to have the advantage, and, I doubt not, defeat him." This plan of sir Bertrand was applauded and followed. Toward evening, king Henry set out with a chosen band of men-at-arms, and left the command of the siege to his brother don Tello. On his march, he had his spies dispersed over the country, in order to bring him exact intelligence the moment they should see or hear of don Pedro and his army, and what condition they were in.

The king don Pedro was ignorant of everything his brother was doing, even of his marching to meet him; so that he and his army were advancing slowly, in a very disorderly manner. It fell out, that upon the dawn of day king Henry and his army met don Pedro and his force; for, the preceding night, he had slept in a castle called Montiel, where the lord of Montiel had received him with all possible honor and respect. He had left it very early in the morning, and was continuing his march in the same disorderly manner, for he never expected to fight that day, when suddenly king Henry, his brother don Sancho, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, by whose orders they acted, le bègue de Villaines, the lord de Roquebertin, the viscount de Rhodez,† and their companies, with banners flying and prepared for action, came upon them: they might be six thousand fighting men: they advanced in very close order, and at a full gallop, so that they fell heavily and with a good will upon the first they met, crying out, "Castille for king Henry!" and "Our Lady, for Guesclin!" They overthrew and defeated all whom they first encountered, driving them before them. Many were slain and unhorsed; for none were made prisoners, according to the orders of sir Bertrand du Guesclin the preceding day, on account of the great number of Jews and infidels who were in don Pedro's army.

When don Pedro, who was advancing with the largest division of his army, received the news that his van had been defeated by his brother the Bastard and the French, he was amazed where they could come from: he perceived that he had been betrayed, and was in

* Rocaberti.—FERRERA'S *Hist. Gen. d'Espagne*, translated by d'Hermilly.

† The king of Majorca was afterwards ransomed by his wife, the too celebrated Joan of Naples, whose third husband he was, for 28 000 florins of gold.—*Vie de Du Guesclin.*

‡ "The duke of Anjou and Bertrand du Guesclin having crossed the Rhône, laid siege to Tarascon, which is opposite to Beaucaire, the 4th March, 1368. The real history of this siege is unknown to us; for we cannot place any reliance on the different authors of the life, or rather romance of Bertrand du Guesclin, who relate various circumstances about it. What may be depended on is, that the duke of Anjou, having besieged Tarascon by sea and land, the inhabitants, who had an understanding with him, delivered up the town, of which he made himself master."—*Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 336.

* Bellemarine—Tramesames. Probably Benmarin and Tremecen, kingdoms in Barbary.

Neither Mariana nor Ferraras makes mention of any other king than Mahomet king of Granada, who joined don Pedro with six thousand cavalry and about thirty thousand men.—*Hist. Gen. de l'Espagne*, vol. v. p. 400.

† M. Dillon, in his history of Peter the Cruel, says, "While Henry lay before Toledo, embassadors arrived at his camp from Charles V. of France, who sent his chamberlain, Francis de Perelles, viscount de Rhodez, and John de Ric, lord of Neburis, to acquaint him, that war was declared between England and France, &c."—Vol. II. p. 104.

This John de Ric may perhaps be the Geoffry Ricon of Froissart.

danger of losing everything; for his men were very much dispersed; so that like a bold and valiant knight as he was, and of great resource and enterprise, he halted upon the spot, and ordered his banner to be displayed in the wind to rally his men. He sent orders for the rear to advance with all speed, for that the engagement was begun. Upon this all men of courage hastened toward his banner, which was fluttering in the wind. The battle now became more general and hot: many of don Pedro's army were slain and unhorsed; for king Henry, sir Bertrand, and their friends, fought them so manfully, that none could stand before them. The battle, however, was not so soon over: for don Pedro had such immense numbers, as to be at least six to one: but they were so closely followed that it was wonderful to see how they were discomfited and slain.

Battle of Montiel.—A mixed and irregular combat of French, Spaniards, Moors and Jews. Designed from various MS. authorities in the Harleian and Cottonian Libraries.

This battle of Spaniards against Spaniards, and the two brother kings, with their allies, near Montiel, was very grand and horrible. Many were the good knights on king Henry's side; such as sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Arnold de Limousin, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, le bègue de Villaines, Alain de St. Pol, Aliot de Calais, and the Bretons who were there. From the kingdom of Arragon were the viscount de Rocaberti, the viscount de Rodais, with many other good knights and squires whom I cannot name, who performed various gallant deeds of arms, as in truth they had full need. They had strange people to encounter, such as Moors and Portuguese: the Jews who were there very soon turned their backs, and would not fight; but those from Grenada and Bellemarine fought valiantly: they were armed with bows and lances, of which they made good use, and behaved themselves right well. Don Pedro was in the midst, and with intrepid courage fought so valiantly with his battle-axe that scarcely any dared to come near him.

King Henry drew up his division opposite to his brother, in very compact order, and full of bold combatants, who shouted loudly, making good use of their lances; so that the army of don Pedro was thrown into confusion, and those near his person began to be alarmed. Don Fernando de Castro, who had watched over the king his lord, soon perceived (so good was his judgment) that their army would be beaten: for they were too much frightened from having been so suddenly attacked: he therefore said to don Pedro, "Sir, save yourself, and hasten back to the castle of Montiel, which you left this morning: if you retire thither, you will be in safety; but if you be taken, your enemies will slay you without mercy." The king approved of this advice, set out directly on his retreat to the castle of Montiel, and arrived there so à-propos that he found the gates of the castle open, where he was received with only eleven followers.

While this was passing, the remainder of his men, who were dispersed over the plain, continued the combat as well as they could; for the Moors who were among them, and had not any knowledge of the country, were indifferent whether they were directly slain or suffered a long pursuit: they therefore sold their lives dearly Others also acted marvellously well.

Intelligence was brought to king Henry and to sir Bertrand, that don Pedro had retreated to the castle of Montiel, where he had shut himself up; that the bègue de Villaines and his men had pursued him to the castle, which had but one path to enter or come from it, and that le bègue had there placed himself and fixed his pennon. King Henry and sir Bertrand were delighted with this news: they advanced toward that place fighting and slaying multitudes, killing them like beasts: they were quite fatigued with this business of butchery. The pursuit lasted more than three long hours, and there were upward of fourteen thousand killed and wounded: very few escaped; those who did were from that part of the country, and acquainted with its strong places. This battle was fought under Montiel, and its environs, the 13th day of August, 1368.

After the defeat of don Pedro and his army, king Henry and sir Bertrand encamped themselves before the castle of Montiel, where don Pedro was; they surrounded it on all sides: for they said truly, that what they had hitherto done would be of no effect, unless they took the castle of Montiel with don Pedro, who had shut himself up in it. They sent the principal part of their force back to Toledo, in order to reinforce the besiegers, which was very agreeable to don Tello, who commanded there.*

The castle of Montiel was of sufficient strength to have held out a considerable time, if it had been properly victualled; but when don Pedro entered it, there was not enough for four days, which much alarmed him and his companions. They were so strictly watched that a bird could not escape from the castle without being noticed. Don Pedro was in great anguish of heart at seeing himself thus surrounded by his enemies, well knowing that they would not enter into any treaty of peace or agreement with him; so that considering his dangerous situation, and the great want of provision in the castle, he was advised to attempt an escape with his eleven companions about midnight, and to put himself under the protection of God: he was offered guides that would conduct him to a place of safety.

They remained in the castle, with this determination, until midnight, when don Pedro, accompanied by don Fernando de Castro and others of the eleven companions, set out. It was very dark. At this hour the bègue de Villaines had the command of the watch, with upward of three hundred men. Don Pedro had quitted the castle with his companions, and was descending by an upper path, but so quietly that it did not appear as if any one was moving: however, the bègue de Villaines, who had many suspicions, and was afraid of losing the object of his watch, imagined he heard the sound of horses' feet upon the causeway: he therefore said to those near him: "Gentlemen, keep quiet: make no movement: for I hear the steps of some people. We must know who they are, and what they seek at such an hour. I suspect they are victuallers, who are bringing provision to the castle; for I know it is in this respect very scantily provided." The bègue then advanced, his dagger on his wrist, toward a man who was close to don Pedro, and demanded, "Who art thou? Speak, or thou art a dead man." The man to whom the bègue had spoken was an Englishman, and refused to answer: he bent himself over his saddle, and dashed forward. The bègue suffered him to pass; when addressing himself to don Pedro, and examining him earnestly, he fancied it was the king, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, from his likeness to king Henry his brother, for they very much resembled each other. He demanded from him, in placing his dagger on his breast, "And you, who are

* M. Dillon says, that Manrique, archbishop of Toledo, assisted by some able officers, had the command of the blockade of Seville, when Henry marched to meet don Pedro and that don Tello had joined the king of Navarre in spoiling the kingdom of Spain.

you? Name yourself, and surrender this moment, or you are a dead man." In thus saying, he caught hold of his horse, and would not suffer him to escape as the former had done.

King don Pedro, who saw a large body of men-at-arms before him, and found that he could not by any means escape, said to the bègue de Villaines, whom he recognized: "Bègue, bègue, I am don Pedro king of Castille, to whom much wrong has been imputed, through evil counsellors. I surrender myself, and all my people, but twelve in number, as thy prisoners: we place ourselves under thy guard and disposition. I beseech thee, in the name of thy gentility, that thou put me in a place of safety. I will pay for my ransom whatever sum thou shalt please to ask; for, thank God, I have yet a sufficiency to do that; but thou must prevent me from falling into the hands of the Bastard." The bègue (according to the information I have since received) replied, that he and his company might come with him in all security; for that his brother should not from him have any intelligence of what had happened.* Upon this consideration, they advanced, when don Pedro was conducted to the tent of the bègue, and into the chamber of sir Lyon de Lakonet. He had not been there an hour, when king Henry and the viscount de Rocaberti, with their attendants, but not in great numbers, came thither. As soon as king Henry had entered the chamber where don Pedro was, he said, "Where is this son of a Jewish whore who calls himself king of Castille?" Don Pedro, who was a bold as well as a cruel man, stepped forward, and said: "Why thou art the son of a whore, and I am the son of Alphonso." On saying this, he caught hold of king Henry in his arms, began to wrestle with him, and, being the strongest, threw him down under him upon *une aubarde qu'on dit en François coeste de materats de soye*:† placing his hand on his poniard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viscount de Rocaberti had not been present, who seizing don Pedro by the legs, turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermost, immediately drew a long poniard which he wore in his sash, and plunged it into his body. His attendants entered the tent, and helped to dispatch him. There were slain with him a knight from England called sir Raoul Heline, who had formerly had the surname of the Green Squire, and another esquire of the name of James Roland, because they had put themselves in postures of defence.‡ But no harm was done to don Fernando de Castro, nor to the rest of don Pedro's attendants: they continued, therefore, prisoners to le bègue de Villaines and to sir Lyon de Lakonet. Thus died don Pedro, king of Castille, who had formerly reigned in great prosperity. Those who had slain him left him three days unburied, which was a pity for the sake of humanity; and the Spaniards made their jokes upon him.

On the morrow, the lord of Montiel came to surrender himself to king Henry, who received him graciously, as well as all those who returned to their allegiance. News was soon spread abroad of the death of don Pedro, to the great joy of his enemies and sorrow of his friends. When the king of Portugal heard in what manner his cousin don Pedro had been slain, he was mightily vexed at it, and swore he would have satisfaction for it. He immediately sent a challenge to king Henry, and made war upon him, remaining master of all the environs of Seville for one whole season. This, however, did not prevent king Henry from following his enterprise: he returned before Toledo, which surrendered to him as soon as it learnt the death of don Pedro; as did all the other parts of the country dependent on the crown of Castille. Even the king of Portugal did not wish to continue the war longer against king Henry; so that there was a treaty of peace concluded between them, by means of the barons and prelates of Spain. King Henry, therefore, reigned in peace over all Castille. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Olivier de Mauny, and some others from France, Brittany, and Arragon, continued with him, to whom king Henry behaved very handsomely: indeed, he was in justice bound so to do, for without their aid he would never have been able to have accomplished this business. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was made constable of Spain, and received the estate of Soria, worth twenty thousand francs a-year. The king gave to his nephew, sir Olivier de Mauny, the estate of Crecte, worth ten thousand francs a-year; and so on to the other knights with such liberality that they were all contented. King Henry went to Burgos with his queen and children, to hold his court there, which he did in a princely style.* The kings of France and of Arragon, as well as the duke of Anjou, who loved him personally, were very much rejoiced at the fortunate event of the war.

About this time died the lord Lionel of England, who had crossed the Alps, as has been before related, and had taken for his wife the daughter of the lord Galeas Visconti, sovereign of Milan. But, as his death appeared extraordinary,† the lord Edward Despenser, his companion, who had remained with him, declared war against Galeas, and slew many of his subjects at different times: at last, however, the earl of Savoy made peace between them. Let us now return to what was going forward in the duchy of Aquitaine.

CHAPTER CCXLVI.

KING CHARLES V. IS ADVISED TO DECLARE HIMSELF LORD PARAMOUNT OF GUIENNE AND AQUITAINE, ON ACCOUNT OF THE HEARTH-TAX WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES WAS ABOUT TO RAISE. THIS CAUSES A RENEWAL OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH.

We have before related how the prince had been advised to raise a hearth-tax in his dominions: by which many thought themselves over burdened, especially the Gascons; for those of the low countries of Poitou, Saintonge, and la Rochelle had acceded to it with tolerable good humor, as living nearer the residence of their prince, and as being more obedient and more tractably disposed to the ordinances of their lords, more to be depended on, and firmer in their allegiance than those from the more distant parts of the country.

In order to carry these intentions of the prince into effect, several parliaments were held at Niort, Angoulême, Poitiers, Bordeaux, and Bergerac: but the Gascons declared they would never pay this tax, nor suffer it to be laid upon their lands, and asserted, that they had an appeal to the courts of the king of France. This claim of appeal much angered the prince, who answered, that they had no such appeal; for that the king of France had surrendered all right to appeals and jurisdictions, when he had given these territories to his lord and father, as was fully apparent by the treaties of peace; for that the negotiators of this peace had not reserved the slightest article whereby an appeal to the king of France could be made. To this the Gascons replied, that it was not lawful for the king of France, nor in his power, nor had ever been in his power, to free them from appealing to him, without the will of the prelates, barons, cities, and principal towns of Gascony, who would never have consented to it, nor ever will consent to it, if it were to be proposed, because it would be the cause of a perpetual warfare with France.

Thus were the prince and the barons of Gascony quarrelling with each other; for either party supported his own opinion, and maintained that it was the right. The earl of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Perigord, and several other barons from Gascony, remained quiet at Paris, near the person of the king, and at his leisure moments informed his majesty, that the

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* There are different accounts of this affair. Ferreras attributes the capture of don Pedro to Bertrand du Guesclin, and not much to his honor, but I cannot believe this, as avarice was not a vice of such gallant men, and am inclined to believe Froissart has been rightly informed.

† Not knowing how to translate this, I have left it as in the original. Du Cange, in the last volume of his Glossary, refers the word *aubarde* to *abbarda*, in the first volume of the Supplement, which is as follows: "*Abbarda*, Clitella—*addè* Provincialibus bardo, nostris olim *barde*, equi armatura. Aubarde vero dixerunt, pro culcitra, vulgo *coste de matelas*. Froissart," (quoting the expressions in the text.) *Albardacha.*—Gall. Hallebarde. Vide supra Alabarda.—*Du Cange.* [*Une aubarde qu'on dit en François coeste de materats de soye*, that is, "an aubarde, or, as it is called in French, a silken counterpane or quilt;" literally the silk covering of *a mattress*. Lord Berners translates it *a bench*, and probably he is not far wrong. According to the quotation from Du Cange, the original meaning of the word was a war-saddle, which might not unnaturally be applied to the camp-bed of a tent, which serves for a seat or a couch as occasion requires, and may thence be aptly likened to a soldier's saddle, which serves him for a pillow in a bivouac. As Froissart however confines the meaning to the *covering* of the couch, this conjecture may very possibly be wrong, but in that case the etymology still escapes us.]—Ed.

‡ "With this unfortunate monarch there also fell two gallant Englishmen, who were slain for having drawn their swords in his defence when grappling with Henry. These were sir Ralph Holmes and James Rowland. The life of Fernando de Castro was spared, on account of his long attachment and fidelity to his sovereign.

"Don Fernando de Castro, after the death of King Peter, made his escape into Portugal, and afterwards retired to Guienne, where he died. Over his tomb was placed the following inscription: AQUI YACE DON FERNANDO PEREZ DE CASTRO, TODA LA FIDELIDAD DE ESPANA.—DILLON'S *Hist. of Peter the Cruel*, vol. ii. p. 119.

* King Henry assembled the states of the realm at Medina d'el Campo, to make arrangements for recompensing the French and other knights. They paid Bertrand du Guesclin one hundred and twenty thousand gold florins. The king also gave Soria, Almazan, Atiença, Montéagudo, and Seron, with their dependencies, to sir Bertrand: to Olivier de Mauny, Agreda: Ribadéo, with the title of count, to the Viguer de Villames, whom he married to a lady of the Guzman family: Aquilar de Campo to Geoffry Relor, and Villalpand to Arnold Solier."—FERRERA'S *Hist. d' Espagne*, vol. v., pp. 414, 415.

† "Anno Domini 1367, et regni 42 Edwardi, Leonellus dux Clarentiæ obiit in natali S. Mariæ, ut fertur, potionatus."—LELANDI *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 251.

"Quo anno (1368,) mense Aprilis, Leonellus dux Clarenciæ, regis Edwardi tertii filius, cum electa multitudine nobilium Anglicorum transivit versus Mediolanum, an accipiendum in uxorem filiam domini Gallias, domini Mediolani, cum qua medietatem ejusdem dominii fuerat habiturus. Sed tamen modico tempore super conjuge vel dominio guadere permissus est, morte (quæ cuncta disjungit & separat) mox præventus. Celebrato nempe inter eos cum maxima gloria matrimonio, Leonellus, circa festum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ proximo sequentem diem clausit extremum."—THO. WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angli. Edw.* III. pp. 132, 3.

"Moreover, at the coming of Leonell, such abundance of treasure was in the most bounteous manner spent, in making of most sumptuous feasts, setting forth stately sights, and honoring with rare gifts above two hundred Englishmen who accompanied his son in-law, as it seemed to surpass the greatness of the most wealthy princes: for the banquet at which Francis Petrarch was present among the chiefest guests, had about thirty courses of service at the table, and betwixt every course there were as many presents of wondrous price intermixed; all which John Galeasius, chief of the choice youth, bringing to the table, did offer to Leonell. There were in one only course seventy goodly horses, adorned with silk and silver furniture; and in another silver vessels, falcons, hounds, armor for horses, costly coats of mail, breast-plates glistering of massy steel, helmets and corselets decked with costly crests, apparelled distinct with costly jewels, soldiers' girdles, and lastly, certain gems by curious art set in gold and purple, and cloth of gold for men's apparel in great abundance. And such was the sumptuousness of that banquet, that the meats which were brought from table would sufficiently have served ten thousand men. But not long after, Leonell, living with his new wife, while after the manner of his own country, as forgetting or not regarding his change of air, he addicted himself overmuch to untimely banquetings, spent and consumed with a lingering sickness, died at Alba."

This account from Stowe, pp. 267, 268, edition 1631, seems very naturally to account for the death of the duke of Clarence, without supposing it caused by treachery.

For a more particular account of this entertainment, see Corio's History of Milan, printed at Milan, 1503.

prince, through pride and presumption, was desirous of trampling them under foot, and oppressing them with taxes upon their lands which had not been heard of before, and which they would never permit to be levied. They demonstrated to the king, that they had an appeal to him, and demanded that the prince should be summoned before the parliament and the peers, to answer for the grievances and oppressions he intended to lay on them.

The king of France listened with complacency to these lords of Gascony, when they requested from him help and assistance as from their sovereign lord, adding, that should he refuse it to them, they would withdraw their allegiance, and apply to some other court; so that, for fear of losing his claim to this sovereignty, he in the end complied with their request. He was, however, sensible that this affair must cause a war, which he was desirous not to begin without some appearance of right: besides, his kingdom was not recovered from the effects of the late war, nor from the oppressions of the free companies and other enemies. In addition also to these reasons, his brother the duke of Berry was still a hostage in England; so that he was determined to act with prudence and caution.

About this time, sir Guy de Ligny, earl of St. Pol, had returned to France from England, without permission of the English, by a very ingenious trick. As the full detail of it would take a considerable time, I pass it over. This earl hated the English more than words can express, and took much pains that the king of France should accede to the request of the Gascon lords; for he was well aware, that if the prince of Wales were summoned to appear before the parliament, it would create a war. Many prelates, barons, earls, and knights of France had united themselves with the earl of St. Pol, and had told the king, that the king of England had not in any way maintained the peace, nor paid any respect to what he had sworn and sealed, according to the tenor of the treaties which had been made at Bretigny near Chartres, and afterwards confirmed at Calais; for the English had carried on the war with France in an underhand manner, as much, if not more, since the peace had been made than before. They remonstrated with the king on the subject, adding, that if he would have the articles and treaty of peace read, which had been accepted by the king of England and his eldest son upon their faith and oath, he would find the truth of what they had told him.

Upon this, the king of France, to be better informed, and to preserve the rights of the crown, ordered all the papers relative to the last peace, to be brought to the council-chamber, where they were read several times, that the different points and articles might be fully examined. They were very carefully inspected, and among them they found one relating to the territories given up, which the king and his council fixed on with greater attention, because it spoke fully and clearly on the subject they were desirous to discuss. The paper was in these terms:

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know all, that in the agreement and final peace entered into between our very dear brother the king of France and ourselves, there are two articles of the following tenor: Item, the aforesaid kings shall be found to have all the before-mentioned things confirmed by our holy father the pope; and they shall be strengthened by oaths, sentences, and censures of the court of Rome, and by every other bond in the strongest manner possible: and there shall be obtained from the aforesaid court of Rome dispensations, absolutions, and letters in regard to the perfecting and accomplishing this present treaty, which shall be forwarded to the different parties within three weeks at the latest after the king shall be arrived at Calais. Item, in order that the aforesaid things, which have been gone through and treated of, may be more firm and stable, the securities which follow shall be given; that is to say, letters drawn up in the best possible manner by the councils of the two kings, and sealed with the seals of the two kings, and also with the seals of their two eldest sons. The aforesaid kings, their eldest sons, and their children, as well as others of the branches of the royal family, and of the principal nobility of their kingdoms, to the number of twenty, shall swear they will keep, and help to keep as far as in them lies, all these articles which have been made, entered into and agreed upon, and will keep them without doing anything contrary, either by fraud, malice, or by any hindrance whatever. And if there should be any persons in the two before-mentioned kingdoms of France and England who shall be rebellious, and not consenting to the aforesaid treaties, the two aforesaid kings together shall use every exertion of body, fortune, and friends, to bring the aforesaid rebels into true obedience, according to the form and tenor of the aforesaid treaty. And withal, the two aforesaid kings will submit themselves and their kingdoms to the coercion of our holy father the pope, in order that he may constrain by ecclesiastical censures, or other means, him who shall be rebellious, according to what shall be thought reasonable. And among the securities and assurances aforesaid, the two kings shall renounce for themselves and their heirs, upon their faith and oath, all wars and actions of war: and if through disobedience, rebellion, or power of some of the subjects of the kingdom of France, or through any other just cause, the king of France shall not be able to accomplish and fulfil all the things aforesaid, the king of England aforesaid, his heirs and kingdom, or any of them, shall not make war, nor cause war to be made upon the aforesaid king of France, nor upon his heirs nor kingdom; but both together shall unite and exert themselves in bringing back the aforesaid rebels to their proper obedience, and to the fulfilling the aforesaid things. And also, if in the aforesaid kingdom, and under the obedience of the king of England, there should be any not willing to surrender and give up those castles, towns, or fortresses which they hold in the kingdom of France, nor to obey the aforesaid treaty: or if, through any just cause, the king of England shall be prevented from accomplishing what is laid down in the aforesaid treaty, neither the king of France, his heirs, nor any one for them, shall make war upon the king of England, nor upon his kingdom; but both of them together will, with all their might, endeavor to regain the aforesaid castles, towns, and fortresses, and to bring back such rebels to their proper obedience, so that the perfect fulfilment of the aforesaid treaties may be wrought. And there shall be mutually given on both parts, according to the nature of the act, every sort of security which may be devised, as well by the pope and college of Rome as by others, for the maintaining the peace and other articles of the treaty. For which reasons, wishing to preserve and cherish a perpetual peace and love between us and our aforesaid brother and kingdom of France, we have renounced, and by these presents do renounce, all war and offensive acts against our brother aforesaid, his heirs and successors, the kingdom of France, and his subjects. And we promise and swear, and have promised and sworn upon the body of JESUS CHRIST, for ourselves and successors, that we will not do, nor suffer to be done, any act or word against this renunciation, nor against anything contained in these aforesaid articles. And if we should do or suffer to be done anything to the contrary, which God forbid, we are willing to be reputed false, wicked and perjured, and to incur such blame and infamy as a consecrated and crowned king ought to incur in similar cases. We renounce all idea of importuning any dispensation or absolution from the pope from our oath aforesaid; and if obtained, we declare it to be null and of no weight, and that no advantage whatever ought to be made of it. In order more fully to strengthen the aforesaid declarations, we submit ourselves, our heirs and successors, to the jurisdiction and coercion of the church of Rome, and will and consent that our holy father the pope confirm all these things by ordering monitory and general mandates for the accomplishment of them, against us, our heirs and successors, and against our subjects, (whether commonalties, universities, colleges, or private persons of whatever descriptions,) and by granting sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, to be incurred by us or by them, as soon as we or they shall attempt or do anything contrary to these articles, by occupying towns, castles, fortresses, or any other act, by giving comfort, aid, advice, or assistance, that may in any way infringe upon the true meaning of this treaty.

"We have caused our very dear eldest son, Edward, prince of Wales, to swear to the aforesaid articles, in like manner as ourself; and also our younger sons, Lionel earl of Ulster, John earl of Richmond, and Edmund of Langley; and also our dear cousin Philip de Navarre, the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, the earls of Stamford and Salisbury, the lord of Manny, the captal de Buch, the lord de Montfort, lord James Audley, sir Roger Beauchamp, sir John Chandos, lord Ralph Ferrers, lord Edward de Spenser, sir William and sir Thomas Felton, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Franque van Halle, sir John Moubray, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, sir Henry Percy, and several other knights. And we will have the aforesaid articles in like manner sworn to, as soon as we well can, by our other children, and by the greater part of our prelates, churchmen, earls, barons, and other nobles of our realm. In witness whereof, we have affixed our seal to these presents, given in our town of Calais, the 24th day of October, in the year of grace 1360."*

Among other letters which had been drawn up, as well at Bretigny near Chartres as at Calais, during king John's residence there, was the above letter, now under examination of king Charles, his eldest son, and the principal persons of his council. After it had been maturely considered by the prelates and barons of France who had been summoned to this council, they told the king, that neither the king of England nor the prince of Wales had kept or fulfilled the articles of the treaty of Bretigny; but, on the contrary, had taken possession of castles and towns by force, and had remained in the aforesaid kingdom of France, to its great loss; where they had pillaged and ransomed its subjects, by which means the payment for the redemption of the late king John was still part in arrear: that upon this, and upon other points, the king of France and his subjects had good right and just cause to break the peace, to make war upon the English, and deprive them of the possessions they had on this side the sea.

The king was also secretly advised, after much deliberation, in such words as these: "Dear sire, undertake with courage this war: you have a very good cause to induce you to do so: and know, that as soon as you shall have determined upon it, you will find that many in the duchy of Aquitaine will turn to your side; such as prelates, barons, earls, knights, squires, and citizens of the principal towns; for as the prince proceeds in levying this hearth-tax, in the same proportion will hatred and ill-will follow from all ranks, as they will be very miserable should he succeed in his attempt. As for those of Poitou, Saintonge, Rouergue, Quercy, and La Rochelle, from their nature they cannot love the English, who, in their turn, being proud

* See this and other treaties, in the Fœdera, relative to the peace of Bretigny.

and presumptuous, have not any affection for them, nor ever had. Add to this, that the officers of the prince are such extortioners, as to lay their hands on whatever they can find, and levy such heavy taxes, under the name of the prince, that they leave nothing to the subject: besides, the gentlemen of the country cannot obtain any offices, for they are all seized on by the English knights attached to the prince."

By these arguments, the king of France was determined to declare war; and the duke of Anjou, who at that time was at Toulouse, took great pains to bring it about; for he was very desirous that the war should be renewed with the English, as he was one who could not love them for some affronts they had put upon him in former times.*

On the other hand, the Gascons frequently said to the king of France: "Dear sire, we insist that we have an appeal to your court, (and therefore supplicate you to do us justice, as being the most upright prince in the world,) in regard to the great injuries and extortions which the prince of Wales and his people want to impose upon us. Should you refuse, however, to do us right, we will seek for it in other courts, and we will place ourselves under that lord who will exert himself to preserve our rights; by which means you may lose the principality."

The king of France, who very unwillingly would have suffered this loss, for it would have been of the greatest prejudice to his kingdom, made a courteous reply: "that never, for want of law or advice should they apply to any other court than his own; but it was proper such affairs should be treated with much deliberation and prudence." In this manner, he kept them in expectation for one year, detaining them privately at Paris; where, besides paying all their expenses, he made them handsome presents and gave them rich jewels. He, however, inquired secretly, whether, in case the peace be broken, and war with the English recommence, they would support him: they replied, that he ought not to be alarmed, nor prevented from carrying on the war in their country, as they were sufficiently able to make head against the prince, and the force he could employ.

The king at the same time, sounded those of Abbeville, if they would return to their allegiance, and become good Frenchmen: they desired nothing more earnestly than to do so, for much did they hate the English. Thus did the king of France acquire friends on all sides: otherwise, he would not have dared to act as he did. At this time was born Charles of France, eldest son to the king of France, in the year of grace 1368, which gave great joy to the kingdom. Before this time, had been born Charles d'Albret. The birth of these two children, who were cousins-german, was highly pleasing to the whole realm, but particularly to the king of France.

CHAPTER CCXLVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS A SUMMONS TO THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO APPEAR IN THE CHAMBER OF PEERS AT PARIS, IN THE MATTER OF AN APPEAL FROM THE BARONS OF GASCONY.

THE king of France was so strongly advised by his council, and so strenuously entreated by the Gascons, that an appeal was drawn up, and sent to Aquitaine, to summon the prince of Wales to appear before the parliament of Paris. It was in the name of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and of Comminges, the viscount of Carmaing, the lords de la Barde and de Pincornet, who were the principal appellants. In this appeal, the said Gascons complained of certain oppressive grievances which the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine was about to inflict on them and their vassals; and that the said Gascons appealed to and claimed the jurisdiction of the king of France, whom as a matter of right, they had chosen for their judge. When this appeal from the said barons and lords of Gascony had been well drawn out, and reduced to writing, after different corrections in the best possible manner by the wisest of the French council, and after it had been very fully considered, they resolved that it should be signified to the prince of Wales, that they summoned him to appear in person, in the chamber of peers at Paris, to answer the complaints made against him and attend the judgment: to which effect, orders were given to an eloquent lawyer, that the business might be more properly done, and a very noble knight of Beauce, called Caponnel de Caponnal.

These two commissioners left Paris with their attendants, taking the road toward Bordeaux. They passed through Berry, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and came to Blaye, where they crossed the Garonne: from thence they went to Bordeaux, where the prince and princess at that time resided, more than at any other place. These commissioners declared, wherever they passed, that they were come by orders of the king of France; by which means they were in all places well received. When they entered the city of Bordeaux, they took up their quarters at an inn (for it was late, about the hour of vespers,) and remained there all that night. On the following day, at a proper hour, they went to the abbey of St. Andrew, where the prince of Wales kept his court.

The knights and squires of the prince received them kindly, out of respect to the king of France, by whom they said they were sent.

* Very probably for having escaped dishonorably from England, where he was an hostage for his father king John.

The prince of Wales was soon informed of their arrival, and ordered them to be brought to him. When they came into his presence, they bowed very low, and saluted him with great respect (as was on every account his due, and they well knew how to pay it,) and then gave him their credential letters. The prince took them, and, after having read every word, said, "You are welcome; now communicate all that you have to say to us." "Respected sir," said the lawyer, "here are letters which were given to us by our honored lord the king of France; which letters we engaged on our faith to publish in your presence, for they nearly relate to you." The prince upon this changed color, from his great difficulty to conjecture what they could relate to: the barons and knights who were with him were equally astonished: but he restrained himself, and added, "Speak, speak: all good news we will cheerfully hear." The lawyer then opened the letter and read, word for word, the contents of it, which were:

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to our nephew the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, health. Whereas several prelates, barons, knights, universities, fraternities and colleges of the country and district of Gascony, residing and inhabiting upon the borders of our realm, together with many others from the country and duchy of Aquitaine, have come before us in our court, to claim justice for certain grievances and unjust oppressions which you, through weak counsel and foolish advice, have been induced to do them, and at which we are much astonished. Therefore, in order to obviate and remedy such things, we do take cognizance of their cause, insomuch that we, of our royal majesty and sovereignty, order and command you to appear in our city of Paris in person, and that you show and present yourself before us, in our chamber of peers, to hear judgment pronounced upon the aforesaid complaints and grievances done by you to your subjects, who claim to be heard, and to have the jurisdiction of our court. Let there be no delay in obeying this summons, but set out as speedily as possible after having heard this order read. In witness whereof, we have affixed our seal to these presents. Given at Paris, the 25th day of January, 1369."

CHAPTER CCXLVIII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES IMPRISONS THE COMMISSIONERS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE WHO HAD BROUGHT HIM THE SUMMONS OF APPEAL FROM THE LORDS OF GASCONY TO THE COURT OF FRANCE.

WHEN the prince of Wales had heard this letter read, he was more astonished than before. He shook his head; and after having eyed the said Frenchmen, and considered awhile, he replied as follows: "We shall willingly attend on the appointed day at Paris, since the king of France sends for us; but it will be with our helmet on our head, and accompanied by sixty thousand men." The two Frenchmen, upon this, fell upon their knees, saying, "Dear sir, have mercy, for God's sake: do not bear this appeal with too much anger nor indignation. We are but messengers sent by our lord the king of France, to whom we owe all obedience (as your subjects in like manner do to you,) and to whom it is proper we should pay it: therefore, whatever answer you shall wish to charge us with, we will very willingly report it to our lord." "Oh no," replied the prince, "I am not in the least angry with you, but with those who sent you hither. Your king has been ill advised, thus to take the part of our subjects, and to wish to make himself judge of what he has nothing to do with, nor any right to interfere in. It shall be very clearly demonstrated to him, that when he gave possession and seisin of the whole duchy of Aquitaine to our lord and father, or to his commissaries, he surrendered also all jurisdiction over it; and all those who have now appealed against us, have no other court to apply to but that of England, and to our lord and father. It shall cost a hundred thousand lives, before it shall be otherwise." On saying this, the prince quitted them, and entered another apartment, leaving them quite thunderstruck.

Some English knights came to them, and said: "My lords, you must go from hence, and return to your hôtel; you have well executed the business you came here upon, but you will not have any other answer to it than what you have just heard." The knight and lawyer returned to their inn, where having dined, they soon after packed up their baggage, and mounting their horses, set out from Bordeaux, taking the road to Toulouse, to relate to the duke of Anjou what they had done.

The prince of Wales was much cast down by this appeal which had been made against him. His knights and barons were not in better spirits: they wished, and even advised the prince to kill the two messengers, as a salary for their pains; but the prince forbade it to be done. His thoughts, however, were ill-inclined to them: when he heard they were set out, and had taken the road to Toulouse, he called sir Thomas Felton,* the high steward of Rouergue, sir Thomas de Pontchardon, sir Thomas Percy, his chancellor the bishop of Rhodez, and several others of his principal barons; of whom he asked, "Have these Frenchmen who have gone away any passports from me?" They answered, that they had heard nothing about it. "No," replied the prince, shaking his head, "it is not right that they should so easily leave our country, and go to relate

* Barnes says sir Thomas Felton was seneschal of Aquitaine, and sir Thomas Wake seneschal of Rouergue.

their practice to the duke of Anjou when he was little, and I see how they have surrounded the prince with their own people. They are, upon due consideration, to be sent to Toulouse, to the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord, Comminges and of Carmaing, rather than from the king of France; so that, for the vexation they have given us, we consent they should be detained and thrown into prison." The council of the prince were well pleased on hearing this, as it was before their advice, and said it had been but too long delayed.

The high steward of Agénois was charged with this commission: his name was sir William le Moine, a very gallant and noble knight of England; who immediately mounted his horse with his attendants, and left Bordeaux. He made such haste, in pursuing these Frenchmen, that he overtook them before they had passed the district of Agénois. Upon coming up with them, he arrested them under title of his office, and found another pretence for so doing without compromising the prince, whose name he never mentioned, but said, their host of the preceding evening had complained to him that they had taken one of his horses in mistake from his inn. The knight and lawyer were astonished on hearing this, and endeavored to excuse themselves, but in vain, for they could not obtain their liberty. They were conducted to the city of Agen, and put in the prison of the castle. The English suffered some of their attendants to return to France; who, passing through Toulouse, related to the duke of Anjou everything as it had happened. The duke was not much displeased thereat; for he thought it would be the beginning of the war, and prepared to take his measures accordingly.

News of the imprisonment of his commissioners was soon carried to the king of France; for their servants being returned to court, told all they had seen and heard from their masters, in regard to the state, government and countenance of the prince of Wales; which, coming to the ears of the king, inflamed his anger: he was greatly vexed, and thought much upon it, as well as upon the words of the prince, on receiving this appeal, namely, that he would attend the appeal in person, with his helmet on his head, accompanied by sixty thousand men. This haughty and proud answer occupied the mind of the king of France: he therefore, most prudently and wisely, began to make preparations for supporting the weight of this ensuing war; for in truth it was likely to be very heavy as well as hazardous, and to draw upon him the whole force of the king of England, against whom his predecessors had labored so much in former times, as has been related in this history. But he was strongly solicited by the great lords of Guyenne on the other hand, who demonstrated to him the extortions of the English, and the great losses which this might in future occasion to him, the truth of which he well knew. What appeared to affect him most, in beginning this war, was his consideration for the destruction of his poor people, which might continue for a long time, and the dangers and opprobrium which his nobles had suffered from the last war.

CHAPTER CCXLIX.

THE DUKE OF BERRY AND SEVERAL MORE LORDS, WHO HAD BEEN HOSTAGES IN ENGLAND RETURN TO FRANCE.

The king of France and his council, not regarding the haughty answer of the prince of Wales, made every preparation which might be necessary for the grand event about to take place. At this period, the lord John of France, duke of Berry, had returned home, through the favor of the king of England, who had granted him permission to remain a year in France. He acted so prudently, and made so many excuses, that he never went back; for the war speedily broke out, as you will hear related. Sir John de Harcourt had also returned to his own country, where his estates had been granted him, through the solicitations of sir Lewis de Harcourt his uncle, who was from Poitou, and at the time one of the prince's knights. Sir John de Harcourt fell sick, which happened to him very opportunely, for it lasted until the renewal of the war, so that he never again returned to England.

Sir Guy de Blois, who at that time was a young squire, and brother to the earl of Blois, obtained his liberty also; for when he perceived that the king of France, for whom he was hostage, had not thought of ransoming him, he made overtures to the lord de Coucy, who had married one of the king's daughters, and who had a very great revenue in right of his wife, assigned to him on the king's treasury. This treaty advanced so well between the king, his son-in-law, and sir Guy, that the latter, with the permission of his two brothers Louis and John, and with the consent of the king of France, gave up wholly and absolutely into the hands of the king of England, the county of Soissons; which county the king of England gave again, and presented to the lord de Coucy, who released it for four thousand livres a-year annual rent. Thus were these agreements and covenants finished. The earl Peter d'Alençon had, through the good will of the king of England, returned also to France, where he remained so long, and made so many excuses, that he never went back to resume his duty as hostage; but, I believe, at last he paid thirty thousand francs, to acquit his faith and oath.

Before this time, a fortunate circumstance happened to duke Louis de Bourbon, who was one of the hostages in England. By favor of the king of England, he had returned to France; and while he was at Paris with his brother-in-law king Charles, it chanced that the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of England, died. There was at that time a priest in England of the name of William of Wykeham: this William was so high in the king's grace that nothing was done, in any respect whatever, without his advice. When the chancellorship and bishopric thus became vacant, the king immediately wrote to the duke of Bourbon, at the request and prayer of the said William, to beg of him, through the affection he had for him, to go to the holy father Urban, and prevail on him to grant the vacant bishopric of Winchester to his chaplain; and that, in return, he would be very courteous to him as to his ransom.

When the duke of Bourbon received the messengers with the letters from the king of England, he was much pleased, and explained to the king of France what the king of England and sir William wanted him to do. The king advised him to go to the pope. The duke therefore, with his attendants, immediately set out and travelled, until they came to Avignon, where pope Urban resided, for he had not as yet set out for Rome. The duke made his request to the holy father, who directly granted it, and gave to him the bishopric of Winchester, to dispose of as he should please; and if he found the king of England courteous and liberal as to his ransom, he was very willing that Wykeham should have this bishopric. The duke upon this returned to France, and afterwards to England, where he entered into a treaty with the king and his council for his ransom, showing at the same time his bulls from the pope. The king, who loved Wykeham very much, did whatever he desired. The duke had his liberty, on paying twenty thousand francs; and sir* William Wykeham was made bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England.

In this manner, the French lords who were hostages in England obtained their liberty. We will now return to the war in Gascony, which first broke out on account of the appeal which has been already spoken of.

CHAPTER CCL.

THE EARL OF PERIGORD,† THE VISCOUNT OF CARMAING AND OTHER BARONS OF GASCONY, DEFIAT THE HIGH STEWARD OF ROUERGUE.

You have heard how much the prince of Wales was offended by the summons which had been served on him to appear at the court of the parliament in Paris. It was fully his intention to perform the answer he had given to the commissioners from the king, namely, that in the course of the summer he would come and take his seat, and personally appear at the feast of the lendit.‡ He therefore sent orders to those captains of English and Gascon companies who were attached to him, and in quarters upon the banks of the Loire, not to march to any great distance from that river, for he should shortly have occasion for them, and would find them employment. The greater part of these companies were much rejoiced at the news. The prince would not have failed in his intentions, but that his illness and the swelling daily increased (which had been caused by his expedition into Spain:) so that his attendants were very much alarmed at it, for he could not at this moment mount his horse. The king of France had received accurate information of all this, and had been furnished with the statement of his case drawn up in writing; from which the physicians and surgeons of France judged that he had a confirmed dropsy, and declared him unable ever to recover.

As soon as the capture of sir Caponnel de Caponnal and the man of law was publicly known, who, as it has been before said, were arrested by sir William le Moine, and carried prisoners to Agen, the earl of Comminges, the earl of Perigord, the viscount of Carmaing, sir Bertrand Taude, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, and many more knights and squires who resided on their estates, and lordships, were very much offended at this measure; since for them, and upon their account, had they undertaken this commission. They determined to have revenge for this violence, and to begin the war in

* "The custom of prefixing the addition of Sir, to the Christian name of a clergyman was formerly usual in this country. Fuller, in his Church History, book vi., enumerates seven churches, part of a much larger number, in the old cathedral of St. Paul, in the time of king Edward VI., with the names of the then incumbents, most of whom had the addition of sir; upon which he remarks, and gives this reason why there were formerly more sirs than knights: such priests as have the addition of sir, before their Christian names, were men not graduated in the university, being in orders, but not in degrees; while others, entitled masters, had commenced in the arts. This ancient usage is alluded to in the following humorous catch:

'Now I am married, Sir John I'll not curse:
He joined us together for better for worse.
But if I were single, I do tell you plain,
I'd be well advis'd, ere I married again.'"

Sir John Hawkins's *Hist. Music*, vol. ii. p. 518.

† The earls of Carmaing have since taken the name of Foix, by an alliance with an heiress of this name, who brought to them the county of Foix, in the 14th century. The earls of Perigord bear to this day the same name; they are likewise known under those of princes of Chalais, earls of Perigord, or earls of Talleyrand, which is the principal name of their house. M. de Talleyrand de Perigord was bishop of Autun, of which office he divested himself, when, in the course of the revolutionary furor, episcopacy became unpopular, and is now minister for foreign affairs to the republic of France, 1803. [Prince Talleyrand has within these few days (May, 1838,) departed this life, after reconciling himself to the church of Rome.—Ed.]

‡ Lendit—a great fair kept (in a field near St. Denis) from the second Wednesday in June until Midsummer eve—whence *lendits*—gate-money, fairings, or yearly presents, bestowed by the scholars of the university, especially those of Paris, on their tutors.—Cotgrave.

their own country, by making prisoners some of those attached to the party of the prince. They had information that sir Thomas Wake was on his road to Rhodez, to examine the strength of the castle; that he was at Villeneuve d'Agénois, from whence he was to be escorted by only sixty lances.

When these knights heard this news, they were in high spirits, and resolved to lay an ambuscade for sir Thomas, consisting of three hundred lances; so that about two leagues from Montauban, as the high steward was continuing his route with sixty lances and two hundred archers, they were attacked by this large ambuscade of Gascons. The English were very much surprised: for they, not suspecting such an attack, were quite unprepared for it: however, they began to exert themselves stoutly in self-defence; but the Gascons, who had formed their plans at leisure, were too many for them, and at the first shock numbers were dismounted: the English, not being able to resist the violence of the Gascons of Perigord, Comminges and Carmaing, were thrown into disorder, and, being defeated without much resistance, turned their backs. Many were taken and slain. Sir Thomas was obliged himself to fly, otherwise he would have been made prisoner; and he owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse, which carried him to Montauban. The Gascons and others returned to their own country, carrying with them their prisoners and booty.

News was very soon brought to the prince of Wales, who at that time resided at Angoulême, how his high steward of Rouergue had been defeated by the earl of Perigord, and by those other noblemen who had summoned him by appeal to the chamber of peers at Paris. Much enraged was the prince, when it was told him: he said, he would have a severe and early revenge for this, upon the persons and lordships where this outrage had been committed. He wrote directly to sir John Chandos, who had retired to his estate at St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Coutantin, ordering him to come to him, without delay, as soon as he should have received his letter.

Sir John Chandos, desirous of obeying the prince, made all possible haste, and came to Angoulême to the prince, who received him with great joy. Soon after, the prince sent him to Montauban, with a large body of men-at-arms and archers, to make war upon the Gascons and French, who were every day increasing in numbers, making incursions upon the territories of the prince. Sir Thomas Wake collected his scattered men as well as he could, and went to Rhodez, which he amply reinforced and revictualled, as well as the castle of Milhaud upon the confines of Montpellier; and in every place he put men-at-arms and archers.

Sir John Chandos made the town of Montauban his head-quarters, and gallantly defended the frontiers against the Gascons and French, with the other knights whom the prince of Wales had sent thither: such as, the captal de Buch, the two brothers de Pommiers, sir John and sir Helie, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Pons, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pinaine, the lord de Tannaybouton, and sir Richard de Pontchardon. These knights, with their companies, made frequent attacks upon the forces of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and Comminges, the viscounts of Carmaing and of Thariде, the lord de la Barde, and several other barons and knights of the same connection, who, with their companies, were upon this frontier. Sometimes one side was victorious, sometimes the other, as in war such things commonly happen.

The duke of Anjou remained very quiet, and made not the smallest movement, notwithstanding the rumors he heard; for the king of France had strictly ordered him not to make war upon the prince of Wales, nor on his subjects, until he should receive from him positive orders for so doing.

CHAPTER CCLI.

THE KING OF FRANCE GAINS OVER SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF THE FREE COMPANIES. HE SENDS HIS DEFIANCE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

The king of France, all this time, was secretly and ably gaining over several of the captains of the free companies, and others attached to the party of the English, who had ascended the river Loire, and were on the confines of Berry and Auvergne, where the king of France had given permission for them to reside. Not one of the companies of France was in motion; for the king did not wish that his name should yet be made use of in this war, lest it might do his affairs harm, and lest he should lose the country of Ponthieu, which he was very anxious to regain.

Had the king of England perceived that the king of France intended war, he would easily have prevented the loss of Ponthieu by reinforcing the garrisons of Abbeville with English, and others attached to him; so that he would have been master of the whole country; and in the like manner would he have done to all the other garrisons dependent on that county. The king of England had at this time, for high steward of Ponthieu, a good English knight called sir Nicholas Louvain, in whom the king had great confidence, and with justice; for, sooner than commit any cowardly or unworthy deed, he would have had his limbs torn from him.

At this period, the king of France sent to England the earl of Saltzburg and sir William des Dormans, to remonstrate with the king and his council, and to complain that part of the country of France had been, and still was, much harassed, as well by the daily incursions of the free companies, who had for these last six years made war upon France, as by other oppressors, of which the king of France and his council had had information, and were very ill satisfied that the king of England and his eldest son the prince of Wales should act in such a manner as to countenance them. These two personages remained in England for the space of two months; and during this time, they proposed various agreements and reasons to the king, which made him frequently out of humor and in a passion; but they did not pay much attention to this, for they had received instructions from the king of France and his council how to act and what to say.

When the king of France had received such information as he could depend on, that the inhabitants of Abbeville were in their hearts Frenchmen; that the war was begun in Gascony; that all the men-at-arms in the kingdom of France were prepared, and eager to wage war upon the prince of Wales and to enter his territories; he was anxious that no reproach might be cast on him, either at the present moment, or in times to come, for haviag ordered an army into the territories of the king of England, or the prince of Wales, to take cities, castles, towns or fortresses, without having sent them a challenge: he therefore resolved to defy the king of England; which he did by sealed letters. One of his valets, who was from Brittany, carried them. He met at Dover the earl of Saltzburg and sir William des Dormans, who were returning from England to France, having accomplished the business they had been sent on. The Breton, according to the orders he had received, told them what he was going about; which they no sooner heard than they set off as quickly as possible, and crossed the sea. They were very happy when they found themselves in the town and fortress of Boulogne.

About this time, sir Guiscard d'Angle, marshal of Aquitaine, had been sent by the prince of Wales to pope Urban V. at Rome, on affairs relating to Aquitaine. He had found the pope very polite in complying with the requests he had to make to him. On his return, he first heard the news of war being made on the prince, and that the French had entered the principality. He was very much surprised at this, and dubious how he should be able to continue his journey. He went, however, to the gallant earl of Savoy, whom he found at the town of Pignerol, in Piedmont, engaged in war with the marquis de Saluces. The earl of Savoy received sir Guiscard and his company with great pleasure: he entertained them for two days with much magnificence, and presented them with handsome gifts, particularly sir Guiscard, who had the larger share: for the gallant earl respected him greatly, on account of his hardy knighthood.

When sir Guiscard and his companions had left the earl of Savoy, the nearer they approached the boundaries of France and Burgundy the worse news they heard, and more disagreeable to their feelings. Sir Guiscard having well considered all the information he could gain, saw that it would be impossible for him to return to Guyenne in the state he travelled. He therefore delayed as much as he could, and gave the command of his whole army and attendants to a knight called sir John Shore, who had married his daughter. Sir John came from Brittany, and spoke very good French: he took the command of all the attendants and baggage of his father-in-law: when coming to the estate of the lord of Beaujeu, he crossed the river Saône, and became so well acquainted with the lord of Beaujeu that he conducted him and his whole company to Rion in Auvergne, to the duke of Berry: he there offered to become a true Frenchman, provided he were suffered to return peaceably to his house in Brittany, as it had before been settled between him and the lord of Beaujeu.

In the mean time, sir Guiscard, under the disguise of a poor chaplain, ill mounted and badly equipped, passed through France, Burgundy, and Auvergne, and with great difficulty entered the principality. On his arrival at Angoulême, he was heartily welcomed by the prince of Wales. Another knight, whose name was sir William de Sens, who had accompanied him on this embassy to Rome, took refuge in the abbey of Clugny in Burgundy, from whence he never stirred for five years, and at last turned Frenchman.

We will now return to the Breton who was the bearer of the challenge from Charles king of France to Edward king of England.

CHAPTER CCLII.

CHALLENGES FROM FRANCE ARE DELIVERED TO THE KING OF ENGLAND. THE EARL DE ST. POL AND THE LORD DE CHATILLON CONQUER THE COUNTY OF PONTHIEU.

The valet before mentioned made haste to London, as he had heard the king of England and his council were assembled at the palace of Westminster. The king had for some time held various councils upon the state of the prince's affairs, who was at war with the barons and knights of Gascony, to examine into the best means of assisting him, and to consider whom he should send from England to the prince's aid. He soon heard other news, which troubled him more than before; for the valet who was the bearer of these letters managed so as to enter the chamber where the king and his council were sitting. He said he was a valet belonging to the household of the king of France, and had been sent by that king with letters addressed to the king of England, but was ignorant what were their contents, nor did it belong to him to know. He presented them on his knees

to the king; who, being desirous to know what might be their subject, ordered them to be taken, opened, and read. The king and all those with him were much surprised when they heard the challenge they contained. They examined them very carefully every way, as well as the seal, and clearly saw that the challenge was good. They ordered the valet to withdraw, telling him he had done his business well, and that he might boldly set out on his return, for he would not meet with any obstacle to his doing so, as indeed he did not: he therefore went back to France as speedily as possible.

The earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earl of Porcien, the lord de Maulevrier, and several others at this time in England, as hostages for the king of France, were in the greatest anxiety on hearing the above intelligence; for they were doubtful of the intentions of the king of England and his council, and what they meant to do to them.

It is proper to be known that the king and his council were greatly offended that this challenge should have been brought by a valet: they said it was not decent that a war between two such great lords as the kings of France and of England should be announced and declared by a common servant; that it would not have been unworthy of a prelate, or of a valiant baron or knight, to have been the bearer of such a declaration; however, nothing more was done.

In this council, the king was advised to send directly reinforcements of men-at-arms to Ponthieu, to guard that country, more particularly to Abbeville, which ran much risk of being taken. The king approved of this, and ordered the lord Percy, the lord Neville, the lord Carbestone* and sir William Windsor on this business, with three hundred men-at-arms and one thousand archers.

While these lords were making their preparations, and were already as far advanced on their road as Dover, to cross the sea, other news was brought which did not please them much. For as soon as the earl Guy de St. Pol and sir Hugh de Châtillon, who was at that time master of the cross-bows of France, could suppose that the king of England had received the defiance, they advanced toward Ponthieu, having before sent privately their summons to the knights and squires of Hainault, Artois, Cambresis, Vermandois, Vimeu, and Picardy; so that their whole force amounted to not less than a hundred and twenty lances, with which they appeared before Abbeville. The gates were immediately opened, as had before been privately concerted; and these men-at-arms entered the town without doing any harm to the inhabitants.

Sir Hugh de Châtillon, who was the leader of this expedition, marched to that part of the town where he thought he should find the high steward of Ponthieu, sir Nicholas Louvain, and exerted himself so effectually as to make him his prisoner, as well as a very rich clerk and valiant man who was treasurer of Ponthieu. The French made this day many a good and rich prisoner; for the English lost everything they had in the town. On the same day, the French advanced to St. Valery, which they took by storm; they did the same to Crotoy,† as well as to the town of Derne‡ upon the sea.

Shortly after, the earl of St. Pol went to Pont de St. Remy on the Somme, where some English were collected. The earl ordered them to be attacked. There was a grand skirmish, with many valorous deeds of arms. His eldest son, Galeran, was created a knight, and did honor to his new knighthood. The English were so roughly handled, that they were either slain or made prisoners, and the bridge and fort conquered by the French. In short, the whole territory and county of Ponthieu were freed from the English, so that none remained who could any way do mischief.

News was brought to the king of England, who was at London, how those of Ponthieu had deserted him, and turned to the French. The king was much enraged at this, and at first had intentions of severely retaliating upon those of the hostages who were still in London; but he thought it would be cruel to make them answer for his ill fortune. Nevertheless, he sent all the citizens who had been given as hostages from the cities and principal towns of France, to other towns, castles, and forts in his kingdom, and did not allow them the same liberty they had before enjoyed. He ransomed the earl dauphin d'Auvergne for thirty thousand francs, and the earl of Porcien for ten thousand. The lord de Roye, however, remained in prison, in great peril; for, as he was not in any favor at the court of England, he was obliged to endure much ill treatment, until delivered by accident and great good fortune, as you will hear in the continuance of this history.

CHAPTER CCLIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS A LARGE BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS TO THE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND. THE DUKES OF BERRY AND OF ANJOU ISSUE THEIR ORDERS FOR THEIR VASSALS TO ATTACK THE PRINCE OF WALES.

When the king of England thus saw himself defied by the king of France; the county of Ponthieu lost, after having cost him such sums in the reparation of towns, castles, and houses (for he had expended one hundred thousand francs in addition to the revenues he drew from it;) he was in a mighty passion. He had, however, more fears of a war from Scotland than from France: he knew the Scots did not love him, for the great mischiefs he had done them in former times. He therefore sent large detachments of men-at-arms to Berwick, Roxburgh, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and to the whole border, to guard it. He also ordered detachments to Southampton, Guernsey, and to the island of Blisso;* for he had procured information that the king of France was making great preparations, and collecting a number of ships, in order to invade England. He did not know what part to guard the most; and, to speak truth, the English were very much alarmed.

As soon as the dukes of Berry and of Anjou were certain that the challenge had been delivered, and war declared, being unwilling to remain idle, they issued their special orders; one in Auvergne, the other at Toulouse; for their vassals to enter the principality. The duke of Berry had under his command all the barons of Auvergne, of the bishoprics of Lyons and Mâcon, the lords de Beaujeu, de Villars, de Tournon, sir Godfrey de Boulogne, his brother-in-law sir John d'Armagnac, sir John de Villemur, the lords de Montagu and de Talencon, sir Hugh Dauphin, the lord de Rochefort, and several more. These men-at-arms immediately advanced to Touraine, and to the borders of Berry, from whence they carried the war into the fine country of Poitou; but they found it well filled with knights and squires, who did not permit them to gain much advantage.

Sir Louis de St. Julian, sir William des Bourdes, and Carnet le Breton, were at that time in garrison in the French castles of Touraine. These three were great captains, brothers in arms: they performed many gallant deeds, and did much harm to the English, as will hereafter be more fully related.

CHAPTER CCLIV.

SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF COMPANIES SIDE WITH DIFFERENT PARTIES. THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE TO THE ASSISTANCE OF HIS SON THE PRINCE OF WALES. THEY PASS THROUGH BRITTANY.

The duke of Lancaster possessed, as part of his inheritance in Champagne, a castle situated between Troyes and Châlons, called Beaufort; of which an English squire, named the Poursuivant d'Amourt was the captain. When this squire perceived that the war was renewed between the kings of France and England, he turned to the king of France, and swore to him faith and loyalty from this time forth, as a good Frenchman. The king for this enriched him greatly, and left this castle under his care, in conjunction with another squire of Champagne called Yvain.‡ The poursuivant and Yvain were great friends. They performed many feats of arms against the English, and against their partisans.

The canon de Robesart, who had before been a loyal and a good Frenchman, on the renewal of the war turned to the English, and became the liege man of the king of England, who was well satisfied with his services. In this manner several knights and squires changed their party. The duke of Anjou had been so active among the free companies of Gascony that sir Perducas d'Albret, le petit Mechin, le bourg de Breteuil, Aimenon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, Jacquet de Bray and Arnaudon de Pans, turned Frenchmen; which much displeased the English, as their forces were greatly weakened by it. Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg de l'Esparre and le bourg Camus, remained steady to the English; as well as the most approved captains among them, such as sir Robert Briquet, Robert Thin, John Tresnelle, Gaillard de Motte, and Aimery de Rochechouart. These companies of English and Gascons, with their followers, fixed their quarters in the bishopric of Mans in lower Normandy; where they took a town called Vire,§ and destroyed and ruined all the neighboring country. Thus these free companies changed their sides; but all of them were engaged for the French or English.

The king of England determined to send his son, Edmund of

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* Barnes says, lord Henry Percy, lord William Neville, and lord William Windsor, and *one* lord more, but does not name him.

† Crotoy—a town opposite to St. Valery, on the Somme.

‡ "Derne." No such place. Q. if Isle Rue, which is a small town on the coast, two miles from St. Valery?

* "Blisso." Q. of Wight. Lord Berners says the Isle of Wight.—Ed.

† Poursuivant d'Amour, was a title that knights and squires gave themselves, on account of their wearing the portrait or colors of their mistresses, and challenging each other to fight in honor of their ladies. Barnes calls him Percival Damorie, but I do not see on what foundation: it seems to me to be a corruption of Poursuivant d'Amour.

"The duke of Lancaster at this same time lost his castle of Beaufort, between Troyes and Châlons. He had intrusted this place to the guard of Evan of Wales. This Evan was called le Poursuivant d'Amour. He was the son of Edmund, the last of the ancient sovereigns of Wales, who had been beheaded by Edward. He had been brought up at the court of Philip de Valois, as page of honor to his chamber, and made his first campaign under king John. At the peace, the duke of Lancaster, who was probably ignorant of his birth, made him governor of his castle of Beaufort. Being naturally an enemy to the English, he eagerly seized this opportunity of revenging himself for the ancient injuries of his house. The king of France accepted his offers of service, and gave him the command of some ships, with which he made incursions on the English coasts."—*Hist. de France, par Villaret*, tome v. p. 346.

There must be some mistake in the preceding account from Villaret, for Wales was finally conquered by Edward I. in 1283, by the defeat of Llewelin, and the disgraceful manner in which Edward murdered his brother David. The surrender of the castle of Beaufort happened nearly one hundred years afterwards, so that Evan could not have been a son of one of our last sovereigns.

‡ It seems probable that this chevalier was the Welshman mentioned in the foregoing note, and that the Poursuivant was a totally different person. Who Evan really was it is not easy to discover.—Ed.

§ Vire—a town in Normandy, on the river Vire, diocese of Bayeux.

Langley earl of Cambridge, and his son-in-law, John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, to the assistance of the prince of Wales in the duchy of Aquitaine, with the command of a body of men-at-arms and cross-bowmen. He also named such as he thought right to send with them: and in the number were, the lord Braddeston,* sir Bryan Stapleton, sir John Trivet, sir Thomas Banaster and divers others. They embarked as speedily as they could, and put to sea, having with them four hundred men-at-arms and as many archers. They steered their course for Brittany; and, having a wind to their wish, they landed at the port St. Malo. When John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, was informed of their arrival, he was much rejoiced, and immediately sent some of his knights to receive and entertain them; namely, sir John de Laigniguay and sir John Augustin. The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke were well pleased on seeing these knights: but they were not perfectly assured if the barons and principal towns of Brittany would permit them to pass through the country, in their way to Poitou. The English lords, therefore, made this their request to the duke and to the country. The duke, being very partial to the English, complied directly with their wishes, and acted so efficaciously with the barons and principal towns, that it was agreed they should pass through the country in a peaceable manner, upon paying for whatever they might have occasion to use: to which terms the English joyfully assented.

The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke prepared to march with their army to join those free companies who were in the province of Maine, at Château Gontier† and at Vire; where they had destroyed and pillaged the whole country; declaring their intentions to advance farther into the interior of the kingdom. The Bretons entered into treaty with them; and it was agreed that they should have liberty to pass through that country, by crossing the river Loire at the bridge of Nantes, engaging not to do any mischief on their march.

At this time, sir Hugh Calverley was on the borders of Arragon, with a large body of the free companies, who had lately quitted Spain. As soon as he heard that the French were making war upon the prince, he set off with all the men-at-arms of the companies, passed through Arragon and Foix, entered Bigorre, and hastened until he came to the prince, who at that time held his court in the city of Angoulême. When the prince saw him arrive, he gave him a handsome reception, and thanked him much for the assistance he had brought. He prevailed with him to be his guest until the companies which had left Normandy (having first sold those fortresses which they held there) were come; for the Bretons allowed them to pass through their country, provided they behaved themselves well. As soon as they were arrived at Angoulême and in that neighborhood, the prince appointed sir Hugh Calverley to be their captain. They were in the whole, including those who had come with them from Arragon, two thousand fighting men. The prince immediately ordered them to march to the estates of the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, to burn and destroy them. In consequence of this order, they made a very disastrous war, and did great damages.

CHAPTER CCLV.

THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE ARRIVE AT ANGOULÊME. THE PRINCE SENDS THEM TO OVERRUN THE COUNTY OF PERIGORD. SOME ENGLISH ARE DEFEATED NEAR TO LUSIGNAN.

The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke remained at St. Malo with their troops, as has before been said, until all the free companies of their party had come through the country with the assent of the duke of Brittany. When they had sufficiently recruited themselves, and had permission to march, they set out from St. Malo, and by easy days' journeys arrived at Nantes, where the duke received these lords most honorably, and kept them with him for three days, which were spent in magnificent feasts. On the fourth day they crossed the great river Loire over the bridge at Nantes, and then continued their march until they came to Angoulême, where they found the prince and princess. The prince was much rejoiced at the arrival of his brother the earl of Cambridge and the earl of Pembroke. He inquired after the healths of the king his father, the queen, and his other brothers: to which questions he received satisfactory answers. After they had remained with him three days, and had refreshed themselves, the prince ordered them to set out from Angoulême, to make an excursion into the county of Perigord.

The two lords and knights who had come with them from England instantly made preparations to provide themselves with everything that might be necessary. Having taken leave of the prince, they marched off in grand array. They were, in the whole, full three thousand combatants: among these were several knights and squires from Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Quercy and Rouergue, whom the prince ordered to accompany them. These lords and men-at-arms entered hostilely the county of Perigord, which they overran, and did much mischief to it. When they had burnt and destroyed the greater part, they laid siege to a fortress called Bordeilles,‡ of which two squires of Gascony were governors: they were brothers, named Ernaldon and Bernardel de Batefol. There were in this garrison of Bordeilles with the two captains, a number of men-at-arms, whom the earl of Perigord had sent thither. It was also amply provided with artillery, wine, provision and everything else that might be necessary to hold out for a considerable time; and those in garrison were well inclined to defend it: so that during the siege of Bordeilles many gallant deeds of arms, many a skirmish and many an assault, were daily performed. The two before-mentioned squires were bold, proud and enterprising: they little loved the English, and in consequence advanced frequently to their barriers to skirmish with them. Sometimes one side conquered, sometimes the other, as it happens in such adventures and deeds of arms.

On the other hand, there were full one thousand combatants, French, Burgundians, Bretons, Picards, Normans and Angevins, in Poitou, and on the borders of Anjou and Touraine, who were overrunning the lands of the prince of Wales, and daily committing great devastations. The leaders of these men-at-arms were, sir John de Bueil, sir William de Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julian and Carnet le Breton.

In order to oppose this force, some knights and squires of the prince, in particular sir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus, were quartered on the borders of Poitou and Saintonge: but they were scarcely a fourth part of the strength of the French. Whenever the French made any excursions, they amounted always to a thousand fighting men: whereas the English were never more, at the utmost, than two or three hundred; for the prince had sent off three very large detachments—one to Montauban, of five hundred men-at-arms, under sir John Chandos, to ravage the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret—another of considerable numbers, under sir Hugh Calverley—and the largest division under the command of his brother, the earl of Cambridge, before Bordeilles. Notwithstanding this, those who were in Poitou did not fail to acquit themselves gallantly, and to do their duty in making excursions on the lands of France, and in guarding their own. The English, with their partisans, have always acted in this manner, and have never refused nor dreaded the combat because they were not in greater numbers.

It happened then one day, that the French had gained exact information how the English had taken the field and were out on an excursion, which gave them such spirits that they collected all their forces, and placed themselves in ambuscade, to fall upon the English as they returned from the inroad which they had made between Mirebeau* and Lusignan.† It was on a broken causeway that the French, to the amount of five hundred men, commanded by the before-mentioned captains, sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julien, and Carnet le Breton, advanced to attack them. A sharp engagement ensued, when many were unhorsed; for the English defended themselves bravely, and fought gallantly as long as it lasted. Many valorous actions were performed. Sir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus proved themselves good knights: but in the end they had the disadvantage, for they were only a handful of men when compared with the French. They were therefore defeated, and compelled to fly. The earl saved himself as well as he could, and gained the castle of Lusignan; but sir Simon Burley was so closely pursued, and surrounded on the broken causeway near Lusignan, that he was made prisoner by the French: most of his people being killed or taken, for very few escaped.

The French returned to their garrisons rejoiced at the issue of this adventure, as was also the king of France when he heard it. Not so the prince of Wales, who was much vexed, and bitterly lamented the capture of his good knight sir Simon Burley, whom he loved well, as indeed he had reason; for, to say the truth, he was a most expert man-at-arms for his time, very courageous, and had always carried himself valiantly for his lord the king of England and his country. His companions who had been slain or made prisoners on the causeway had behaved equally well; for whose loss the prince was in great sorrow, and much enraged. It is a common saying, that one man is worth a hundred, and that a hundred is not worth one man; for, in truth, it happens, sometimes, that by the good conduct and courage of one man, a whole country is preserved, while another person may totally ruin and destroy it. Thus things frequently fall out

CHAPTER CCLVI.

SIR JOHN CHANDOS TAKES TERRIERS. THE EARL OF PERIGORD AND MANY OTHER KNIGHTS LAY SIEGE TO REALVILLE‡ IN QUERCY.

After this defeat, which happened, as has been related, between Mirebeau and Lusignan, the English and Poitevins, when they made any excursions, acted with greater prudence and kept more together. We will now speak of sir John Chandos, sir Guiscard d'Angle,§ and

* "Braddeston"—a town in Poitou.

† "Lusignan"—a town in Poitou, seven leagues from Poitiers.

‡ "Realville"—a town of Quercy, on the river Aveyron, about two leagues from Montauban.

§ Sir Guiscard d'Angle was created a peer, by the title of earl of Huntingdon, 1st Ric. II. He was a knight of the Garter, which honor he received for having been instrumental to the marriage of the duke of Lancaster with a daughter of don Pedro of Castile.

others who were in Montauban, seven leagues distant from Toulouse, and who made frequent sallies from that place very much to their honor. However, while they were there, they thought they could employ their time more profitably than in guarding the frontiers, and in consequence determined to lay siege to Terrères in the Toulousin. They made therefore every necessary preparation, and, marching from Montauban in grand array, came to Terrères. The whole army being arrived, it was surrounded closely; for they depended on gaining it by means of mines, as it could not easily be taken by assault. Their miners were set to work, who labored so well that at the end of fifteen days they took the town; all who were in it were killed, and the place pillaged and destroyed. In this excursion, they had intended to take another town, three leagues from Toulouse, called Laval, and had placed an ambuscade in a wood near that place. They advanced with about forty men, armed, but dressed in peasant's clothes. They were, however, disappointed by a country boy, who, following their footsteps, discovered their intentions; by which means they failed, and returned to Montauban.

The earl of Perigord, the earl de Comminges, the earl de l'Isle, the viscount de Carmaing, the viscount de Brunikel, the viscount de Talar, the viscount de Murendon, the viscount de Laustre, sir Bertrand de Tharide, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, sir Perducas d'Albret, the little Mechin, the bourg de Breteuil, Aimemon d'Ortige, Jacquet de Bray, Perrot de Savoye, and Arnaudon de Pans, took the field about this period. There were among these free companies full ten thousand fighting men. By orders from the duke of Anjou, who at that time resided in Toulouse, they entered Quercy in great force, where they brought on much tribulation by burning and destroying the whole country. They advanced to Rèalville, wherein they besieged the high steward of Quercy, who had before provided it with everything necessary for the defence of a town, and with good English soldiers, who had resolved never to surrender but with their lives: notwithstanding the inhabitants were well inclined to the French.

During the time these knights and barons of France were besieging this town, they sent to Toulouse for four great engines, which were immediately brought thither. They were pointed against the walls of Rèalville, into which they flung night and day large stones and pieces of timber that did much mischief and weakened it. They had also miners with them, whom they set to work, and who boasted that in a short time they would take the town. The English, however, behaved like good and brave men, supported each other, and in appearance held these miners very cheap.

CHAPTER CCLVII.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TOULOUSE TURNS THE CITY OF CAHORS AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS TO THE PARTY OF THE KING OF FRANCE. THE DUKES OF GUELDRES AND OF JULIERS SEND DEFIANCES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

While the French men-at-arms were thus quartering themselves in Quercy, and upon the borders of Limousin and Auvergne, the duke of Berry was in another part of this last province, where he had a large body of men-at-arms, under sir John d'Armagnac, his brother-in-law, the lord John de Villemur, Roger de Beaufort, the lord de Beaujeu, the lords de Villars, de Sergnac, de Calencon, sir Griffon de Montagu, sir Hugh Dauphin, and a great many other good knights. They made inroads on the confines of Rouergue, Quercy, and Limousin, and carried ruin and devastation wherever they went, for nothing was able to stand before them. By the advice of the duke of Berry, the duke of Anjou sent the archbishop of Toulouse from that city, during the time these armies were overrunning the country, to the city of Cahors, of which place his brother was bishop. This archbishop was a very learned clerk, as well as a valiant man. He preached up this quarrel of the king of France so earnestly, and so well, that the city of Cahors turned to the French side: and the inhabitants swore that from this time forth they would be loyal and faithful subjects to the king of France. After this, the archbishop continued his journey through the country, preaching everywhere, with such good success, the rights of the king of France, that all the people of those parts embraced his opinions; and upward of sixty towns, castles, and fortresses were turned to the king of France, with the assistance of the army of the duke of Berry; that is to say, of sir John d'Armagnac and the others who were overrunning the country. He caused also Sigeac, Gaignac, Capedonac, and several other principal towns and strong castles to change sides; for he remonstrated and preached, that the king of France had a good and clear right in this quarrel, with such effect, that all who heard him were convinced: besides, naturally in their hearts they were more French than English, which greatly helped this business.

In like manner, as the archbishop went preaching and remonstrating on the justice of the quarrel of the king of France along the confines of Languedoc, there were in Picardy many prelates and lawyers who were as active in doing the same duty, by preaching and converting the people of the cities, large towns, and villages. Sir William des Dormans, in particular, distinguished himself by preaching this quarrel of the king of France from city to city, and from town to town, so wisely and ably that all people listened to him willingly; and it was wonderful how well he covered the whole business through the kingdom by his harangues. In addition to this, the king of France, moved by devotion and humility, ordered frequent processions of the whole clergy: when he himself, as well as the queen, attended without stockings, and bare-footed. In this manner, they went praying and supplicating God to listen to them, and to the necessities of the kingdom of France, which had been for so long a time under tribulation. The king ordered all the subjects of his realm to do the same, by the advice of the prelates and churchmen.

The king of England acted in a similar manner in his kingdom. There was at that time a bishop of London* who made several long and fine sermons: he demonstrated and preached in these sermons, that the king of France had most unjustly renewed the war, and that it was against right and reason, as he plainly showed in different points and articles. In truth, it was but proper, that both kings, since they were determined on war, should explain and make clear to their subjects the cause of the quarrel, that they might understand it, and have the better will to assist their kings; to which purpose they were all equally alert in the two kingdoms.

The king of England had sent to Brabant and Hainault, to learn if he could have any assistance from either of them; and had frequently, on account of his near connection, requested duke Albert, who at that time governed the country for his brother, to allow him to pass through his territories, or to remain there, if there should be occasion, and to enter through his country the kingdom of France, to carry the war into the heart of it.

Duke Albert would willingly have complied with the requests of the king of England, his uncle, and of queen Philippa his aunt, through the mediation and advice of lord Edward de Gueldres, who was of the king's party, and also by means of the duke of Juliers his cousin-german, but he had been already gained, as you will hear. These two were in those times strictly connected, by faith and homage, to the king of England, who had desired each of them to engage for him as many as a thousand lances, for which they should be well satisfied. On this account, these two lords would have been very glad to have had duke Albert in alliance with the king of England. The duke was much tempted to join them by the magnificent presents which the king offered to make him; which promises were frequently repeated by these two lords, as well as by other knights whom he sent over to him, and principally by the lord de Cominest, who chiefly on this account had returned to Hainault, after having resided some time with the king. But the king of France and his council had gained over the lord John de Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, who governed the whole country. He was a wise man, a valiant knight, and a good Frenchman. This high steward had so much weight, and was so beloved by the duke and duchess, that he overset all the expectations of the English, with the assistance of the earl of Blois, sir John de Blois his brother, the lords de Ligny and de Barbançon, and exerted himself so that duke Albert and the whole country remained neuter, and would not take either side, which was the answer made by the lady Jane duchess of Brabant.

King Charles of France, who was wise and artful, had taken the previous measures, and settled all this business three years‡ before. He well knew that he had good friends in Hainault and Brabant, especially among the greater part of the counsellors of the principal noblemen. In order to put a better color on his war, he had copies made by learned men of different papers relative to the peace, which were signed at Calais, in which he stated all the facts in his favor, and those articles the king of England and his children had sworn to maintain, and to which they had submitted by sealed deeds, with the orders which they ought in consequence to have given to their subjects: in short, all the points and articles which were favorable to him, and condemned the actions of the English. These papers were made public in the town halls, and in the presence of different noblemen and their counsellors, that they might be fully informed on the subject.

On the other hand, the king of England acted in like manner; for he sent memorials and remonstrances through Germany, or wherever he expected to gain assistance. The duke of Gueldres (who was nephew to the king of England, being the son of his sister, and thus cousin-german to the children of the king,) and the duke of Juliers, were at that time true and loyal Englishmen: they had been very much affronted by the manner of the king of France sending his challenge by a servant, and rebuked the king for it, highly blaming both him and his council for this unbecoming form of sending it. They said, that war between such great and renowned

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* Dr. Simon Tibald, alias Sudbury.—Barnes.

† "Lord de Commes." My MSS. have Gommegines. This passage seems very much confused. Lord Berners says, in his translation, that the lord de Commes was at the French court, and came away to prevent duke Albert joining the king of England.—[This passage has been, as D'Ouvrage expresses it, "horribly corrupted." He had considerable difficulty in settling it, and quotes the parallel passage from two other copies besides his own text, all varying from each other. It is not at all clear from these that Commes or Gommegines was not on the French party as lord Berners represents him to be, and this appears more probable from a former passage, where he is represented as attached to the French party; and, again, at page 411, Mr. Johnes in that place uses a third orthography, and spells the name Commynges, but all three appear to be the same name.]—Ed.

‡ Three years. Denys Sauvage suspects it ought to be three months, but gives no reason for it.

lords as the kings of France and of England should have been declared by proper messengers, such as dignified prelates, bishops or abbots. They added, that the French had not followed this usual mode, through pride and presumption. These lords sent their challenge to the king of France in a handsome manner, as did several other knights of Germany. It was their intention immediately to have entered France, and to have done such deeds there as twenty years should not efface: but their schemes were broken by means they did not expect, as you will hereafter find recorded in this history.

CHAPTER CCLVIII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BROTHER TO KING CHARLES V. MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS. THE KING OF ENGLAND ENTERS INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE.

It has been before related how much the king of England solicited and intrigued, during upward of five years, the marriage of his son, Edmund earl of Cambridge, with the daughter of the earl of Flanders. As the detailed account of the different negotiations would be too long, I shall briefly pass them over: but you must know that the king of England could not by any means whatever obtain from pope Urban V. a dispensation. As this was absolutely necessary, the marriage remained in suspense. The earl of Flanders being solicited, on the other hand, by the king of France, for his brother the duke of Burgundy; and seeing that the marriage not being likely to take place with England, his daughter ought to marry, as he had not any other children; having also learnt that the countess of Artois, his mother, was favorable to the duke of Burgundy's suit, for it was a grand and well assorted alliance; for these reasons he sent noble embassadors to England, to treat with the king for an acquittal of his engagements between them.

These embassadors managed the business so ably that the king of England, who always wished to act honorably, assented to the earl of Flanders' request. They returned, therefore, to Bruges, and related to the earl their lord what they had done. The earl was much pleased at their success. It was not long before the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with the heiress of Flanders was determined on. There were great treaties, agreements and alliances made between both parties; and it was then told me, that the earl of Flanders, in consideration of this marriage, received upward of fifty thousand crowns;* that the towns of Douay and Lille were given up to him, on account of the money which the king of France was to give his brother on this marriage. The earl of Flanders took possession of these towns, put his own subjects into them, and they were esteemed as part of Flanders, on account of the sums they were pledged for. But I know nothing furthur.

Soon after these arrangements were concluded, they proceeded to the marriage, which was celebrated in the city of Ghent. There were great feasts at the solemnity of the wedding, and afterwards, which were attended by crowds of lords, barons and knights. The gallant lord of Coucy was there, whose presence was so acceptable at a feast, of which none knew better how to do the honors; it was for this reason the king of France had sent him thither. After they had been magnificently entertained, as well with tournaments as otherwise, they separated, and returned to their homes.

The king of England, who saw that from this marriage the earl of Flanders must become the ally of the king of France, was ignorant whether the earl would take part against him with the duke of Burgundy his son, who of course would be his heir to the county of Flanders, and what treaties had been entered into by the earl with the king of France. The king, therefore, was much harder upon the Flemings than before, and harassed them by sea and land, and whenever he found them in his own country with their merchandise. The king of France was not displeased at this, and would willingly have seen a war declared between the Flemings and the English: but the prudent men of Flanders and the citizens of the principal towns were averse to it, for the commonalties of Flanders maintained the quarrel between the two kings to be more just on the part of England than of France.

King Edward was gaining friends on all sides, and much need had he of them, from the appearance of the great wars and rebellions that were breaking out in his dominions beyond sea. He was given to understand, that his cousin king Charles of Navarre, who at that time resided in lower Normandy, would join his party; for he hated the king of France, on account of some estates which the king of Navarre claimed as his inheritance, and which the king of France denied his right to. Counsellors on each side had frequently met, but they could never come to any agreement. The affair had remained in this situation, and each was on his guard. The king of Navarre had amply provided his towns and castles in Coutantin, in the county of Evreux, as well as his principal towns in Normandy, with all sorts of stores: he had filled Cherbourg, where he resided, with men-at-arms.

At this time, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was with the king of Navarre: he was governor of a town called Carentan,* beyond the fords of St. Clement in Coutantin, which he held under the king of Navarre, being part of his inheritance: sir Eustace was also one of his privy counsellors: so that the king of England sent to him (for he was his liege man and knight,) to sound the intentions of the king of Navarre. He found him well inclined, and treated so successfully that the king of Navarre, with a small retinue, embarked on board a ship called the Lynne, and visited the king of England, who was right glad to see him. He entertained him handsomely; and they had many conferences together, in which they understood each other so well that, on the return of the king of Navarre, he was to declare war against the king of France, and to admit English garrisons into all his castles.

After these engagements and treaties had been concluded, the king of Navarre returned to Cherbourg in Normandy. He was escorted thither by some of the knights of the household of the king and queen of England, who were unfortunate as they came back; for they met some pirates of Normandy that attacked their vessels, and, being the strongest, overpowered them, and killed every person: they gave no quarters to any one. The king of England was much enraged when he heard this but he could not possibly then remedy it.

Soon after the return of the king of Navarre to Cherbourg, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt (who had been sent for by the prince of Wales, and whose heralds had summoned his attendance) took his leave, in order to obey the prince. The king parted with him with much regret, but sir Eustace explained his reasons so fully that he allowed him to depart. He embarked with his attendants, and sailed for St. Malo, where he landed, and then rode to Nantes, in order to to pass the river Loire, with the permission of the duke of Brittany and the inhabitants, who as yet had not taken any part in this war. He continued his journey until he arrived in Poitou, at the town of Angoulême, where the prince received him with great pleasure, and shortly afterwards sent him to sir John Chandos and the captal de Buch, who were in Montauban, guarding the frontiers against the French. Sir Eustace, on his arrival, was most joyfully greeted by his former companions.†

CHAPTER CCLIX

THE CONSTABLES OF FRANCE AND OF HAINAULT UNDERTAKE A GRAND EXPEDITION TO ATTACK ARDRES. THE FORTRESS OF REALVILLE IS TAKEN, AND ALL THE ENGLISH WHO WERE IN IT PUT TO THE SWORD.

The knights of Picardy, about this period, were preparing a grand expedition of men-at-arms, with the intention of paying a visit to those of Ardres.‡ Sir John Moreau de Fiennes, constable of France, and sir John Werthin, constable§ of Hainault, were appointed, by order of the king of France, the leaders of it. Their rendezvous was in the good town of St. Omer. They amounted, in the whole, to a thousand lances, knights and squires. These men-at-arms advanced, to show their array, before the fort of Ardres, which was well garrisoned with English. They encamped there, and gave out that they intended to lay siege to it. The English in Ardres were not alarmed, but made every necessary preparation to defend themselves, if they should be attacked. One day these lords of France and of Hainault drew out their army to the field in gay spirit, and in noble array. It was a fine sight to behold the banners of these lords flying before them, and the gallant muster they made. They began an attack, but with little advantage: for many were killed and wounded; and nothing gained. According to the information which I then received, I believe it was on the fifth day they left Ardres, without any other action, and each man returned to his own home. Thus was this expedition put an end to.

We will now return to what was going forward in a distant part of the country, and relate the siege of Réalville in Quercy by the French. There were upward of twelve thousand combatants, all good men-at-arms; and at two days' march were the duke of Berry, sir John d'Armagnac, sir John de Villemur, the lord de Beaujeu, and others from Auvergne and Burgundy, in all about three thousand fighting men, who were ready to advance should there be occasion. Sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, sir Guiscard d'Angle, and the others who were guarding the frontiers of Montauban, knew well what was passing at Réalville, and what the strength of their own forces in that part of the country consisted of. They found they were not strong enough to fight, nor to raise the siege: for the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, who were besieging Bourdeilles, would not give up that siege.

The French had set their miners to work at Réalville, and by their

* One of the fragments or abridgements made use of by D. Sauvage in his ed. and quoted by him as "*La Chron.*" has 100,000 crowns.—Ed.

* Carentan—a town of Normandy, three leagues from the sea coast, diocese of Coutances.

† From the Fœdera it would appear that Charles of Navarre sent two embassadors to England; for there is a passport for Peter Pertuis, or Sertuis, and one also for William Dordane, dated the 6th June, 1370. The king's passport is dated the 12th August, 1370, when, I suppose, he came to England, where he must have remained some time, for the passport for his return is dated the 28th November, 1370. The convention between the two kings is in the Fœdera, to which I refer for further particulars. The king of Navarre, when returned to Cherbourg, sent other embassadors to England, as their passport in the Fœdera is dated the 1st December, 1370.

‡ Ardres—a strong town in Picardy, four leagues from Calais. Near this place was held the famous interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I.

§ Sir John Werthin, or Verchin, constable. He was before séneschal.

machines, which cast stones, & [illegible] so much, that they could not [illegible] the garrison so much, they could not [illegible] who succeeded in their operations, and flung down a great part of the walls; by which means the town was taken, and all the English in it were put to death without mercy, which was a pity, for there were among them several good squires. The inhabitants were pardoned on their promising from that time forth to be loyal Frenchmen. The French commanders appointed captains and men-at-arms to guard it, as well as others to give advice in the article of repairs, or in whatever other business occasion might require.

After the conquest of Réalville, the army dispersed itself over the countries of Quercy and Rouergue, to get refreshments and recruit themselves. The companies went to the city of Cahors and its neighborhood. Their leaders were, Aimemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray and Arnaudon de Pans, who despoiled the whole country. The earl of Perigord, the earl de l'Isle, the earl de Comminges,* the viscount de Carmaing and the other lords returned to their own estates; for sir Hugh Calverley, sir Robert Briquet, John Tresnelle, Lanut, Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre and other captains of these free companies, were carrying on a destructive war there, and had burnt and ravaged the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret.

There was at this time, as high steward of Rouergue, a very valiant man and good knight, an Englishman, called sir Thomas Whiteval.† He resided in the town and castle of Milhaud,‡ a day's journey from Montpellier; and notwithstanding the whole country surrounding it had changed sides, and was conquered, he kept this garrison upward of a year and a half, and also another fortress in Rouergue called Vauclerc. He made many expeditions, and different sallies much to his honor, until sir Bertrand du Guesclin drove him out, as you will hear related anon in the course of this history.

The town and castle of Bourdeilles still remained besieged.

CHAPTER CCLX.

THE FRENCH TAKE LA ROCHE POSAY.§ THE SENESCHAL OF POITOU BURNS AND DESTROYS THE LANDS OF THE LORD DE CHAUVIGNY, AND TAKES BY ASSAULT HIS PRINCIPAL TOWN OF BRUX.

Sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton, remained on the frontiers of Poitou, with upward of twelve hundred fighting men, and studied night and day by what means they could take, gain by surprise or otherwise, any towns, castles or fortresses in Poitou. From these measures it happened that they took by scalado a castle called La Roche Posay, at the entrance of Poitou, on the river Creus, two leagues distant from La Haye‖ in Touraine, and tolerably near to Châtelheraut on the same river. The whole country was exceedingly alarmed at this; for the French placed a large garrison in it, repaired the walls, and amply provided it with all sorts of provision, ammunition and artillery.

When this news was brought to the prince, he was much displeased; but he could not prevent it. He sent orders to sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Lewis de Harcourt, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, and several others who were at Montauban with sir John Chandos, to return to him directly, as he wanted to employ them in another part of the country. The aforesaid lords, in consequence of this command, left Montauban, and journeyed to Angoulême, where the prince was, who immediately sent them to Poitiers, to guard that city and defend the frontiers against the French.

There had lately turned to the French party a great baron of Poitou, called the lord de Chauvigny, viscount de Brux. This town had followed his example, which he had filled with Bretons and men-at-arms: he himself had left the country, and gone to France to the king. The prince and all the barons of Poitou were exasperated at this defection. The viscount de Rochechouart was also suspected: and the prince, being informed that he was about to change sides, sent for him to Angoulême, where he told him what he had heard. The viscount denied it, and excused himself as well as he could: notwithstanding this, he was committed a close prisoner, and remained a considerable time in this dangerous situation.

Sir James Audley was at this period high steward of Poitou, a right sage and valiant knight. He made preparations for a grand expedition. There were with him sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Maubrun de Linieres, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir William de Montaudire, and many other knights and squires of Poitou. They amounted in the whole to twelve hundred lances; and there was also with them sir Baldwin Freville, high steward of Saintonge. These lords made Poitiers their place of rendezvous: from that place they rode in grand array, and advanced until they entered Berry, where they began to burn and destroy the country, and to pillage poor people, to whom they did great damage. They then returned to Touraine. Wherever they passed, the countries suffered most exceedingly; for none ventured to oppose them, as they were in such force as to be masters of the country. These men-at-arms entered the lands of the lord de Chauvigny, whose lord had lately turned Frenchman, which they burnt and destroyed without hindrance, except the towns and strongholds. They came to his principal town of Brux,* attacked it, and continued the attack a whole day with their men-at-arms, but gained nothing. They then encamped, and declared they would not thus leave it, for it was to be taken. They rose at daybreak, and, having made everything ready, sounded their trumpets for an assault. The Poitevins and English being formed into battalions, each lord with his men under his own banner, they made, on this Saturday, a most fierce attack. It lasted some time: for there were in the town men-at-arms, and some from the companies, who defended themselves as well as they could, as they knew their lives depended upon it. Many, therefore, were the gallant deeds of arms performed. The two high stewards of Poitou and Saintonge were anxious to gain the town. They made their archers shoot so quickly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the walls to defend it. On this Saturday morning, the town of Brux was so vigorously attacked, that it was won at last, and the gate thrown open for every one to enter it who chose.

All the men-at-arms of the viscount were taken: and the lords of the army had sixteen of them hanged in their armor, from hatred to the viscount, who was not in the country, but with the king of France at Paris. The town was burnt, and the inhabitants lost their all: there were besides very many slain and drowned. The English returned to Poitiers with their army, the better to refresh themselves.

CHAPTER CCLXI.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES IS APPOINTED CAPTAIN OF THE PRINCE'S COMPANY. HE CAUSES SIR PERDUCAS D'ALBRET TO TURN TO THE ENGLISH. HE BESIEGES THE FRENCH COMPANIES IN THE FORT OF DURMEL.

Sir Robert Knolles resided in Brittany, where he had a fine and large estate: he had always been a good and loyal Englishman, and had served under the king of England, and the prince of Wales his eldest son, in their different expeditions, by whom he was much loved: having heard that the French were carrying on a disastrous war against the prince, and meant to take from him his inheritance of Aquitaine, which he had assisted in gaining for him, he was very much surprised and displeased. He therefore resolved in his own mind to collect as many men-at-arms as he possibly could, and go with them to serve the prince of Wales at his own cost and charges. As he had resolved, so did he execute: he sent to summon all his vassals, and to entreat his friends to accompany him. He gathered about sixty men-at-arms, with as many archers of his own dependents and friends, and made his preparations for embarking them on board four large vessels, at a town and seaport in Brittany called Conquet.† When all his purveyances had been completed and sent on board, he set out for his castle at Derval,‡ and followed them, when he embarked on board his vessel, perceiving that his people were already at sea. He made sail, and arrived at the quay of La Rochelle, where the inhabitants gave him a grand entertainment, much against their inclinations; but they dared not do otherwise. He found there sir John Devreux, who commanded for the prince of Wales, as high steward, sir Thomas Percy being with sir John Chandos. Sir John Devreux received sir Robert Knolles with great joy, and entertained him in the best manner he could. Sir Robert remained there two days, to refresh himself and his people. On the third day, he set out, taking the road to Angoulême, and continued his journey until he arrived there. The prince and princess were exceedingly pleased to see sir Robert, and it seemed they could not do enough to show it. The prince appointed him captain of the knights and squires of his household, out of love to him, and as a reward for his valor and honor. He ordered them to pay sir Robert the same obedience as to himself, which they promised willingly to do.

When sir Robert had remained with the prince about five days, and those who were to accompany him in an expedition were ready, he was informed to what part it was meant that he should lead them: he took his leave of the prince, and set out from Angoulême well attended by the prince's knights. There were sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Dagloiret, sir Nèle Loring, sir William Torceil, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Trivet, sir Thomas Despenser, sir Tancon,§ sir Thomas Banaster, sir Nicholas Bond, sir William le Moine, the high steward of the Agénois, sir Baldwin Freville, and upward of sixty knights. They amounted in the whole to about sixty men-at-arms, five hundred archers, and as many foot soldiers, all in high spirits, eager to meet the French.‖ This small army, of which sir Robert was the leader, advanced toward Agen, to enter Quercy, where the free companies had quartered themselves, and continued their march until they came to the city of Agen.

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* See note page 181.

† Whiteval. Q. If not Whitwell. Barnes calls him sir Thomas Wake.

‡ Milhaud, or Millau—a town in Rouergue, on the river Tarne.

§ La Roche Posay—a town in Touraine on the Creuse, noted for its medicinal springs.

‖ La Haye—four leagues from Chatelheraut.

* Brux—a town in Poitou, near Chauvigny, diocese of Poitiers.

† Conquet—a seaport, situated five leagues from Brest.

‡ This name is much disfigured in all my copies, except in the Lamoignon manuscript.

§ Derval—a village between Nantes and Rennes, thirteen leagues from Nantes.

§ "Tancon." Q. Sir Richard Taunton.—Barnes.

‖ There seems some mistake relative to the number of men-at-arms: for sir Robert brought with him sixty men-at-arms. We must suppose, that many of the prince's household were at the time of sir Robert's arrival with sir John Chandos or sir James Audley, and, though mentioned by name, were not perhaps present.

They halted there a short time to refresh themselves, and to wait for the enemy. While sir Robert made this halt at Agen, he learnt that sir Perducas d'Albret (a famed captain of the free companies, who had upward of three hundred men under his command) was in that part of the country, and that, through the solicitations of the duke of Anjou, he had embraced the French side. Sir Robert immediately sent to him a herald, with other messengers, who managed so well, that he consented to meet him at an appointed place in the open fields, on the faith of his passport. When sir Robert met sir Perducas d'Albret, he feasted him well, and then by degrees entered upon the business of his having left the prince. He blamed him very much for having turned Frenchman, and for quitting the service of a prince who loved him so much, and who had advanced him to honors. Why should I make a long story of it? Sir Robert argued and talked the matter over so ably that sir Perducas changed to the English party, and went over to them with upward of five hundred Gascons from the free companies. The duke of Anjou was much angered at this when he heard it, and held sir Perducas cheap for his breach of promise, as did all the others who were of the French party, and hated the English more than ever.

This news was soon carried to the city of Cahors, and to the other free companies, who formed a large garrison there, and had done so for a considerable time. When their leaders, Aimemon d'Ortige, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray, Perrot de Savoye and Arnaudon de Pans, heard that sir Perducas d'Albret had, with his whole company, gone over to the English, they were very much disheartened and alarmed. Finding that the city of Cahors was of too great an extent for them to hold out against the English, they departed, after having given up the town to the bishop and the inhabitants. They went to the priory of Durmel, that was not far distant, which they had fortified some time before, and was not difficult to defend. They entered this place in good order, to wait for their enemies, who came as soon as they knew they had retired thither: they surrounded it, and made many a gallant attack: but those within, being tried men-at-arms, and well supplied with everything, made very light of it. As soon as sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, sir John de Pommiers, sir Thomas Percy, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and the other knights attached to the prince in Montauban, heard that sir Robert Knolles was besieging the companies in Durmel, they determined to march to his assistance; for it seemed to them that much glory might be acquired. Upward of three hundred lances went from Montauban, leaving behind in garrison full two hundred, under the command of sir Aimery de Chartres, the souldich de l'Estrade, sir Bernardet d'Albreth, and the lord de Gironde. They pressed their march to arrive at the siege of Durmel. In their road, they came to a tolerably strong French town, called Moissac.* It was only guarded by the townsmen, for there was not a gentleman in it. They sent their scouts to examine the place, who brought information that it was sufficiently strong, and that without a siege they could not well gain it. The leaders immediately called a council, to see what was best to be done; and they resolved in this council, that it should be wrong for them to stop at this place, which would interfere with their intentions regarding Durmel. They therefore continued their march: it was but early morning: and they had not advanced more than a league from the place before they met four carriers' horses laden with provision, who were immediately stopped and seized. They inquired whence they came, and whither they were going. The carriers truly answered, that they had come from Toulouse, and were going to Moissac, with the intent of selling their provision. They were then questioned as to the state of that town, and what was the force within it. The carriers, not daring to tell a lie, said, that the town was much distressed by a scarcity, and they did not believe there were in it provisions for four days, if they should be besieged; and that there were no gentlemen in it, nor had it any defenders but the citizens.

The chiefs then called a council, and determined not to march further till they should have conquered this town. They returned, and, keeping the provision for themselves, gave the carriers their horses, telling them to go and seek for more. They halted before Moissac, and encamped as if they meant to fix their quarters before it for a month: this first day they made preparations seemingly for an assault on the following, and pointed their cannon against the walls. When the inhabitants of Moissac saw what was going forward, they were much frightened, knowing they could not long hold out: for they were in great want of all sorts of provision; they opened a treaty with the English knights, which was soon concluded. By it they acknowledged the prince of Wales for their lord, and agreed to hold the town from him for ever, without fraud or treachery. On which they had peace granted, and nothing was taken from them. Sir John Chandos and the other knights, at the request of the inhabitants, appointed a knight, called sir Robert Mytton,† governor, with twenty men-at-arms, and forty archers, to be maintained and paid at the expense of the town. They then marched to Durmel, where sir Robert Knolles and his army were. There was great joy at their arrival, and thus all meeting together again. The new comers united with their former friends in pushing on the siege with vigor.

* Moissac—a town of Quercy, on the Tarn, seven leagues from Montauban.

† "Mytton." Barnes calls him Mytton, and says "this name is of armory in the isle of Anglesea." [illegible]

CHAPTER CCLXII.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS RAISE THE SIEGE OF DURMEL. THEY LAY SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF DOMME.*

During the siege of Durmel, there were many attacks, skirmishes, and gallant feats of arms; for they were good and able men, as well those who besieged the place as those who defended it. Had they not been such skilful soldiers, they could not have held out as they did. The English and their partisans who lay before it, did not gain much advantage, for they were overpowered in two ways: it rained night and day, which hurt both men and horses; added to this, there was such a scarcity of provision, they had great difficulty in procuring wherewithal to satisfy their hunger. A loaf was sold there for three old groats. They were distressed to obtain any even at such a price. Of wines, they had a sufficient quantity, which to them were of the greatest comfort. In this situation, they remained upward of five weeks. When they perceived that they made no impression, nor were likely to take the garrison of Durmel, and that they remained there in a very comfortless state, they determined to raise the siege, and to march for the town and castle of Domme, which was situated in a richer country.

Sir Robert de Domme, the lord of it, was governor of the town and castle; and there was with him a knight, his cousin, called sir Peter Sanglet. These two knights had collected large quantities of everything necessary from the low countries, which they had brought into the town. When the English and Gascons, who were fifteen hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers and foot soldiers, arrived at Domme, they drew up in array, to lay siege to it, and began a brisk attack on the place. They pointed large machines against the walls; and many severe skirmishes and assaults were made on each side. After they had besieged this place for fifteen days, and found they did not gain any advantage, nor were likely to conquer it, but were much straitened themselves, they determined to inform the prince of Wales of their situation, who was at that time at Angoulême. Chandos, the herald, was ordered to carry this message, who immediately set out, and journeyed until he came to Angoulême, where he found the prince with very few attendants, for all his knights and squires were away on different expeditions.

When the herald, Chandos, was arrived in the presence of the prince, he dropped on his knees, and recommended to him his masters who had sent him, and whom he had left at the siege of Domme. He then related their situation most wisely, as he had been ordered to do, and gave the credential letters, which he had brought to the prince. The prince listened attentively to all that was told him, and said he would consider this subject. He kept the herald with him five days, and, on the sixth, he had letters delivered to him under the prince's seal, who said to him on his departure, "Chandos, salute from me all our companions." He replied, "Most willingly, my lord." When the herald set out, he took the road through Quercy. I will now relate what passed in the army, and what things they did during the absence of this herald.

CHAPTER CCLXIII.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS MARCH FROM DOMME, WITHOUT DOING ANYTHING. THEY TAKE GAVACHES,† ROCHEMADOUR,‡ AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS WHICH HAD TURNED TO THE PARTY OF THE FRENCH.

Soon after Chandos had left his masters at the siege of Domme, sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, sir James Audley, and other knights, held a council, and resolved to break up the siege, for they gained nothing, and to make an incursion more into the country, in order to conquer such towns and garrisons as had lately turned to the French, through the means of the duke of Berry, and the free companies. They decamped, and marched from Domme, taking the road for Gramat, which immediately surrendered: the inhabitants turned again to the English the moment they came before it. The chiefs and the army remained for three days in Gramat, to refresh themselves, and during that time considered whither they should go next. When they went away, they made for a fortress which the companies had newly taken, called Frons. As soon as the garrison perceived the English advancing with so great a force, and learnt that those of Gramat had become English, they also changed their side, and swore that they would be faithful to the English; but they lied. The English continued their march, and halted before Roquemadour. The inhabitants had strongly fortified themselves, not having any inclination to surrender.

The English having well examined the situation of the town of Roquemadour and the countenance of its inhabitants, brought forward their engines and artillery, and began to attack it with great vivacity and vigor. I can say, that many and sharp were the attacks: several were slain and wounded by the arrows from those within and without. This assault lasted one whole day. Toward vespers, the English retired to their camp, with the intention of renewing the

* Domme—a town in Perigord, election of Sarlet, on the Dordogne.

† Gavaches. I cannot find this in the Gazetteer, and suspect it must be Gramat, a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

‡ Rochemador—Roquemadour—a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

attack on the morrow: but during the night those of Roquemadour, who the preceding day had severely felt the courage of their opponents, and how hardly they had pushed them, called a council. The wisest among them said, that in time they must surrender; and if they were taken by assault, they would all be slain, the town burnt without mercy; and that, weighing the bad and good, they advised opening an immediate treaty with the English. This was soon concluded. They declared that from that day forward, they would be true to the English, which they afterwards solemnly swore to observe. They were also obliged to supply the army with fifty horse-load of provisions from the town, during the space of fifteen days, which were to be paid for at a certain fixed price: and thus Roquemadour obtained peace.

The English continued their march toward Villefranche, in the Toulousin, burning and destroying the flat countries, bringing great calamities on the poor inhabitants, and conquering such towns and castles as had changed sides; some by treaty, others by force. They came at length before Villefranche, which was tolerably well inclosed, and provided with provision and artillery; for all those of the surrounding flat country had retired into it. They commenced the attack, on their arrival, with much intrepidity. During the four days they lay before it, frequent were the assaults, and many were killed on both sides. The garrison having reflected on their situation, found they could not hold out much longer, and, as there was no appearance of help coming to them, they surrendered to the English, on condition that neither themselves nor their town should receive any harm. In this manner did Villefranche, on the borders of Toulouse, become English; which when told to the duke of Anjou, who was at Toulouse, grieved him much. Sir John Chandos appointed governor and captain of Villefranche an English knight, called sir Robert le Roux,* and then continued his march, burning and destroying the country.

We will now return to the siege of Bourdeilles, and relate how the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke persevered in it.

CHAPTER CCLXIV.

THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE CONQUER THE GARRISON OF BOURDEILLES.

While these last-mentioned barons and knights of England, with their army, were making excursions and conquests in Rouergue, Quercy and the Agénois, where they continued a considerable time, the siege of Bourdeilles was still going on. It had lasted upward of nine weeks. All this while there were daily skirmishes, attacks and gallant deeds of arms. The besieged had a custom of advancing every day with their whole army without the gate, where they skirmished valorously with all comers, and behaved themselves so gallantly that they acquired great praise even from the enemy. The garrison remained in this situation some time, and would have continued so longer, if pride and presumption had not tempted them; for they were in sufficient numbers, all tried men, with plenty of provision, and artillery to defend themselves. The besiegers began to grow weary, notwithstanding they acted much to their honor, for they considered that their expenses were greater than the conquest they were attempting was worth. After holding a council, to consider by what means they could the sooner bring this business to an end, they determined to arm all their people by four o'clock in the morning, and to keep them in their quarters, sending a part of them to skirmish with the garrison as usual: for the garrison were so eager for these combats, they would frequently march into the open fields to engage in them. The English ordered their party to make a feint, and to retreat by degrees toward their own army, as if they were defeated, in order to draw them further out, and then a body of cavalry was to sally forth, and by getting between them and the town, prevent them from entering it again. The plan was adopted; for they said, if they could not win the place by this means, they should not easily gain it. On the morrow morning they armed themselves, and sent two hundred to skirmish with the garrison.

When the companies in Bourdeilles, and their captains Ernaudon and Bernardin, saw them approach, they were very much rejoiced, and quickly made themselves and their men ready. There might be about seven score young men, active soldiers, who, having ordered the gate to be thrown quite open, advanced to their barriers, and met the English lances and bucklers very handsomely. They fought so well that the English gave way, and retreated as they had been ordered; which being observed, those of the garrison ordered their standard to be advanced, crying out at the same time, "By St. Anthony's head, we shall take them." On which they attacked them with greater fury as they were flying before them, so that some were unhorsed, wounded or made prisoners. But because they were so eager to gain everything, and as the proverb says, "All covet, all lose," they had advanced so far from the town that when they wished to return they could not; for sir John Montague,† who had the command of the ambuscade, which consisted of five hundred chosen men, placed himself between them and the town. He was knighted on the field, by the earl of Cambridge, and directly attacked them with great vigor. When the companies of Bourdeilles saw themselves thus entrapped, they were sensible of their folly in pursuing so far: however, they collected themselves in a body like brave men, and began to fight valiantly, and to perform such feats of arms as were marvellous to behold. This combat lasted upward of two hours: and they annoyed their enemies so much, and behaved so gallantly, that the English lords were much delighted with them. Sir John Montague proved himself deserving of his knighthood, by his valor and prowess in attacking the enemy. At last, those of the Bourdeilles were entirely defeated: all were killed or made prisoners, for not one of them escaped. Those of the English who had been taken were rescued. Sir John Montague made the two governors, Ernaudon and Bernardin de Batefol, his prisoners.

During the time of this skirmish, the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke had advanced to the barriers and gate, which having gained, they entered the town, the earl of Cambridge's banner displayed before them. Thus did the English conquer Bourdeilles. They made the inhabitants swear fealty and allegiance to the prince. The chiefs ordered the lord de Mucident to remain there as governor, and gave him sixty archers, in addition to his own people. They then broke up their encampment, having determined to march to Angoulême, to know from the prince what he wished them next to do. Thus ended the siege of Bourdeilles; and the lords with their companies set out on their return. We will now speak of those knights of England and Gascony, who were making inroads in Quercy, and of Chandos the herald, and the news he brought from the prince of Wales.

CHAPTER CCLXV.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES, SIR JOHN CHANDOS, AND SIR THOMAS FELTON MARSHAL THEIR MEN, AND RETURN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

As these knights and their army were making incursions on the borders of Rouergue and Quercy, taking towns and castles, and distressing the whole country, Chandos the herald returned. He found them before a castle in Quercy, which they had hard pressed. When they saw the herald, they received him joyfully, and inquired what news he had brought. He told them that his highness the prince saluted them all, and was very desirous of seeing them; and at these words he gave them the letters from the prince, which the barons took and read. They found that, with many assurances of affection and friendship, he desired that sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, and the captal de Buch should return to him at Angoulême; and that sir Robert Knolles with his army, and all the free companies, should remain where they were to continue the war.

When these three lords, who were the chiefs of the army, heard the prince's orders, they looked at each other, and asked what was best to be done. With one voice, they addressed themselves to sir Robert Knolles, and said, "Sir Robert, you see and hear how our lord the prince orders us back, and directs that you should remain in this country to be the leader of the army." "My lords," replied sir Robert, "his highness the prince does me more honor than I could wish. Know, that I will never remain here without you, and that, if you go I will not stay behind." So they resolved to return all four to the prince, to learn more fully what were his intentions. This grand expedition was broken up: and, when the time of separation arrived, they ordered sir Perducas d'Albret to the town of Roquemadour with his company to defend that part of the frontiers against the French. The lords then addressed the other free companies as follows: "Gentlemen, you hear how our lord the prince sends for us to come to his presence; for what cause we are as yet ignorant. We will therefore explain to you what we wish you to do in our absence. You will collect all your forces into one body, and with them pass the frontiers of Limousin and Auvergne, to carry the war thither; for without war you cannot subsist; and we swear and promise you faithfully, that whatever town, castle or fortress of France ye shall take and conquer, wherever it may be situated, and shall be besieged in it, we will fly to your assistance, and will cause the siege to be raised." Those who heard this promise replied, "It is well spoken, and we will abide by it; for perhaps we may be obliged to have recourse to you."

In this manner they separated: the excursion was put an end to by the lords on one side, and the companies on the other. The lords returned to the town of Angoulême, where the prince entertained them handsomely. A short time before, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke, with sir John Montague and several others, had also returned from Perigord. We will now mention the companies and men-at-arms who had separated from sir John Chandos, and how they prospered.

* Sir Robert le Roux. Barnes calls him sir John Roos. Why not sir Robert Roos?
† Sir John Montague—nephew and heir to the earl of Salisbury.—Barnes.

CHAPTER CCLXVI.

THE FREE COMPANIES ATTACHED TO THE ENGLISH TAKE THE CASTLE OF BELLEPERCHE,* AND THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON WHO WAS IN IT. THEY ALSO TAKE THE STRONG CASTLE OF ST. SAUVEUR† IN BERRY.

Among the leaders of these companies, there were three squires from the territories of the prince, who were great captains and valiant men-at-arms, very enterprising, and determined scalers of fortresses. One of them was named Ortingo, another Bernard de Wifle, and the third Bernard de la Salle.‡ These three captains wished not to remain long idle, nor without being spoken of for some gallant deed of arms. They marched with their companies into Limousin, to refresh themselves. At that time, sir John Devreux was sénéschal and governor of the province for the prince. These three squires, having considered what castle they might conquer from France, fixed upon that of Belleperche, in the Bourbonnois. It was beautiful and strong. The mother of the duke of Bourbon, and of the queen of France, made it her residence. They learnt by their spies that the good lady was alone, and had not any guards with her except her own household; and that the governor of the castle, making frequent incursions from it, was very far from being attentive or on his guard.

These captains, and such companions whom they had picked out, did not let their intentions sleep after they had formed them, but rode day and night, and arrived by break of day at Belleperche, which they took by escalade, and the mother of the queen of France who was in it. Finding the castle was so strong, and handsome, and in so rich a country, they declared they would keep it against all opposers. In that same night, they also took another castle, called St. Sauveur, on the borders of Limousin, and gave it to sir John Devreux.

News was soon carried to France, that Belleperche was taken by the English, and the mother of the queen made prisoner. The king was very much vexed at this, as were the queen and duke of Bourbon, but they could not better themselves, at least for the present. About this time, sir Louis de Sancerre was nominated a marshal of France: he was a valiant and hardy knight. Sir Arnold d'Andreghen was still alive, but so old and worn out with bearing arms, and from his former labors, that in truth he could not be of any service, nor was he able to do the duties of his office; but he was willing to carry arms whenever it might be necessary. We will say a little of the affairs of Picardy, as we have been some time with those of the distant parts, and speak of an assembly which was held in the city of Rouen.

CHAPTER CCLXVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE, INTENDING TO SEND A LARGE NAVAL ARMAMENT TO THE ENGLISH COAST, IS PREVENTED BY THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT CALAIS.

The king of France, during the summer (1369,) had made great preparations of ships, barges and other vessels in the port of Harfleur, with the intent of sending a large force to England, well furnished with men-at-arms, knights and squires. His brother, the lord Philip, duke of Burgundy, was appointed commander of this army, which was to destroy all England. The king of France fixed his residence in the good city of Rouen in order to attend more promptly to this business. He visited his fleet two or three times every week, to which he showed much affection. Added to this, his summons were so extensive that it was wonderful to see the number of men-at-arms who were collected in Vexin, Beauvoisis, and in the neighborhood of Rouen. Provisions and other stores were so abundantly brought there, that they would have been sufficient for a voyage to Spain or Portugal. The lord de Clisson, who was one of the privy counsellors to the king, approved not of this expedition to England, and did all he could to dissuade the king and his nobles from it. He told them, they were not so much accustomed to naval engagements as the English, and urged many reasons in support of this, as one who was better acquainted with the manners and habits of the English, and the state of that country, than many others. Notwithstanding this, neither the king nor his council would change their mind, but resolved this armament should sail.

The king of England and his son the duke of Lancaster, as well as several of his council, had received information of this army, and of the intentions of the French to invade and carry the war into England. They were much rejoiced at this, and had provided all the ports and harbors opposite to Ponthieu and Normandy with sufficient garrisons of men-at-arms and archers to receive them, if they should come. The whole kingdom of England was ready prepared to give them a good reception whenever they should land. The king, having determined to send the duke of Lancaster, with a body of men-at-arms to Calais, immediately named those whom he ordered to accompany him. There were the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, sir Walter Manny, the lord Roos of Hamlake, sir Henry Percy, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughby of Eresby, the lord Delaware, the lord de la Pole, sir Thomas Grandison, sir Alan Boxhall, sir Richard Stury,* and many others; the whole force amounted to about five hundred men-at-arms, and as many archers. They marched to Dover and its neighborhood. When the transports were ready, they embarked, and having a favorable wind, arrived at the strong town of Calais, where they landed, and by little and little disembarked everything which belonged to them. They took up their quarters in the town.

About this time the king of England sent embassadors to entreat most earnestly sir Robert de Namur to assist him in the war, with all the men-at-arms that were dependent on him. Sir Robert, who had ever been steady and loyal to the English, replied, that he should be as soon on his march as was necessary; for having been informed that the king or one of his sons was to be at Calais, to make an incursion, the moment he should hear of the duke of Lancaster's arrival, he would summon all his companions, and those whose assistance he wished for; his arms and everything else being already prepared.

We will now return to what was passing in Poitou.

CHAPTER CCLXVIII.

THE CASTLE OF LA ROCHE SUR YON SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH. THE GOVERNOR OF IT PUT TO DEATH, BY ORDERS FROM THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

You will remember, that when the herald Chandos brought the orders from the prince of Wales, the barons and knights of Guienne, who were upon an expedition in Quercy and Rouergue, returned with one accord to the town of Angoulême, where they found the prince, who received them with great joy. Some little time before, the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke had also returned with their army, after the conquest of Bourdeilles, as you have before heard. The lords and barons rejoiced exceedingly at this meeting, and great entertainments were made by them. They considered which way they should next march, to make the most of the season. They found, on examining the country, that there was near the borders of Anjou a fine and strong castle called la Roche sur Yon,† which was a dependency of Anjou; there they resolved to march, lay siege to it, and conquer it if they were able. They made their preparations, and set out for that part of the country. They were joined by all the barons and knights of Poitou: sir James Audley, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir Maubran de Linieres, and the sénéschal of La Rochelle, sir Thomas Percy. These men-at-arms and gallant company of lords, when they were all assembled, amounted to more than three thousand lances. They took the field, and came before the castle of la Roche sur Yon, which was well built and strong, with a good garrison, and well provided with provisions and artillery. The duke of Anjou had appointed governor a knight called sir John Blondeau, who had under his command many good companions, at the charge and pay of the duke.

The lords and barons formed the siege in a handsome manner, and with great display. They surrounded the castle, for they were strong enough to do so, and had ordered from Poitiers and Thouars‡ large engines on carriages, which they pointed against the fort, as well as several cannons and springalls, with which the army was provided, and from long custom had always carried with them. They had also great plenty of provision, which was brought to them daily from Poitiers and the adjacent country. Sir John Blondeau, finding himself thus besieged by so many good men-at-arms (for almost all the knights of Aquitaine were there,) and that no aid was likely to be sent to him, began to be alarmed; he well knew that those lords would never leave the place until they had won it by fair or foul means.

In the army of the earl of Cambridge, with sir John Chandos and the other barons, were some knights from Poitou well acquainted with the governor, and who in former times had been his companions in arms. These knights advanced to the barriers, and upon their faith and assurances held a conversation with him, and talked the matter over so ably (for he was not a sensible man, though a valiant knight,) that he entered into a treaty to deliver up the castle, if he were not succored, nor the siege raised, within a month; when he was to receive the sum of six thousand francs for the provisions in it. The treaty thus entered into was ratified; and the garrison remained quiet, under condition, that if the castle was not relieved within a month, it should be surrendered. This being done, the knight sent information of it to the king of France, the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, and to all the lords from whom he expected assistance, in order that he might be secure from any reproaches they might cast upon him. Notwithstanding these informations, that the castle was strong, and absolutely essential to France, on account of the provinces of Touraine and Anjou, no relief was sent; so that, when the month was expired, the English lords summoned the gov-

* Belleperche—a town and abbey on the Garonne, in the diocese of Montauban, near to Castel Sarrazin.

† St. Sauveur—a village in Berry, diocese and election of Bourges.

‡ Q. the surname varies. One Chronicle MSS. calls the second Bernard de Wake, and so does Barnes.

* Sturry. Barnes calls him Stevens. Holinshed, Sturrie.

† La Roche sur Yon—a town in Poitou on the Yon, eight leagues from Luçon, fourteen from Nantes.

‡ Thouars—an ancient city of Poitou, seven leagues from Poitiers.

ernor to perform his promise, for which he had given good hostages. Sir John did not intend to break his engagement: he said to his companions, "Since the king of France and the duke of Anjou are determined to lose this castle, I cannot defend it alone:" he therefore delivered it up to the English, who took possession with great joy. The governor received the sum of six thousand francs, as agreed upon for the provision in the castle, which was well worth it: and he and his garrison were escorted to the town of Angers.

Instantly on his arrival, he was arrested by the governor of Angers, and thrown into prison; and, as I have heard, was the same night put into a sack, cast into the river, and drowned by the orders of the duke of Anjou, for having accepted money to surrender a castle, which had been well provided, and was strong enough to have held out for a year, if the governor had chosen. Thus did the English gain the castle of la Roche sur Yon in Anjou, which they well garrisoned and strengthened: they then returned to the prince of Wales at Angoulême.

After the conquest of la Roche sur Yon, which enraged the French much, the lords, as I have said, returned to Angoulême, where the prince gave leave for some to go to their homes. Lord James Audley, the valiant knight and séneschal of Poitou, went to his residence at Fontenay le Comte,* where he was attacked by so severe a disorder that it ended his life. The prince and princess were exceedingly grieved at this event, as were all the knights and barons of Poitou. His obsequies were performed at Poitiers in a most magnificent manner, and were attended by the prince in person.† Soon afterwards, at the request of the barons and knights of Poitou, sir John Chandos, who was constable of Aquitaine, was appointed séneschal of Poitou, and went to the city of Poitiers, which he fixed on for his residence. He frequently made excursions upon the French, and kept them under such continual alarms, they never dared to venture abroad but in very large bodies.

About this time, the viscount de Rochechouart obtained his liberty. The prince of Wales had kept him a prisoner, because he suspected him of being inclined to the French; but at the solicitations of his friends in Poitou, who were at that time with the prince, he gained his freedom, and was restored to his estate. When the viscount de Rochechouart had got his liberty, he went in disguise as speedily as he could to Paris, to the king of France, where he turned Frenchman, and then came back to his estate, without any one being informed of the matter. Having placed Thibaut du Pont, a Breton and expert man-at-arms, in his castle, he directly sent his challenge to the prince of Wales, against whom he kept up a vigorous warfare.

CHAPTER CCLXIX.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES FROM THE CITY OF ROUEN, WITH THE INTENTION OF COMBATING THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AND THE ENGLISH. THE TWO ARMIES ARE ENCAMPED OPPOSITE TO EACH OTHER AT TOURNEHEM.‡

When the duke of Lancaster was arrived at Calais, as has been before mentioned, and had refreshed his army a little, he was not willing to remain there without performing some warlike deeds upon the French: he therefore marched out with his two marshals and full three hundred lances, with as many archers. They passed through Guines,§ and continued their march until they had crossed the river Dostre, and overran that whole country. They turned toward the abbey of Liques,‖ where they collected a large booty, which they brought safe with them to Calais. On another day, he made an excursion toward Boulogne, where he did much damage to the flat countries. The count Guy de St. Pol and sir Galeran his son were at the time in the city of Terouenne, with many men-at-arms; but they made no sally against the English, when they were on these expeditions, for they did not think themselves sufficiently strong to oppose them in the field.

News was brought to the king of France, who at that time was holding his court at Rouen in the greatest pomp and magnificence, that the duke of Lancaster was come to Calais, and that from thence he was daily making inroads into France. When the king and his council heard this, their minds were occupied on a different subject; for this same week the duke of Burgundy was to embark with his whole army, consisting of upward of three thousand fighting men, to invade England. The king demanded from his prelates and council what was best to be done, supposing the English had crossed the sea, whether to advance to them and offer battle, or to continue their plan of operation for the invasion of England. This last proposition was given up, and orders sent to the French army to break up their quarters in and near Rouen as soon as possible, and to prepare everything for marching toward Calais with the duke of Burgundy. Such were the commands of the king of France, for he was desirous of combating the English on that side of the water. The men-at-arms heard these orders with great joy, and were soon ready. The duke of Burgundy with his whole army, took the field, and formed his march so as to cross the river Somme at Abbeville. He continued until he came to Montreuil-sur-mer,* and from thence to Hesdin† and St. Paul,‡ where they halted for the rear of the army to join them.

News was brought to the duke of Lancaster, that the French were on their march to offer him battle; upon which the duke, with his whole army, left Calais, and took up their quarters in the valley of Tournehem. He had not been long there before that gallant knight sir Robert de Namur came in grand array to serve under him, with a hundred lances of good men-at-arms, accompanied with knights and squires. The duke of Lancaster was much rejoiced on his arrival, and said: "My good uncle, you are heartily welcome; for they say that the duke of Burgundy is on his march, and wishes to fight with us." Sir Robert replied, "My lord, by God's help, we will willingly meet him."

The English found good quarters in the valley of Tournehem, where they fortified themselves with strong hedges, and there came daily to them provision in abundance from Calais. Their light horse scoured the country of Guines, but they gained little; for all the low countries had been spoiled, and their most valuable things carried for safety to the adjoining fortresses. The duke of Burgundy arrived with all his chivalry, and fixed his quarters at the hill of Tournehem, where his marshals immediately encamped the men-at-arms opposite to where the English lay.

The French lodged themselves orderly, and without delay: they took up much ground, and with good reason; for I have had it mentioned to me as a certain fact, that the duke of Burgundy had under his command four thousand good knights. You may judge therefore of the great difference between the two armies. Each army remained in these positions a considerable time without doing anything; for the duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding he was so much superior in force, and had with him, of good men-at-arms, seven to one, would not engage without the positive orders of the king of France, his brother, who was not desirous of it. In truth, had the French come forward to battle, the English would not have refused it; for they were daily drawn out, and in readiness to receive them. They had made every preparation, and each person knew what he was to do, should the enemy show any inclination to fight: but because they were so small a body, and so well fortified, they would not foolishly lose an advantage by quitting their camp. Some knights advanced from each army to skirmish; and, as usual in such cases, sometimes one side gained, and sometimes the other.

The earl of Flanders, at this time, was very anxious for the honor and reputation of the duke of Burgundy, his son-in-law: he resided in a handsome house which he had lately built near to Ghent: he frequently heard from or sent to the duke, by messengers who were constantly employed on this service. The earl strongly advised his son-in-law, for his own honor, not to exceed, on any account, the orders which he had received from his brother the king of France, or from his council.

We will now return to the affairs of the distant provinces, where the knights had frequently more employment, and met with adventures in greater abundance than anywhere else, on account of the war being carried on more vigorously.

CHAPTER CCLXX.

SIR JOHN CHANDOS DOES GREAT MISCHIEF TO THE PROVINCE OF ANJOU—HE DESPOILS THE ESTATES OF THE VISCOUNT DE ROCHECHOUART, EXCEPT THE FORTRESSES AND STRONGHOLDS.

During the time of this expedition to Tournehem, and in that neighborhood, some feats of arms were performed in Poitou, which ought not to be forgotten. Sir John Chandos, being séneschal of Poitou, and a hardy and valiant knight, had a great desire to meet the French: he therefore did not remain long idle, but collected, during the time he passed at Poitiers, a body of men-at-arms, English and Poitevins, and said he would make an excursion with them toward Anjou, and return by Touraine, to look at the French who were assembled in those parts. He sent information of the expedition he meditated to the earl of Pembroke,§ who was in garrison at Mortagne-sur-mer‖ with two hundred lances.

The earl was much pleased with this intelligence, and would willingly have been of the party; but his attendants and some knights of his council prevented him, by saying: "My lord, you are a young and noble knight, formed to excel: if you at this moment unite yourself with sir John Chandos and his army, he will obtain all the glory of the expedition, and you will be only named as his com-

* Fontenay le Comte—a city in Poitou, near la Vendee, diocese of la Rochelle, twenty-five leagues from Poitiers.

† Barnes says this is a mistake—of the son for the father. Sir James Audley, son of lord James Audley, seneschal of Poitou, died in Gascony about this time and on this loss, lord James, with the prince's leave, retired to England, where he lived many years. He died in 1386, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Sir John Chandos was nominated seneschal of Poitou, on lord James returning to England.

‡ Tournehem—a small town of Artois, bailiwick of St. Omer.

§ Guines—a town in Picardy, two leagues and a half from Calais.

‖ Abbey of Liques—diocese of Boulogne-sur mer.

* Montreuil—a town in Picardy, seventeen leagues and a half from Calais.

† Hesdin—a strong town in Artois, eighteen leagues and a half from Calais.

‡ St. Paul—a small town in Picardy, diocese of Beauvais.

§ Lord John Hastings, second earl of Pembroke, only son of the earl mentioned in the former part of this history. He was not more than 21 years old at this period, and it seems doubtful whether he had yet succeeded to the title, as the received date of his father Lawrence's death is 1375, and the events above related took place in 1369.—Ed.

‖ "Mortagne"—a town in Saintonge, on the Garonne.

panion. It is therefore more proper for you, who are of such high rank and birth, to act for yourself, and let sir John Chandos do so on his part, who is but a knight-bachelor when compared with you." These and such like words cooled the ardor of the earl of Pembroke, who having no longer any wish to go, found an excuse to sir John Chandos.

Sir John would not, however, give up his enterprise, but ordered his rendezvous at Poitiers; from whence he marched with three hundred lances, knights, and squires, and two hundred archers. In this number were lord Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Richard Taunton, lord Thomas Spencer, sir Nêle Loring, the earl of Angus,* sir Thomas Banaster, sir John Trivet, sir William de Montendre, sir Maubrins de Linieres, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, and several other knights and squires. These men-at-arms marched boldly forth and in good array, as if going upon some grand enterprise, and having passed through the province of Poitou, entered that of Anjou. When they were arrived in that country, they fixed their quarters in the flat parts of it, and sent out their light divisions to burn and destroy everything. They did infinite mischief to this rich and fine country, without any one attempting to prevent them: and they remained there upward of fifteen days, especially in that part of it called the Loudunois. They retreated from Anjou down the river Creuse, which separates Touraine from Poitou; and sir John Chandos, with his army, entered the lands of the viscount Rochechouart, where everything, except the fortresses, was ruined. They advanced to the town of Rochechouart, and vigorously assaulted it, but without effect; for there were excellent men-at-arms within it, commanded by Thibault du Pont and Helyons de Talay, who prevented it from being taken or injured.

The English continued their march to Chauvigny,† where sir John Chandos received information that the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, with a great body of men-at-arms, were at la Haye‡ in Touraine. He was very desirous to march that way, and sent in great haste to the earl of Pembroke to signify his intentions, and to beg of him to accompany him to la Haye in Touraine, and that he would meet him at Châtelheraut.§ Chandos the herald was the bearer of this message. He found the earl of Pembroke at Mortagne, busily engaged in mustering his men, and preparing, as it appeared, to make an excursion. He excused himself a second time, by the advice of his council, saying he could not accompany him. The herald, on his return, found his master and the army at Châtelheraut, to whom he delivered his answer. When sir John Chandos heard it, he was very melancholy, knowing that pride and presumption had made the earl refuse to be a party in the expedition, and only replied, "God's will be done." He dismissed the greater part of his army, who separated, and he, with his attendants, returned to Poitiers.

CHAPTER CCLXXI.

THE LORD LOUIS DE SANCERRE SURPRISES THE EARL OF PEMBROKE. SEVERAL OF HIS MEN ARE SLAIN AND THE EARL IS BESIEGED IN A HOUSE AT PUIRENON.

We will now relate how the earl of Pembroke prospered. As soon as he knew that sir John Chandos had disbanded his army, and was returned to Poitiers, he assembled his own forces, which consisted of three hundred English and Poitevins, and marched from Mortagne. He was joined by some knights and squires of Poitou and Saintonge, as well as by some English knights that had been in sir John Chandos's army. These men-at-arms, therefore, advanced under the command of the earl of Pembroke, and took the direct road to where sir John Chandos had been, burning and despoiling all those parts of Anjou which the first had left, or which had been ransomed. They halted to refresh themselves in the Loudunois, and then took the road for the lands of the viscount Rochechouart, to which they did great damage.

The French who were in garrison on the frontiers of Touraine, Anjou, and Poitou, consisting of a large body of men-at-arms, heard the whole truth of these two excursions, and how the earl of Pembroke, who was a young man, would not, through pride, serve under sir John Chandos. They therefore resolved to conquer him, if they could; for they thought they should more easily defeat him than sir John Chandos. They made, in consequence, a secret levy of their forces from all their garrisons; and sir Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, took the command of them. They marched all night to la Roche-posay‖ in Poitou, which was in the French interest. There were in this expedition sir Robert de Sancerre, cousin to the marshal, sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julien, and Carnet le Breton; in the whole, seven hundred fighting men.

The earl of Pembroke had finished his excursion, and reëntered Poitou, having completed the total destruction of the viscount de Rochechouart's estate. In this company were, sir Baldwin de Franville, sénéschal of Saintonge, lord Thomas Spencer, lord Thomas Percy, the earl of Angus, sir John Orwich,* sir John Harpedon, sir James de Surgeres, sir John Cousins, sir Thomas de St. Alban, sir Robert Twiford, sir Simon Ausagre, sir John de Mortain, sir John Touchet, and several others. The English and Poitevins marched on without any thought or precaution, having heard nothing of these men-at-arms: they had entered Poitou with all their pillage, and came, one day about noon, to a village called Puirenon, where they halted, after the manner of persons in perfect security. But when the servants were about to put the horses in the stable, and to prepare the supper, the French, who well knew what they were about, entered the village of Puirenon, with their lances in their rests, bawling out their cry, "Our Lady, for Sancerre the marshal!"† and then overthrew all they met in the streets. The noise became so violent, that the English ran to the head-quarters with great alarm, to inform the earl of Pembroke, lord Thomas Percy, sir Baldwin de Franville, and the others, that the French had suddenly attacked and surprised them. These lords were soon armed, and sallying out from their hotels, collected their men together; but they could not all assemble, for the numbers of the French were so considerable that the English and Poitevins were overpowered; and, in this first attack, more than one hundred and twenty were killed or made prisoners. The earl of Pembroke and some knights had no other remedy but to retire, as quickly as they could, into an unembattled house, which belonged to the knights-templars, without a moat, and only inclosed with a stone wall. All who could get there in time enough shut themselves in: the greater part of the others were slain or made prisoners, and their arms and horses taken. The earl of Pembroke lost all his plate.

The French, who closely pursued them, finding those who could get together had shut themselves up in this house, were much rejoiced, saying among themselves: "They must be our prisoners, for they cannot escape; and we will make them dearly repay the damage they have done in Anjou and Touraine." On which, they advanced to this house in regular order, and with a good will to assault it: when they were come thither, it was evening: after they had examined it narrowly on all sides, to see if it might be easily taken, they began the attack, in which were performed many gallant deeds of arms, for the French were all well tried men. They made different attempts on this house, which was very strong, and gave the earl of Pembroke and his men enough to do; for the English being so few, labored hard to defend themselves, as it was to them of the utmost consequence. Scaling ladders were brought, and fixed against the walls, which some bold adventurers mounted, with their shields over their heads to shelter themselves from stones and arrows; but when they were got to the top they had done nothing, for they found there, ready to receive them, knights, squires, men-at-arms, with lances and swords, with which they handsomely fought hand to hand, and made them descend much quicker than they had mounted. Add to this, that there were English archers intermixed with these men-at-arms, at two feet distance on the walls, who shot so well that the French beneath suffered much.

The English continued under constant alarm, repelling these attacks until night, when the French, tired with fighting and fatigue, sounded their trumpets for the retreat, saying they had done enough for one day, but that they would return to the attack on the morrow; adding, that, as they could not escape from them, they would starve them to surrender. They returned to their quarters in high spirits, and made merry, having placed a strong guard in front of the house to be more secure of their enemies. It will readily be believed that the earl of Pembroke and those who were thus blockaded were not much at their ease: they were aware that this house was not of sufficient strength to hold out long against so many men-at-arms. It was as badly provided with artillery, to their great sorrow, as with provision; but this last was not of much consequence, for they could well fast a day and night, if necessary, in defending themselves.

When it was dark, they entreated a squire, an expert soldier, and in whom they placed great confidence, to set out directly by a postern, and ride as fast as he could to Poitiers, to inform sir John Chandos and his friends how awkwardly they were situated, and to beg they would come to their assistance; in the hopes of which they would hold out until noon; and, if he made haste, he might easily make this journey by early morning. The squire, who perceived the extreme danger in which all the lords were, very cheerfully undertook it, but boasted a little too much of his knowledge of the roads. He set out about midnight by a postern gate, and took the straight road, as he thought for Poitiers; but it so fell out, that during the whole night he wandered about, before he hit upon the right road.

At daybreak, the French, who were besieging the English at Puirenon as you have before heard, sounded their trumpets to arms, saying it would be better to make their attacks in the cool of the morning than in the heat of the day. The earl of Pembroke and the knights shut up with him, instead of sleeping, had fortified themselves with whatever they could find, making use even of benches and stones,

* David, king of Scotland, created sir John Stuart of Bonkil earl of Angus. He and his heirs held the estates, but the Umphravilles of England the earl mentioned in the text) grasped at the title for many generations.—PINKERTON'S *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 7.

† "Chauvigny"—a town in Poitou, six leagues from Poitiers.

‡ "La Haye"—a town in Touraine, on the Creuse.

§ "Châtelheraut"—a town in Poitou, on the Vienne

‖ "La Roche-posay"—a town in Touraine, on the Creuse.

* "Sir John Orwich," Q. Barnes calls him Nele Loring. Why not Norwich?

† And *cried* their cryes, "Our lady of Sanxerre for the marshal of Fraunce."—LORD BERNERS.

which they had carried to the top of the walls. They found the French were preparing to renew the attack, and comforted each one upon it. Some time before sunrise, the French were ready, when they marched by companies, and with great vigor, to the assault of the hôtel. They acquitted themselves too well, and having brought scaling ladders, placed them against the walls, mounting them with the utmost eagerness, covered by their shields, otherwise they would not have ventured: it was held highly honorable to those who mounted the first, as in truth it was a very brave act. The English were not idle nor faint-hearted in their own defence, but fought marvellously well, and flung down upon the shields of the assailants stones and great beams of wood, with which they beat them so severely, that they killed or wounded several. They did their duty excellently well, and so small a fort was never seen to hold out so long against such a force. This assault continued from early dawn until six o'clock.

CHAPTER CCLXXII.

SIR JOHN CHANDOS COMES TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE, BESIEGED IN PUIRENON.

Between six and nine o'clock, after the heat of the attack, the French, indignant that the English had made so long a defence, sent orders to all the villagers thereabouts to bring pick-axes and mattocks to undermine the walls, which was what the English were most afraid of. The earl of Pembroke called one of his own squires and said to him, "My friend, mount a horse, and sally out from the back gate, where they will make way for you,* and ride as fast as possible to Poitiers to sir John Chandos, to tell him our situation and the imminent danger we are in: recommend me to him by this token." He then took off his finger a rich ring of gold, adding, "Give him this from me: he will know it well again." The squire who thought himself much honored by this commission, took the ring, mounted the best courser he could find, and set off by the back gate during the attack, for they opened it for him. He took the road to Poitiers; and, while he was making all the haste he could, the assault was carried on warmly by the French, and as vigorously opposed by the English: indeed, it behoved them so to do.

We will now say something of the first squire, who had left Puirenon at midnight, and who, having lost his road, had wandered about all the night. When it was broad day, he knew his road, and made straight for Poitiers; but, his horse being tired, he did not arrive there until about nine o'clock, when he dismounted in the square before the hotel of sir John Chandos, and immediately entered it, having learnt that he was at mass: he approached him, and, falling on his knees, delivered his message. Sir John Chandos, who had not yet recovered his vexation at the earl of Pembroke's refusal to join him in his expeditions, was not very eager to give him assistance: he coldly said, "It will be almost impossible for us to get there in time and hear the whole mass." Soon after mass the tables were spread, and dinner set out. His servants asked sir John, if he would dine: "Yes," said he, "since it is ready," and then entered the hall, where his knights and squires had preceded him with water to wash his hands. As he was thus employed, and before he had sat down to table, the second squire from the earl of Pembroke entered the hall, and, having knelt down, drew the ring from his purse, saying: "Dear sir, my lord the earl of Pembroke recommends himself to you by this token, and entreats you most earnestly to come to his assistance, and rescue him from the imminent danger he is now in at Puirenon." Sir John Chandos took the ring, and, having examined it, knew it well. He then replied, "It will not be possible for us to arrive there in time, if they be in the situation you describe." He added, "Come let us dine."

Sir John seated himself with his knights at table, and ate of the first course: as the second was served, and indeed begun on, sir John Chandos, who had much thought on this business, raised his head, and, looking at his companions, spoke as follows, which gave much pleasure to those around him: "The earl of Pembroke (a lord of such high birth and rank that he has even married a daughter of my natural lord the king of England, and is brother-in-arms as in everything else with my lord of Cambridge,) entreats me so courteously, that it behoves me to comply with his request to succor and rescue him, if it be possible to arrive in time." He then pushed the table from him, and, rising, said to his knights and squires, "Gentlemen, I am determined to go to Puirenon." This was heard with joy, and they were soon ready to attend him. The trumpets sounded, and every man-at-arms in Poitiers was mounted in the best way he could; for it had been speedily told abroad, that sir John Chandos was marching to Puirenon, to the assistance of the earl of Pembroke and his army, who were there besieged by the French. When these knights and squires took the field, they amounted to upward of two hundred lances, and increased every moment. They marched with all haste: news of this was brought to the French, who had constantly been engaged at this assault from daybreak until noon, by their spies, who said: "Dear lords, look well to yourselves; for sir John Chandos has marched from Poitiers with upward of two hundred lances, and is advancing with great haste and a greater desire to meet with you."

When sir Louis de Sancerre, sir John de Vienne, sir John de Beuil, and the others who were present, heard this, the best informed among them said, "Our men are tired and worn down by their assaults upon the English, yesterday and to-day: it will be much wiser for us to make a handsome retreat with all we have gained, and our prisoners, than to wait the arrival of sir John Chandos and his company, who are quite fresh; for we may lose more than we can gain." This plan was immediately followed, for there was not a moment to lose: the trumpets were ordered to sound a retreat: their men assembled in a body, and, having sent off their baggage, they themselves took the road to la Roche-Posay.

The carl of Pembroke and those with him, imagining the French must have had some intelligence, said among themselves: "Chandos must certainly be on his march, for the French are retreating, not daring to wait his coming: come, come, let us immediately quit this place and take the road toward Poitiers, and we shall meet him." Those who had horses mounted them; and others went on foot, and several rode double. They thus left Puirenon, following the road to Poitiers: they had scarcely advanced a league before they met sir John Chandos and his army in the condition I have before told: some on horseback, some on foot, and some riding double. Much joy was shown on both sides at this meeting; but sir John said, he was sorely vexed that he had not been in time to have met the French. They rode together conversing for about three leagues, when they took leave of each other and separated. Sir John Chandos returned to Poitiers; the earl of Pembroke to Mortagne, the place he had marched from; and the marshal of France and his army to la Roche-Posay, where they refreshed themselves and divided their booty; they then retired to their garrisons, carrying with them their prisoners, whom they courteously admitted to ransom, as the French and English have always been accustomed to act toward each other.

We will now return to the armies in Tournehem; and speak of the death of the most courteous, noble, and liberal queen that reigned in her time, the lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England and Ireland.*

CHAPTER CCLXXIII.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN PHILIPPA OF ENGLAND: SHE MAKES THREE REQUESTS TO THE KING ON HER DEATH-BED. SOME FRENCHMEN, HAVING ATTACKED THE ENGLISH CAMP AT TOURNEHEM, ARE REPULSED BY SIR ROBERT DE NAMUR.

During the time that such numbers of the noblemen of the kingdom of France were assembled at Tournehem under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and the duke of Lancaster was encamped with his army in the valley opposite to them, a circumstance happened in England, which, though so very common, was not the less unfortunate for the king, his children, and the whole kingdom. That excellent lady the queen of England (who had done so much good, and during her whole life had assisted all knights, ladies, and damsels who had applied to her,† who had had such boundless charity for all mankind, and who had naturally such an affection for the Hainault nation, being the country from which she sprung,) lay at this time dangerously ill at Windsor castle, and her disorder daily increased.

When the good lady perceived her end approaching, she called to the king, and, extending her right hand from under the bed-clothes, put it into the right hand of the king, who was very sorrowful at heart, and thus spoke: "We have enjoyed our union in happiness, peace, and prosperity: I entreat, therefore, of you, that on our separation you will grant me three requests." The king, with sighs and

* And we shall make you way, says lord Berners, which is more likely than that the French would willingly permit a messenger to depart.

* The most gentyll quene, most lyberall, and most curteyse that ever was quene in her dayes, the whiche was the fayre lady Philipp of Heynault, quene of England and Irelande.—Lord Berners.

† Froissart does not intimate that she waited to be *applied* to, and indeed her own case shows that she needed no suggestion but her own "liberal and tender-feeling" nature to prompt her bounty. The passage is one of the gems of Lord Berners, and is worthy to be given entire. "Thene fell in Englonde a heny case: wh a comon, howbeit it was right pyteouse for the kyng, his chyldren, and all his realme. For the good quene of Englande, that so many good dedes had done in her tyme, and so many knights socoured, and ladyes and damosels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goodes to her people, and naturally loued always the nacyon of Heynaulte, the countrey where she was borne: She fell sicke in the castell of Wyndsore, the which sickenesse contynewed on her so longe, that *there was no remedy but dethe.* And the good ladye, whanne she knewe and parceyued that there was with her no remedye but dethe, she desyred to speke with the kynge her husbande. And whan he was before her she put out of her bedde her right hande and toke the kynge by his right hande, who was right sorrowfull at his hert. Than she sayd, 'Sir, we haue in peace, ioye, and great prosperyte used all our tyme togtuyer. Sir, nowe, I pray you, at our departyng, that ye will graunte me thre desyres.' The kynge, ryght sorowfully wepynge, sayd, 'Madame, desyre what ye wyll, I graunt it.' 'Sir,' sayd she, 'I requyre you, firste of all, that all maner of people, suche as I haue dault withall in their marchanndyse, on this syde the see or beyond, that it may please you to pay euery thynge that I owe to theym, or to any other. And, secondly, sir, all such ordynaunce and promyses as I haue made to the churches as well of this countrey as beyond the see, whereas I haue hadde my deuocyon, that it maye please you to accomplysshe and to fulfyll the same. Thirdely, sir, I requyre you that it may please you to take none other sepulture, whansoeuer it shall please God to call you out of this transytorie lyfe, but besyde me in Westmynster.' The kynge, all wepynge, sayd, 'Madame, I graunt all your desyre.' Than the good lady and quene made on her the signe of the crosse, and commaunded the kynge her husbande to God, and her youngest son, Thomas, who was there besyde her. And anone, after, she yelded up the spiryte, the whiche I beleue surely the holy angels receyued with great ioy up to heuen, for in all her lyfe she dyd neyther in thought nor dede thyng whereby to lese her soul, as ferr as any creature coulde knowe. Thus the good quene of Englande dyed in the yere of our lorde MCCCLXIX, in the vigyll of our lady in the myddes of August."—Ed.

tears, replied, "Lady, ask whatever you request shall be granted." "My lord, I beg you will acquit me of whatever engagements I may have entered into with merchants for their wares, as well on this as on the other side of the sea. I beseech you also to fulfil whatever gifts or legacies I may have made, or left to churches, here or on the continent, wherein I have paid my devotions, as well as what I may have left to those of both sexes who have been in my service. Thirdly, I entreat that, whenever it shall please God to call you hence, you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, and that you will lie by my side in the cloisters of Westminster." The king, in tears, replied, "Lady, I grant them."

Soon after, the good lady made the sign of the cross on her breast, and, having recommended to God the king and her youngest son, Thomas, who was present, gave up her spirit, which, I firmly believe, was caught by the holy angels and carried to the glory of Heaven; for she had never done anything, by thought or deed, that could endanger her losing it. Thus died this queen of England, in the year of grace 1369, the vigil of the assumption of the Virgin, the 15th of August.

Information of this loss was carried to the English army at Tournehem, which greatly afflicted every one, but particularly the duke of Lancaster. However, as there is no death but what must be passed over and forgotten, the English did not neglect to keep up very strict discipline in their camp, where they remained a long time facing the French. It happened that some of the French knights and squires, seeing the enemy every day before their eyes, held a conversation, and, after discussing the matter, agreed to meet on the morrow, at daybreak, to skirmish with them, and beat up the guard. There were upward of three hundred knights and squires, the greater part of them from the Vermandois, Artois, and Corbiois, who had entered into this agreement, and, without mentioning it to their marshals, had each informed the other of their intentions. When the morning came for this expedition, they were all ready armed, mounted, and assembled. They rode forth in this array, nothing doubting of success, and began to make a circuit round the hill of Tournehem, in order to gain an advantageous position, and to fall upon one of the wings of the English army.

This wing was allotted to sir Robert de Namur and his people. Sir Robert had been on guard that night, but toward daybreak had entered his tent, and was then sitting at supper, quite armed, except his helmet, and the lord Despontin* with him. The French at this moment arrived at the quarters of sir Robert, which were also those of some other German and English lords; but the guard very fortunately had not disarmed themselves: they immediately opposed the Frenchmen who came up spurring and galloping, and checked their career. News soon reached sir Robert that his men were fighting, having been attacked by the French. In an instant, he pushed the table from him where he had been seated, and said to the lord Despontin, "Come, come to the assistance of our men." Instantly he fixed his helmet on his head, and ordered his banner, which was placed before his tent, to be displayed. Some one said, "My lord, send to the duke of Lancaster, and do not engage without him." He bluntly replied, "Not I: I shall go the shortest way I can to help my men. Those may send to my lord of Lancaster who will; but let all who love me follow me."

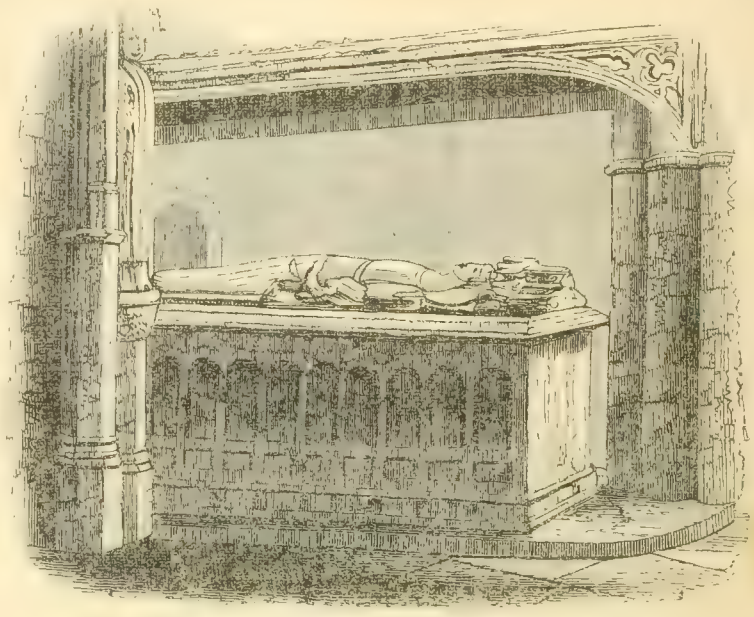
He then advanced, sword in hand, to meet the enemy: the lord Despontin and sir Henry de Sancelle were with him, as well as his other knights, who directly engaged in the battle, having found their men fighting with the French, in great numbers, and who, to speak truth, ought to have done much this day: but no sooner did they perceive sir Robert de Namur marching with his banner than they wheeled about and gave up their plan, for they thought the whole army was ready to fall on them: indeed it was so in different parts of the camp, for the sun was now risen. A Vermandois knight was slain under the banner of sir Robert de Namur, called sir Robert de Coulogne, who was much regretted; for he was rich, amiable, and courteous, and an honorable knight in every station. Thus ended the affair. The French retreated without doing anything more, for they were afraid of greater loss than gain. Sir Robert did not pursue them farther than was wise, but brought back his men when he found the enemy was quite gone, and returned to his quarters.

* Lord Despontin. Q. Barnes calls him lord of Ponthieu.

CHAPTER CCLXXIV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND HIS ARMY DECAMP WITHOUT A BATTLE. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER RETURNS TO CALAIS.

Since this last affair, nothing happened worth relating. It was very displeasing to many on both sides that they thus remained so long without a battle: every day it was said, "We shall engage tomorrow;" but that morrow never came; for, as I have said before, the duke of Burgundy would not act contrary to the orders of the king. The orders he received were very strict; for there were continually messengers going from the king to the duke, and from the duke to the king on this subject. At last the duke of Burgundy, as I was then informed, having considered, that he was encamped at a very heavy expense, and could not remain so much longer with any honor; for he had upward of four thousand knights, while the enemy was but a handful in comparison, with whom, however, he had not fought, nor had had any intentions of so doing: the duke, I say, sent some of his knights to lay his situation before the king, and to explain to him his wishes. The king thought the duke judged rightly, and ordered him, on the receipt of his letters, to break up his camp, to dismiss his army, and come to Paris, where he himself was going.



Tomb of Queen Philippa, Westminster Abbey. From an Original Drawing.

When the duke received these orders, he sent for the principal lords of his army, and told them secretly their contents; saying, "We must break up our camp, for the king sends for us back." When it was midnight, those to whom he had given this information, having packed up everything, were mounted, and had set fire to their quarters. At this hour, sir Henry de Sancelle was returning to his tent, having been on guard with sir Robert de Namur's men, to whom he was attached; and seeing first one, then two, and then three fires in the enemy's camp, he said to himself, "These French think, perhaps, to surprise us: they have the appearance of intending it. Let us go," said he to those near him, "to sir Robert's tent, and awaken him, that, should it be so, he may be prepared in time." Sir Henry went thither, and, calling his chamberlains, told them, they must instantly awaken sir Robert. They went to his bed-side and sir Henry de Sancelle with them, who awakened him, and told him all that he had seen. Sir Robert made answer, "We shall soon hear other news: let our men be instantly armed and made ready." He himself was soon armed. When his men were drawn up, he had his banner displayed, and marched to the tent of the duke of Lancaster, who was arming also, for he had received similar information. It was not long before the different lords came thither, one after another: as they arrived, they were drawn up and remained quiet without any light.

The duke of Lancaster ordered his marshals to march the archers to where he hoped the French would make their attack, if they came; for he certainly expected a battle. When they had remained at their posts for two hours, and saw no one advancing to them, they were more surprised than before. The duke called to him his lords, and asked them what he had best now to do. Some replied one thing, and some another, and each defended his own opinion. The duke, perceiving that valiant knight sir Walter Manny, said,

"And you, sir Walter, what do you advise?" "I do not know," replied sir Walter, "but, if you will follow my advice, I would draw up my men-at-arms and archers in order of battle, and would advance slowly; for, as it will soon be day, we shall then see clearly before us." The Duke assented to this proposal: but others were of a contrary opinion, and advised him not to march from where he was. This discussion continued until orders were given for some of the troops of sir Robert de Namur and sir Waleran de Bourne* to mount their horses, because they were lightly accoutred and rode well. Thirty horsemen were chosen from the best mounted, and sent off toward the French camp.

While they were gone on this expedition, sir Walter Manny, addressing the duke, said, "My lord, never believe me again, if these French be not fled: mount your horse, and order the others to do the same, that you may pursue them, and I will engage you will have a fine day of it." The duke replied, "Sir Walter, I have hitherto always followed the advice of my council, and intend now doing so; for I can never believe that so many brave men-at-arms and noble knights would thus run away. Perhaps the fires we see may have been lighted to entrap us. Our scouts will soon return, and then we shall know the truth." As they were thus conversing, the scouts returned, and confirmed all that sir Walter Manny had thought: they said they had found none but some poor victuallers, who followed the army. Sir Walter Manny gained great credit. The duke went to his tent to disarm: he would that day have dined in the French camp, but the fire was too great: he and his men-at-arms, however, supped there, and took up their quarters on the mountain for the night, and made themselves comfortable with what they found there. On the morrow they decamped, and returned to Calais.

The duke of Burgundy, when he marched off, made his quarters at St. Omer, where he and all his army remained until they were disbanded, and every man returned to his home. There was afterwards much trouble to reassemble them again.

CHAPTER CCLXXV.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE, DESIROUS OF AVENGING HIMSELF FOR THE DEFEAT HE RECEIVED AT PUIRENON, MAKES AN INCURSION TO ANJOU. THE ABBEY OF ST. SALVIN IN POITOU IS BETRAYED TO THE FRENCH, AND FORTIFIED.

THE same week that the armies quitted Tournehem, the earl of Pembroke (who was in Poitou, and had been much mortified at the defeat he had suffered from sir Louis de Sancerre, sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil and the others at Puirenon, as has been related) resolved to have his revenge, if possible; and for this end he marched from Mortagne with his army, which consisted of about two hundred lances, and came to Angoulême, where the prince received him most courteously. The earl entreated of him permission to lead another expedition, and to lend him some of his men, as he was very anxious to avenge himself of the affronts he had suffered from the French. The prince, who had much affection for him, immediately granted his request. Sir Hugh Calverley was just returned from his excursion into the county of Armagnac, with five hundred fighting men; and the prince gave him leave to accompany the earl of Pembroke in his intended expedition. He also requested the company of sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Perceval de Coulogne, the lords de Pons, de Partenay and de Pinane, lord Thomas Percy, sir Richard de Pontchardon, and several knights of the prince's household, who willingly accepted the invitation, for they were ready for any excursion: so that, when they were assembled, they amounted to five hundred lances, three hundred archers, and fifteen hundred foot soldiers, armed with pikes and shields, who followed the army on foot. This army marched, under the command of the earl of Pembroke as their leader, and took the road toward Anjou: where they no sooner arrived than they began to destroy, and to do every damage to the country they passed through, by razing castles and forts, burning such towns as could not hold out against them, and levying contributions on all the flat country as far as Saumur† on the Loire. They gained possession of the suburbs, and began an assault on the town; but they could not take it, for Sir Robert de Sancerre was in it with a large body of men-at-arms, who defended it from suffering any damage: all the country round about it, however, was pillaged, burnt, and ruined.

Sir Hugh Calverley and his division advanced to a bridge on the Loire, called le Pont de Cé;‡ when he defeated those who guarded it, took the bridge, and placed such a garrison of his own men there, after he had fortified it well, that they kept possession of it for a long time. The English, in this expedition, took a large abbey at St. Maur,§ on the Loire, which they repaired and fortified, and placed therein a considerable garrison, which, during the ensuing winter and summer, did great mischief to the adjacent country.

At this time, there was in Poitou an abbey, which still exists, called St. Salvin,‖ situated seven leagues from Poitiers; and in this abbey there was a monk who hated the abbot, as he afterwards showed. It was on account of this hatred which he bore him that he betrayed the abbot and the whole convent, and delivered up the abbey and the town to sir Louis de St. Julien and to Carnet le Breton, who took possession of it, and made it a strong garrison. Sir John Chandos was much vexed at St. Salvin being thus surprised, and not being able to retake it; for, as he was sénéschal of Poitou, he was angry that such a house should have been taken in his government, and declared, that if he should live long enough, he would have it again by some means or other, and make them pay dearly for the insult they had put upon him. We will now quit Poitou, and return to the duke of Lancaster.

* Sir Waleran de Bourne. Q. Barnes calls him Van Bornico.

† Saumur—on the Loire, diocese of Angers.

‡ Pont de Cé—Pont de Sé—two leagues from Angers.

§ St. Maur—on the Loire, election of Saumur.

‖ St. Salvin—St. Savin—a village in Poitou, election of Poitiers.

CHAPTER CCLXXVI.

THE COUNTY OF ST. POL IN PICARDY IS PILLAGED AND RUINED BY THE ENGLISH. SIR HUGH DE CHASTILLON IS TAKEN PRISONER.

WHEN the duke of Lancaster had retreated to Calais after the decampment of Tournehem, as has been before related, and had refreshed himself and men for three days, he resolved, by advice of his council, to draw out his troops, and make an excursion into France. His marshals, the earl of Warwick and sir Roger Beauchamp, were ordered to muster the army, which orders they very readily obeyed, for they were desirous of making an inroad on France. The men-at-arms and archers marched from Calais in excellent array: every man was apprized what he was to do, and where he was going. The first day's march was only five leagues from Calais. On the morrow, they came before St. Omer, where there were many skirmishes at the gates; but the English did not make any long halt: they continued their march, and that night encamped on the heights of Hersault.* On the third day, they arrived at the city of Terouenne,† where was the count de St. Pol with a large company of men-at-arms. The English did not halt, but continued their march, taking the road to Hesdin,‡ and fixed their quarters at night on a small river.

When the count de St. Pol found that the English were taking the road to his country, he knew they were not going thither for his good, for they hated him too much: he set out, therefore, in the night, and gave the government of the city to the lord de St. Py and sir John de Roye;§ and riding hard, he arrived at his town of St. Pol.‖ The English came before the place very early on the morrow morning, and several severe skirmishes happened; but the arrival of the count was fortunate for himself and for the town, as he, with the assistance of those who had accompanied him, prevented the place from being taken. The duke of Lancaster, therefore, and his army refreshed themselves at their ease in the county of St. Pol, which they overran, and did great damage to all the flat country. They advanced to the castle of Pernes,¶ where the countess dowager resided. They examined well the fort, and the duke sounded the depth of the ditches with a lance: notwithstanding this, they made no attack, though they showed every appearance of it. They made no long stay, but continued their march, and went toward Lucheux,** a handsome town, which belonged to the count. They burnt the town, and without touching the castle, continued their road for St. Riquier.†† The English did not march more than three or four leagues a-day, so that they burnt and destroyed all the countries they passed through. They crossed the river Somme at Blanchetaque below Abbeville, and then entered the country of Vimeu,‡‡ with the intention of pushing forward to Harfleur on the Seine, in order to burn the navy of the king of France.

The count de St. Pol, and sir Moreau de Fiennes, constable of France, with a large body of men-at-arms, pursued and hovered about the English army, so that they could not disperse nor quit the straight road, but were obliged to keep in a compact body, to be ready to combat the French should they be so inclined. In this manner they marched through Vimeu and the county of Eu: entering the archbishopric of Rouen, they passed Dieppe, and continued their march until they came before Harfleur, where they fixed their quarters. The count de St. Pol out-marched them, and had entered the town with two hundred lances, at the utmost. The English remained three days before Harfleur, but did nothing: on the fourth, they decamped, and returned through the lands of the lord d'Estoville, whom they did not love much, and burnt and destroyed the whole or greater part. They then passed through Vexin Normand in their way to Oisemont,§§ to recross the Somme at Blanchetaque.

Sir Hugh de Chastillon, master of the cross-bows in France, was at this time captain and governor of Abbeville. When he heard

* Hersault. Q. If not Herissart; but that seems to be too great a distance.

† Terouenne—is now in ruins. It was taken by Henry VIII. by a stratagem of pointing wooden guns painted, which were thought to be real ones, and threatened to batter down the town, if not surrendered.

‡ Hesdin—a strong town in Artois, on the Canche.

§ Two of my MSS. have different names, the lord de Sampy, sir Guy de Roye. One has sir John de Roye.

‖ St. Pol—a town in Artois, five leagues from Hesdin.

¶ Castle of Pernes—a town in Artois, three leagues from St. Pol.

** Lucheux—a town of Picardy, near Doulens.

†† St. Riquier—an ancient town in Picardy, two leagues and a half from Abbeville.

‡‡ Vimeu—in Picardy, St. Valery is its capital.

§§ Oisemont—a market town in Picardy, five leagues from Abbeville.

that the duke of Lancaster was returning that way, he armed himself, and ordered twelve of his people to do the same. On mounting their horses, he said he was going to view the guard of the gate of Rouvray, that it might not be wanting in defence, and that the English should not find it too weakly guarded. It was early in the morning, and there was a thick fog. Sir Nicholas Louvaine, who had been séneschal of Ponthieu, and whom, this very year, sir Hugh de Chastillon had taken and ransomed for ten thousand francs, remembered this so sorely that, having a great desire to recover his losses, he set out on the point of day from the duke's army, accompanied by only twenty men. As he was well acquainted with all the roads and passes of that country, having resided there for upward of three years, he intended lying in ambuscade between Abbeville and the castle of Rouvray, in the hope of taking some prize: he had crossed a small rivulet which ran through a marsh, and hid himself and men in some old uninhabited houses.

Sir Hugh never dreamed that the English would form an ambuscade so near the town. Sir Nicholas and his men kept themselves very quiet: they perceived sir Hugh de Chastillon riding down the road which leads to Rouvray, with only twelve others, armed at all points, except his helmet, which one of his pages bore on a courser behind him. He crossed the little rivulet, and made for the gate of Rouvray to see what the guard of cross-bowmen were about, and to inquire if they had heard or seen the English. When sir Nicholas Louvaine, who was on the watch, saw him, he recognized him directly, and was more rejoiced than if any one had given him twenty thousand francs. He sallied out from his ambush, saying, "Follow me: here is what I wished for: it is the master of the cross-bows, and I ask for nothing better." Then sticking spurs into his horse, and pointing his lance, he came upon sir Hugh, crying, "Surrender, Chastillon, or thou art a dead man." Sir Hugh, who was much puzzled to conjecture whence these men could come, had neither time to put on his helmet nor to mount his courser: finding himself in such a strait, he asked, "To whom am I to surrender?" Sir Nicholas replied, "To Louvaine, to Louvaine." In order, therefore, to avoid the danger he could not escape from, he said, "I surrender." He was then taken, and told, "Ride on quickly, for the army of the duke of Lancaster marches on before us." On this occasion was slain, a very valiant citizen of Abbeville, called Lawrence Dancons,* who was much regretted. Thus was taken and entrapped sir Hugh de Chastillon, at that time master of the cross-bows in France and governor of Abbeville, through the good fortune of sir Nicholas Louvaine: with which capture the duke of Lancaster and the English were much rejoiced. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Abbeville were exceedingly vexed at it; but for the present they could not better themselves.

The English marched on, crossed the Somme at Blanchetaque, and then passed through the towns of Rue-sur-mer and Montreuil-sur-mer, until they at last arrived at Calais. The duke of Lancaster there dismissed all the foreigners, when sir Waleran de Bourne and the Germans departed. The duke returned to England, and the Germans to their own country, as there was not any intention of continuing the war until the ensuing summer, for now Martinmas was passed: but the duke informed them, that in the approaching spring, he should cross the sea with a greater force than he had hitherto done, and should entreat his cousins the dukes of Gueldres and Juliers to accompany him into France. We shall now be silent as to the affairs of Picardy, for indeed nothing of great moment happened since this time, and return to Poitou, where warlike deeds were oftener performed.

CHAPTER CCLXXVIII.

SIR JOHN CHANDOS IS SLAIN IN A SKIRMISH. THE FRENCH, AT FIRST VICTORIOUS, ARE IN THE END DEFEATED.

Sir John Chandos, being séneschal of Poitou, was seriously afflicted with the loss of St. Salvin: he was continually devising means to retake it, whether by assault or by escalade was perfectly indifferent to him, so that he could gain it. He made many nightly ambuscades, but none succeeded; for sir Louis, who commanded in it, was very watchful, as he knew the capture of it had highly angered sir John Chandos. It happened that, on the night preceding the eve of the new year (1370,) sir John Chandos, who resided in the city of Poitiers, had sent out his summons to the barons and knights of Poitou to come to him as secretly as they could, for he was going on an expedition. The Poitevins would not refuse him anything, being much beloved by them: they obeyed his summons, and came to Poitiers. Sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons, de Partenay, de Pinane, de Tannaybouton, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Maubrun de Linieres, lord Thomas Percy, sir Baldwin de Franville, sir Richard de Pontchardon, came thither, with many others. When they were all assembled, they were full three hundred lances.

They left Poitiers in the night, and no one, except the principal lords, knew whither they were going. The English, however, had scaling-ladders and everything they might have occasion for with them. They marched to St. Salvin; and, when there arrived, were told what was intended; upon which they all dismounted, and, giving the horses to their valets, the English descended into the ditch. It was then about midnight. They were in this situation, and would very shortly have succeeded in their expedition, when they heard the guard of the fort wind his horn. The reason was this. That very night Carnet le Breton had come from la Roche-Posay, with forty lances, to St. Salvin, to request sir Louis de St. Julien to accompany him in an expedition to Poitou: he therefore awakened the guard and those within the fort.

The English, who were on the opposite side, ignorant of the intentions of this body of Frenchmen wanting to enter the fort, thought they had been seen by the guard, or that spies had given information of their arrival to the garrison. They immediately left the ditch, and said, "Let us away; for this night we have been disappointed in our scheme." They mounted their horses, and advanced in a body to Chauvigny on the river Creuse, two short leagues distant. When all were arrived there, the Poitevins asked sir John Chandos if he wished them to remain with him; he answered, "No: you may return in God's name: I will to-day stay in this town." The Poitevins departed, and with them some English knights: in all, about two hundred lances.

Sir John Chandos entered an hotel, and ordered a fire to be lighted. Lord Thomas Percy, séneschal of la Rochelle, and his men, remained with him. Lord Thomas asked sir John Chandos if he intended staying there that day: "Yes," replied sir John; "why do you ask?" "Because, sir, if you be determined not to go further, I shall beg of you to give me leave to make an excursion, to see if I shall meet with any adventure." "In the name of God, go then," replied sir John. At these words, lord Thomas Percy set out, attended by about thirty lances. Sir John Chandos remained with his own people. Lord Thomas crossed the bridge of Chauvigny, taking the longest road to Poitiers, having left sir John Chandos quite low-spirited for having failed in his intended attack on St. Salvin. He continued in the kitchen of the hotel, warming himself at a straw fire which his herald was making for him, conversing at the same time with his people, who very readily passed their jokes in hopes of curing him of his melancholy. After he had remained some time, and was preparing to take a little rest, and while he was asking if it were yet day, a man entered the hotel, and came before him, saying, "My lord, I bring you news." "What is it?" asked sir John. "My lord, the French have taken the field." "How dost thou know this?" "My lord, I set out from St. Salvin with them." "And what road have they taken?" "My lord, that I cannot say for a certainty; but it seemed to me they followed the road to Poitiers." "And who are these French?" "My lord, they are sir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton, with their companies." "Well, it is indifferent to me," replied sir John: "I have not any inclination to exert myself this day: they may be met with without my interference." He remained a considerable time very thoughtful; after having well considered, he added: "Notwithstanding what I have just said, I think I shall do right to mount my horse; for at all events, I must return to Poitiers, and it will be soon day." "It is well judged," replied the knights who were with him. Sir John ordered everything to be got ready, and his knights having done the same, they mounted and set off, taking the road to Poitiers, following the course of the river. The French might be a good league before them on this same road, intending to cross the river at the bridge of Lussac.* The English suspected this from perceiving the tracks of the horses, and said among themselves, "Either the French or lord Thomas Percy are just before us." Shortly after this conversation, day appeared; for in the early part of January the mornings begin to be soon light. The French might be about a league from the bridge of Lussac, when they perceived lord Thomas Percy and his men on the other side of the river. Lord Thomas had before seen them, and had set off full gallop to gain the bridge. They said, "There are the French: they are more in number than we are; let us hasten to take advantage of the bridge." When sir Louis and Carnet saw the English on the opposite side of the river, they also made haste to gain the bridge: however the English arrived first, and were masters of it. They all dismounted, and drew themselves up to defend and guard it. The French likewise dismounted on their arrival, and giving their horses for the servants to lead them to the rear, took their lances, and advanced in good order to attack the English and win the bridge. The English stood firm, although they were so few in comparison with the enemy.

While the French and Bretons were considering the most advantageous manner to begin the onset, sir John Chandos arrived with his company, his banner displayed and flying in the wind. This was borne by a valiant man-at-arms, called James Allen, and was a pile gules on a field argent. They might be about forty lances, who eagerly hastened to meet the French. As the English arrived at a small hillock, about three furlongs from the bridge, the French servants, who were between this hillock and the bridge, saw them, and being much frightened, said, "Come away: let us save ourselves and our horses." They therefore ran off, leaving their masters to shift as well as they could. When sir John Chandos, with displayed banner, was come up to the French, whom he thought very lightly of, he began from horseback to rail at them, saying: "Do you hear,

* Dancons. My two MSS. have Dentels.

* "Lussac"—a town in Poitou, diocese of Poitiers.

Frenchmen! you are mischievous men-at-arms: you make incursions night and day at your pleasure: you take towns and castles in Poitou, of which I am sénéschal. You ransom poor people without my leave, as if the country were your own; but, by God, it is not. Sir Louis, sir Louis, you and Carnet are too much the masters. It is upward of a year and a half that I have been endeavoring to meet you. Now, thanks to God, I will do so, and will tell you my mind. We will now try which of us is the strongest in this country. It has been often told me that you were very desirous of seeing me: you have now that pleasure. I am John Chandos: look at me well; and, if God please, we will now put to the proof your great deeds of arms which are so renowned." With such words as these did sir John Chandos greet them. he would not have wished to be anywhere else so eager was he to fight them.

Sir John Chandos at the head of his troops, in the act of making his death charge on the French. Designed from various MS. authorities in the Harleian and Cottonian Libraries.

Sir Louis and Carnet kept themselves in a close body, as if they were willing to engage. Lord Thomas Percy and the English on the other side of the bridge knew nothing of what had passed, for the bridge was very high in the middle, which prevented them from seeing over it. During this scoffing of sir John Chandos, a Breton drew his sword, and could not resist from beginning the battle: he struck an English squire, named Simkin Dodenhale, and beat him so much about the breast with his sword that he knocked him off his horse on the ground. Sir John Chandos, who heard the noise behind him, turned round, and saw his squire on the ground and persons beating him. This enraged him more than before: he said to his men, "Sirs, what are you about? how suffer you this man to be slain? Dismount, dismount:" and at the instant he was on foot, as were all his company. Simkin was rescued, and the battle began.

Sir John Chandos, who was a strong and bold knight, and cool in all his undertakings, had his banner advanced before him, surrounded by his men, with the scutcheon above his arms. He himself was dressed in a large robe which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on white sarcenet, argent, a pile gules; one on his breast, and the other on his back; so that he appeared resolved on some adventurous undertaking; and in this state, with sword in hand, he advanced on foot toward the enemy.

This morning there had been a hoar-frost, which had made the ground slippery; so that as he marched he entangled his legs with his robe, which was of the longest, and made a tumble: during which time a squire, called James de St. Martin (a strong expert man,) made a thrust at him with his lance, which hit him in the face, below the eye, between the nose and forehead. Sir John Chandos did not see the aim of the stroke, for he had lost the eye on that side five years ago, on the heaths of Bordeaux, at the chase of a stag: what added to this misfortune, sir John had not put down his vizor, so that in stumbling he bore upon the lance, and helped it to enter into him. The lance, which had been struck from a strong arm, hit him so severely that it entered as far as the brain, and then the squire drew it back to him again.

The great pain was too much for sir John, so he fell to the ground, and turned twice over in great agony, like one who had received his death-wound. Indeed, since the blow, he never uttered a word. His people, on seeing this mishap, were like madmen. His uncle, sir Edward Clifford, hastily advanced, and striding over the body, (for the French were endeavoring to get possession of it,) defended it most valiantly, and gave such well-directed blows with his sword that none dared to approach him. Two other knights, namely, sir John Chambo and sir Bertrand de Cassilies,* were like men distracted at seeing their master lie thus on the ground.

The Bretons, who were more numerous than the English, were much rejoiced when they saw their chief thus prostrate, and greatly hoped he was mortally wounded. They therefore advanced, crying out, "By God, my lords of England, you will all stay with us, for you cannot now escape." The English performed wonderful feats of arms, as well to extricate themselves from the danger they were in as to revenge their commander, sir John Chandos, whom they saw in so piteous a state. A squire attached to sir John marked out this James de St. Martin, who had given the blow; he fell upon him in such a rage, and struck him with his lance as he was flying, that he ran him through both his thighs, and then withdrew his lance: however, in spite of this, James de St. Martin continued the fight. Now if lord Thomas Percy, who had first arrived at the bridge, had imagined anything of what was going forward, sir John Chandos's men would have been considerably reinforced; but it was otherwise decreed: for not hearing anything of the Bretons since he had seen them advancing in a large body toward the bridge, he thought they might have retreated; so that lord Thomas and his men continued their march, keeping the road to Poitiers, ignorant of what was passing.

Though the English fought so bravely at the bridge of Lussac, in the end they could not withstand the force of the Bretons and French, but were defeated, and the greater part made prisoners. Sir Edward Clifford stood firm, and would not quit the body of his nephew. If the French had had their horses, they would have gone off with honor, and have carried with them good prisoners; but, as I have before said, their servants had gone away with them. Those of the English also had retreated, and quitted the scene of battle. They remained therefore in bad plight, which sorely vexed them, and said among themselves, "This is a bad piece of business: the field is our own, and yet we cannot return through the fault of our servants. It is not proper for us who are armed and fatigued to march through this country on foot, which is quite against us; and we are upward of six leagues from the nearest of any of our fortresses. We have, besides, our wounded and slain, whom we cannot leave behind." As they were in this situation, not knowing what to do, and had sent off two or three of the Bretons, disarmed, to hunt after and endeavor to find their servants, they perceived advancing toward them, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Partenay, de Tannaybouton, d'Argenton, de Pinane, sir James de Surgeres, and several others. They were full two hundred lances, and were seeking for the French; for they had received information that they were out on an excursion, and were then following the traces of their horses. They came forward, therefore, with displayed banners fluttering in the wind, and marching in a disorderly manner.

* "Sir John Chambo,—sir John Cassiles." Q. Barnes calls the last Case.

The moment the Bretons and French saw them they knew them for their enemies, the barons and knights of Poitou. They therefore said to the English: "You see that body of men coming to your assistance: we know we cannot withstand them; therefore," calling each by his name, "you are our prisoners; but we give you your liberty, on condition that you take care to keep us company; and we surrender ourselves to you, for we have it more at heart to give ourselves up to you than to those who are coming." They answered, "God's will be done." The English thus obtained their liberty. The Poitevins soon arrived, with their lances in their rests, shouting their war-cries; but the Bretons and French, retreating on one side, said, "Holla! stop my lords: we are prisoners already." The English testified to the truth of this by adding, "It is so: they belong to us." Carnet was prisoner to sir Bertrand de Cassilies, and sir Louis de St. Julien to sir John Chambo: there was not one who had not his master.

These barons and knights of Poitou were struck with grief when they saw their séneschal, sir John Chandos, lying in so doleful a way, and not able to speak. They began grievously to lament his loss, saying, "Flower of knighthood! oh, sir John Chandos! cursed be the forging of that lance which wounded thee, and which has thus endangered thy life." Those who were around the body most tenderly bewailed him, which he heard, and answered with groans, but could not articulate a word. They rung their hands, and tore their hair, uttering cries and complaints, more especially those who belonged to his household.

Sir John Chandos was disarmed very gently by his own servants, laid upon shields and targets, and carried at a foot's pace to Mortemer, the nearest fort to the place where they were. The other barons and knights returned to Poitiers, carrying with them their prisoners. I heard that James Martin, he who had wounded sir John Chandos, suffered so much from his wounds that he died at Poitiers. That gallant knight only survived one day and night. God have mercy on his soul! for never since a hundred years did there exist among the English one more courteous, nor fuller of every virtue and good quality than him.

When the prince, princess, earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, and the other English knights in Guienne heard of this event, they were completely disconcerted, and said, they had now lost everything on both sides of the sea. Sir John was sincerely regretted by his friends of each sex: and some lords of France bewailed his loss. Thus it happens through life. The English loved him for all the excellent qualities he was possessed of. The French hated him because they were afraid of him. Not but that I have heard him at the time regretted by renowned knights in France; for they said it was a great pity he was slain, and that, if he could have been taken prisoner, he was so wise and full of devices, he would have found some means of establishing a peace between France and England; and was so much beloved by the king of England and his court, that they would have believed what he should have said in preference to all others. Thus were the French and English greater losers by his death, for never have I heard otherwise; but the English the most, for by his valor and prudence Guienne might have been totally recovered.*

Lord Thomas Percy was appointed sénéschal of Poitou after the death of sir John Chandos. His estates of St. Sauveur le Vicomte fell to the king of England, who gave them to one of his own knights, by name sir Aleyne Boxhull,† an uncommonly able man. The prince of Wales succeeded as heir to the other riches of sir John Chandos, as he never was married, and therefore had no children, to the amount of four hundred thousand francs.‡ Shortly afterwards, those captains who had been made prisoners at the bridge of Lussac were ransomed, and received their freedom on paying down the sums agreed on, in which the king of France assisted them. Sir Louis de St. Julien, sir William des Bourdes, and Carnet le Breton returned to their garrisons.

CHAPTER CCLXXIX.

THE LORD DE COUCY AND THE LORD DE POMMIERS ARE UNWILLING TO TAKE PART WITH EITHER SIDE IN THIS WAR. THE LORDS DE MALEVAL AND DE MARNEIL TURN TO THE FRENCH.

At this time there were knights in France greatly hurt at seeing this war between the two kings carried on with increasing vigor; and in particular, the lord de Coucy, who was much interested in it, as indeed he ought to be, for he held a very large estate in England, as well in his own right as in that of his wife, who was daughter of the king of England; which estate it would be necessary for him to renounce, if he wished to serve the king of France, whose kinsman and countryman he was: he therefore thought it most profitable to dissemble between the two kings, and to travel to foreign parts. He very wisely took all his measures; and, having obtained leave of the king of France, he set out with few attendants, and went to Savoy, where he was handsomely received by the earl, barons and knights of that country. When he had remained there as long as he judged proper, he departed, and, continuing his road, entered Lombardy, visited the lords of Milan, the lords Galeas and lord Barnabo Visconti, when at first he was made heartily welcome by them. In like manner did sir Aimemon de Pommiers, who was one of the prince's knights, quit the duchy of Aquitaine. He declared, that during the war, he would not bear arms for one side nor the other. This knight crossed the sea to Cyprus. He visited the holy sepulchre, and travelled to several other places. At this period, sir John de Bourbon* came to Paris. He held some lands of the prince; and the king of France would have gladly seen him return the homage to the prince, but the count de la Marche would not listen to it. The lord de Pierre Buffiere, a Limousin knight at that time at Paris, followed his example. But the two other barons and great lords in Limousin unfortunately acted otherwise: sir Louis de Maleval and sir Raymond de Marneil his nephew, who being at Paris turned Frenchmen, and from their fortresses afterwards made a disastrous war on the prince.

The king of England and his council were much vexed at this; for it appeared that the barons and knights of Guienne thus changed their sides without any constraint, and of their own free will. The king therefore, by the advice of his council, ordered letters to be written and sealed with his seal, which he ordered to be sent by two or three of his knights, into Poitou and Aquitaine, to publish them in all the cities, castles and principal towns.

At this time, sir Caponnel de Caponnal was delivered from his prison at Agen, in exchange for one of the prince's knights, by name Thomas Banaster, who had been taken in a skirmish before Perigord. But the counsellor of state who had been sent with him remained prisoner in Agen, and sir Caponnel returned to France. We will report the letter which the king of England sent into Aquitaine.

CHAPTER CCLXXX.

THE FORM OF THE LETTER WHICH THE ENGLISH KING SENT INTO AQUITAINE. CHATELHERAUT IS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH, AND BELLEPERCHE IS BESIEGED.

EDWARD, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all who shall see or hear these present letters: know, that we having considered the matter of the boundaries of our lordship of Aquitaine, as well as its extent under various lords, have had information relative to some oppressions done, or intended to have been done, by our very dear son the prince of Wales, to this lordship aforesaid; for which cause we hold it a duty to endeavor to obviate and remedy any such improper acts, and to conciliate all hatred and rancor that may have arisen between us and our loyal friends and subjects. We therefore announce, pronounce, and ordain, out of our deliberate and perfect good will, and by the resolutions of our council for this cause assembled, that our very dear son the prince of Wales desist from all sorts of exactions, done or about to be done; and that he restore and make restitution to all of each sex who may have been oppressed by him, or by his officers in Aquitaine, with all costs, fees and expenses that they may have incurred under the name of these taxes, aids or fouages. And if any of our feal subjects and friends, as well prelates as other members of the church, universities, barons, knights, townships, inhabitants of cities and large towns have turned, or may be willing to turn, through bad information or weak advice, to the party of our adversary the king of France, we pardon this misdeed, if, after having read this letter, they shall return to us within one month from the date hereof. And we entreat those our loyal and trusty friends, that they so comport themselves not to draw on them any reproach as to their faith and homage; which thing would greatly displease us, and with sorrow should we perceive it. If our very dear son the prince of Wales, or any of his dependents, complain of being hurt or oppressed, either now or in former times, we will have such oppressions amended; so that in reason it may be sufficient to encourage love, peace and concord, between us and those within our boundaries in our afore-

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* Sir John Chandos was buried at Mortemer. Underneath is his epitaph, from les Annales d'Aquitaine par Bouchet.

Je Jehan Chandault, des anglois capitane,
Fort chevalier, de Poictou seneschal
Apres avoir fait guerre tres lointaine
Au rois françois, tant à pied qu'à cheval,
Et pris Bertrand de Guesclin en un val,
Les Poitevins près Lussac me diffirent,
A Mortemer, mon corps enterrer firent,
En un cercueil elevé tout de neuf,
L'an mil trois cens avec soixante neuf

I John Chandos, an English knight,
Seneschal of all Poictou,
Against the French king oft did fight
On foot and horseback; many slew:
Bertrand du Guesclin prisoner too
By me was taken in a vale.
At Lussac did the foe prevail;
My body then at Mortemer
In a new tomb my friends inter,
In the year of grace divine,
Thirteen hundred sixty-nine,—ED.]

(For the satisfaction of the English reader, we have endeavored to imitate these rhymes as closely as a metrical version will permit. The reader must pardon their being as rude as the original.

He founded and endowed the Carmelite convent at Poitiers.

"He was never married. Elizabeth and Eleanor, two of his sisters, (the latter being the wife of sir Roger Collins, and Isabella, daughter to Margaret the third sister, at that time married to sir John Annesley, were found to be his next heirs."—BARNES.

† Sir Aleyne Boxhull was the 52nd knight of the Garter, constable of the Tower of London, custos of the parks of Clarendon, &c. He lies buried near St. Erkenwalde's shrine in St. Paul's church, about the year 1389.

Sir Aleyne Boxhull had a commission to restrain the excesses of Charles de Navarre, in Normandy, and to put the castle in good repair, dated the 24th November, 1370.—RYMER.

‡ I should imagine Froissart must mean that the prince inherited all he possessed in Aquitaine, &c. but his sister's children were his heirs in England.

* "Sir John de Bourbon." He was son of sir James de Bourbon who combated the free companies, chapter CCXXVII., and was count de la Marche—DENYS SAUVAGE—*Annot.* 120.

said lordship. And, in order that these things may be publicly known, we will that each person have a copy of this present letter, the conditions of which we have solemnly swore to observe, and not break through, upon the body of Jesus Christ, in the presence of our very dear son John, duke of Lancaster, William, earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Hereford, Walter Manny, the bastard of Percy, lords Neville, Bourchier and Stafford, Richard Pembridge, Roger Beauchamp, Guy Brian, the lords Mohun and Delaware, Aleyne Boxhull and Richard Sterry, knights. Given at our palace of Westminster, the fifth day of November, in the fourty-fourth year of our reign.*

This letter was carried by two of the king of England's knights into the principality and duchy of Aquitaine, proclaimed and published everywhere. Copies of it were promptly and secretly sent to Paris, to the viscount de la Rochechouart, the lords de Maleval and de Marneil, as well to several others of the French nation as to those who had turned to that interest. Notwithstanding the letter they had proclaimed in the country of Aquitaine and elsewhere, I never heard that it had any effect, or that any one was prevented by it from following his own inclinations; but that more turned to the party of France, and the French daily advanced in their conquests.

As soon as sir Louis de Julien was returned to la Roche-Posay, sir William des Bourdes to his garrison of La Haye in Touraine, and Carnet le Breton† to St. Salvin, they secretly planned a new expedition of men-at-arms, and companions well mounted on whom they could depend. They set off to scale the walls of the town of Chatelheraut, and, arriving there at early morn, would have made prisoner sir Louis de Harcourt, who was sleeping at his hôtel in the town, not any way suspecting such an enterprise, if he had not fled with his bed-clothes, without shoes or stockings, from house to house, and from garden to garden, in great dread of being taken by the French, who had scaled the walls of the town, until at last he arrived at the bridge of Chatelheraut, which his people had fortified: there he saved himself, and remained a considerable time. The Bretons and French, however, were masters of the whole town, and placed a strong garrison in it, of which Carnet was captain. This garrison advanced daily to engage with those who still kept possession of the bridge; and many a gallant skirmish and feat of arms were performed.

Duke Louis de Bourbon was much enraged that the English and free companies should keep possession of his country, the Bourbonnois, and that Ortigo, Bernard de Wist and Bernard de la Salle, should hold his castle of Belleperche, and detain his mother prisoner in it: he resolved, therefore, to set on foot an expedition of men-at-arms, and lay siege to the castle of Belleperche, which, he declared he would not quit until he had retaken it. He spoke of it to the king of France, who instantly promised to assist him in the siege with men and money. He left Paris, having ordered his rendezvous at Moulins in the Bourbonnois, and at St. Poursaint,‡ whither there came a numerous body of men-at-arms and able combatants. The lord de Beaujeu came to serve him, with three hundred lances: the lords de Villars and de Roucillon, with one hundred; and numbers of barons and knights from Auvergne and Forêts, of which he was lord paramount, through the lady his wife, the daughter of that gallant lord Beroald count dauphin. The duke arrived and fixed his quarters before the castle of Belleperche, where he built a large and strong redoubt, in which his men might be sheltered every night, and skirmish with the garrison during the day. He had also brought and pointed against the castle four large machines, which kept continually throwing, night and day, stones and logs of wood, so that they broke through the roofs of all the houses, and beat down the greater part of the towers. The mother of the duke of Bourbon, who was a prisoner within the castle, was much alarmed, and sent frequently to entreat her son to abstain from this mode of attack, for these machines annoyed her exceedingly; but the duke, who knew for certain that these requests came from his enemies, replied that he would not desist happen what would.

When the garrison found themselves so much harassed, and that the French force was daily increasing; for sir Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, had just arrived with a large body of men-at-arms; they resolved to send and acquaint sir John Devereux, séneschal of Limousin, who resided at La Souteraine,§ two short days' journey from them, of their distress, and who knew that, when these lords of Poitou and Gascony had made an excursion from Quercy, it was upon the faith, that if they should take any castles in France, and were besieged in them, they would be assisted. They wrote their letters, and sent them off in the night by one of their servants to the castle of sir John Devereux. Sir John recognized the messenger by the tokens he mentioned, and, having read the letters, said, "that he would most willingly acquit himself of his engagement, and that the more effectually to do so, he would immediately wait on the prince and the lords who were with him, at Angoulême, and exert himself so that the garrison of Belleperche should be reinforced."

Sir John Devereux set out, after having given proper directions respecting his castle and garrison to his officers, and, being arrived at Angoulême, found there the prince, the earl of Cambridge, the earl of Pembroke, sir John Montague, sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Felton, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the captal de Buch, and many others. He explained to them, how these free companies in the castle of Belleperche were besieged and much straitened by the French under the duke de Bourbon and the count de St. Pol.* The lords, on hearing this statement, replied with great cheerfulness, that they must be relieved, according to the promises which had been made to them. This business was intrusted to the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke; and the prince issued a summons to all his vassals, who, on sight of it, were to assemble in the town of Limoges. Upon which, knights, squires, free companies, and men-at-arms, marched to that place, according to their orders; and, when they were mustered, they amounted to upward of fifteen hundred lances and about three thousand others. They marched to Belleperche, where they encamped themselves opposite to the French. The French kept themselves close in their redoubt, which was as strong and as well fortified as a town might be. The English foragers were at a loss where to seek for provisions, so that, whenever it was possible, some were brought to them from Poitiers.

Sir Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, gave exact information of the number and condition of the English to the king of France, and to those knights who had remained at Paris: he sent also a proclamation, which he had affixed to the gates of the palace. It ran in these words: "Ye knights and squires who are anxious of renown, and seek for deeds of arms, I inform you for a truth, that the earl of Cambridge and the earl of Pembroke are arrived with their troops at Belleperche, with the intention of raising the siege which we have so long made: we have so much straitened the garrison of the castle that it must immediately surrender, or our enemies beat us in a pitched battle. Come therefore hither, directly, for you will have opportunities of exhibiting your prowess in arms; and know that the English are encamped so much apart, and in such positions, that they may be wonderfully annoyed."

Upon this exhortation and request of the marshal, several good knights and squires of France advanced to those parts; and I know myself that the governor of Blois, named Alart de Toustanne, went thither with fifty lances; as did also the count de Porcien, and his brother sir Hugh de Porcien.

CHAPTER CCLXXXI.

THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND PEMBROKE CARRY OFF THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON WITH THE GARRISON OF BELLEPERCHE. THE DUKE OF BOURBON TAKES POSSESSION OF THAT CASTLE.

When the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke had remained before the French army at Belleperche fifteen days, and did not see any signs of the French quitting their redoubt to fight with them, they called a council, in which they resolved to send them a herald, to know what they meant to do. Chandos the herald was ordered on this business, and it was repeated to him what he was to say: he therefore went to them, and said: "My masters and lords send me to you, and inform you by my mouth, that they are quite astonished you have allowed them to remain fifteen days here, and you have not sallied out of your fort to give them battle. They therefore tell you, that if you will come forth to meet them, they will permit you to choose any plot of ground for the field of battle; and let God give the event of it to whomsoever he pleases." The duke of Bourbon made to this the following reply: "Chandos, you will tell your masters, that I shall not combat as they may wish or desire. I know well enough where they are: but for all that, I will not quit my fort nor raise the siege, until I shall have reconquered the castle of Belleperche." "My lord," answered the herald, "I will not fail to report what you have said."

The herald set out, and on his return gave the duke's answer, which was not very agreeable. They called another council, and when it was over, gave to Chandos a proposal, for him to carry to the French. He did so, and said: "Gentlemen, my lords and masters let you know, that since you are not willing to accept the offer they have made you, three days hence, between nine and twelve o'clock in the morning, you my lord duke of Bourbon, will see your lady-mother placed on horseback, and carried away. Consider this, and rescue her if you can." The duke answered: "Chandos, Chandos, tell your masters, they carry on a most disgraceful war, when they seize an ancient lady from among her domestics, and carry her away like a prisoner. It was never seen formerly, that in the war between gentlemen, ladies or damsels were treated as prisoners. It will certainly be very unpleasant to me to see my lady-mother thus carried off: we must recover her as soon as we can: but the castle they cannot take with them: that, therefore, we will have. Since you have twice come hither with propositions, you will bear this from me to your masters, that if they will draw out fifty men, we will draw

* The letter is not in Rymer.

† His name was Jean de Kerambouet. In the proofs attached to the Histoire de la Bretagne, are several acquittances from Jean de Kerambouet, in which he is styled, Ecuyer, Huissier, d'Armes du Roi notre Sire, Capitaine de la Ville de la Roche-Posay for his own pay as well as for his soldiers. He was to conduct four hundred combatants into Guyenne, 1371; and also to march to the assistance of Moncontour.

‡ St. Poursaint—a town in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont.

§ La Souteraine—a town in Limousin, about two leagues from Limoges.

* Denis Sauvage thinks it ought to be the count de Sancerre, as the count de St. Pol's name has not been mentioned before. I should be of this opinion, if every copy I have, printed and MS., did not say St. Pol.

out the same number, and let the victory fall where it may." "My lord," replied the herald, "I will relate to them everything you have told me."

At these words, Chandos left them, and returned to the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke and the other lords, and told them the offer the duke of Bourbon had sent them. They were advised not to accept it. Preparations were therefore made for the departure of the army, and to carry off with them the lady and the garrison, which had been exceedingly harassed by the machines of the enemy. When the appointed day arrived, they ordered their trumpets to sound at early morning: upon which every one armed himself and drew up, both horse and foot, in order of battle, as if they expected a combat, with their banners and pennons flying before them. In this manner were they arrayed; and on this day sir John Montacute,* nephew to the earl of Salisbury, displayed his banner. They had ordered their trumpets and minstrels to sound very loud; and at nine o'clock the garrison and madame de Bourbon came out of the castle of Belleperche. They mounted her on a palfrey handsomely equipped for her. She was accompanied by her ladies and damsels. The English army marched away at midday. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and sir John Devereux† attended upon madame de Bourbon; and in this manner they returned to the principality, where the lady remained a considerable time a prisoner to the free companions at La Roche Vaucloix in Limousin.‡

This capture never pleased the prince, who, whenever it was mentioned, said, that if any other than the free companies had taken the duchess, she should instantly have had her liberty: and when the captains of these free companies spoke to him on the subject, he told them to make some sort of an exchange, for him to get back his knight, sir Simon Burley,§ whom the French had taken. You may suppose the duke of Bourbon was greatly incensed when he saw his lady-mother carried away from the castle of Belleperche in the Bourbonnois. Soon after her departure, he marched from the redoubt, and sent his men to take possession of his own castle of Belleperche, which the English had left quite empty. Thus ended this grand expedition, and each withdrew to his usual place of residence. The French who were under the duke of Bourbon, retired to the garrisons from whence they had come. The duke returned with his knights and squires to the king of France, who received them with great joy, and entertained them handsomely. The earl of Cambridge went to his brother at Angoulême; and the earl of Pembroke and his troops to Mortagne in Poitou. Those free companies and men-at-arms who had been in Belleperche went into Poitou and Saintonge, seeking for provisions, and committing many disgraceful acts, from which they had not the inclination to refrain themselves, nor power to restrain others.

Sir Robert Knolles, shortly after this, left the prince, and returned to his castle of Derval in Brittany, where he had not been a month, before the king of England sent him positive orders to set out, without delay, and cross the sea to him in England, as he would find his profit in it. Sir Robert very willingly obeyed this summons: having made his preparations, he embarked and landed in Cornwall, at St. Michael's Mount, and thence continued his road until he arrived at Windsor, where he found the king, who was right glad to see him, as were all the English barons; for they thought they should have much need of him, as he was so great a captain and leader of men-at-arms.

CHAPTER CCLXXXII.

THE FOUR BROTHERS OF FRANCE HAVE A MEETING. THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR. THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON OBTAINS HER LIBERTY. A TREATY ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

At this time the duke of Anjou set out from Toulouse, and marched in great array through the kingdom of France; he continued his route until he arrived in Paris, where he found the king and his other brothers the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who received him with infinite pleasure. The four brothers, during the time they were together at Paris, held many councils and consultations on the state of the kingdom, and in what manner they should best act during the ensuing summer. It was determined to raise two large armies, and make an incursion to Aquitaine. The duke of Anjou was to command one of these armies, which should enter Guienne by La Réole and Bergerac; the duke of Berry the other toward Limoges and Quercy, when these two armies were to unite and march to Angoulême, to besiege therein the prince of Wales. It was also proposed and determined in these consultations to recal that valiant knight sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who had so gallantly and loyally fought for the crown of France, and entreat him to accept the charge of constable of France.

When king Charles, his brothers, and his council, had completely arranged their future plans, and had enjoyed themselves together for some time, the duke of Anjou, early in May, took his leave of them, to return the first to his government, for he had the longest journey to make. He was escorted by the barons and knights of France, being much beloved by them, and pursued his journey until he came to Montpellier, where he tarried upward of a month, and then returned to Toulouse. He directly collected as many men-at-arms as he was able, wherever he could hear of them, and soon had a large force from those who had kept the field guarding the frontiers of the English in Rouergue and Quercy: for le petit Mechin, Naudon de Pans, Perrot de Savoye, le bourg Camus, Antoine le Negre, Lanuit, Jacques de Bray, and numbers of their companions, had remained all the year at Cahors, where they had ravaged and ruined the country. On the other hand, the duke of Berry went to Bourges in Berry, where he had issued a grand summons to all knights and squires of France and Burgundy. The duke of Bourbon had gone into his own country, where he had given orders concerning this intended expedition, and had collected a large body of knights and squires from the country of Forêts and the Bourbonnois. His brother, count Peter d'Alençon, made preparations in another part, and with good effect.

Sir Guy de Blois, at this period, was returned from Prussia, where he had been made a knight, and displayed his banner in an enterprise against the enemies of God. As soon as this gallant knight arrived in Hainault, and was informed of the expedition which his cousins of France were about to undertake in Aquitaine, he made immediate preparations for joining it; and, setting out from Hainault with all his array, he arrived at Paris to present himself to the king. He was gladly received by him, and ordered to join the duke of Berry with a command of knights, squires, and men-at-arms in the expedition. Sir Guy de Blois, therefore, left the city of Paris, and rode to Orleans in his way to Berry.

In like manner as the king of France had arranged his armies, so did the king of England by two armies and two expeditions. It was ordered that the duke of Lancaster should march with four hundred men-at-arms and as many archers into Aquitaine, to reinforce his brothers; for it was thought that the greatest force of the enemy would be sent to that country. The king and his council determined that another army of men-at-arms and archers should enter Picardy under sir Robert Knolles, who was perfectly capable of such a command, having learned it under the most able masters for a considerable time. Sir Robert, at the request of the king, willingly undertook this expedition: he promised to cross the sea to Calais, to pass through the whole kingdom of France, and to fight with the French, if they were bold enough to meet in the field. Of this he seemed quite certain, and made wonderful preparations for himself, as well as for all those who were to accompany him.

The mother of the duke of Bourbon about this time obtained her liberty, being exchanged for sir Simon Burley, the prince of Wales's knight. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was very instrumental in bringing this business to an end, for which the duke of Bourbon and the queen of France testified their obligations to him. There had been, for a considerable time, long negotiations carried on between the king of France and the king of Navarre, who resided at Cherbourg. The ministers of both kings managed the business in such a manner that they informed the king of France he had not any reason for waging war against his brother-in-law the king of Navarre. They added, that for the present he had enough on his hands with his war with England, and that he had better leave things as then they were, lest greater evils might arise; for, if the king of Navarre should consent to admit the English into his forts in Coutantin, they would harass the country of Normandy most grievously, which was a thing to be well considered and attended to. Upon receiving this information and advice, the king of France consented to a peace. He went to the town of Rouen, where all the treaties were drawn up and confirmed. The archbishop of Rouen, the count d'Alençon, the count de Sallebruche, sir William des Dormans* and sir Robert Lorris, waited on the king of Navarre, whom they found at Vernon. He made for them grand dinners and magnificent feasts; after which they conducted him to the king of France at Rouen, when these treaties and alliances were again read, sworn to, confirmed, and sealed. It seems that the king of Navarre, by the articles of this peace, was to renounce whatever engagements he might have entered into with the king of England; and that he himself, on his return to Navarre, was to declare war against him. For greater security of the affection between him and the king of France, he was to leave in his hands his two sons, Charles and Peter, as hostages. Upon this treaty being concluded, the two kings left Rouen, and came to Paris, where there were again great feasts. When they had sufficiently enjoyed and amused themselves, they took leave of each other. The king of

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* Son of sir John Montacute before-mentioned, and third earl of Salisbury.—Ed.

† Sir John Devereux—banneret—76th knight of the Garter, a baron from the 8th to the 16th Richard II. See Dugdale. Steward of the household to Richard II. constable and governor of the cinque ports. Died suddenly 16th Richard II. Buried at Graylriars, London.

"Sir Nicholas Louvaine held Penshurst 44th Edward III. and married Margaret, eldest daughter of John Vere, earl of Oxford—remarried to Henry lord Beaumont, and after to sir John Devereux, knight of the Garter, lord warden of the cinque ports, steward of the household 11th Richard II.; in whose 16th year he had license to embattle his mansion house at Penshurst, and his daughter and heiress was married to William lord Fitzwalter, but he only enjoyed this manor in right of his wife."—ANSTIS's *MMS. from Philpot's Kent*, p. 270.

‡ In the curious life of the duke de Bourbon, printed at Paris, 1612, from old MSS. the account of this siege is very differently related, and entirely to the honor of the French. The duchess is there said to be carried prisoner to the tower of Bron near to Brouage, on the sea-coast.

§ Sir Simon Burley—knight—was 75th knight of the Garter, warden of the cinque ports, governor of Windsor and Dover castles. Beheaded 1388.—See HOLLINGSHED.

* Sir William des Dormans was chancellor of France.

Navarre quitted the king of France in the most amicable manner, leaving his two children with their uncle. He set out for Montpellier, and returned through that country to Foix, and from thence to his own kingdom of Navarre.

We will now return to what was passing in Aquitaine.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIII.

SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN LEAVES SPAIN AND ARRIVES AT TOULOUSE, WHERE THE DUKE OF ANJOU RECEIVES HIM WITH GREAT JOY. THEY TAKE TOGETHER SEVERAL CASTLES FROM THE ENGLISH.

You know, as we have before mentioned it, that the duke of Anjou had been in France, and that, according to arrangements then made upon his return to Languedoc, he was to invade, with his whole force Guienne; for he never loved the prince of Wales nor the English, and made no pretensions to that effect. Before he left Paris, the king of France, by his desire, had sent letters and embassadors to the king of Castille, to request he would send back sir Bertrand du Guesclin, for by so doing he would very much oblige him. At the same time, the king and duke of Anjou wrote most friendly letters to sir Bertrand himself. The envoys made haste on their journey, and found king Henry with sir Bertrand in the city of Leon in Spain, to whom they delivered their letters and the message from the king of France. The king of Spain never wished to detain sir Bertrand, nor would have forgiven himself for so doing. Sir Bertrand therefore made his preparations in haste, and, taking leave of king Henry, set out with his attendants, and continued his road until he came to Toulouse, where the duke of Anjou was. He had already there assembled a very large force of men-at-arms, knights, and squires, and waited for nothing but the arrival of sir Bertrand du Guesclin: so that upon his coming the duke of Anjou and all the French were mightily rejoiced. Orders were given to march from Toulouse, and invade the territories of the prince.

The duke of Lancaster at this time was arrived at Southampton, with four hundred men-at-arms, and an equal number of archers. He embarked them and every necessary provision and stores on board ships, with the intent of sailing for Bordeaux, provided they might have a favorable wind. With the duke, and under his command, were the lord Roos (of Hamlake,) sir Michael de la Pole,* sir Robert le Roux,† sir John de St. Lo, and sir William Beauchamp.‡

The duke of Anjou left the city of Toulouse with a great and well ordered array. He was attended by the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the count de Perigord, the count de Comminges, the viscount de Carmaign, the count de Lisle, the viscount de Bruniguel, the viscount de Narbonne, the viscount de Talar, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, sir Bertrand Tande, the sénéschal of Toulouse, the sénéschal of Carcassonne, the sénéschal of Beaucaire and several others, amounting in the whole to upward of two thousand lances, knights and squires, and six thousand footmen, armed with pikes and shields. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was appointed to the command of all this force. They directed their march through the Agénois; and being joined by more than a thousand combatants from the free companies, who had waited for them all the winter in Quercy, they made for Agen.

The first fort they came to was that of Moissac.§ The whole country was so frightened at the arrival of the duke of Anjou, and the large army he had brought, that they trembled before him, and neither towns nor castles had any inclination to hold out against him. When he arrived before Moissac, the inhabitants instantly surrendered and turned to the French. They then advanced to Agen, which followed this example. They afterwards marched toward Tonneins‖ on the Garonne; and the French went on unmolested, following the course of the river Garonne, in order to have plenty of forage: they came to Port St. Marie,¶ which immediately surrendered. The French placed men-at-arms and garrisons in all these towns. The town and castle of Tonneins did the same, in which they placed a captain and twenty lances to guard it. They afterwards took the road to Montpezat** and Aiguillon,†† burning and destroying all the country. When they came before Montpezat, which is a good town and has a strong castle, those within were so much frightened by the duke of Anjou that they directly opened their gates. The French then advanced to the strong castle of Aiguillon, where they only remained four days; for then the garrison surrendered to the duke, not being such men as sir Walter Manny commanded, when he defended it against John duke of Normandy, afterwards king of France. The inhabitants of Bergerac were very much astonished at their having so done; for the governors, at this time, of Bergerac, were the captal de Buch and sir Thomas Felton, who had with them one hundred lances, English and Gascons.

* Sir Michael de la Pole, afterwards earl of Suffolk, and favorite of Richard II.—See DUGDALE.

† Barnes calls him sir Robert Ros.

‡ Sir William Beauchamp—Lord Abergavenny.—DUGDALE.

§ Moissac—a town in Quercy, twelve leagues from Agen.

‖ Tonneins—a town of Agenois, on the Garonne, forty one leagues from Toulouse.

¶ Port St. Marie—on the Garonne, below Agen.

** Montpezat—a village in Guienne, near Tonneins.

†† Aiguillon—a town of Guienne, one league from Tonneins.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY INVADES LIMOUSIN.

JUST as the duke of Anjou and his army had invaded the territories of the prince by the way of Toulouse and Agen, so did the duke of Berry with his army enter the Limousin. He had full twelve hundred lances and three thousand footmen, who conquered towns and castles, and burnt and destroyed the country they marched through.

With the duke of Berry were, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, sir Guy de Blois, sir Robert d'Alençon, count du Perche, sir John d'Armagnac, sir Hugh Dauphin, sir John de Villemur, the lords de Beaujeu, de Villars, de Denac, sir Geoffry de Montagu, sir Louis de Maleval, sir Raymond de Marneil, sir John de Boulogne, his uncle sir Geoffry de Boulogne, the viscount d'Uzes, the lords de Sully, de Talenton, de Confant, Dappechere, Dacon, sir John Damenue, Ymbaut de Peschin, and many other good barons, knights and squires. This army entered Limousin, where they did infinite mischief, and advanced to besiege the city of Limoges. In this city were a body of English, whom sir Hugh Calverley the sénéschal of Limousin had placed there; but he was not the master, for the bishop of the city governed it, in whom the prince of Wales put much confidence, looking upon him as his steady friend.

The prince of Wales, who kept his court at Angoulême, had received information of these two grand expeditions of the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, and how they had invaded his principality at two different places. It was also told the prince, that as far as could be imagined, they were marching to form a junction near Angoulême, to besiege him and the princess therein, and advised him to consider of it. The prince, who was valor itself, and full of resources, replied, that "his enemies should never find him shut up in a town or castle, and that he would immediately march and take the field against them." Clerks and knights were instantly employed to write and send off letters to loyal friends and subjects in Poitou, Saintonge, La Rochelle, Rouergue, Quercy, Gorre, Bigorre and Agénois, commanding them, with as many men as they could bring, to meet him at the town of Cognac. His rendezvous was fixed there; and he soon left Angoulême, attended by the princess and his young son Richard.

But during the time this summons was sent, and every one making his preparations, the French kept advancing, burning and ravaging the country. They came before Linde, a good town situated upon the river Dordogne, one league from Bergerac: a valiant knight of Gascony, named sir Thonius de Batefol,* was the governor of it. The duke of Anjou, the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the count de Perigord, the viscount de Carmaing, and all the other barons with their men, came thither and formed the siege in a regular manner, saying they would not depart without having taken it.

This town was large, strong and well provided with all sorts of provision and artillery: for the captal de Buch and sir Thomas Felton had been there a fortnight before, and had reinforced it. They thought that Linde was very capable of holding out, if those within were determined, considering the assistance they might draw from Bergerac, should there be occasion. But the inhabitants were so wonderfully inclined to the French, that they entered into a negotiation with the duke of Anjou, and listened to his promise, which made them press the governor, sir Thonius, that he also consented to be a true Frenchman, upon consideration of receiving a large sum of money, and having a good annuity from the duke for his life. Everything being thus settled, the town was to be delivered up to the French. This treaty was, however, known at Bergerac the evening preceding the day of surrender. The earl of Cambridge had just arrived there with two hundred lances, and was present when this information was given. The captal and sir Thomas Felton were thunderstruck at the intelligence, and said they would be present at this surrender. Having ordered their troops, they set out from Bergerac after midnight, and rode toward the town of Linde. They came there by daybreak, and, ordering one of the gates to be opened, pushed forward without stopping until they arrived at the other gate, through which the French were to enter: indeed, they were already assembled there in crowds, for sir Thonius was about to allow them to enter the gate. On seeing which, the captal, grasping his sword, dismounted, as did all his troops, and, advancing to sir Thonius, said: "Sir Thonius, thou wicked traitor, thou shalt be the first dead man: and never more shalt thou commit another treason." Upon which he thrust his sword into him, and with so much force that it went through his body and came out upward of a foot on the other side, and struck him down dead. The French, on seeing the banners of the captal de Buch and sir Thomas Felton, immediately retreated, having failed in their attempt.

Thus did the town continue English, but was in great danger of being burnt, and the inhabitants slain, because they had consented to this treaty. They excused themselves wisely and prudently, saying that what they had done and consented to was through fear, and principally through their governor, who had brought this business

* Sir Thomas de Batefol. It is so in all my printed copies, but otherwise in the MSS. One has *Thomas*. Q. if it should not be so. [Or rather *Anthony*? though Lord Berners and Barnes both read Thomas.—ED.]

about. The lords appeared to believe all this, and the inhabitants remained in peace: but the captal and sir Thomas Felton continued in the town as long as the duke of Anjou lay before it, and until he had taken another road.

We will now speak a little of the state and condition of England, for that is now necessary; and of the invasion of France by sir Robert Knolles.

CHAPTER CCLXXXV.

A TRUCE IS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. SIR ROBERT KNOLLES OVERRUNS, BURNS AND RAVAGES THE WHOLE COUNTRIES OF PICARDY AND THE VERMANDOIS.

When sir Robert Knolles was about to leave England, there were many councils held between the English and Scots. They were so well conducted by the able ministers of both kingdoms, that a truce was established between each king, kingdom, subjects and adherents, for nine years. The Scots, by this treaty, might arm and hire themselves out to others for subsidies, taking which side they pleased, English or French; by which means sir Robert increased his army with one hundred lances.* When sir Robert and all who were to accompany him were ready, and had arrived at Dover, they passed the sea, he himself crossing the last, and landed at Calais, where, on his disembarking, he was received with great joy by the governor, sir Nicholas Stambourn, and his brother soldiers. When they had refreshed themselves for seven days, and had formed their plans with respect to the parts of France into which they should carry their attack, they ordered their baggage and stores to advance, and took the field in a very handsome manner. They were about fifteen hundred lances and four thousand archers, including the Welshmen. Sir Robert was accompanied, according to the king's orders, by sir Thomas Granston,† sir Aleyne Boxhull, sir Gilbert Gifford, the lord de Salvatier,‡ sir John Bourchier,§ sir William de Merville,‖ sir Geoffry Urswell,¶ and many other knights and squires, expert and able men-at-arms, who marched this first day pretty near to Fiennes.**

Sir Moreau de Fiennes, who at that time was constable of France, resided in his castle, with a great number of men-at-arms, knights, and squires, all prepared and ready to receive the English. On the morrow, when they advanced toward the castle and drew up to the attack, they found they should not gain anything, so they marched off through the country of Guines, and entered that of Faukenbourg, burning everything on their road, and came before the city of Terouenne, but did not attack it: for it was so well garrisoned with men-at-arms that it would only have been lost trouble. They continued their march through the country of the Terouennois, to enter Artois; and, as they only advanced three or four leagues a-day, on account of their baggage and infantry, they took up their quarters in the large villages at the early hour of midday or noon. Thus did they advance with their whole army, until they came before the city of Arras. The lords and principal captains were lodged in the town of Mount St. Eloy, near Arras, and their army in the environs; whence they pillaged and ravaged the country round, as far as they dared to extend themselves. The king of France had at this season ordered a number of men-at-arms to the different cities, fortresses, large towns, castles, bridges and fords, to guard and defend those which should be attacked, and which they were not to quit on any account.

When sir Robert Knolles had refreshed himself and his army for two days, he quitted St. Eloy, and marched from before Arras in good array. Sir William de Merville and sir Geoffry Urswell, who were the marshals of the army, could not resist a wish to see those of Arras a little nearer. They quitted, therefore, the battalion, and advanced with about two hundred lances and four hundred archers, as far as the barriers of the suburbs of Arras which they found well guarded by men-at-arms and cross-bows. The lord Charles de Poitiers was at that time in the town with madame d'Artois, but he made not any attempt to sally out on the English or otherwise attack them. The English having finished their course, had halted a short time at the barriers; and seeing no appearance of any one coming to them, they set out on their return to the main army, who were waiting for them drawn up in a line of battle. However, before they departed, they wished to leave a remembrance behind, and set fire to the suburbs of Arras, in order to entice the inhabitants out of the town, who had not any good will to do so. This fire did much mischief, for it burnt a large monastery of preaching friars, cloisters, and all that was without the town. After this, the English continued their march, taking the road to Bapaume,* burning and ravaging the whole country. The army was constantly in motion, and having entered the Vermandois, arrived at Roye;† which town they burnt, and then marched toward Ham‡ in Vermandois. All the inhabitants of the flat country had retired into this town, and into St. Quentin and Peronne, carrying with them everything portable. The English found nothing but barns full of unthreshed corn, for it was now after August. They advanced by easy marches, without any labor or fatigue, until they came to a rich country, where they halted for two or three days. During this time, sir Robert Knolles sent parties to a town or castle which commanded the surrounding country, and the marshals having obtained a parley with the governors, asked, "How much will you give us for all this country, if we will not despoil it?" A treaty and composition was entered into with sir Robert, and a large sum of florins paid down. This country was respited from being burnt. Sir Robert gained by this treaty a sum amounting to one hundred thousand francs, for which he was afterwards ill at court, and accused to the king of the English for not having done his duty faithfully, as I shall fully relate in the continuance of this history.

The lands of the lord de Coucy were unmolested; and never did the English hurt man or woman, nor take from them a farthing, who said, "I belong to the lord de Coucy." They marched unto the good town of Noyon,§ which was well provided with men-at-arms, and halted in the neighborhood: they made their approaches very near, to see if it were possible to carry it by assault, but found it well fortified, and able to defend itself should there be occasion. Sir Robert was lodged in the abbey of Orcamp,‖ and his men in the neighborhood. They advanced one day in order of battle to the walls of the city, to see if the garrison and inhabitants would issue forth, but in vain.

There was a Scots knight in the English army who performed a most gallant deed of arms. He quitted his troop, with his lance in its rest, and mounted on his courser, followed only by his page; when, sticking spurs into his horse, he was soon up the mountain and at the barriers. The name of this knight was sir John Assueton,¶ a very valiant and able man, perfect master of his profession. When he was arrived at the barriers of Noyon, he dismounted, and, giving his horse to his page, said, "Quit not this place:" then, grasping his spear he advanced to the barriers, and leaped over them. There were on the inside some good knights of that country, such as sir John de Roye, sir Launcelot de Lorris, and ten or twelve others, who were astonished at this action, and wondered what he would do next: however, they received him well. The Scots knight, addressing them, said: "Gentlemen, I am come to see you; for, as you do not vouchsafe to come beyond your barriers, I condescend to visit you. I wish to try my knighthood against yours, and you will conquer me if you can." After this, he gave many grand strokes with his lance, which they returned him. He continued in this situation against them all, skirmishing and fighting most gallantly, upward of an hour. He wounded one or two of their knights; and they had so much pleasure in this combat, they frequently forgot themselves. The inhabitants looked from above the gates and top of the walls with wonder. They might have done him much hurt with their arrows, if they had so willed: but no: the French knights had forbidden it. While he was thus engaged, his page came close to the barriers, mounted on his courser, and said to him aloud, in his own language, "My lord, you had better come away: it is time, for our army is on its march." The knight, who had heard him, made ready to follow his advice; and after giving two or three thrusts to clear his way, he seized his spear, and leaped again over the barriers without any hurt, and, armed as he was, jumped up behind the page on his courser. When he was mounted, he said to the French, "Adieu, gentlemen: many thanks to you," and spurring his steed, soon rejoined his companions. This gallant feat of sir John Assueton was highly prized by all manner of persons.

CHAPTER CCLXXXVI.

THE GARRISON OF NOYON MAKE THE ENGLISH PRISONERS WHO HAD SET FIRE TO PONT-L'EVÊQUE. THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS FOR SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN.

Sir Robert Knolles and his army, on their departure from the town of Noyon, set fire to Pont-l'Evêque on the river Oise, where there were several handsome hotels. Those knights and squires in the town of Noyon were exceedingly angry at this proceeding, and, understanding that sir Robert and his forces had proceeded, left the city of Noyon with about fifty lances, and came so well in time to the town of Pont-l'Evêque, that they found there those who had burnt it, and others occupied in the pillage. They were attacked most furiously, and the greater part of them slain or made prisoners. The French took

* Mezeray says, this truce was for three years—Buchanan, fourteen—Froissart, nine.—*Note in* Barnes, p. 800.

I cannot find this truce in the Fœdera. On the contrary, there is an offensive and defensive treaty with the king of France, dated at Edinburgh Castle, 28th October, 1371, in which it expressly mentions that no truce is to be entered into, without including both France and Scotland, by either of the parties. For more particulars see Rymer.

† Sir Thomas Granston—82nd knight of the Garter. See Grandison in Dugdale.

‡ "Le sire de Salvater." Q.

§ Sir John Bourchier—86th knight of the Garter—a baron. See Dugdale.

‖ "De Merville." Q. if not Neville. I believe it to be sir William Neville, one of the sons of Ralph lord Neville, of Raby. See Dugdale.

Barnes names sir *Hugh* Meinel, sir Walter Fitzwalter, and sir John Mentsreworth.

¶ I have called this person *Urswell*, after Barnes: but as Froissart writes it *Ourselay*, it is probably one of the Worseley family. It may also be sir Hugh Wrottesley, spoiled *Worthesley* in Mills, who was 19th knight of the Garter, and perhaps with more probability.

** Fiennes—a village in the Boulonnois, generality of Amiens.

* Bapaume—a strong town of Artois, six leagues from Arras.

† Roye—a strong town in Picardy, eighteen leagues from Arras.

‡ Ham—a town in Picardy, on the Somme, six leagues from Roye.

§ Noyon—now a village in Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

‖ Orcamp, or St. Anne—a village in Picardy, near Noyon.

¶ Sir John Assueton. Probably Seton.

more than sixty horses, and rescued many prisoners whom the enemy intended carrying off. Several good houses would have been burnt if they had not come there so opportunely. They returned to Noyon with upward of fifteen English prisoners, whom they beheaded.

The English continued their march in battle array, intending to enter the Laonnois, and to cross the river Oise* and Aine.† They committed no devastation in the county of Soissons, because it belonged to the lord de Coucy. True it is, they were followed and watched by some lords of France, such as the viscount de Meaux, the lord de Chauny, lord Raoul de Coucy, lord William de Melun, son of the count de Tancarville, and their forces; so that the English, not daring to quit their line of march, kept in a compact body. The French did not attack them, but every night took up their quarters in castles or strong towns; while the English encamped in the open plains, where they found provision in plenty and new wine, with which they made very free. Thus did they advance, burning, ravaging, and oppressing all the country, when they crossed the river Marne,‡ and entered Champagne, and then passed the Aube,§ returning to the country about Provins:‖ when they several times passed the Seine, and made appearances of marching toward Paris; for they had heard that the king of France had collected a large force of men-at-arms under the command of the count de St. Pol and the lord de Clisson, with whom they were very eager to engage, and for that end made every preparation as if they only wished for the combat. Upon this, the king of France wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was in Aquitaine with the duke of Anjou, to order him, as soon as he should have read the letters, to set out for France, as he intended to employ him in another part of his kingdom.

Pope Urban V. came back about this time to Avignon, after having resided nearly four years at Rome. He returned, in the hope of making peace between the two kings: for this renewal of war was very displeasing to him. All those of Avignon and the country around it were very happy at the return of the pope, as they thought it would be more advantageous for them.

We will now say how the prince of Wales carried on his affairs.

CHAPTER CCLXXXVII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES ASSEMBLES HIS ARMY AT COGNAC, WHERE HE MEETS HIS BROTHER THE DUKE OF LANCASTER. THE DUKES OF ANJOU AND BERRY BREAK UP THEIR EXPEDITION, LIMOGES HAVING TURNED TO THE FRENCH.

You have before heard of the prince of Wales fixing his rendezvous at Cognac, with the intent of advancing to combat the duke of Anjou, who was burning and despoiling his territories. The barons, knights, and squires of Poitou and Saintonge, and all who were vassals to the prince, hastened to obey his summons. The earl of Pembroke quitted his garrison, with a hundred lances, and came to meet him. The duke of Lancaster and his army arrived about this time at Bordeaux, at which the country rejoiced much. He made not any long stay there; for, hearing that the prince was about to march against his enemies, he departed, and met, one day's march from Cognac, the earl of Pembroke, who was likewise going thither. They were very happy to see each other, and rode together to Cognac, where they found the prince, princess, and earl of Cambridge, who were greatly pleased at their arrival. Men-at-arms daily came in from Poitou, Saintonge, La Rochelle, Bigorre, Gorre, Gascony, and the surrounding countries under the obedience of the prince.

The duke of Anjou, the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and the counts, viscounts, knights, and squires of that army, who as before has been related, conquered cities, towns, and fortresses to the number of more than forty, by merely showing themselves before them, and who had advanced within fifteen leagues of Bordeaux, burning and ravaging the country round Bergerac and Linde, hearing that the prince had summoned his forces to meet him at Cognac, and that the duke of Lancaster was arrived with a strong body of men-at-arms and archers from England, called a council to consider what measures would be now most proper for them to pursue. It was at this time that the king of France had sent back sir Bertrand du Guesclin to the duke of Berry, who was besieging the city of Limoges, and had pressed it so hard that it was upon the point of surrendering, but upon good terms. Sir Bertrand was summoned to attend this council of the duke of Anjou, as was right, and many were the debates at it. At last, after well considering the business, the duke of Anjou was advised, for the present, to break up this expedition, to order his men to different garrisons, and to carry on the war from thence, as he had done sufficient in the open field. It was therefore highly behoving the lords of Gascony who were present, such as the count d'Armagnac, the count de Perigord, the lore d'Albret, and others, to retire to their own country to guard and defend it; for they knew not what the prince might be inclined to do with so large an army. They then separated, each going on his own business. The duke of Anjou returned to the city of Cahors: his men and the free companies spread themselves over the country which they had conquered, and quartered themselves in different garrisons. The count d'Armagnac and the other lords went to their homes, and amply stored their towns and castles with all sorts of provision and artillery, as if they expected a war: they ordered out their vassals, and trained them to defend their country should need be.

We will now speak of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who, on his departure from the duke of Anjou, marched with his men to the siege of Limoges, where the duke of Bourbon, and the great knights of France were employed. The French were in high spirits on the arrival of sir Bertrand, and it was a grand piece of news both within as well as without the city. He immediately followed up some treaties which had been before opened between the bishop and citizens with the duke of Berry, and managed that they were concluded by the bishop and citizens turning to the French. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, sir Guy de Blois, and the lords of France, entered the town with great state, when they received from the inhabitants their homage and fealty. After they had rested themselves for three days, they followed the same resolutions as had been determined upon in the council held by the duke of Anjou, and each man retired to his own country to guard his towns and castles against sir Robert Knolles, who still kept his ground in France, and also because they had done enough by taking such a city as Limoges. The lords then separated, but sir Bertrand remained in Limousin with two hundred lances, which he posted in the castles of the lord de Maleval, who had turned to the French.

When the duke of Berry left Limoges, he ordered into the city, at the request of the bishop, sir John de Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche, and Roger de Beaufort, with one hundred men-at-arms. He then retreated to Berry, and the duke of Bourbon to the Bourbonnois. The other lords who had come from distant parts went to their different countries.

We will now return to the prince.

CHAPTER CCLXXXVIII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES, ANXIOUS TO RECOVER LIMOGES, LAYS SIEGE TO IT, AND UNDERMINES IT.

When intelligence was brought to the prince that the city of Limoges had become French, that the bishop, who had been his companion, and one in whom he used to place great confidence, was a party to all the treaties, and had been much aiding and assisting in the surrender, he was in a violent passion, and held the bishop and all other churchmen in very low estimation, in whom formerly he had put great trust. He swore by the soul of his father, which he had never perjured, that he would have it back again, that he would not attend to anything before he had done this, and that he would make the inhabitants pay dearly for their treachery. When the greater part of his forces were arrived, he mustered them: they amounted to twelve hundred lances, knights and squires, a thousand archers, and a thousand footmen. They marched from the town of Cognac. Sir Thomas Felton and the captal de Buch remained at Bergerac, to guard that frontier against the French and the free companies who were dispersed over that part of the country.

With the prince were, his brothers of Lancaster and Cambridge, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons, de Partenay, de Pinane, de Tannaybouton, sir Percival du Coulogne, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, Poitevins: of Gascons there were, the lords de Montferrant, de Chaumont, de Longueren, sir Aimery de Tharse, the lords de Pommiers, de Mucident, de l'Esparre, the souldich de la Trane,* the lord de Gironde and several more: of English there were, lord Thomas Percy, the lord Roos, sir William Beauchamp, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Baldwin de Franville, sir Simon Burley, the earl of Angus, sir John Devereux, sir William Neville, and more whom I cannot name: of Hainaulters, were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt: of the free companies, sir Perducas d'Albret, Naudon de Bagerant, Lanuit, the bourg de l'Esparre, the bourg de Breteuil, Espiote, Bernard de Wist, and others.

All these men-at-arms were drawn out in battle array, and took the field, when the whole country began to tremble for the consequences. At that time the prince of Wales was not able to mount his horse, but was, for his greater ease, carried in a litter. They followed the road to Limousin, in order to get to Limoges, where in due time they arrived and encamped all round it. The prince swore he would never leave the place until he had regained it. The bishop of the place and the inhabitants found they had acted too wickedly, and had greatly incensed the prince; for which they were very repentant, but that was now of no avail, as they were not the masters of the town. Sir John de Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche, and Roger

* "Oise"—a river in Picardy—rises in Hainault.

† "Aine"—or Aisne, a river which rises in Champagne, and joins the Oise a little above Compiegne.

‡ "Marne"—a large river which rises near Bassiny.

§ "Aube"—a considerable river in Champagne. It rises at Auberive, near Langres.

‖ "Provins"—an ancient town of Brie, on the Morin, which runs into the Marne, 22 leagues from Paris.

* "The souldich de la Trane." See Anstis, vol. ii. where there is a long account of him, and mention also is made of the lords de Montferrant and de l'Esparre. (A pedigree of the family is given, and it is clearly shown that the name of Souldich de la Trane, or more properly *Tran*, was only a title, and that his family name was de Preissac.—Ed.)

de Beaufort, who commanded in it, did all they could to comfort them by saying, "Gentlemen, do not be alarmed: we are sufficiently strong to hold out against the army of the prince: he cannot take us by assault, nor greatly hurt us, for we are well supplied with artillery."

When the prince and his marshals had well considered the strength and force of Limoges, and knew the number of gentlemen that were in it, they agreed that they could never take it by assault, but said they would attempt it by another manner. The prince was always accustomed to carry with him, in his expeditions, a large body of miners: these were immediately set to work, and made great progress. The knights who were in the town soon perceived they were undermining them, and on that account began to countermine, to prevent the effect. But we will now leave the prince a little, to return to sir Robert Knolles.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIX.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES, IN CONTINUING HIS INCURSIONS THROUGH DIFFERENT PROVINCES OF FRANCE, ADVANCES NEAR TO PARIS. A KNIGHT OF HIS ARMY IN RETURNING FROM A VAINGLORIOUS EXPEDITION, IS SLAIN BY A BUTCHER OF PARIS.

Sir Robert Knolles, as has been before related, had entered France with a large body of men, and was marching by short stages through that kingdom with a magnificence for which the people and the rich provinces paid dearly. The English, as they advanced and retreated, did infinite mischief, at the same time showing as if they only wished for a battle. Having passed through the countries of Artois, Vermandois, the bishopric of Laon, the archbishopric of Rheims in Champagne, they returned into Brie, and from thence came near to Paris, and quartered themselves for a day and two nights in the villages around it.

King Charles of France was at that time in the city, and he could see from his palace of St. Pol the fire and smoke which the enemy were making in the Gâtinois. There were also in the city the constable of France sir Moreau de Fiennes, the count de St. Pol, the count de Tancarville, the count de Saltzburg, the viscount Meaux, sir Raoul de Coucy, the séneschal of Hainault, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand d'Audin, the lord de Château-julien, sir John de Vienne, the lord de la Riviere, and many more great knights and valorous men of France, but not one of them sallied forth, for the king had strictly forbidden them so to do. The lord de Clisson, who was of the king's cabinet council, and more listened to than the rest, said everything he could to prevent any knight from quitting the town, adding, among other things, "Sire, why should you employ your men against these madmen? Let them go about their business. They cannot take your inheritance from you, nor drive you out of it by smoke."

The count de St. Pol, the viscount de Rohan, sir Raoul de Coucy, the lords de Canin, de Cresquos, sir Odoart de Renti and sir Enguerrand d'Audin, were at the barriers of St. James's gate. Now it happened one Tuesday morning, when the English began to decamp, and had set fire to all the villages wherein they were lodged, so that the fires were distinctly seen from Paris, a knight of their army, who had made a vow the preceding day that he would advance as far as the barriers and strike them with his lance, did not break his oath, but set off with his lance in his hand, his target on his neck, and completely armed except his helmet, and spurring his steed, was followed by his squire on another courser carrying the helmet. When he approached Paris, he put on the helmet, which his squire laced behind. He then galloped away, sticking spurs into his horse, and advanced prancing to strike the barriers. They were then open; and the lords and barons within imagined he intended to enter the town, but he did not mean any such thing, for, having struck the gates according to his vow, he checked his horse and turned about. The French knights who saw him thus retreat cried out to him, "Get away! get away! thou hast well acquitted thyself." As for the name of this knight, I am ignorant of it, nor do I know from what country he came; but he bore for his arms gules à deux fousses noir, with une bordure noire non endentée. However, an adventure befel him, from which he had not so fortunate an escape. On his return, he met a butcher on the pavement in the suburbs, a very strong man, who had noticed him as he had passed him, and who had in his hand a very sharp and heavy hatchet with a long handle. As the knight was returning alone, and in a careless manner, the valiant butcher came on one side of him, and gave him such a blow between the shoulders that he fell on his horse's neck: he recovered himself, but the butcher repeated the blow on his head so that the axe entered it. The knight, through excess of pain, fell to the earth; and the horse galloped away to the squire, who was waiting for his master in the fields at the extremity of the suburbs. The squire caught the courser, but wondered what was become of his master; for he had seen him gallop to the barriers, strike them, and then turn about to come back. He therefore set out to look for him; but he had not gone many paces before he saw him in the hands of four fellows, who were beating him as if they were hammering on an anvil: this so much frightened the squire that he dared not advance further, for he saw he could not give him any effectual assistance: he therefore returned as speedily as he could. Thus was this knight slain: and those lords who were posted at the barriers had him buried in holy ground. The squire returned to the army, and related the misfortune which had befallen his master. All his brother-warriors were greatly angered thereat: and they marched to take up their quarters for the night, between Montlehery* and Paris, upon a small river, where they encamped at an early hour in the day.

CHAPTER CCXC.

SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN TAKES THE FORTRESS OF ST. YRIER IN LIMOUSIN. THE PRINCE OF WALES RECONQUERS LIMOGES.

During the time sir Robert Knolles was employed in this expedition, and the prince of Wales with his two brothers were at the siege of Limoges, sir Bertrand du Guesclin with his company, amounting to about two hundred lances, marched through a part of Limousin, but did not encamp in the open plain for fear of the English. He retreated every night into some of the strong places which had lately turned to the French: in that number were the castles of sir Louis de Maleval and sir Raymond de Marneil, and several others: from thence he made daily excursions to conquer other towns and castles. The prince knew well all this; for he received every day information of what was passing, as well as complaints on the subject; but he would not break up his siege, for he had too much at heart the loss of Limoges. Sir Bertrand entered the viscounty of Limoges, a territory which was dependent on lord John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, in the name of the widow of lord Charles de Blois, to whom it had formerly belonged. He made war upon it without any opposition; for the duke of Brittany did not imagine sir Bertrand would carry the war into any part of his property. He came before St. Yrier,† where there were not any gentlemen that knew how to defend it; and the inhabitants were so frightened, they surrendered themselves under the obedience of the duchess dowager of Brittany, in whose name the war was made. The Bretons formed St. Yrier into a considerable garrison; by which means they took many other towns in Limousin. But let us return to the prince.

The prince of Wales remained about a month, and not more, before the city of Limoges: he would not allow of any assaults or skirmishing, but kept his miners steadily at work. The knights in the town perceived what they were about, and made countermines to destroy them; but they failed in their attempt. When the miners of the prince (who, as they found themselves countermined, kept changing the line of direction of their own mine) had finished their business, they came to the prince, and said: "My lord, we are ready, and will throw down, whenever you please, a very large part of the wall into the ditch, through the breach of which you may enter the town at your ease and without danger." This news was very agreeable to the prince, who replied, "I wish then that you would prove your words to-morrow morning at six o'clock." The miners set fire to the combustibles in the mine; and on the morrow morning, as they had foretold the prince, they flung down a great piece of wall, which filled the ditches. The English saw this with pleasure, for they were all armed and prepared to enter the town. Those on foot did so, and ran to the gate, which they destroyed as well as the barriers, for there were no other defences; and all this was done so suddenly that the inhabitants had not time to prevent it.

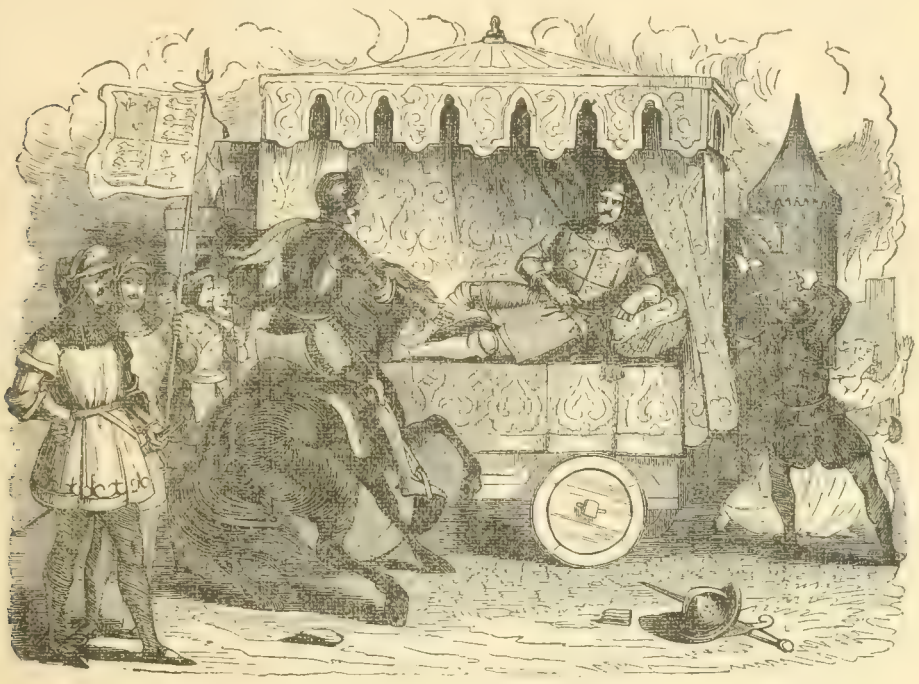
The prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke, sir Guiscard d'Angle and the others, with their men, rushed into the town. You would then have seen pillagers, active to do mischief, running through the town, slaying men, women and children, according to their orders. It was a most melancholy business; for all ranks, ages and sexes cast themselves on their knees before the prince, begging for mercy; but he was so inflamed with passion and revenge that he listened to none, but all were put to the sword, wherever they could be found, even those who were not guilty: for I know not why the poor were not spared, who could not have had any part in this treason; but they suffered for it, and indeed more than those who had been the leaders of the treachery. There was not that day in the city of Limoges any hearts so hardened, or that had any sense of religion, who did not deeply bewail the unfortunate events passing before their eyes; for upward of three thousand men, women and children were put to death that day. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs.

A company of English, in entering the town, hastened to the palace of the bishop, whom they there found and took prisoner, carrying him, without any regard to his dignity, to the prince of Wales, who, eyeing him indignantly, told him that his head should be cut off, and ordered him out of his presence.

We will now speak of those knights who were in the town, sir John de Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche, and Roger de Beaufort, son to the count de Beaufort, governors of the city. When they perceived the tribulation which was overpowering them, they said: "We shall all be slain for a certainty, if we do not gallantly defend ourselves: let us therefore sell our lives as dearly as good knights ought to do." Upon this, sir John de Villemur said to Roger de Beaufort, "You must be knighted." Roger replied, "Sir, I have not as yet signalized myself sufficiently for that honor, but I thank

* "Montlehery"—a town in the Isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.
† "St. Yrier"—a village in Limousin, election of Tulles.

you much for your good opinion in suggesting it to me." No more was said, for they had no time to hold further conversation. They collected in a body, and, placing themselves before an old wall, sir John de Villemur and sir Hugh de la Roche displayed their banners, and drew up in good order. They might be, in the whole, about fourscore. The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, with their men, advanced upon them, and dismounted, to be on an equality with the enemy. They attacked them with hearty good will. You may easily imagine that this handful of men could not resist the English, but were all slain or made prisoners.



Sack of Limoges. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

The duke of Lancaster was engaged for a long time with sir John de Villemur, who was a hardy knight, strong and well made. The earl of Cambridge singled out sir Hugh de la Roche, and the earl of Pembroke Roger de Beaufort, who was but a simple esquire. These three Frenchmen did many valorous deeds of arms, as all allowed, and ill did it betide those who approached too near. The prince, coming that way in his carriage, looked on the combat with great pleasure, and enjoyed it so much that his heart was softened and his anger appeased. After the combat had lasted a considerable time, the Frenchmen, with one accord, viewing their swords, said, "My lords, we are yours: you have vanquished us: therefore act according to the law of arms." "By God," replied the duke of Lancaster, "sir John, we do not intend otherwise, and we accept you for our prisoners." Thus, as I have been informed, were these three knights taken. But the business was not here ended, for the whole town was pillaged, burnt, and totally destroyed. The English then departed, carrying with them their booty and prisoners. They marched to Cognac, where the princess had remained, and there the prince disbanded his forces, not intending to do anything more that season; for he did not feel himself at his ease, as every exertion aggravated his disorder, which was increasing, to the great dismay of his brothers and all those about him.

I must inform you how the bishop of Limoges escaped with imprisonment, who had been in imminent danger of his life. The duke of Lancaster asked him of the prince, who consented, and ordered him to be given up to the duke, for him to do with according as he willed. The bishop having good friends, they sent information of his situation to the pope, who had lately arrived at Avignon; and fortunate was it for the bishop they did so, otherwise he would have been a dead man. The pope wrote such pressing and kind letters to the duke of Lancaster, to request he would give him the bishop, that he was unwilling to refuse, and sent him to the pope, who felt exceedingly obliged for it.

We will now say what was going forward in France.

CHAPTER CCXCI.

SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

The king of France was informed of the conquest and destruction of Limoges, and how the prince and his army had left it empty and deserted, which vexed him much on account of the distress and loss of the late inhabitants. It was therefore thought advisable in a council of nobles and prelates, as well as by the common assent of the whole kingdom, to elect a chief or commander, called a constable (for sir Moreau de Fiennes wished to resign the office) who was a valiant and enterprising man, and one to whom all knights and squires would pay proper deference. After all things had been well considered, they unanimously elected sir Bertrand du Guesclin (provided he would undertake the office,) as the most valiant, the best informed, the most virtuous and fortunate in conducting affairs for the crown of France of all those who were bearing arms in its defence. The king wrote to him by messengers, for him to come to Paris. Those sent found him in the viscounty of Limoges, taking castles and forts, which he put under the obedience of madame de Bretagne, widow of the late lord Charles de Blois. He had lately taken a town called Brantome,* whose inhabitants had surrendered themselves to him, and was then on an expedition against another.

When the king's messengers came to him, he received them handsomely, as he knew well how to do. They gave him their letter, and delivered their messageword for word. When sir Bertrand thus saw himself specially ordered, he was unwilling to make any more excuses for not waiting on the king of France to know his will: he set out as soon as possible, having ordered all his men into the garrisons which he had conquered, and appointed his nephew, sir Olivier de Mauny, commander over them. He rode on to Paris, where he found the king surrounded by a number of the lords of his council. He was received by all with great pleasure; and the king told him of his being chosen constable of France. On hearing which, sir Bertrand modestly and sagely excused himself, saying, "he was not worthy of it: that he was a poor knight and simple bachelor, in comparison with the great lords and valorous men of France, however fortune might have been favorable to him." The king replied, "that his excuses would be of no avail; that he must consent to accept this dignity, for it had been so determined by the decision of the whole of the council of France, and that he would not break through such a resolution." Sir Bertrand used other arguments to excuse himself; adding "Dear lord and noble king, I cannot, I dare not, whatever I may wish, oppose what may be your good pleasure: but in truth I am too poor a man, and of low extraction, for the office of constable, which is so grand and noble that it is proper for those (who wish to exercise it justly and honorably) to command and keep a strict eye more upon the great than the poor. Now Sir, here are my lords your brothers, your nephews and your cousins, who will have different commands in your armies, and in various expeditions; and how shall I dare to order them? Certainly, my dear lord, envy and jealousy are so much abroad, I ought to be on my guard against them; I therefore entreat you will not insist on my taking this office, but give it to some other who will readily accept it, and, who knows better than I do how to execute it." The king made answer: "Sir Bertrand, that excuse will not serve you; for I have neither brother, nephew, cousin, count or baron in my realm but who will obey your orders; and should any one act otherwise, he would so anger me that he should soon feel the effects of it: I therefore beg of you to accept this office with a good will."

Sir Bertrand, finding that no excuse nor anything he could say would be listened to, accepted the king's offer, but it was much against his inclination. He was invested with the office of constable, and the king, to show him greater affection, made him be seated at his table, and gave him, besides this office, many rich gifts and large

* "Brantome"—a town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

domains in land, for him and his heirs. The duke of Anjou was very active in forwarding this promotion.

CHAPTER CCXCII.

SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN AND THE LORD DE CLISSON DEFEAT THE FORCES OF SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AT PONT-VALIN.*

Soon after sir Bertrand du Guesclin had been invested with the dignity of constable, he told the king he wished to form an expedition against sir Robert Knolles and his forces, who were at that time on the borders of Maine and Anjou. This was very agreeable to the king, who said to him, "Take any number of men-at-arms you please, and whatever else you may think right." The constable made every necessary preparation, and collected a large body of men-at-arms, Bretons and others, and marched toward Maine, taking with him the lord de Clisson. The constable came to the city of Mans, where he fixed his head-quarters, and the lord de Clisson in another town hard by: they might be about five hundred lances.

Sir Robert Knolles and his army were still in that part of the country, but did not agree very well together; for there was an English knight among them, called sir John Menstreworth,† who always objected to what others proposed, and said they only wasted their time in these expeditions, and wore down and fatigued the men without doing anything essential, or making any conquest. This knight, who commanded a large force, and had some able men-at-arms with him, left the others. Sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull, however, kept together, and were quartered pretty near to Mans. Sir Thomas Grantson, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir Geoffry Worsley, and sir William Neville, were quartered a good day's march in the rear.

When sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull heard that the constable of France and the lord de Clisson were come into those parts, they were much rejoiced, and said, "It will be well for us to collect our forces more together, and post ourselves to our advantage in this country; for sir Bertrand, in the novelty of office, is certainly come to look at us, and he would not have been happy if he had not made this expedition. We have already rode through the realm of France without meeting with any hindrance. Let us inform sir Hugh Calverley (who is at Saumur on the Loire,) and sir Robert Cheney, sir Robert Briquet, and the other captains of companies who are near us, of our situation and intentions, who will willingly hasten to join us. We may therefore fall upon this new constable, and the lord de Clisson, who is so much our enemy;‡ and we shall make a handsome finish to our campaign." Between sir Robert Knolles, sir Aleyne Boxhull, and sir John Seton, there was not any difference of opinion; and they acted always in unison. They immediately sent off messengers secretly to sir Hugh Calverley, sir Robert Briquet, and the others, with letters to inform them how they were situated, and to propose that they should join in an attack upon the French. They signified the same to sir Thomas Grantson, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir Geoffry Worsley and the others, desiring them to advance to a place which they pointed out to them, for they were in hopes to engage the French who had come on this expedition. Upon receiving this intelligence, they all made ready with great cheerfulness to join their companies, amounting to about two hundred spears. This matter, however, was not carried on so secretly but that sir Bertrand and the lord de Clisson got wind of it, and knew also what was intended on the junction of their forces: they therefore armed themselves during the night, and, marching with their men and garrisons, took the field. This same night, sir Thomas Grantson, sir Geoffry Worsley, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir William Neville, and the others, had left their quarters, and advanced toward sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull, to a spot where they expected to find them. But their march was shortened; for, directly at a place called Pont-valin, they were met by the French, who immediately charged them, and surrounded them, as they were full four hundred lances, and the English about two hundred. The battle was sharp and long, and well fought on both sides. As soon as they met, they dismounted, and attacked each other most valiantly with spears and swords. The French gained the victory over the English, who were all slain or made prisoners; for not an Englishman fled, except some of the pages or servants, who, mounting their masters' coursers, made off as fast as possible when they saw they were defeated. Among the prisoners were, sir Thomas Grantson, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir Geoffry Worsley, sir William Neville, sir Philip Courtenay, sir Hugh Despencer, and many more knights and squires, who were all conducted to the city of Mans. Intelligence of this was speedily spread over the country, and soon known to sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverley and the others, who were much vexed thereat, and broke up their intended attack, through this unexpected event. Those at Saumur, as well as in other quarters, remained quiet. Sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull made a handsome retreat into Brittany, for they were not far distant. Sir Robert went to his castle of Derval, where he gave orders to all his men-at-arms and archers to go wherever they might find profit or honor, and several returned to England, whence they had come. Sir Aleyne Boxhull went to pass the winter in his town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, which the king of England had given to him.

After the defeat of Pont-valin, where a part of the English were slain and the remainder put to the rout, so that the expedition was ruined, sir Bertrand du Guesclin (whose entrance into the office of constable had been thus fortunately signalized, in a way to gain him great honor and reputation) came to Paris, accompanied by the lord de Clisson, and bringing with them the greater part of the prisoners, to whom they behaved very handsomely, allowing them to go at large on their parole for their ransom. They neither shut them up in prison, nor put on shackles and fetters, as the Germans do in order to obtain a heavier ransom. Curses on them for it. These people are without pity or honor, and they ought never to receive quarter. The French entertained their prisoners well, and ransomed them courteously without being too hard with them.

The prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster and all the English, who, after the conquest and vengeance taken on Limoges, had retired to Cognac, were much dismayed by the defeat at Pont-valin.

This year, about Christmas, Pope Urban V. died at Avignon. He was a learned and wise man, and a good Frenchman. The cardinals assembled in conclave to choose a successor, when they unanimously elected the cardinal de Beaufort, who took the name of pope Gregory XI. The king of France was well pleased with this creation and divine election, for he knew him to be a loyal Frenchman and a prudent man. The duke of Anjou was at Avignon during the conclave, and took much pains that he should be elected pope.

CHAPTER CCXCIII.

SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT IS MADE PRISONER AND RANSOMED. SIR RAYMOND DE MARNEIL, A PARTISAN OF FRANCE, IS TAKEN, AND IN IMMINENT DANGER, BUT SAVED BY HIS KEEPER.

A very unfortunate adventure befel sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt much about this time. As he was riding one day through Limousin, he came in the evening to the castle of the lord de Pierre Buffiere, which he entered, thinking him a friend, a brother soldier, and a good Englishman. But Pierre Buffiere had given up his castle to Thibaut du Pont, a man-at-arms from Brittany, and his company. Thibaut seized sir Eustace, who was not any way on his guard, made him his prisoner, and afterwards ransomed him for twelve thousand francs, of which he paid down four thousand, and left his son, François d'Ambreticourt, his hostage for the remainder to the duke of Bourbon, who had gone security for him, and had taken great pains to obtain his liberty, because sir Eustace had been very active in obtaining the freedom of the lady his mother, when she had been made prisoner by the free companies at Belleperche. After he had obtained his liberty, sir Eustace went and resided in Carentan, beyond the fords of St. Clement in lower Normandy, a very handsome town which the king of Navarre had given him, and where he died. God have mercy on his soul! for while he lived and remained in the world he was a most valiant knight.

Nearly at this period, sir Raymond de Marneil, who had changed his party from the English to the French, was returning to his own country from Paris, when he met with a disagreeable accident. On his road he encountered a body of English, belonging to the forces of sir Hugh Calverley, commanded by a knight of Poitou, and came so suddenly among them that he could not escape: he was thus taken, and carried prisoner to the castle of the knight in Poitou. The capture of sir Raymond was known in England, and came to the king's knowledge, who immediately wrote to the knight, ordering him to send that enemy and traitor sir Raymond de Marneil directly to England, on whom he would wreak such vengeance as should serve as an example to all others; and that he would pay him six thousand francs for his ransom. Sir Geoffry d'Argenton, who had taken sir Raymond, was not willing to disobey the orders of his sovereign and lord, and replied he would punctually follow his commands. Sir Raymond de Marneil was informed that the king of England wished to have his person, and had sent orders to that effect; and also that sir Geoffry was determined to obey him. He was therefore more alarmed than ever, and not without reason. He began to utter in his prison the most piteous moans, insomuch that the person who guarded him, and was an Englishman, began to compassionate him, and gently to soothe him. Sir Raymond, who saw no rays of comfort in his distress, since he was to be sent to England, at last

* Pont-valin, a town in Anjou, election of la Flèche.

† "Sir John Menstreworth." Froissart calls him *Mal traverti*. I have followed Barnes, who adds that he was a traitor, sold to the French, and, having embezzled large sums destined for the pay of the army, was afraid to be called to an account for them.

‡ *The lord de Clisson, so much our enemy.* His quarrel with the duke of Brittany and the English, to whom he had always been attached, was caused by the duke's refusal of a request he made for the lordship of Gavre, which was very convenient to him, and near his castle of Blein.

When he asked for it, the duke said he had disposed of it in favor of sir John Chandos, to whom he had essential obligations. Clisson, enraged at this preference, swore he would never leave an Englishman for his neighbour, set fire to the house, and had the stones carried to Blein, using them to fortify this castle. He conceived so mortal a hatred to the English that he embraced the party of the countess de Penthievre, on whom he had before made war, and accepted the lieutenancy of Brittany under her, and the guard of all the places she had there. This change of conduct introduced him to the service of Charles V. who admitted him to his councils, loaded him with gifts, and gave him the lieutenancy general de Touraine.—*Memoires de Bertrand du Guesclin, par* BERVILLE, vol. i. p. 210, note.

opened his mind to his keeper. "My friend," said he, "if you will engage to deliver me from the peril in which I am, I will promise and swear on my loyalty to divide half and half with you all my landed possessions, which you shall have for your inheritance; and never as long as I live will I be wanting to you in whatever manner you may please." The Englishman, who was poor, considered that sir Raymond was in danger of his life, and as he had promised him such a handsome recompense to save it, he took compassion on him, and said he would do all he could to serve him. Sir Raymond heard this with great joy, and swore upon his honor to perform strictly what he had promised, and even more if he insisted upon it. Upon which they consulted how they could best bring this business to a happy end.

When night came, the Englishman, who kept the keys of the tower of the castle where sir Raymond lay, opened his prison and a postern-gate, from which they issued into the plain, and made for a wood, to prevent themselves being overtaken. They were in greater distress all the night than can be imagined; for they marched seven leagues on foot, and it had frozen so hard that their feet were all cut and torn. At last, however, at the dawn they came to a French fortress, where they were heartily received by the companions who guarded it. Sir Raymond related to them his adventures, and they all returned thanks to God for his fortunate escape. In truth, when the knight on the morrow found they had gone off, he sent horsemen everywhere round the country in search of them, but in vain. In this manner did sir Raymond de Marneil escape from such imminent danger. He returned to Limousin, and told all his friends his great obligations to the English squire. The Englishman was much honored by them, and sir Raymond wanted to divide his estate with him; but he refused to accept so much, and would only take two hundred livres a-year, adding that was fully sufficient for the support of himself in his situation.

CHAPTER CCXCIV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES, HAVING LOST BY DEATH HIS ELDEST SON, GIVES UP THE DUCHY OF AQUITAINE TO THE CARE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER. FOUR KNIGHTS OF BRITTANY TAKE THE CASTLE OF MONT-PAON.*

At this time, the eldest son of the prince and princess of Wales died in the city of Bordeaux. They were exceedingly grieved at this event, and not without reason. The prince was advised to return to England, as perhaps he might there recover his health; and, as this advice was given him by his physicians and surgeons, he agreed to it. Preparations were made for his departure; and, I believe, the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke were ordered to return with him to bear him company.

When the prince was about to leave Aquitaine, and his vessel was in the harbor of Bordeaux, on the river Garonne, where he had arrived with the princess and the young Richard, his son, he issued from the city of Bordeaux a special summons to all the barons and knights of Gascony and Poitou, and to all others over whom he was lord or who depended on him. When they were arrived, and assembled before him in his hall of audience, he addressed them by saying, "that during the time he had been their prince, he had always maintained them in peace, prosperity, and power, as far as depended on him, against all their enemies; but that now, in the hope of recovering his health, of which he had great need, he intended to return to England: he therefore besought them earnestly to put their faith in, and to serve and obey his brother, the duke of Lancaster, as they had before served and obeyed him: that they would find him a good and courteous lord, and he begged of them to aid and assist him in all his affairs." The barons of Aquitaine, Gascony, Poitou, and Saintonge assented to his request, and swore upon their faith and loyalty never to desert him. They performed fealty and homage to the duke, declaring themselves willing to pay him all affection, service, and obedience. This they swore in the prince's presence, and they all kissed him on the mouth.† After these affairs were settled, the prince did not tarry long in Bordeaux, but embarked on board his vessel with the princess and his son, accompanied by the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke. There were in this fleet five hundred combatants, besides archers. They had favorable weather, and, meeting with no accident, arrived safely at Southampton. They were disembarked; and, after having refreshed themselves for two days, all mounted their horses, and took the road for Windsor, except the prince, who was carried in his litter. On their arrival, they found the king, who was then there. He received his children very kindly, and made many inquiries into the state of Guienne. After the prince had made some stay with the king, he took his leave, and retired to his manor of Berkhamstead, twenty miles from the city of London. We will for the present leave the prince, and say what had passed in Aquitaine.

Soon after the departure of the prince from Bordeaux, the duke of Lancaster ordered preparations for the funeral of his nephew Edward. It was very grand and magnificent, and was attended by all the barons of Gascony and Poitou.* While all these things were going forward, and the funeral occupied every one's attention, and detained the barons in Bordeaux, there issued forth from the garrison of Perigord upward of two hundred lances of Bretons, whom the duke of Anjou had sent and posted there. They were commanded by four valiant and hardy knights, whose names were, sir William de Longueval, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir Louis de Mailly, and the lord d'Arcy. These knights marched with their men to a handsome and strong castle called Mont-paon, of which a knight was lord. When these Bretons arrived, and had advanced up to the barriers, they manœuvred as if they intended an immediate assault, and completely surrounded it. Upon which sir William de Mont-paon, proving he had more of French courage than English, turned to them, and in short surrendered. He gave admittance to these knights and their companions into his castle, of which they took possession, and said they would defend it against all the world. They repaired and added to it whatever might have been wanting.

Intelligence of this was soon carried to Bordeaux, when the duke of Lancaster told the barons they were inactive, for that the Bretons had made an incursion, and had taken Mont-paon, which was close to their borders. Indeed, when the duke and barons first heard of this, they were much ashamed and made immediate preparations for marching toward that part; they set out from the city of Bordeaux on a Wednesday after dinner. With the duke of Lancaster there were, the lords de Pons and de Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Percival de Coulogne, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir James de Surgeres, sir Maubrun de Liniers, sir William de Montendre, sir Hugh de Vinoye, the lord de Crupenac, and many more knights and barons of Poitou and Saintonge. From Gascony were, the captal de Buch, the lord de Pommiers, sir Helie de Pommiers, the lords de Chaumont, de Montferrant, de Langeron, the souldich de la Trane, sir Bernardet de Albret, the lord de Gironde, sir Aimery de Testu, and several others. Of the English were, sir Thomas Felton, lord Thomas Percy, the lord Roos, sir Michael de la Pole, the lord Willoughby, sir William Beauchamp, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Baldwin de Franville, the earl of Angus, and many more. They were in all rather more than seven hundred spears and five hundred archers. They marched in good order to Mont-paon, where on their arrival sir William de Mont-paon, seeing the duke of Lancaster and his army come to besiege him, felt very uneasy; for he knew that, if he were taken, he should die a disgraceful death, without hopes of mercy, as he had done too much against him to expect any. He told his fears to the four knights, and said he should make his escape and go to Perigord: but that they were masters of his castle to do as they pleased with it. Upon this he directly departed, and went to the city of Perigord, which was very strong, and left his castle under the guard of these four knights.

CHAPTER CCXCV.

THE FOUR KNIGHTS DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST THE DUKE OF LANCASTER. THE DUKE, ON TAKING THE PLACE, ADMITS THEM TO RANSOM.

When the duke of Lancaster was arrived at Mont-paon, with all his barons, knights, and men-at-arms, he immediately laid siege to it. They built themselves substantial huts all round the castle, as if they were to remain there seven years. They were not, however, idle, but began the assault with great vigor, and had large quantities of wood and faggots cut down by the peasants, and carried to the ditches, which they threw in and covered with large beams and earth; by which means they were so filled up that they could advance to the walls to skirmish with the garrison, as was daily done, and there were many gallant conflicts. The four Breton knights in the castle were right good men-at-arms, and fought and defended themselves so valorously, that they were deserving of great praise. They were not dismayed, however near the English or Gascons might advance, and never suffered them to return conquerors.

Not far distant, in the garrison of St. Macaire,† which belonged to the Bretons, were John de Malestroit and Silvestre Budes, the governors of it, who, hearing every day of the great feats of arms which were doing before Mont-paon, were anxious to be partakers of them. They conversed frequently on this subject, saying, "Since we know that our companions are so near to us, and those valiant men," as such a one and such a one, naming them, "have daily five or six attacks on their hands, and are continually fighting, while we remain here doing of nothing, we certainly do not act well." They were very eager to go and assist them; but, when their companions had all spoken, they began to consider the danger there might be, if they should leave the garrison without one of the commanders, and this puzzled them how to act. Silvestre Budes said, "By God, I will go." "Silvestre," replied John, "you shall stay, and I will go." This dispute continued some time. At last they agreed on their oaths, before all their companions, to draw straws, and that he who

* "Mont paon"—a village of Rouergue, election of Milhaud.

† "All kissed him on the mouth." Hommage de bouche et des mains is done by a vassal with head uncovered, hands joined, and a kiss received, which binds him to fight for his lord only in defence of the lands whereof he holds.—COTGRAVE.

* He was buried in the Augustine Friars, London.

"Here was interred the bodie of Edward, the eldest sonne of Edward the black prince, by Joan his wife, surnamed The Faire Maide of Kent, who was born at Angolesme anno 13[illegible], and died at seven years of age."—WEEVER'S *Funeral Monuments*.

† St. Macaire—a city of Guienne, on the Garonne, nine leagues from Bordeaux.

had the longest straw should go, and the other remain. Upon which they drew straws, and Silvestre Budes had the longest, which created a great laugh among the company. Silvestre did not take it for a joke, but went and made himself ready; when, mounting his horse, he set off with eleven men-at-arms, and rode for the castle of Mont-paon, where he arrived and entered in the evening. The knights and garrison were much rejoiced at seeing him, for they had a high opinion of his courage.

As I have before said, there were continued attacks every day made on Mont-paon; and the knights within defended themselves so well that they acquired great honor, for until a large piece of the wall had been thrown down, they were not any way dismayed. The English had brought thither large machines and other engines of assault, which they could now place near to the walls where the ditches were filled up. There were also footmen covered with large shields, who worked with pick-axes, and labored so earnestly that one afternoon they flung down upward of forty feet of the wall. The lords of the army directly ordered out a body of archers, who kept up so well-directed and sharp an attack with their arrows, that none could stand against them, nor even show themselves. Upon this, sir William de Longueval, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir Louis de Mailly, and the lord d'Arcy, finding from this situation that they could not any longer hold out, sent one of their heralds mounted on horseback, through the breach, to speak with the duke of Lancaster; for they wished, if possible, to enter into a treaty. The herald advanced to the duke, way being made for him, and explained the business on which he was sent. The duke, by the advice of those about him, granted an armistice to the garrison during the time of a parley; and the herald returned with his answer to his masters. The four knights directly came forward upon the ditch, and the duke sent sir Guiscard d'Angle to hold a parley with them.

Upon the ditch, therefore, they entered on a treaty, by asking, "In what sort or manner does the duke intend to make us prisoners?" Sir Guiscard, who had received his instructions, replied: "Gentlemen, you have greatly displeased my lord; for you have detained him here several weeks,* which has fretted him very much, and caused the loss of several of his men: for which reasons, he will not receive you, nor grant you mercy, but will have you surrender yourselves simply to him. He also insists on sir William de Mont-paon being first given up, for him to be dealt with according to his deserts as a traitor." Sir Louis de Mailly replied: "Sir Guiscard, in regard to sir William de Mont-paon, whom you require from us, we swear truly and loyally that we are ignorant what is become of him, for he did not remain in this town a moment after you had begun to besiege it. But it will be very hard for us to surrender ourselves in the manner you insist on, who are soldiers sent here for pay, just as your commanders may send you, or you may be obliged to it by personal service; and, before we accept of such a bargain, we will sell our lives so dearly that report shall speak of it a hundred years hence. Return, therefore, to the duke of Lancaster, and tell him to accept of us in a courteous manner, upon certain terms of ransom, as he would wish should be done to any of his party, should they happen to be so unfortunate."

Sir Guiscard answered, that he would very willingly do so to the utmost of his power. With these words, he returned to the duke, and took with him the captal de Buch, the lords de Rosen and de Mucident, the better to forward the business. When these lords were come into the duke's presence, they remonstrated with him so eloquently, and with such good success, that he granted their request, and received the four knights, with Silvestre Budes, and their men, in mercy as prisoners.

Thus had he once more possession of the castle of Mont-paon, and received the homage of the inhabitants of the town. He placed there two Gascon knights as governors, with forty men-at-arms and as many archers, and had all the walls completely repaired by masons in the neighborhood: he victualled the place, and supplied it well with all sorts of artillery.

CHAPTER CCXCVI.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DISBANDS HIS ARMY, AND RETURNS TO BORDEAUX. THE LORD DE PONS TURNS TO THE FRENCH PARTY.

After the conquest of Mont-paon, when the duke of Lancaster had reinforced it with good men-at-arms and captains, he broke up his camp and disbanded his army. Each therefore went to his own home, and the duke returned to Bordeaux. The Poitevins retreated to their country, and the Gascons to their towns and castles; but the free companies dispersed themselves over the whole principality, where they did as much mischief to friends as enemies. The duke winked at this, and suffered them to act as they pleased, because he thought he might soon have a fresh occasion for their services; more especially as the war at that moment was much more oppressive in Poitou, without comparison, than anywhere else.

The French kept a large garrison in the castle of Montcontour, four leagues distant from Thouars, and six from Poitiers, which was commanded by sir Peter de Guerfille and Jourdain de Coulogne. They daily harassed the country, either about Thouars or about Poitiers, and greatly damaged and pillaged the inhabitants. On the other side, Carnet le Breton held Chatelheraut, with seven hundred Bretons, who much ruined the country. The garrisons from la Roche-Posay and St. Salvin were out almost every day, so that the barons and knights of Poitou attached to the English, dared not venture abroad but in large parties, for fear of the French, who had thus forced themselves into their country.

Soon after the return from Mont-paon, and when the lords of Poitou had retired to their own country, which was one of the frontiers to France, many secret negotiations were set on foot by the lord Louis de St. Julien, the viscount de la Rouchechouart, and several others in the French interest, who, with large sums received from the king of France, labored day and night, to gain over the lords of Poitou to his party. These negotiations were so successful that the lord de Pons turned to the French, in spite of the entreaties of the lady his wife, and of all the inhabitants of the town of Pons in Poitou. Notwithstanding, however, the lord de Pons changed his side, the lady remained attached to the English. All the barons and knights in Poitou in the English interest were violently enraged, for the lord de Pons was a powerful baron. The duke of Lancaster was much grieved at this, and, wishing every curse to attend the lord, felt himself obliged to the lady and to those of the town who had not deserted him. Sir Aimemon de Bours, a good and valiant knight, was ordered to assist the lady with his advice and courage; for the lord de Pons advanced every day to the gates of the town, doing no damage to any one; but sometimes he was driven back, and retreated with loss.

CHAPTER CCXCVII.

THE ENGLISH TAKE THE CASTLE OF MONTCONTOUR.

Thus were the English affairs in Poitou entangled; the lords and knights opposed to each other; when the strong oppressed the weak, and none received either law, justice, or right. The castles and strong places were intermixed; some being French, others English, who each made excursions on the other, and pillaged on all sides without mercy. Some of the barons and knights of Poitou of the English party, having considered that the garrison of Montcontour was more active in harassing the country than the others, resolved to march thither and lay siege to it. They therefore issued a summons from the city of Poitiers in the name of lord Thomas Percy, sénéschal of Poitou, which was obeyed by all knights and squires. They amounted to five hundred spears and full two thousand footmen, with large shields, among the archers who accompanied them. There were sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis d'Harcourt, the lords de Partenay, de Pinane, de Tannaybouton, du Cupegnac, sir Percival de Coulogne,* sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Hugh de Vinoye, the lord de Coyes, the lord de Puissances, sir James de Surgeres, sir Maubrun de Linieres, and several more. There were also some English, who at the time were resident in Poitou, either from the offices they held there, or to assist in guarding the country: such as sir Baldwin de Franville, the earl of Angus, sir Walter Hewett, sir Richard de Pontchardon and others. When they had been mustered at Poitiers, and had completed their preparations, they marched from thence, taking the road for Montcontour, in full array, with everything necessary for the siege of that place.

The castle of Montcontour is situated in the country of Anjou, is very strong and handsome, and four leagues distant from Thouars. The Poitevins, to the amount of three thousand combatants, continued their march until they arrived there, when they laid siege to it, and invested it on all sides. There had been brought from Thouars and Poitiers large engines, which they pointed against the castle, and flung from them stones night and day. They made daily assaults, and the lords frequently had skirmishes with the garrison, in which several gallant actions were performed: there were with the Poitevins several of the free companies, who were unwilling to remain during the siege; such as John Creswell and David Hollegrave: these two, with sir Walter Hewett, were their leaders. Sir Peter de Guerfille,† and Jourdain de Coulogne, who were in the castle, defended it valiantly, and advanced every day to the combat with the English at their barriers. On the tenth day after their arrival, in the midst of these attacks, the English and Poitevins assaulted it so briskly, and in such good order and strength, that they broke down the walls of the castle, through which they passed, and conquered the French. All within were slain, except sir Peter and Jourdain, and five or six men-at-arms, to whom the companions granted quarter.

After the capture of Montcontour, lord Thomas Percy,‡ sir Louis de Harcourt, and sir Guiscard d'Angle, by the advice and consent of the other barons and knights, gave the castle to sir Walter Hewett, John Cresswell, and David Hollegrave and their companies, who

* "*Several weeks.*" All my copies differ as to the number of weeks: some eleven, some six weeks. I have therefore said several weeks, as it appears very uncertain, but I should rather incline to the smaller number.

* "Sir Percival de Coulogne." Barnes calls him sir Percival Collins.

† In the Hist. de Bretagne, he is called Pierre de la Grezille.

‡ Lord Thomas Percy was knight of the Garter.—Anstis's *MS. Collections.*

"He was brother to the first earl of Northumberland, and uncle to Hotspur, who was created earl of Worcester by Richard II. His barony was that of Haverfordwest, and he had a considerable estate in South Wales, now in the possession of the duke of Rutland."—Note in the above Collections, by Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore.

This estate is, I believe, sold; at least a rent resolute was sold by the duke (lord lieutenant of Ireland) to Mr. John Manners.

were full five hundred combatants, for them to guard the frontiers against Anjou and Maine. The lords then marched away, and dismissed their army. Thus was this castle made a guard for the borders by those to whom it had been given, who collected a numerous garrison, and had it completely repaired. They maintained possession of it for a very long time, and much harassed all the country about it; for there was not a day but they made some excursions into Anjou or Maine.

CHAPTER CCXCVIII.

SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, BESIEGES THE TOWN OF UZES,* WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM UPON CAPITULATION.

We will now return to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, who had remained at Paris, near the king, since the defeat of Pont-valin, where he and sir Oliver de Clisson had so dreadfully beaten the English, as has been before related. It was told him that the English still kept the field in Poitou and Guienne: upon which he declared his intentions, that soon after Candlemas, at the commencement of spring, he should collect a very large force of men-at-arms and noblemen, and would make an incursion to another part of the country, since the English were thus employed in Quercy, Poitou, and Rouergue. Some of the English had very honorably remained in these countries, and had maintained themselves there since the renewal of the war. Sir John Devereux and his men had again got possession of Limousin, and had taken in Auvergne a castle with its dependencies, called Uzes, which the constable said was not to be suffered, and that he was determined to march thither. With the king's permission, he assembled a large body of men-at-arms; and, quitting Paris, his army increased daily until he arrived in Auvergne.

There came with him, under his command, the duke of Berry, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the count du Perche his brother, the count de St. Pol, the dauphin of Auvergne, the counts de Vendôme and de Porcien, the lords de Sully and de Montagu, sir Hugh Dauphin, the lord de Beaujeu, the lords de Rochefort and de Talençon, and a great many more barons and knights of France. This army continued its march until it came before the city of Uzes, when they encamped; and, after remaining their fifteen days, during which time many fierce assaults were made, but without impression on the fortress, for it had an English garrison who very valiantly defended it, they broke up the siege and departed, the constable continuing his march into Rouergue. Some of the principal lords took this opportunity of going to Avignon to visit pope Gregory and the duke of Anjou, who at that time was with him. Soon after this visit, and having had a conference with the duke, they left the city of Avignon and followed the constable, who was advancing through Rouergue, taking towns and castles from the English. They came before the town of Milhaud,† which was held by sir Thomas Wake,‡ and had been so for some time: they laid siege to it, as well as to the rock of Vauclerc; but the English knight surrendered upon terms, to sir Bertrand, this as well as some other castles on the borders of Limousin.

When sir Bertrand had refreshed his army, he marched away, taking the road on his return to the city of Uzes, to which he again laid siege. The constable and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon had ordered large machines to be brought from Rioms and Clermont, which they had pointed, as well as other warlike engines, against the walls of the castle.

The English, who had before so gallantly defended the place, seeing the great preparations which were making against them, as well as the numerous army of the besiegers, and having heard the manner in which sir Thomas Wake had given up the strong places in Rouergue, at the same time not expecting any succors to come to their assistance, held a council, and resolved to surrender upon capitulation, but not upon any other terms. They entered into a treaty with the constable, which was so well conducted on all sides, that they were to march out without danger or blame, carrying off whatever they could take with them, and besides were to be escorted as far as St. Severe in Limousin. This treaty was strictly observed, and the English marched out, having surrendered whatever they had held in the town and castle of Uzes, and were conducted without peril to the garrison they had fixed upon. Sir Bertrand gained by this expedition a very large extent of country, of which the English had had possession, and then returned to France.

CHAPTER CCXCIX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND'S ANGER AGAINST SIR ROBERT KNOLLES IS APPEASED. PEACE IS MADE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FLEMINGS.

You have before heard of the expedition which sir Robert Knolles§ commanded in France, and how afterwards he retired to his castle of Derval in Brittany. In truth, some of the English, on their return home, spoke much against him, so that the king and his council had information of it, and were highly displeased with him. When sir Robert heard of this, he sent over his two principal squires to explain everything, and to clear him of whatever might be said against him: insomuch that the king and his council were satisfied they had been wrongly informed, and thought as favorably of him as before. Sir Aleyne Boxhull, and other knights who were favorites with the king, assisted in his disculpation, and made sir John Menstreworth pay dearly for what he had done.* By this act of justice sir Robert Knolles was cleared of all the charges which had been laid against him, and remained in the good graces of the king and prince.

The king of England, who found himself hard pressed by this war with France, gained as many friends as he could on the other side of the sea. He had for allies the duke of Guelders, his nephew, and the duke of Juliers, who had engaged to raise a large force, as they were well able to do, and to make an incursion into France. At this time, the king sent the earl of Hereford† and some other knights of his household, handsomely equipped, to Brittany, to consult with the duke on the arrangements which it was necessary should be made between them.

The English and Flemings were not at this time on good terms, but attacked each other whenever they met on the seas; and so much had the Flemings lost, that they were exceedingly angry. By accident, a fleet of each nation met off the island of Bas in Brittany.‡ The commander of the Flemings was John Peterson, and of the English sir Guy Brian.§ As soon as they saw each other, they prepared for action, which was immediately begun: and very sharp it was. The king's knights who accompanied the earl of Hereford, sir Richard Sturey,‖ sir Thomas Vuisque and the others were in this engagement. These knights and their men fought very valiantly against the Flemings, and exerted themselves the more, because the enemy were in greater numbers, and were better prepared for action, as, during the whole summer, they had been wishing to meet the English. However, this time they did not gain much by the meeting. This sea-fight lasted full three hours: many gallant acts were performed, and many were killed and wounded by the arrows. The ships were grappled together with chains and hooks, so that they could not escape. In the end, the victory remained with the English; for the Flemings were discomfited, and John Peterson, their captain, made prisoner: the rest were either taken or slain, for none escaped. The English made sail for England with their prizes and prisoners, which prevented them from continuing their voyage to Brittany. The king was much rejoiced at the success of this engagement, and defeat of the Flemings, especially when he learnt that they were the aggressors. John Peterson and his captains were put into close confinement, and the others dispersed in various parts of England.

After this defeat off the isle of Bas, the king of England ordered

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* "Uzes." I am inclined to believe it must be Usson, a town in Auvergne, instead of Uzes, which is in Lower Languedoc, eight leagues from Avignon. See *Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 336.

† Milhaud—a town in Rouergue, on the Tarne.

‡ "Sir Thomas Wake." In all the editions, printed and MSS. which I have seen, this name is strangely disfigured. I have followed Barnes, for I could not make anything of *Veulquefaire or Bueilcafare*.

§ "Sir Robert Knolles was but of mean parentage in the county of Chester, but by his valor advanced from a common soldier in the French wars under Edward III. to a great commander. Being sent general of an army into France, in despite of their power he drove the people before him like sheep, destroying towns, castles, and cities in such a manner and number that long after, in memory of this act, the sharp points and gable ends of overthrown houses and minsters were called Knolles' Mitres. After which, to make himself as well beloved of his country, he built a goodly fair bridge at Rochester over the Medway, with a chapel and chauntry at the east end thereof. He built much at the Grayfriars, London, and an hospital at Rome for English travellers, and pilgrims. He deceased at his manor of Scone Thorpe in Norfolk—was buried by the lady Constance, his wife, in the church of Grayfriars, London. 15th August, 1407."—WEEVER'S *Fun. Mon.* p. 436.

In 1365, John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, gave him, at the assembly of the states at Vannes, the lands, castle, &c. of Derval and Rougé, which had been excepted at the treaty of peace.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

He was created a knight of the Garter, Richard II. and is the 74th knight.

Knolles earl of Banbury, took his descent from sir Robert Knolles.—DUGDALE'S *Baronage.*

Lobineau says, Derval, &c. was given to him and his descendants. In 1373, the duke, going into England, left his government to sir Robert Knolles: but few lords obeyed him. The French besieged his castle of Derval, which he had left in the custody of Hugh Broc his kinsman, who capitulated to surrender if not relieved in two months, during which time no person was to be received there. But Knolles disavowed the act of his nephew, alleging he could not treat without his consent: so that the duke of Anjou sent his herald to say, that having done contrary to his capitulation in admitting Knolles, in case he did not surrender, he would put to death the two knights and a squire, who were hostages; which being done, Knolles immediately executed three French knights and a squire, and threw their bodies into a ditch; whereupon the siege was raised.—LOBINEAU, p. 409.

* His head was affixed to a pole on London Bridge, which, on the rebellion of Jack Straw, &c. was taken down to make room for the head of the bishop of London.—LELAND'S *Collectanea*, vol. iii.

† "Earl of Hereford"—Humphry Bohun, constable of England, 32nd knight of the Garter.—See DUGDALE.

It appears, however, from Rymer, that sir Robert de Neville and Raulyn de Barey, ecuyer de sa chambre, were the embassadors from Edward.

‡ The island of Bas is on the coast of Brittany, near Morlaix. In the original, it is, the two fleets met in a harbor of Brittany, "qu'on dit à la Baye:" and Carte says in "the bay:" but I should rather suppose it was meant as I have translated it. This signal victory is very little noticed by our historians.

§ "Sir Guy Brian"—was 57th knight of the Garter, in the stall of sir John Chandos. He was third husband to Elizabeth dowager of William earl of Salisbury—died 14th Richard II. He was brother to the bishop of Ely.

Pat. 35. Ed. III. p. 1. Guidoni de Bryan 200 marcos in provita quod prudenter deferebat vexillum regis, in quodam conflictu apud Cales.—ANSTIS'S *MS. Collect.*

He is buried at Tewksbury. In Gough's Sepulchral Monuments is a plate of his tomb.

‖ Sir Richard Sturey. I cannot find anything of him but in the first volume of Leland's Collectanea, p. 183, date 375—Ricardus Sturey revocatus in familiaritatem et gratiam ab Edwardo rege.

a large armament to be prepared against the Flemings, to engage the enemy wherever they should meet with them, and to blockade their ports, so that no vessel could sail from them without risk of being taken. When the citizens of Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent, heard of these orders, they summoned a council, and, after mature deliberation, resolved that it was not for their advantage to be at war or to have any ill-will with the English, who were their neighbors, and connected with them by commerce, on account of any quarrel of their earl, nor would it be expedient for them to aid and support him. The principal towns, therefore, dissembled, but sent able and good men to negotiate with the king of England and his council, who managed the affair so well that on their return they brought peace to the country of Flanders and to the Flemings, conformably to certain articles in the treaty which was sealed by each party. Thus was this business settled on a good and solid foundation.

We will now say something of the king of Majorca.

CHAPTER CCC.

THE KING OF MAJORCA IS RANSOMED FROM KING HENRY OF SPAIN. HE MAKES WAR ON THE KING OF ARRAGON.

You have before heard how James, king of Majorca, was taken at Valadolid, when king Henry reconquered Spain, and that he continued prisoner to king Henry. When the queen of Naples, his wife, and the marchioness of Montferrat, his sister, heard this they were much distressed, and immediately began to think of remedying it in the manner I shall mention. They sent trusty men to king Henry to treat for his ransom, who brought the matter about on consideration of the sum of one hundred thousand francs, which those ladies so graciously paid that king Henry was obliged to them. The moment the king of Majorca gained his liberty he set out for Naples, but remained there only sufficient time to collect large sums of money and a body of troops, with which he again set off to make war on the king of Arragon his adversary, whom he could never love, as he had slain his father and detained his inheritance. The king continued his journey until he came to Avignon, to visit pope Gregory XI. where he staid upward of a month. He made such able remonstrances with the holy father that he listened to his entreaties, and consented to the war which he was desirous of making on the king of Arragon, as the cause which urged him to it was the recovery of his heritage. The king of Majorca engaged men-at-arms at a very high price wherever he could meet with them; English, Gascons, Germans, Bretons, and some of the free companions, under the command of sir Gracien du Châtel, John de Malestroit, Sylvestre Budes, and James Bray. They might amount to about twelve hundred fighting men, who marched with him, and entered Navarre, and there remained with the consent of that king. From thence they advanced into Arragon, where the knights and men-at-arms made war on the king, overran his country, taking and destroying small forts and ransoming its inhabitants. The king of Arragon, expecting this war, sent some men-at-arms toward the frontier of his kingdom, under the command of the count de Roquebertin and the count de Rodais.

While this war was carried on, which was done with much inveteracy and cruelty, the king of Majorca fell sick again at Val di Soria, and the disorder increased so much that he there died. By this means, the Arragonians had peace for a long time from that quarter. The free companions who had been engaged in this war returned to France, to that party from whom they thought they should gain most.

We will now speak of the duke of Lancaster.

CHAPTER CCCI.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER ESPOUSES THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF THE LATE DON PEDRO, KING OF SPAIN. TREATIES OF ALLIANCE ARE ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.

Duke John of Lancaster remained in the city of Bordeaux, and with him many knights, barons, and squires of Aquitaine; for, notwithstanding some barons of Poitou and Limousin had turned to the French party, that of the English was in a tolerably good state, and made frequent inroads upon the French, on which occasions they lost nothing, but well scoured the country of those who were defending the frontiers for the duke of Anjou. The duke of Lancaster was a widower since the death of the lady Blanche, duchess of Lancaster and Derby: upon which the barons of Gascony, in concert with sir Guiscard d'Angle, considered that don Pedro, king of Spain, had left two daughters by his marriage with the sister of the king of Portugal, who were then in the city of Bayonne, whither they had been conducted, under the safeguard of some knights, by sea, from the neighborhood of Seville, for fear of king Henry. As soon as they were informed of the death of don Pedro, these ladies were almost distracted with grief. Every one compassionated them, for they were the true heiresses of Castille, which was their just right, by succession to their father. This matter was thus opened to the duke: "My lord, it is time you should think of remarrying: we know of a very noble match for you, one from which you or your heirs will be kings of Castille. It will be a charitable deed to comfort and advise damsels who are daughters of a king, especially when in such a pitiable state as those ladies are. Take, therefore, the eldest for your bride. We advise you to do so; for at this moment we know not where you can more nobly ally yourself, nor from whence greater profit can accrue to you. These and such like words made an impression on the duke, and were so agreeable to him that he consented to what they had proposed with much good will. He immediately ordered four knights to seek these ladies without delay, whose names were Constance and Isabella. The duke himself set out from Bordeaux, when he knew they were coming, to meet them in grand array. He married the eldest, the lady Constance, at a village on the road called Rochefort, on the other side of the city of Bordeaux, and gave there, on the day of his marriage, a splendid feast, to which were invited a great number of lords and ladies to add to its magnificence. Soon after the wedding, the duke conducted his lady to Bordeaux, where there were again grand entertainments. The duchess and her sister were much feasted by the ladies and damsels of Bordeaux, who presented them with magnificent gifts and presents for the love they bore the duke.

News was brought to king Henry in Castille, and to all the barons of the realms, who were allied to him by fealty and homage, that his niece had married the duke of Lancaster, and that it was supposed the younger sister would espouse the earl of Cambridge upon the duke's return to England. The king was very melancholy on hearing this, and summoned his council. He was then advised to send able embassadors to the king of France, to explain his situation. The king agreed to their opinions, and chose the wisest men in his kingdom to go to France. They set out with a grand retinue, and continued their road without interruption until they came to Paris, where they found the king, who received them with every politeness. The king of France had many interviews with these embassadors, who had full powers, properly sealed and authenticated, to enter into any treaties, and to act in everything for their lord, so that many secret councils were held. At last, everything was concluded; and a treaty was entered into between the two kings, of perpetual amity, love and alliance, which was most solemnly sworn to be maintained, and that neither party would dissolve or weaken without the other's consent. The king of France swore, on the word of a king, that he would aid and assist the king of Castille in every matter which might concern him, and that he would never make peace with the king of England without his being a party.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who much loved the king of Spain, took great pains to bring this treaty about. After this business had been completely finished, the embassadors took their leave and returned to Spain. They found their king at Leon, who was much pleased at having so well concluded the matters they were sent on. King Henry, from this alliance, felt himself ever after much more assured and comforted.

CHAPTER CCCII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER APPOINTS GOVERNORS IN GUIENNE: HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND, AND CARRIES HIS LADY WITH HIM. SIR WALTER MANNY DIES IN LONDON.

We now return to the duke of Lancaster, who still resided in the city of Bordeaux. He had determined that about Michaelmas he would embark for England, in order to make the king his father better acquainted with the affairs of Aquitaine. To this end he made every preparation; and, a little before his departure, he assembled in Bordeaux all those barons and knights of Gascony who were of the English party. When they were all collected, he addressed them by saying, he had a great desire to return to England on particular business, as well as for the advantage of all present as for the principality of Aquitaine; but that he would come back in the ensuing summer, if the king his father would permit it. These words were very agreeable to all who heard them. He then appointed the captal de Buch, the lords de Mucident and de l'Esparre, governors of all those parts of Gascony which were attached to England. In Poitou, he nominated sir Louis de Harcourt and the lord de Partenay. In Saintonge, sir Louis d'Argenton and sir William de Montendre. He left all the séneschals and other officers as they were before. The council of the Gascons, Poitevins, and Saintongers ordered sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane and sir Aimery de Tarbe to accompany the duke to England, in order more fully to explain the affairs of Aquitaine; and the duke, by waiting for them, delayed some little his voyage. When all was ready, they embarked on board of vessels in the harbor of Bordeaux, which is large and spacious. The duke was attended by a large body of men-at-arms and archers, having sixty vessels in the fleet, including those with provisions: he carried with him his lady and her sister. They sailed with favorable winds, which brought them safe to Southampton, where they disembarked, and entered the town. They reposed themselves there for two days, when they set out, taking the road to Windsor, where the king resided. He received his son the duke, the ladies, damsels, and the foreign knights with great joy and feasts, but especially sir Guiscard d'Angle, whom he was delighted to see.

About this time, that gallant knight sir Walter Manny departed

this life in the city of London; for which all the barons of England were much afflicted, on account of the loyalty and prudence they had always found in him. He was buried with great pomp in the monastery of the Carthusians,* which he had built, at his own expense, without the walls of London. His funeral was attended by the king, his children, and the barons and prelates of England. All his landed property on each side of the sea fell to John earl of Pembroke, who had married his daughter Anne. The earl sent two knights to take possession of the lands which had fallen to him in Hainault, and they performed their duty well toward duke Albert, who at that time governed the country in the name of his deranged brother William.

CHAPTER CCCIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND APPOINTS THE EARL OF PEMBROKE GOVERNOR OF AQUITAINE. THE SPANIARDS, BEING ALLIES OF FRANCE, ATTACK HIM AT SEA, OFF LA ROCHELLE.

DURING this winter (1372,) many councils were held in England on the state of affairs, and upon the best methods of conducting them. The English had planned two expeditions; one to Guienne, another into France through Calais; and were gaining allies, as well in Germany as in other parts of the empire, where several knights and squires had joined them. They were busily employed in making great preparations for the largest army which had been seen for a long time. The king of France was regularly informed by some Englishmen of these transactions, the state of them, and what was the end proposed. Upon which, having duly considered his intelligence, he acted accordingly, and laid in a sufficiency of provision in all the cities, towns and castles of Picardy; having strongly reinforced the garrisons with men-at-arms, that the country might not be surprised.

ROUND TOWER OF WINDSOR CASTLE, as it appeared in the time of Edward III., under whose directions it was built. From one of a series engraved from original documents by Battey Langley, to exhibit the erections of the successive sovereigns.

When summer was arrived, king Edward kept the feast and solemnity of St. George in Windsor castle, as he was yearly accustomed to do, when sir Guiscard d'Angle was elected a brother-knight with the king, the princes and barons, who were called, in this fraternity, The Knights of the Blue Garter. The king, after this, went to London, to his palace of Westminster, where he held a grand council on public affairs. The duke of Lancaster was ordered to invade France by entering Picardy. He was to be accompanied by his brother the earl of Cambridge. The king, at the entreaty of sir Guiscard d'Angle and the Poitevins, appointed the earl of Pembroke governor of Aquitaine, in room of the duke of Lancaster, with orders to hasten to those countries, and to conduct the war against the French.

The Gascons and Poitevins had requested the king by letters, as well as by sir Guiscard d'Angle, that if he should be advised not to send any of his own children, he would nominate the earl of Pembroke, whom as they loved much they desired to have, for they knew him to be a good and hardy knight. The king, therefore, spoke to the earl of Pembroke, who, with several other barons and knights, was present at this council, saying: "John, my fair son, I ordain and institute you governor and captain of all the men-at-arms in Poitou, who according to the accounts I have had, are very numerous; and also of those you will conduct from hence thither. You will, therefore, accompany sir Guiscard d'Angle into Poitou." The earl of Pembroke, falling on his knees, replied: "My lord, I return you my warmest thanks for the high honor you have conferred upon me. I will act for your majesty beyond seas as one of your smallest marshals." After this, the council broke up, when the king returned to Windsor, taking sir Guiscard d'Angle with him. They frequently conversed on the affairs of Poitou and Guienne. In one of these conversations, he said: "My lord, when our governor and captain shall arrive in that country, we shall carry on a good war; for we shall there find between four and five hundred lances, who will all cheerfully obey you, but they must be regularly paid." The king answered: "Sir Guiscard, sir Guiscard, do not be uneasy on account of wanting money to continue the war, for I have enough, and will eagerly employ it for such an occasion, as it very sensibly affects us and our kingdom." In these and such like discourses did the king of England amuse himself with sir Guiscard d'Angle, for he had great confidence in him, not indeed without reason.

The season was now arrived for the departure of the earl of Pembroke, who took his leave of the king, as did all those who accompanied him. It seems to me that sir Otho de Grantson,* *d'outre la Somme*, was appointed to go with him. The earl of Pembroke had not a very large force with him, but only the knights of his household, on account of the information which sir Guiscard d'Angle had given the king; but he carried a sufficient sum in nobles and florins to pay three thousand fighting men. After taking leave of the king, they set out for Southampton, where they remained fifteen days waiting for a wind. On the sixteenth, they had a wind to their wish; and, embarking, they sailed out of the harbor for the coasts of Poitou, recommending themselves to the care of God and St. George.

King Charles of France was perfectly well acquainted with the greater part of the king of England's councils (I do not know by whom or how they were revealed to him,) and that sir Guiscard d'Angle and his companions were gone to England to request from the king an able leader. He already knew that the earl of Pembroke had the appointment, and that he was on his way thither. Upon which the king of France had secretly raised a large naval armament; that is to say, it had been raised at his request, for it belonged to king Henry of Castille, who had sent this armament in conformity to the treaty which had been lately concluded between them. This Spanish fleet consisted of forty large vessels, and thirteen barks, well provided with towers and ramparts, as the Spanish ships usually are. Four valiant men were the commanders of this fleet: Ambrosio de Balequer, Cabesso de Vaccadent, Hernando de Leon, Rodrigo de Rosas.† These Spaniards had remained a considerable time at anchor, waiting for the return of the Poitevins, and the coming of the earl of Pembroke; for they were well informed that he was to land on the coast of Poitou, and had therefore placed themselves at anchor before the town of La Rochelle.

It happened, therefore, that on the day preceding the vigil of St. John the Baptist, in the year of grace 1372, when the earl of Pembroke and his fleet expected to enter the port of La Rochelle, they found that the Spaniards had blocked up the entrance by lying before its mouth, and were ready prepared to receive them. When the English and Poitevins saw the Spaniards thus posted, and that an engagement must happen, they encouraged each other, though they were not near an equal match, either in regard to the number of vessels or men, and made preparations for an immediate combat, posting their archers on the bows of the ships. The Spaniards were well equipped with men-at-arms and foot soldiers, who had cross-

* Now the Charter House.

* "Sir Otho de Grantson." Barnes calls him sir Thomas Grantson; but sir Thomas Grantson was made prisoner by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and, I suppose, was then at Paris. Froissart, I should imagine, by mentioning *outre la Somme*, must mean a different person, one who had an estate beyond the Somme. In the MS. collections of Mr. Anstis, a sir Otho Grantson is spoken of; but, by a reference to Dugdale, it appears he must have lived in a much earlier period.

† I have copied the names of these Spanish captains from Barnes, but am doubtful if they are right; for in Choisi's history of Charles V. *Roderique de Roux* is mentioned as admiral. In Villaret's history of France, *Boccanera* is called the admiral. Indeed, this is nearer to Froissart, who calls the first captain *Boucquenegre*. Barnes gives not any authority for his alterations.

bows and cannons: many had also large bars of iron, and staves loaded with lead, to make their attacks with. They advanced with shoutings and a great noise. The large ships of Spain made sail to gain the wind, so that they might bring their towers to bear on the English, who little suspected their intent, and less feared them. Thus did they bear down on them full sail. At this commencement, great were the shouts and cries on both sides. The English behaved gallantly, and the earl of Pembroke, his knights and squires, acted worthy of their honor.

The engagement was very severe, and the English had enough to do; for the Spaniards who were in large vessels had great bars of iron and huge stones, which they launched and flung from their ships in order to sink those of the English, by which they wounded desperately both sailors and men-at-arms. The knights of England and Poitou that day showed excellent proofs of chivalry and prowess. The earl fought gallantly, seeking his enemies everywhere, and did extraordinary feats of arms. Sir Otho de Grantson, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane and all the other knights, behaved equally well.

CHAPTER CCCIV.

THE INHABITANTS OF LA ROCHELLE REFUSE TO ASSIST THE EARL OF PEMBROKE. THE SENESCHAL AND THE LORD DE TANNAYBOUTON, WITH OTHERS, COME TO HIS AID.

By what I have heard from those who were present at this engagement, the English and Poitevins showed plainly they wished for victory, and obtained great praise for their valor; for never people exerted more courage, nor fought more bravely, considering what a handful of men they were in comparison with the Spaniards, and in such small vessels that one cannot but marvel how it lasted so long: but their great prowess and chivalry raised a mutual spirit of emulation, and, had their vessels been of the same size with their enemy's, the Spaniards would not have had the advantage; for they handled their spears, which were well steeled, so briskly, and gave such terrible strokes, that none dared to come near, unless he was well armed and shielded; but the showers of stones, lead, and iron bars, annoyed them exceedingly, and in this first engagement several knights and squires were severely wounded.

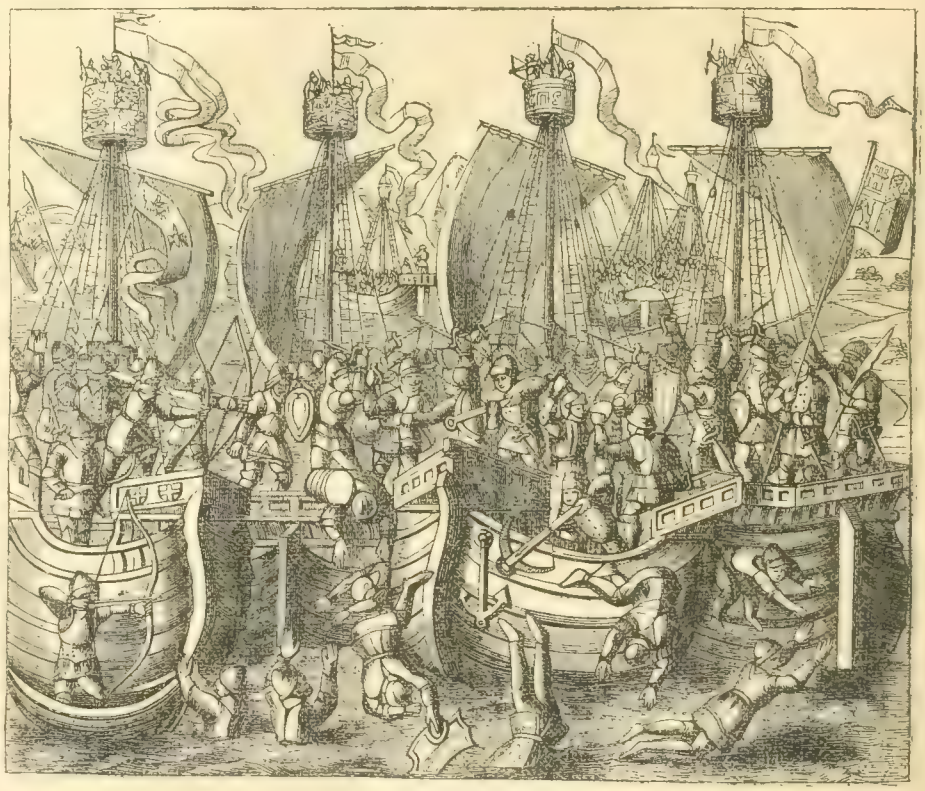
The Rochellers saw plainly the whole of this engagement, but never offered to advance to the assistance of their countrymen, leaving them to shift for themselves. This battle lasted until night, when each party separated and cast their anchors: but the English lost two barges of provision, and all those in them were slain. Sir John Harpedon, who at that time was séneschal of La Rochelle, employed himself all the night in entreating the inhabitants, the mayor, John Chauderon, and the others to arm themselves, and to draw out the commonalty, and embark in the vessels and barges which were lying on the shore, in order to assist and aid their fellow subjects whom they had seen so valorously defend themselves. The inhabitants, however, who had no inclination so to do, excused themselves by saying they had their town to guard; that they were not seamen, nor accustomed to fight at sea, nor with Spaniards; but that, if the battle had been on shore, they would very willingly have complied with his request. The business remained in this state, and nothing could bring them to change their resolution.

At this moment there were in La Rochelle, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir James de Surgeres, and sir Maubrun de Linieres, who handsomely acquitted themselves in joining their entreaties with those of the séneschal. When those four knights saw they could not gain anything, they armed themselves, ordering their people, who were not in any great numbers, to do the same; and, on the return of the tide, they embarked in four boats which they took from the shore, at break of day, and made for the vessels of their friends, who were right glad to see them. They told the earl of Pembroke and sir Guiscard d'Angle, that they must not expect any assistance from La Rochelle, as the townsmen had positively refused it; to which, as they could not better themselves, they replied that they trusted in the mercy of God, and would wait the event; that a time might come when the Rochellers should repent of their refusal.

CHAPTER CCCV.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE IS DEFEATED, AND MADE PRISONER BY THE SPANIARDS. THEY SAIL FROM LA ROCHELLE WITH THEIR PRISONERS. THE CAPTAL DE BUCH ARRIVES THERE, BUT TOO LATE.

When it was day, and the tide had flowed full, the Spaniards weighed their anchors, and, with a great noise of trumpets and drums, formed a line of battle, like to that of the preceding day, with their large vessels, which were well manned and armed, and having gained the wind in hopes of inclosing the English vessels, which were but few in comparison, the before-mentioned four captains led the van in handsome order. The English and Poitevins, observing their line of battle, formed theirs accordingly, and having collected themselves together, placed their archers in front. The Spaniards, under the command of these captains, bore down on them full sail,



Sea Fight off La Rochelle. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

and began the engagement, which was dreadfully deadly. When they came to close quarters, the Spaniards flung out grappling-hooks with chains of iron, which lashed the English to their vessels, so that they could not separate, and thus, as it were, held them close.*

With the earl of Pembroke there were twenty-two knights, who united good inclinations to tried valor, and who vigorously defended themselves with spears, swords, and other weapons. They remained there closely engaged, fighting desperately, for a considerable time; but the Spaniards had too much the advantage, as their vessels were larger and higher above the water than those of the English, from which they flung down stones, bars of iron, and lead, that much annoyed their adversaries. The engagement continued with great fury between them until near nine o'clock; and no people ever labored harder than the English and Poitevins, but the greater part of their men were now wounded by the stones and other things

* The Memoires de Du Guesclin say, that fire-ships were first used in this engagement by the Spaniards, and that by their means thirteen of the largest English ships were destroyed.—*Coll. Memoires Historiques*, vol. i. p. 432.

which were thrown on them, and that gallant knight of Gascony sir Aimery de Tarbe was slain, as well as sir John Lauton, who was knight of the body to the earl of Pembroke. Four large Spanish ships had grappled with that in which was the earl: they were commanded by Cabesso de Vaccadent and Hernando de Leon, and full of men-at-arms for the combat and to work the vessels. After an obstinate resistance, they boarded the earl's ship, when he was made prisoner, and all on board slain or taken. Among the last were, sir Robert Beaufort, sir John Curzon, sir John Grimstone: sir Simon Whitaker, sir John Morton, and sir John Touchet shared the fate of the first.

At some distance, the Poitevins, under the command of sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane, the lord de Tannaybouton, and other knights, with their followers, continued the fight; and in another ship, sir Otho de Granston was engaged against Ambroise de Boccanera and Roderigo de Rosas, who were too many for him; so that all these knights were taken by the Spaniards, not one escaped being killed or made prisoner. Their men were also in great danger, but their lords, when taken, desired they would cease the slaughter, as they would pay a proper ransom for them. Whoever may find himself in such a strait of arms as the earl of Pembroke or sir Guiscard d'Angle were in, before La Rochelle, must cheerfully submit to whatever God or fortune may please to order. But know, that in the loss of this day, of knights or squires, the king of England in comparison was by far the greatest sufferer; for, in consequence of this defeat, he lost afterwards all Guienne, as you will have related in this history.

I was informed that the English vessel which had on board the money for sir Guiscard d'Angle, to pay the soldiers of Guienne was lost, and everything on board with it; so that it was not of profit to any one. All this day, which was the vigil of St. John the Baptist, the ensuing night, and the morrow until noon, did the Spaniards remain at anchor before La Rochelle, shouting and rioting with joy. It happened fortunately that a knight of Poitou, called sir James de Surgeres, addressed the person who had taken him with so much eloquence that he agreed to give him his liberty for three hundred francs, which he paid down. He dined in La Rochelle on St. John's day; and by him it was known how the affair had ended, who were slain or made prisoners. Many citizens of the town pretended to be much concerned at this event, though in their hearts they rejoiced, for they never were well inclined toward the English.

In the afternoon of St. John's day, at high flood, the Spaniards weighed anchor, set their sails, and departed with a great noise of drums and trumpets. They had on their mast-heads standards like to pennons, with the arms of Castille displayed on them, and of such a length that their ends frequently touched the sea. It was a fine sight to see them thus sail off, as they steered for the coast of Galicia. In this same day, toward the evening, there came into La Rochelle a large body of men-at-arms, Gascons and English, who had not heard what had passed, but they knew that the Spaniards were lying before the town, and had done so for some time: they came, therefore, to reinforce it. The leaders of the Gascons were, the captal de Buch, sir Beras de la Lande, sir Peter de Landura, the souldich, sir Bertrand du Trane: of the English, lord Thomas Percy, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir William Farrington, the earl of Angus, sir Baldwin Freville,* sir Walter Hewet, and sir John Devereux.†

When these lords and their troops, which were full six hundred men, were arrived in La Rochelle, the inhabitants made appearance of being very glad to see them, for they dared not do otherwise. They learnt from sir James de Surgeres the event of the battle with the Spaniards, and the names of those killed and taken. The barons and knights were sorely afflicted at this news, and thought themselves more unfortunate than they had ever yet been for not arriving sooner. They regretted much the loss of the earl of Pembroke and sir Guiscard d'Angle. I know not how many days they remained in La Rochelle, to consider what would be the best manner for them to conduct themselves, and whither they should march. We will leave them for a while, and speak of Evan of Wales, and of his exploits this season.

CHAPTER CCCVI.

EVAN OF WALES‡ DEFEATS THE ENGLISH OFF THE ISLAND OF GUERNSEY. THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS HIM TO SPAIN TO SEEK FOR MEN-AT-ARMS, TO LAY SIEGE TO LA ROCHELLE.

Evan of Wales was the son of a prince of Wales, whom king Edward, for some reason I am ignorant of, had put to death, and seized his territories and principality, which he had given to his son the prince of Wales. Evan went to France, to lay his complaints before king Charles of the injuries he had suffered from the king of England, by the death of his father and the seizure of his inheritance. The king of France had retained him in his service, and much advanced him, by giving him the command of a large body of men-at-arms. In this summer, he sent him to sea with four thousand fighting men, with whom he acquitted himself much to his honor, as you shall now hear.

When he took the command of these men-at-arms, and vessels which the king of France had equipped and provided for him, he embarked in the port of Harfleur, and set full sail for England, making the island of Guernsey, which lies opposite to Normandy. Edmund Ross, squire of honor to the king of England, was then governor of that island. On hearing of the arrival of the French under the command of Evan, he was much angered, and advanced out to meet him. He issued his summons throughout the island, which is not large, and collected, as well of his own men as of the islanders, about eight hundred, with whom he gave battle. It was sharp and long; but the English, at last, were defeated, leaving upward of four hundred dead on the field. Edmund was forced to fly, otherwise he must have been slain or taken. He escaped with great difficulty and saved himself in a handsome castle, called Cornet, situated at the distance of two leagues from the place where the battle had been fought, and which he had beforehand provided with everything necessary for such a fortress. After this defeat, Evan, having collected his army, and hearing that Edmund had retreated into Cornet castle, advanced thither, and invested it closely, giving frequent assaults; but the castle was strong and well provided with artillery, so that the French could not gain it.

It was during the time of this siege the unfortunate defeat and capture of the earl of Pembroke and sir Guiscard d'Angle happened before La Rochelle, which has been just related. The king of France, when he heard of the success of the Spaniards, was exceedingly rejoiced, and paid more attention than ever to the affairs of Poitou; for he thought, perhaps lightly enough, that if the English should have a few more such defeats, the cities and principal towns would willingly surrender to him. He therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to send the constable and all his men-at-arms into Poitou, Saintonge and the Rochellois, in order to carry on the war more briskly by sea and land, while the English party should be without a leader, for the whole country was wavering in its allegiance. He therefore sent messengers to Evan of Wales, who was lying before Cornet castle, as he was perfectly acquainted with the state of it, and knew it to be impregnable, ordering him instantly to break up the siege, and put to sea in a vessel equipped for him, and to make sail for Spain to prevail on king Henry to grant him boats and galleys, with his admirals and men-at-arms, to blockade La Rochelle. Evan, on receiving the messengers with the king's orders, promptly obeyed them, as was right; broke up the siege, and disbanded his men, lending them vessels to carry them to Harfleur. He himself immediately embarked on board a large ship, and made sail for Spain. Thus was the siege of Cornet castle raised.

CHAPTER CCCVII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND IS MUCH CAST DOWN AT THE CAPTURE OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE. EVAN OF WALES MEETS THE EARL A PRISONER IN WALES.

You must know that when the king of England heard of the defeat of the armament he had sent to Poitou, and that it had been overcome by the Spaniards, he was greatly afflicted; so were all those who were attached to him; but for the moment he could not amend it. The wisest in the kingdom imagined that this unfortunate business would cause the loss of the countries of Poitou and Saintonge; and they stated this as their opinion to the king and duke of Lancaster. They held many councils upon it. The earl of Salisbury was ordered thither with five hundred men-at-arms. However, notwithstanding this order, he never went; for other affairs came into agitation respecting Brittany, which prevented it from taking place. The king repented of this afterwards, when it was too late.

The Spaniards who had taken the earl of Pembroke and his companions were detained some little time at sea by contrary winds. They arrived at the port of St. Andero in Biscay, and entered the town about midday, when they conducted their prisoners to a strong castle, and fastened them with iron chains according to their usual custom; for the Spaniards know not how to show courtesy to their prisoners, but act like the Germans. Evan* of Wales had the same day arrived with his ship at St. Andero, and had entered the hôtel where don Fernando de Rosas and Cabesso de Vaccadent had conducted the earl of Pembroke and his knights. This was told to Evan in his apartment, saying: "Sir, come and see the English knights

* "Sir Baldwin Freville"—had summons to parliament the 1st Edward III. See Dugdale. He was competitor for the office of champion at the coronation of Richard II. but the earl marshal decided on the superior claim of the Dymocks. See Dugdale's Warwickshire, where the pedigree is.

† "Sir John Devereux." See Dugdale. From him are descended the viscounts Hereford, &c.

‡ Among the members of the council of war whom Du Guesclin called, before he attacked St. Maure-sur-Loire, are Carenlouet capitaine de la Roche-Posay, Ivain de Galles, and another knight called the Poursuivant d'Amours.—Note 83rd in the same vol. says, "This famous Poursuivant d'Amours was also called le chevalier Bauwen, most probably a Welshman of the name of Bowen." But how is this to be reconciled with the preceding quotations?—See Mémoires de Du Guesclin, vol. iv. of the Historical Collection of French Memoirs, p. 397.

* By everything I can find, this Evan was an impostor. Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales was treacherously slain, near Bulith, in Edward I.'s reign. Probably the king of France knew this, but employed him in hopes of his assistance against England.—*See* BARNES *and others.*

[Llewellyn left only one legitimate child, a daughter, afterwards married to Malcolm earl of Fife: he also, it is said, left an illegitimate son called Madoc, but nothing is known of his history or fate; it is not improbable that this Evan was the son of Madoc.—ED.]

whom our people have made prisoners, they will enter this hôtel, for it is not long since they arrived." Evan being very desirous of seeing them, to know who they were, went out. He met, on quitting his chamber, in the apartment of the landlord, the earl of Pembroke, whom he directly recognized, though he had scarcely ever seen him before. He addressed him in a reproachful manner: "Earl Pembroke, are you come into this country to do me homage for the lands you hold of me in the principality of Wales, of which I am the heir, and which your king has deprived me of, through the advice of evil counsellors?" The earl of Pembroke was much displeased and ashamed, feeling himself a prisoner in a strange country, to be thus apostrophized in his own language by one whom he did not know, and replied, "Who are you that you address me in such words?" Evan answered, "I am Evan, son and heir of prince Edmund of Wales, whom your king wickedly and wrongfully put to death, and disinherited me afterwards. But I may perhaps be able, through the assistance of my very dear lord the king of France, to apply a remedy to this, and I will certainly then do so. I wish you to know, that if I can meet you in a proper place and time to offer you combat, I will show you the wrongs you have done me, as well as the earl of Hereford and Edward Spencer; for by your father and other evil counsellors was my lord and father betrayed, which ought to anger me, and I will be revenged of it whenever I may have an opportunity."

Sir Thomas St. Aubin, who was one of the earl's knights, stepped forward and eagerly said: Evan, if you mean to say and maintain, that my lord has now, or at any other time, commited a dishonorable act, or that my lord his father has done so, or that he owes you any homage or anything else, throw down your glove and you will find one ready enough to take it up." Evan replied: "You are a prisoner: I shall gain no honor in calling you out, for you are not your own master, but belong to those who have taken you: but when you have gained your liberty, I shall speak out more boldly, for things shall not remain as they now are." As he finished these words, some knights and Spanish men of valor got between them, and separated them. The four admirals did not, after this, make any long stay, but led their prisoners to Burgos, to deliver them up to the king of Spain, who at that time resided there.

When the king heard of their coming, and that they were near to Burgos, he sent his eldest son, John, who was called the Infanta of Castille, attended by a large company of knights and squires, to meet and to do them honor; for king Henry knew well that it became him so to act; and he himself paid them much attention, as soon as they were come into his presence. Shortly after, the king issued out his orders, when they were sent to different places in the kingdom of Castille.

CHAPTER CCCVIII.

THE CONSTABLE DU GUESCLIN TAKES THE CASTLE OF MONMORILLON,* AND OTHER PLACES IN POITOU.

We will return to the affairs of Poitou, which at that time were not trifling matters, and say how those knights from England and Gascony acted who had come into La Rochelle at the feast of St. John the Baptist, as has been before related. They were exceedingly vexed they had not arrived there the preceding day, and been in time for the Spaniards. They held long councils how they should act, and which way they should advance, for they already had their suspicions of the loyalty of the Rochellers. They appointed sir John Devereux séneschal of La Rochelle, with three hundred men-at-arms for the defence of the castle, for as long as they should be masters of that, the town dared not to rebel. This business done, the captal de Buch, who commanded the expedition, lord Thomas Percy, the earl of Angus, sir Richard de Pontchardon, the souldich,† sir Peras de la Lande, and the others with their men, marched from La Rochelle. About four hundred lances took the road for Soubise;‡ for there were some Bretons near that place, who having taken possession of several churches and small forts, had fortified them: but as soon as these lords approached they fled, and the country was freed of such visitors.

At this time, the constable of France, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the lord Louis de Sancerre, the lords de Clisson and de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Beaumanoir, and numbers of the barons of France, had taken the field, and were with the army in the countries of Anjou, Auvergne and Berry: in all, upward of three thousand spears. Those lords who were under the immediate command of the constable advanced into Poitou, where they kept in a body, and then proceeded to lay siege to a castle called Monmorillon. On their arrival, they assaulted it briskly and gained it, putting all within to the sword. They reinforced it with another garrison. They then marched to Chauvigny,§ on the river Creuse, and besieged it. They remained there two days, but on the third it surrendered, and the garrison was spared. They continued their march toward Lussac, where there is a town and castle, which surrendered immediately without waiting the assault. They advanced toward the city of Poitiers, and lay one night in the vineyards, which very much alarmed the city, as they were fearful of being besieged; but for this time they were free, for they marched off the following day, advancing toward Moncontour. John Cresswell and David Hollegrave commanded in the place, and had under them about sixty good companions, bold and hardy, who had very much harassed the surrounding countries of Anjou and Touraine, as well as all the French garrisons, so that the constable declared he would not undertake anything before he had gained this town.

* Monmorillon—a town in in Poitou, eleven leagues from Poitiers.
† *Monseigneur* le Souldich.—D. Sauvage.
‡ Soubise—a town in Saintonge, six leagues from La Rochelle.
§ Chauvigny—six leagues from Poitiers.

CHAPTER CCCIX.

THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE TAKES MONCONTOUR BY A CAPITULATION. HE MARCHES FROM THENCE TO FORM A JUNCTION WITH THE DUKE OF BERRY IN THE LIMOUSIN, WHEN THEY LAY SIEGE TO ST. SEVERE.

The constable of France, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the lord de Clisson, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Laval, de Beaumanoir and de Sully, with the others, advanced until they came before Moncontour, a handsome castle, six leagues from Poitiers. On their arrival, they began the siege, and made different assaults in good order; but, as the ditches were very deep round the walls, they could not easily approach. They ordered the peasants to cut timber and faggots which they caused to be drawn and thrown into them, and afterwards covered with straw and earth. Four days were taken up in doing this. When they had completed it, they began their attacks in earnest, and in a regular way. Those within defended themselves well, for they were masters of their profession; and they sustained the assault one whole day, when they had hard fighting, and were in great danger of being taken. On the sixth, the constable advanced himself with his Bretons in regular order, to make a fiercer assault than any of the former ones. Being covered with large shields, and armed with pick-axes and mattocks, they came up close to the walls, which they immediately battered, pulling out stones in various places, insomuch that the garrison began to be alarmed: they, however, defended themselves as well as ever garrison did.

John Cresswell and David Hollegrave, the governors, saw the peril they were in, and guessed that sir Bertrand, from this manner of proceeding, would not quit the place before he had conquered it; so that, should they be taken by assault, they would certainly be put to death; and, not seeing nor hearing of any succor coming to them, they opened a treaty to surrender the place, on their lives being spared. The constable, who did not wish to harass his own people, nor to push too far the garrison, whom he knew to be resolute men-at-arms, accepted the terms, and agreed they should leave the castle, taking nothing with them but gold or silver, and that they should be escorted to Poitiers. In this manner did the constable get the castle of Moncontour, of which he took possession, and had it well repaired. He remained in it to refresh himself and men, for he was not determined whither he should march next, to Poitiers or elsewhere.

When the news was known in the city of Poitiers, that the constable and his Bretons had retaken the castle of Moncontour, they were more alarmed than before, and immediately sent off messengers to lord Thomas Percy, their séneschal, who was on the expedition with the captal de Buch. At the same time that lord Thomas Percy received this information, sir John Devereux, who resided in the castle of La Rochelle, was told that the constable of France, having encamped before Poitiers, had reconnoitred the place, and that the inhabitants were the more afraid he would besiege it because their séneschal was absent. Sir John did not hear this intelligence with indifference, but set about to aid and comfort the Poitevins: he marched from La Rochelle, with only fifty lances, having appointed, on his departure, one of his squires, named Philip Mansel, governor of the castle until his return. He took the road to Poitiers, which he entered; and the citizens testified their obligations to him for it. The principal citizens who brought the news from Poitiers to lord Thomas Percy, serving in the captal's army, begged of him to hasten thither; and as they expected an immediate siege, to bring with him as strong a force as he could, for the French army was very considerable. On hearing this, lord Thomas explained the business to the captal, to know what he would say to it. The captal, having considered it, was unwilling to break up his expedition, but gave lord Thomas Percy leave to go there: he set off, and on his arrival in Poitiers was received with great joy by the inhabitants, who were very desirous of having him among them. He found sir John Devereux there, and great feastings and rejoicings were made on the occasion.

All this was known to the constable, who had continued in Moncontour, and also that Poitiers had been reinforced with a body of men-at-arms. At the same time he heard from the duke of Berry, who commanded a large army in Auvergne, Berry, and Burgundy, upon the borders of Limousin, that he was desirous of laying siege to St. Severe;* which town belonged to sir John Devereux, but was garrisoned, under his orders, by sir William Percy, Richard Gill, and Richard Orme, and a large body of men-at-arms, who had overrun the countries of Auvergne and Limousin, doing much mischief to both of them. The duke of Berry, on this account, wished to march thither, and therefore entreated the constable, if he had not any other views, that he would join him before St. Severe. The constable, who was very wise, prudent, and inventive in all his under-

* "St. Severe"—a town in Saintonge, near Saintes

takings, considered that at that moment he could not expect success before Poitiers, even if he were to march his men thither; for the city had been greatly reinforced with men-at-arms: he therefore declared he would join the duke of Berry. He set out from Moncontour with his whole army after he had appointed a garrison to defend it, and joined the duke, who thanked him much for coming, as well as all his knights and squires. When this junction was formed, there was plenty of men-at-arms. The duke of Berry, in company with the constable, reconnoitred St. Severe: their force was about four thousand men-at-arms: they directly laid siege to the place, declaring they would not depart until they had possession of it. They began the siege with great vigor, and sir William Percy and his companions defended themselves equally well.

News was brought to sir John Devereux in the city of Poitiers, how the duke of Berry, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the constable of France, the lord de Clisson, the viscount de Rohan, with four thousand men-at-arms, were besieging his castle of St. Severe. He was very pensive on hearing this, and spoke to lord Thomas Percy, who was present when the intelligence came: "Lord Thomas, you are sénéschal of this country, and have sufficient influence and power to do what I am about to request of you; which is, that you would advise and assist me in succoring my people, for unless they are reinforced they must be taken by assault." "By my faith," replied lord Thomas, "I have every inclination and good wish to assist you: and through love to you, I will set out, and speak to my lord the captal de Buch, who is not far distant. I will do all in my power to induce him to accompany us, to raise the siege, and to offer battle to the French." They immediately set out from Poitiers, leaving the city under the guard of the mayor of the place, whose name was John Regnault, a good and loyal man. These knights rode until they met the captal de Buch, in the plain, advancing toward St. Jean d'Angely. They remonstrated with him in a courteous manner, how the French had taken Monmorillon, near Poitiers, as well as the strong castle of Moncontour; and that they were now employed at the siege of St. Severe, which belonged to sir John Devereux, to whom certainly some good services were due. Besides, there were shut up in the castle, sir William Percy, Richard Gill, and Richard Orme, who were too valiant men to be lost.

The captal de Buch, having considered a moment, replied, "Gentlemen, what is it you wish me to do?" Some knights who were near had been called to this council, and they replied: "It is now a long time since we have heard you express a strong desire for an opportunity of fighting with the French, you can never find a more favorable one than by hastening to St. Severe; and, if you will issue your summons to Anjou and Poitou, we shall have a sufficient number to combat the French with the good will we have to meet with them." "By my faith," answered the captal, "I wish nothing better; and we will soon measure our strength with theirs, if it please God and my lord St. George." The captal immediately issued his summons to all barons, knights, and squires of Poitou and Saintonge attached to the English, entreating and enjoining them strictly to meet him, at a certain fixed place, armed and prepared in the best manner they could. Every knight and squire who received these letters made all possible dispatch to make himself ready, and took the field to meet the captal as speedily as he could. Among the principal were, the lord de Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Hugh de Vinoue, sir Thomas his brother, sir Percival de Coulonge, sir Aimery de la Rochechouart, sir James de Surgeres, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, the lords de Puissances, de Roussillon, de Crupenac, sir John d'Angle, sir William de Montendre, and many other barons and knights: so that they mustered full nine hundred lances and five hundred archers.

CHAPTER CCCX.

THE GARRISON OF ST. SEVERE, AFTER A SHARP ASSAULT, SURRENDERS TO SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN. THE CITY OF POITIERS TURNS TO THE FRENCH PARTY.

Intelligence was brought to sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the army before St. Severe, that the English, Poitevins, and their allies were fast approaching with a great force, in order to oblige them to raise the siege. When the constable heard of this, he was no way alarmed, but ordered every one to arm and to march directly to the assault. No one disobeyed this command, but French and Bretons advanced to the fort armed and well covered by their shields, when they began a vigorous attack, each lord under his own banner and surrounded by his people. It was a handsome sight to look at, for at this assault there were forty-nine banners, and numbers of pennons. The constable and the marshal lord Louis de Sancerre were there at their proper posts, laboring hard to encourage the men to conduct their attack with greater valor. Knights and squires of all nations were eager to gain honor and advancement, and performed many gallant exploits. Several crossed the ditches, which were full of water, with their shields on their heads, and marched up to the walls. In doing this, they never retreated, notwithstanding the things which were thrown down on them, but advanced the nearer to the fort. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, and the dauphin d'Auvergne, with several other great lords, were on the ditch encouraging their men, who, on account of such spectators, advanced boldly, fearless of death and danger.

Sir William Percy and the two squires of honor, who were governors of the castle, perceiving how briskly the attacks were made, and that they never cooled nor ceased, were sensible, that, if it thus continued, they could not long resist, and, according to their imagination, no aid was coming to them from any part; for, if they had suspected that a reinforcement was within ten leagues, they would have taken courage, and have held out until they should have been relieved: but, being ignorant of this, they opened a treaty with the constable, to avoid further loss. Sir Bertrand, who had had certain intelligence that before evening he should see or hear of the English, eagerly concluded the negotiation, granting them their lives: on which he made great rejoicings. He then ordered the army to march into the plain, and draw up in order of battle, saying to the chief commanders: "Gentlemen, look to yourselves, for the enemy is advancing, and I hope that we may have a battle before night." Each made ready, upon hearing this, as well for the attack as to defend himself. The English, however, were in no hurry to march further, when they learnt for certain that St. Severe was taken. We will, therefore, speak of what was passing in Poitiers.

At this time there were great dissentions in Poitiers, for three parts of the town wished to turn to the French; but John Regnault, the mayor, and a part of the commonalty, wanted to remain with the English. Notwithstanding this, the richest citizens and the churchmen, of whom there were plenty, would, whatever might be the consequences, have the constable sent for: indeed they secretly advised him to make haste and take possession of the city, for on his approach they would open to him the gates. The constable was much rejoiced, and told it to the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, who determined that he should leave the army with three hundred men-at-arms, mounted on the fleetest coursers they had. They rode that day and the following night, with scarcely any repose, upward of thirty leagues by another road than that the English had taken, and by daybreak arrived at Poitiers. They found the gates ready opened, and their party prepared to receive them. Had they but delayed one half hour, they would have lost the opportunity; for John Regnault and his friends, having learnt the intention of the others, had sent off in great haste to sir John Devereux and lord Thomas Percy, who, with a hundred spears and as many archers, were within one short league of the city.

The barons and knights of Poitou were thunderstruck at the capture of Poitiers, as well as those from Gascony and England, who were collected in Poitou, to the amount of eight hundred lances and four hundred archers. They called a council to consider in what manner they should act, for they saw themselves in great difficulties, and were doubtful in whom they could put confidence. The barons and knights of Poitou therefore, the better to reassure the English, thus addressed them: "Certainly, gentlemen, it is exceedingly disagreeable for us to see the affairs of this country in such a state that we cannot bring any remedy to them; but depend upon it, that as long as we exist, and there shall remain any house or fort in Poitou to receive us, we will always remain steadily and loyally attached to our natural lord the king of England and to you." The English knights replied, "We place our entire confidence in you, and you will find in us companions and friends to death." There were very long debates, when it was at last resolved, that the Poitevins should march off one way, and the English to a different quarter. They parted from each other in the most amicable manner; that is to say, the lord de Partenay, the lords de Thouars and de Roussillon, sir Aimery de la Rochechouart, sir John d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Percival de Coulonge governor of Thouars, Hugh de Brionne, Reginald de Thouars, William de Crupenac, James de Surgeres, and other knights and squires of Poitou, who took the road to Thouars. The English, such as sir John Devereux, lord Thomas Percy, sir Richard de Pontchardon, the earl of Angus, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Matthew Foulkes, sir Thomas Gournay, sir Walter Hewitt, sir John Creswell, and others, took the road to Niort,* which they intended to enter without halting; but, when they arrived there, they found the gates shut and the drawbridge raised, and were told by the inhabitants they should not have admittance. The English lords immediately called a council, and declared such an insult was not to be suffered: they drew up in good array, and attacked the town with great courage, which was defended by the inhabitants: but there was not any gentleman or knight within it to order or lead them, only mechanics, who knew not what it was to make war: so they were conquered by the English. Could they have held out until vespers, they would have been assisted, for the constable had ordered Thibaut du Pons, with two hundred combatants, to reinforce the garrison. They did not, however, arrive in time, for the town was taken by assault, and pillaged, while men and women were promiscuously put to the sword. The English took up their quarters in Niort, waiting for intelligence.

CHAPTER CCCXI.

THE FRENCH MAKE THE CAPTAL DE BUCH PRISONER. LA ROCHELLE TURNS TO THE FRENCH.

During the time the English were in Niort, from whence, in truth, they were afraid of departing, Evan of Wales, in company with the

* "Niort"—a city in Poitou, fifteen leagues from Poitiers.

Spanish Admiral don Roderigo di Rosas, arrived at La Rochelle with fourteen large ships and eight galleys, laden with men-at-arms and provision. They anchored before the town, so that nothing could enter or come out without danger of being taken. Upon which the Rochellers, who were wavering, had a secret interview with Evan and the Spanish admiral; and it was agreed mutually not to hurt each other. The Spaniards and French remained at anchor before La Rochelle; but they had spies in the countries of Poitou and Saintonge, to inform them what was going forward. The governor of La Rochelle was at that time Philip Mansel.

The constable of France still continued in Poitiers, but he sent the lord du Pons, and Thibaut du Pons, with three hundred spears, including every one, to Soubise, a very strong castle situated on the seashore, directly to the mouth of the river Charente, where it disembogues itself into the sea. The lady of Saubise was in the castle, but had not many men-at-arms to garrison it: she therefore directly sent off a squire to John de Grailly, captal de Buch, constable of Aquitaine, to ask for succor, who was at the time in St. Jean d'Angely. He sent orders for sir Henry Haye, séneschal of Angoulême, sir William de Marneil, nephew to the lord Raymond de Marneil, lord Thomas Percy, and sir John Creswell, to come immediately to St. Jean d'Angely.

Evan of Wales was informed of all the particulars of this siege, as well as the assembly of St. Jean d'Angely. He therefore picked out four hundred lances of those most to be depended upon from his whole army, and embarking them on board thirteen barges, set sail with sir James de Montmoy and Morellet his brother. He left the Spanish admiral, with the remainder of the armament before La Rochelle, and arrived undiscovered on the opposite shore to the castle of Saubise, where the lord de Pons was, who knew nothing of this embarkation.

The captal was also ignorant of it, as he was collecting his forces in St. Jean d'Angely; for, had he suspected anything of the sort, he would have had a larger body of men: but he sent back a considerable number, having also left many in St. Jean d'Angely. He marched with only two hundred lances at the utmost, and about night arrived near to the French army and to the castle of Soubise. They dismounted on the outside of a small coppice, to tighten their gloves of mail and regirth their horses. Having remounted, they displayed their banners, dashing among the French with their shouts of war. Many were slain and wounded at this onset, for the French were not on their guard. The lord du Pons and Thibaut du Pons, with sixty of their principal men, were made prisoners, and the rest put to flight.

At this moment, Evan of Wales with his forces advanced, having hastily crossed the Charente, with torches and other lights, for it was exceedingly dark. These four hundred lances, who were determined men and quite fresh, fell upon the English and Gascons, who thought they had accomplished their business. Many were scattered about pillaging, and the knights were attending to their prisoners. They were treated by these new comers very roughly, and in a short time completely defeated. An able squire of Vermandois, called Peter Danvilliers,* advanced and came so near the captal de Buch that he made him his prisoner by a gallant deed of arms. The captal was, at this period, the knight of Gascony attached to England whom the king of France and the Frenchmen wished most to gain, for he was a hardy and enterprising captain. Lord Thomas Percy was also that day made prisoner by a Welsh priest, called David Howel.† Sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Henry Haye, and several other knights and squires were taken likewise. Sir Walter Hewett, sir Petiton de Courton, sir William Farrington and Carmille‡ escaped with great difficulty; they made for the town of Soubise, but would have failed of help if the lady had not been on the walls, who had the gate instantly opened. They entered the place with several others.

On the next morning, Evan of Wales ordered all his barges and boats to be drawn up before Soubise, on which he made a brisk attack. The lord du Pons and sir Thibaut du Pons, who had been rescued, assaulted it on the opposite side. The garrison and town defended themselves valiantly; but the lady called a council of the knights and barons, as the place was not strong, and could not hold for any time: for she did not, in the present state of affairs, expect any succor; and sent them to negotiate with the French. A treaty was made on such terms that the knights who were in the town might retire in safety to Niort, Saintes, Lusignan, or whithersoever they pleased; but the lady of Soubise was to place herself under the obedience of the king of France.

The English departed from Soubise, and were safely escorted wherever they chose to go. The French took possession of the town and received the fealty of the lady, who swore allegiance to the king of France for herself and for her dependencies. Evan of Wales, sir James de Montmoy, and their men, returned to their boats, carrying with them the captal de Buch, and their other prisoners, to the large fleet, which was lying before La Rochelle.

* "Danvilliers." Froissart calls him Pierre Dauchies; but I copy from Villaret's Hist. de France, tom. v. who says that Charles V. gave the squire twelve hundred livres for the ransom of the captal, and cites le Tresor de Chartres for the receipt.

† "David Howel." Villaret calls him David Honnel. I suppose it should be David Howel. In those days, it was common for priests to engage in war, notwithstanding their priesthood.

‡ "Carmille." Q.

The lord du Pons and the Bretons hastened their march toward St. Jean d'Angely, to join the other men-at-arms whom the constable had sent thither. There were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Clisson, de Tournemine, de Beaumanoir, and de Rochefort, sir William des Bourdes, sir Olivier de Mauny, sir Reginald de Limousin, sir Geoffry Ricon, Yvon de Laconnet, Alain de St. Pol, Carsuelle, and several more, who came before the town of St. Jean d'Angely, and made a great show as if they meant to assault it. The inhabitants, seeing the country was lost, and their captain taken, at the same time not expecting succor from any part, surrendered themselves to the French. The Bretons then marched toward Angoulême, which turned to the French, as did Taillebourg. They next advanced to Saintes, where they remained two days and two nights; for the governor, sir William Farrington, said he would not surrender so easily, and made preparations for its defence; but the bishop of the town, who was a Frenchman, worked upon the citizens so far as to induce them to seize the governor, and declare they would put him to death if he would not permit them to surrender. Sir William consented, provided when they treated for themselves they did so for him, and that he should be permitted to march out free. This treaty was accepted, and the French took possession of Saintes and its castle. Sir William Farrington marched out, and was escorted to Bordeaux.

Evan of Wales still lay before La Rochelle in company with the Spanish admiral, don Roderigo de Rosas, with forty large ships, thirteen barges, and eight galleys. There were many negotiations between them and the citizens; but these last could not do anything so long as the castle was in the hands of the English. They waited, therefore, dissembling their intentions, until the English should have drawn off the greater part of the garrison, as they were doing by little and little, and until sir John Devereux had left it under the command of Philip Mansel, who had but a hundred companions one with the other. At this time, a citizen called John Candorier,* mayor of the town, assembled a meeting of those that were more inclined to the French than to the English, and addressed them: "Gentle sirs, we see our neighbors taking part with the French on all sides of us, and we shall soon be so inclosed that we shall not know which way to turn ourselves, nor even to go out of our town. It would therefore be expedient, as the moment seems favorable, to consider in what manner we may be able to gain possession of the castle, which has so much annoyed and vexed us, for the garrison is now much weakened. Philip Mansel is not very crafty. I will therefore tell him I have received orders from the king of England, which command me to arm and muster all the inhabitants of the town in a place which I will name, but that I must know the number of the garrison as well as the townsmen, so that I may be enabled to send him an exact account. I will desire him to march out of the castle, and make his muster before me, which I am persuaded he will do. We will then have provided an ambuscade among the old ruins, on the outside of the castle, of two hundred companions, who, when the garrison have marched out, shall post themselves between them and the draw-bridge, which will have been let down. We will also have a sufficient force elsewhere, who must advance in their front and make them prisoners; by which we shall take both castle and garrison, if you, gentlemen, approve of my plan." They all replied in the affirmative, and adopted it, appointing the mayor captain of the enterprise.

The mayor, shortly afterwards, sent to invite the governor to a grand entertainment, where he met most of the principal inhabitants that were in the plot. The conversation ran chiefly on the king of England and his affairs; during which a large packet was brought to the mayor, sealed with the great seal of England, the better to impose on Philip Mansel, who could not read, but knew well the seal. The mayor read aloud this letter, putting such words in it as suited his purpose, but which were not written. He then addressed his guest: "Governor, you see and hear what the king our lord's commands are to you and me. You must make your muster to-morrow, as we will do ours." The governor, who but too well believed all he had heard, said he would willingly obey, and with this he took his leave. During the course of the night, the mayor chose two hundred men, whom he well armed, and before day placed them in ambush among the old walls on the outside of the castle. After nine o'clock the mayor ordered the bells to ring, and the townsmen to arm themselves. Soon after, Philip Mansel armed his garrison, of sixty able men, and fit to defend the place. They marched out of the castle; but when they had passed the draw-bridge, the men who formed the ambuscade sallied forth, and posted themselves between the English and the gate.

The garrison now saw they were betrayed, and marched toward the ambuscade in hopes of regaining the entrance of the castle; but at this moment the mayor advanced, with upward of two thousand of the inhabitants, so that the English, being attacked in front and rear, were all made prisoners: they surrendered, on having their lives saved. The castle was not yet taken; for the English had left twelve of their men within, who had strongly closed the gate. The mayor then came up to the governor and his men, and said, "Gentlemen, attend to what I say: if you do not immediately give orders for the castle to surrender, you may be assured we will have you all beheaded at the foot of this bridge." The English replied they would

* "Candorier." He was called Chaudron before.

willingly do all in their power, and held several parleys with those of the castle. It was agreed on all sides, that those who had been made prisoners and the remainder in the castle should be embarked on board a ship, and conducted by the mayor and burgesses to Bordeaux. Thus did the Rochellers win their castle.

When the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, the marshal de Sancerre, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Sully, du Pons, de Clisson, de Beaumanoir, and the other barons and knights of France were informed of it, they quitted Berry, Anjou and Limousin, where they had made their quarters, and took the direct road for Poitiers, where the constable resided. In their march, these lords took a town in Poitou called St. Maixant,* which surrendered as soon as they came before it. The castle was taken by assault, and all in it put to the sword. They afterwards took the castle of Merle, the castle of Aunay, and several other forts in their road. When they were arrived at Poitiers, they sent messengers to treat with the Rochellers, but they would not open their gates to them. They told the messengers, that the inhabitants would not surrender themselves in so easy a manner; but that if the duke of Berry and the before-mentioned lords were willing to agree, within six days, to send them passports to come to Poitiers, they would then declare to them their intentions, and fully explain what they meant to do. The messengers returned, and told what the inhabitants had said. Passports were granted, and some of the burgesses came to Poitiers, when they declared to the lords that it was their intention to place themselves under the obedience of the king of France; but that they would not allow of any castle, and the present one must be razed to the ground: that it should be declared, under the king's seal, that no other should be erected: that the town of La Rochelle, and country dependent on it, should remain for ever as the particular domain, and under the jurisdiction, of the kings of France, and that it should never be severed from it by marriage, peace, or by any other means, whatever fortune may befal the kingdom of France; that the town should be allowed a mint, with liberty to coin florins, and black and white money, with the same alloy and form as those of Paris. The French lords would not agree to these terms until the king had considered them; and they gave the Rochellers passports to wait on him at Paris.

Twelve burgesses went to the king, who granted them everything they had asked. He entertained them handsomely, and gave them several rich jewels. When they returned to La Rochelle, they displayed their charters, which were sealed with the king's seal, and had been confirmed in the parliament of the king and his peers. They immediately began to demolish and raze to the ground the large and strong castle of La Rochelle. They then sent to inform the lords who were at Poitiers, that if they would come thither the gates would be open to them. The constable of France went with only two hundred men-at-arms. They received him with great joy, and did to him their homage and fealty as to the king of France; for he showed them a lawful commission from the king, which constituted him his representative in all those parts of the realm.

CHAPTER CCCXII.

SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN TAKES SEVERAL CASTLES IN THE ROCHELLOIS. THE KING OF ENGLAND EMBARKS TO COME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THOUARS, BUT IS PREVENTED BY CONTRARY WINDS: UPON WHICH THOSE OF THOUARS, AND MANY OTHERS IN POITOU, SURRENDER TO THE FRENCH.

When sir Bertrand du Guesclin had resided four days in La Rochelle, and had pointed out to the inhabitants in what manner they should support and demean themselves henceforward, he set out on his return to the lords he had left at Poitiers, whom he instantly marched off to conquer other strong places in Poitou. They were full three thousand lances. On their departure from Poitiers, they laid siege to the castle of Benon,† and declared they would not leave it until it had changed masters. A squire from the county of Foix, named William de Pau, was governor of the place, under the captal de Buch: he had with him a Neapolitan knight, called sir James, but without any surname. Many violent assaults were made, which were well repulsed by the garrison.

Not far distant was the town of Surgeres,‡ which was garrisoned with English, by orders of the captal, then a prisoner, who said one evening they would beat up the French quarters. They therefore marched out, according to an agreement with those of Marans,§ and mustered in the whole about forty lances: they fell upon the quarters of the constable of France, wounded many, and particularly slew one of his own squires. The army were roused, and the French collected together as fast as they could; but the English, who had performed all they intended, reëntered their fortresses unhurt. The constable was so enraged at this, that he swore he would never quit the spot where he was without conquering the castle of Benon, and putting to death all within it. He gave orders that very morning for every one to be ready for the assault, and had large machines brought, so that for a long time such an attack had not been seen. The men-at-arms and the Bretons did not spare themselves: they entered the ditches with shields on their heads, and advanced to the foot of the walls with pick-axes and iron-crows, with which they worked so effectually that a large breach was made, through which they might easily enter. The castle was taken, and all within put to the sword. The constable had it repaired and new garrisoned. He then advanced toward Marans, the garrison of which surrendered on having their lives and properties saved. He next came to Surgeres, which also put itself under the obedience of the king of France; for the English garrison had gone away, being afraid to wait the arrival of the constable. He marched after this to the castle of Fontenay le Comte,* where the lady of sir John Harpedon resided. He assaulted both town and castle frequently: at last, the garrison left it on capitulation, and retreated to Thouars with the lady, under passports from the constable. The French therefore took possession of the castle and town, and halted there to rest themselves.

Sir Bertrand and the lords of France marched to besiege Thouars, whither the greater part of the knights of Poitou had retired, namely, the viscount de Thouars, the lords de Partenay, de Pousanges, de Cors, de Crupignac, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir James de Surgeres, sir Percival de Coulogne. They had caused to be made at Poitiers and at la Rochelle large machines and cannons, with which they much harassed these lords of Poitou in Thouars; who, having mutually considered their situation, proposed a treaty, the terms of which were, that there should be a truce for them and all that belonged to them until Michaelmas ensuing 1372: during which time, they should let the king of England, their lord, know the state of the town and country: and if, within that period, they were not succored by the king of England or some of his children, they were, for themselves and their territories, to swear obedience to the king of France. When the treaty was agreed to, some of the knights returned to Paris. The captal de Buch was conducted thither, and imprisoned, under a good guard, in one of the towers of the Temple. The king was so much pleased with this prize, that he gave to the squire that had taken him twelve hundred francs.

The messengers from the lords of Poitou arrived in England, to acquaint the king, the prince of Wales (who at that time had pretty well recovered his health) and the council with the situation of Poitou and Saintonge. The king, learning that he was thus losing all the territories which had cost him so much to conquer, remained pensive and silent: at last he said, that in a very short time he would go to that country with such a powerful force as would enable him to wait for the army of the king of France, and never return to England before he had regained all that had been conquered from him, or lose what remained.

At this period, the army under the command of the duke of Lancaster was completed. It was very numerous, and had been ordered to Calais; but the king and council changed its destination, having determined it should go to Poitou, Saintonge and La Rochelle, as being the places where the business was the most pressing. The king of England issued a special summons throughout the realm, ordering all persons capable of bearing arms to come properly equipped to Southampton and its neighborhood by a certain day, when they were to embark. None either wished or dared to disobey the command, so that numbers of men-at-arms and archers of all sorts marched toward the sea-coast, where there were about four hundred vessels of different sizes ready to receive them. The principal nobility waited on the king and his family, who resided at Westminster. It had been settled between the king and prince, that if either of them should die in this expedition, the son of the prince, named Richard, born at Bordeaux, should succeed to the crown. When therefore all the nobles were assembled about the king before his departure, the prince caused them to acknowledge, that in case he should die before his father, his son should succeed as king of England after the decease of his grandfather. The earls, barons, knights and commonalty of the country were so much attached to the prince for his gallantry at home and abroad, that they cheerfully assented to his request; the king first, then his children, and afterwards the lords of England. The prince put them upon their oath, and made them sign and seal to observe this arrangement before they separated.

Matters being thus settled, the king, the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge, Salisbury, Warwick, Arundel, Suffolk and Stafford, the lord Despencer (who was but lately returned from Lombardy,) the lords Percy, Neville, Roos, de la Warre, and all the principal barons of England, with about three thousand lances and ten thousand archers,† arrived at Southampton, when they embarked on board the fleet, which was the largest that ever a king of England sailed with on any expedition whatever. They steered for La Rochelle, coasting Normandy and Brittany, and had various winds. The king of France, in the meantime, was collecting a great army in Poitou, to maintain his pretensions to Thouars: so that the whole country was full of soldiers. The Gascons, on the other hand, were as actively employed in raising men under the command of the lord Archibald de Grailly, uncle to the captal de Buch, who had come forward at the entreaties of sir Thomas Felton, sénéschal of Bordeaux: they amounted to full three hundred spears. In this number were the lords de Duras, de Courton, de Mucident, de Rosen,

* "St. Maixant"—in the road between Saintes and Poitiers, fifteen leagues from the latter.

† "Benon"—a small town in Aunis, diocese of La Rochelle.

‡ "Surgeres"—a town in Aunis, six leagues from La Rochelle.

§ "Marans"—a town in Aunis, six leagues from La Rochelle.

* "Fontenay le Comte"—a city in La Vendee, bishopric of La Rochelle.

† My MS. says, "four thousand men-at-arms and twenty thousand archers."

de Langoren, and de Landuras, sir Peter de Landuras, sir Peter de Courton, and sir William Farrington, an Englishman.

This body of men left Bordeaux, and advanced to Niort, where they found sir Walter Hewett, sir John Devereux, sir Thomas Gournay, sir John Cresswell, and several others. When they were assembled, they amounted to about twelve hundred combatants. Sir Richard de Pontchardon arrived there also, and brought with him twelve hundred more. The king of England and his children, with his large army, were beaten about on the sea, and could not land at La Rochelle, nor anywhere near it, for wind and weather were against them. They remained in this situation for nine weeks; and Michaelmas was so near at hand that he found it was not possible for him to keep his engagement with the Poitevin lords in Thouars. He was severely disappointed at this, and disbanded his troops to go whither they wished. The king, on his return, said of the king of France, "that there never was a king who had armed himself so little, nor one who had given him so much embarrassment." Thus did this large fleet steer to England, when it had as favorable a gale as could be wished. After they were disbanded, there arrived at Bordeaux upward of two hundred merchant ships for wines.

When Michaelmas was nearly arrived, the barons of England and Gascony, who had advanced to Niort in order to attend the king of England at Thouars, were very much surprised that they heard not any tidings of him. In order, therefore, to acquit themselves, they sent messengers to the Poitevin lords in Thouars, who said to them: "Very dear lords, we are sent hither by the lords of Gascony in the dependence of the king of England, and by those English lords now in company with them, who have desired us to inform you, that they have collected all their forces, which may amount to about twelve hundred fighting men,* ready and willing to serve you. They entreat you to inform them, if, in the absence of the king of England and his children, they can assist you, and if the relief may now be accepted; for they are eager to adventure their lives and fortunes in your company." The barons of Poitou replied: "We will call a council on what you have said; and we return our kind thanks to the barons of Gascony and England for sending to us, and for being so well prepared and willing to assist us."

The knights of Poitou assembled; but at the first meeting they could not agree on any determination, for the lord de Partenay, who was one of the principal barons, was desirous they should defend themselves, as if the king of England had been present; but others maintained, that they had given under their seals a declaration, that if neither the king of England nor any of his children were present, they would surrender themselves to the obedience of the king of France. The lord de Partenay returned to his hôtel in a very ill humor; but he was afterwards so much talked to that he consented to agree with the others. They therefore sent word, that according to their treaty, it was absolutely necessary for the king of England or one of his sons to be present. The English and Gascons at Niort were much vexed on hearing this, but they could not prevent it.

The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, the constable of France, the lord de Clisson, the viscount de Rohan, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lord Louis de Sancerre, the lord de Sully, and the barons of France: in all, about ten thousand lances, without reckoning the others, advanced from Poitiers, and drew up in battle-array before Thouars the eve of Michaelmas-day, and also on the feast-day until evening, when they retired to their quarters. On the morrow, the two brothers of the king of France and the constable sent to the knights of Poitou in Thouars, to remind them of what they had sworn and sealed. They returned for answer, that they should very soon retire to Poitiers, when they would put themselves and their dependencies under the obedience of the king of France. The lords of France, satisfied with this answer, departed from before Thouars; and the dukes disbanded the greater part of their men.

On this separation, the lord de Clisson, with a large body of men-at-arms, of whom the constable had given him the command, came before Mortaigne-sur-mer, which at that time was attached to the English. An English squire, called James Clerk, was governor of the place, and might have had with him sixty companions. When the lord de Clisson came before Mortaigne, he assaulted it very vigorously: but, though he did not spare himself on the occasion, he gained nothing; upon which he retreated to his quarters. The governor, who found he should be hard pushed, sent off secretly to those knights of Gascony and England who were at Niort, to desire they would come that night to Mortaigne; that he would lodge them in his hôtel; and that they might easily pass through the quarters of the French forces, who were but two hundred fighting men. These lords set out from Niort, with five hundred lances, and rode all night to arrive at Mortaigne, for they had a great desire to catch the lord de Clisson. But a spy, who had left Niort with them, having overheard some part of their intentions, made as much haste as possible to the lord de Clisson, whom he found sitting at his supper. He informed him that the enemy had marched from Niort with five hundred combatants, and were advancing fast toward him. Upon hearing this, the lord de Clisson pushed the table from before him, and hastily armed himself. He mounted his steed, and set off suddenly, with all his men, leaving the greater part of what belonged to them on the field. He never stopped until he arrived at Poitiers. The English were much vexed at their disappointment. They returned to Niort, where they left in garrison sir John Devereux, the earl of Angus and Cresswell. Sir Walter Hewett went to England. All the others went back to Bordeaux, burning in their way the whole territories of the lord de Partenay.

Thus was all Poitou conquered, except the fortresses of Niort, Eliseth, Mortemer, Mortaigne, Lusignan, Chastel-Accart,* La Roche-sur-Yon, Gauzar, La Tour de l'Arbre, Merxis and others. These castles, however, held out, and made frequent inroads and attacks on their neighbors; sometimes invading, at other times chased back again.

CHAPTER CCCXIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DARES NOT OPENLY DECLARE FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND. SIR BETRAND DU GUESCLIN LAYS SIEGE TO CIVRAY.† THE ENGLISH ARE DEFEATED, AND THE WHOLE OF THE COUNTRIES OF POITOU, SAINTONGE, AND LA ROCHELLE, ARE GIVEN UP TO THE FRENCH.

The duke of Brittany, who remained peaceably in his duchy, was much hurt at the losses of the English; for he said, such as he was the king of England and his power had made him, as he never should have been anything of himself: that he owed all to the English king, who had made war in his behalf, had lent him large sums of money, and had given to him his daughter in marriage, he would therefore have been happy to have added Brittany as an ally of England: but all the barons, knights, and squires of that country were too much attached to the French, particularly the lords de Clisson, de Laval, and the viscount de Rohan, who at that time were the greatest lords in Brittany. They addressed the duke in these words: "Dear lord, as soon as we shall clearly perceive that you take any part with the king of England against the king of France, our sovereign lord, we will all quit you and the country of Brittany." The duke could but ill disguise his anger: however, he only said, "they did great wrong to the king of England." He now began to open himself more, and to discover his sentiments to others of the lords of Brittany.

The king of France, who had gained over to him all the principal persons in that country except sir Robert Knolles, had besought them to inform him whenever they found the duke acting contrary to their wishes, assuring them he would provide a remedy. The duke saw that he was not only suspected, but narrowly watched; which alarmed him lest they should seize his person, and send him to Paris. He therefore signified to the king of England his situation, and entreated him to send men-at-arms to assist him if there should be any occasion. The king ordered thither four hundred men-at-arms and as many archers, under the command of lord Neville, who arrived at St. Mathieu Fin de Terre,‡ where they remained all the winter, without doing any damage to the country, paying for everything they had; for the duke, on account of the suspicions of his nobles, did not choose to put them into any of his castles. When the knights of Brittany saw the English thus come to the assistance of the duke, they were indignant, and shut up their own castles, showing much ill-will against the duke. Things remained in this doubtful manner all the winter.

As soon as the season permitted, sir Bertrand du Guesclin marched from Poitiers with full fourteen hundred combatants, and laid siege to the town and castle of Civray. There were with him, of Breton knights, sir Alain de Beaumanoir, John de Beaumanoir, Arnoul Limousin, Geoffry Ricon, Yvon de Laconnet, Geoffry de Kerimel, with many other knights and squires. They fixed their quarters before Civray, and surrounded them with palisadoes to prevent being surprised in the night. Frequently the most expert of them advanced to make trials of skill with those of the castle, who defended themselves valiantly. During the siege, sir Robert Micon, and Nicotin l'Escot,§ the governors of Civray, sent intelligence of their situation to sir John Devereux and the earl of Angus, who were in garrison at Niort. They instantly ordered the garrisons from Lusignan and Gouzar to march to Niort, when they amounted all together to six or seven hundred good men-at-arms, well equipped, without counting the pillagers. They advanced until they came near to Civray, which is but four leagues from Niort; when they halted sometime to arrange themselves, but it had been better for them had they proceeded to the quarters of the constable.‖

News was brought to him of the arrival of the English, while they were forming themselves in the plain. He was not any way alarmed at it, but ordered his men to arm without making any delay, and to march out in a body. When he saw them all assembled, he said

* All the printed copies and MSS. except the one I have lately quoted, have 1200. In the preceding page, Froissart says 1200 men came to Niort with sir John Devereux, &c and that sir Richard de Pontchardon brought 1200 *more*. They ought, therefore, to have been 2400. My MS. nearly reconciles this by saying, that, "the herald Chandos, who carried the message to the knights in Thouars, informed them his lords were assembled in Niort with 1200 lances, English and Gascons, and about 2000 archers and lusty varlets."

* Châtel l'Archer—a village in Poitou.

† "Civray"—a town in Poitou, on the Charente, ten leagues from Poitiers,

‡ St. Mathieu Fin de Terre, or St. Mahé, is a village in Brittany, diocese of St. Pol de Leon. Froissart calls it St. Mathieu de Fine Pôterne.

§ "Sir Robert Micon and Nicotin l'Escot." My MSS. have sir Robert Miton and sir Martin Scott.

‖ The historian of Brittany says, they there intoxicated themselves.

to them; "My good gentlemen, what hearts have you for a battle? I fancy we must engage our enemies." They replied: "My lord, we are very wishing to do so, thanks to God." The constable then ordered an ambuscade to be formed, of two hundred combatants, near to the castle: for he judged the garrison would of course make a sally. He then commanded the greater part of the palisadoes to be levelled to the ground, that there might not be any hindrance when he should march out, and drew up his forces in two battalions. Sir Alain de Beamont commanded one, and sir Geoffry de Marncil* the other. It was strictly forbidden for any one to advance before his banner until ordered, and he was to remain till then quietly in his rank.

We will now return to sir Robert Miton and sir Martin Scott, who, from the heights of the castle saw the English in the plain drawn up in battle-array. They said, "Let us make ready to quit the castle, for we can easily pass through these Bretons; and when our friends shall see we are engaged, they will come to our help, and we may do much mischief before they will be prepared to defend themselves or suspect our intent." About sixty combatants that were to make this sally armed themselves, who, when ready, sallied forth on horseback to skirmish with the enemy; but they were attacked by the ambuscade which had been laid for them. Hard indeed was the fight, but the English were so surrounded that they could neither advance nor retreat: they were all slain or made prisoners, not one escaping: the two governors were also taken.

The English remained in battle-array in the plain, and the constable of France in his quarters: for he imagined that the English had placed a large ambuscade in a coppice on his rear. The English had brought with them a rout of pillaging Poitevins and Bretons, amounting to about two hundred, whom they sent forward to skirmish with the French. As soon as these pillagers came opposite to the battalion of the lord constable, they declared themselves loyal Frenchmen, and, if he pleased, would serve under him. The constable immediately assented, commanding them to wheel on one side, when he learnt from them the arrangement of the English force, and that there was not any ambuscade. On hearing this, the constable was more easy than before; and having ordered his men to form, he advanced with his banner, marching on the wing of the two battalions. They had dismounted, and pushed toward the palisadoes, which they had allowed to remain standing, every one shouting, "Notre Dame Guesclin!"

The English on seeing them issue out of their fort, drew up also on foot, and advanced with great alacrity. Their first onset was against the battalion of the constable, which was fierce and desperate. The English drove quite through this battalion, and overthrew many. But the Bretons had wisely drawn up their army: there were two battalions on the wing, who, being quite fresh, followed the constable, and, falling upon the English who were tired, beat them most dreadfully. They, however, like men of courage, turned about, without shrinking from their ill fortune, and combated most valiantly with the arms they had, such as battle-axes and swords of Bordeaux, with which they dealt many hard blows. Several excellent knights of each side adventured boldly, to exalt their renown. This battle was as well fought, as many gallant deeds performed, and as many captures and rescues took place as had been seen for a long time in all that country; for both armies were on foot, on a plain, without advantage to either. Each labored to perform his duty well, and many were slain outright or desperately wounded. In short, all the English who had marched thither were so completely discomfited that not one escaped death or captivity. Two good squires were there slain, Richard Neville and William Worsley; James Willoughby was very badly wounded. Sir John Devereux, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, David Holgrave, Richard Oliver, John Cresswell, and many others from England and Poitou, were made prisoners. This battle of Civray happened on the 20th day of March, 1373.

The constable and his army returned to their quarters, where they cleaned and refreshed themselves, and attended to the wounded and prisoners, of whom they had great numbers. The constable then sent sir Alain de Beaumont to hold a parley with the garrison, who told them, that if they suffered themselves to be taken by assault, they would all be put to the sword without mercy. Upon this, the garrison surrendered to the constable, who allowed them to leave the place and march to Bordeaux, with a passport from him. The French gained this castle and territory, which submitted to the obedience of the king of France. The Bretons advanced eagerly toward Niort, which is a handsome town in Poitou, and had always supported the interest of the English, who had kept there a very large garrison. As soon as the inhabitants of Niort heard the constable was marching thither, they went out to meet him, and, presenting him the keys of the town, conducted him and all his men into it with great rejoicings.† The Bretons remained there four days to recover themselves, when they departed in great array, with about fourteen hundred lances, for Lusignan,* which surrendered upon condition the garrison should march out unhurt, carrying away all they were able, and with a passport for the constable to conduct them to Bordeaux. The French gained this castle, which was very grand and handsome, and all the lordship dependent on it, whose vassals became liege men to the king of France.

After this, the Bretons marched to Châtel l'Archer, when the constable sent immediately to the lady de Plainmartin, who was the wife of sir Guiscard d'Angle, and resided in it. She entreated he would grant her an escort, that she might speak with the duke of Berry at Poitiers. The constable complied with her request, and ordered one of his knights to conduct her. When she came before the duke, she prostrated herself to the ground. The duke caused her to rise, and demanded what she wished to say: "My lord," replied she, "I am summoned by the constable to put myself and my lands under the obedience of the king of France. You know well, my lord, that my husband is now lying a prisoner in Spain: his lands, therefore, are under my direction. I am but a weak woman, and cannot dispose of my husband's property as I please; for, if by accident I should do anything contrary to what he would have wished, he will be angered and blame me for it. However, to satisfy you, and to keep my lands in peace, I offer you a composition for me and mine, on these terms: that no war shall be made on us, nor will we engage in any offensive or defensive war. When my lord shall have gained his liberty and be returned to England, whither I suppose he will retire, I will inform him of the terms of this composition, and whatever answer he shall return to me, the same I will forward to you." "Lady," answered the duke, "I grant it on condition that neither for yourself, nor castles, nor fortresses, you lay in a greater stock of provision, artillery, or men-at-arms than are now within them." The lady returned to Châtel l'Archer, when the siege was raised; for she showed the agreement made with the duke of Berry.

This army of Bretons, of which the constable was the leader, departed, and came before Mortemer. The lady de Mortemer surrendered herself and lands to the obedience of the king of France. She gave up also the castle of Didonne,† which belonged to her. Thus was all Poitou, Saintonge, and La Rochelle freed and delivered from the English. When the constable had placed sufficient garrisons everywhere, and found nothing rebellious, as far as the river Gironde, he returned to Paris. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, with the greater part of the barons of France who had been concerned in these conquests, had already arrived there. The king had entertained them most handsomely on their return; but this was nothing to the honors that were shown sir Bertrand du Guesclin when he came to Paris: the king did not think he could sufficiently testify his regard and esteem for him, and detained him constantly about his person at Paris and elsewhere.

CHAPTER CCCXIV.

THE SIEGE OF BECHEREL.‡ PEACE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE. THE DEATH OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND.

About this time, the lords de Clisson, de Laval, d'Avangour, de Tournemine, de Rieux, de Rochefort, the viscount de Rohan, sir Charles de Dinan, banneret of Brittany, the marshal de Blainville, the lords de Bambie, de Ruille, de Fonteville, de Granville, de Farmille, de Denneval, and de Cleres, bannerets of Normandy, with many others from Normandy and Brittany, laid siege to the strong castle of Becherel, and pressed it hard by their assaults. There were in this castle two able captains from England, sir John Appleyard and sir John Cornewall, who, with their companions, bravely defended themselves: and at this time there were various gallant deeds, sallies, skirmishes, and rescues, performed before Becherel. Not far distant was the town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte; in which were, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Aleyne Boxhull, sir Philip Pechard, and the three brothers Maulevrier; so that, before the siege of Becherel, these two garrisons overran all lower Normandy, and nothing could escape, but what was inclosed in forts, from being taken and carried to one or other of these towns. They ransomed the bishoprics of Bayeux and Evreux, in which the king of Navarre had connived, and reinforced them with men and provisions from the garrisons he held in the county of Evreux.

He was not in good humor with the king of France; inasmuch as the garrisons of Cherbourg, Cocherel, Conches, Breteuil, Evreux, and several others dependent on the king of Navarre, had much impoverished and ruined the country of Normandy. However, about this period, the differences were accommodated between the two kings, and treaties entered into, through the mediation of the count de Saltzbourg, who had made many visits to each party, and the bishop of Evreux. The two kings met in an amicable manner in the castle of Vernon, when they swore, in the presence of several of the great lords of France, peace, love, amity, and alliance henceforward for ever. The king of Navarre accompanied the king of France to

* "Marneil." The different editions have a variety of names for this person. I have followed the oldest MS. I have, which, from its writing, seems to be of the same age with Froissart: but I should rather suppose it ought to be sir Geoffry de Kernael, as he is particularly mentioned before.

† Niort is said to have been gained by a stratagem. After the defeat at Civray, the constable ordered his knights to dress themselves in the emblazoned surcoats of his prisoners, which caused the garrison at Niort to open their gates, believing them the English knights returning victorious from Civray.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

* "Lusignan"—a town in Poitou, twelve leagues from Niort.

† "Didonne"—or St. Georges de Diodonne—a small town in Saintonge. I believe it was a dependency of the sandjch de Trane.—See Asumoie.

‡ Becherel—a town in Brittany, two leagues from St. Malo.

Paris, who showed him and his companions all manner of respect. The king of Navarre put his territories in Normandy under the government of his brother-in-law the king of France, and left his two sons, Charles and Peter, with the king their uncle. He then affectionately took his leave, and returned to Navarre.

This peace continued for four years; but then great dissensions arose between them, as you will hear in the course of this history, if I should live to finish it: I do not think, however, that it will be concluded in this book.

The 7th of May, 1373, king David of Scotland departed this life in the city of Edinburgh, and was buried in the abbey of Dunfermline, beside Robert the Bruce his father. He left behind him neither male nor female offspring, and was succeeded by his own nephew, Robert the Stewart of Scotland, who was a fine knight, and had eleven sons.*

CHAPTER CCCXV.

THE EARL OF SALISBURY, SIR WILLIAM NEVILLE, SIR PHILIP COURTENAY, WITH MANY OTHER MEN-AT-ARMS, LAND IN BRITTANY. THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE MARCHES THITHER; ON WHICH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY GOES TO ENGLAND.

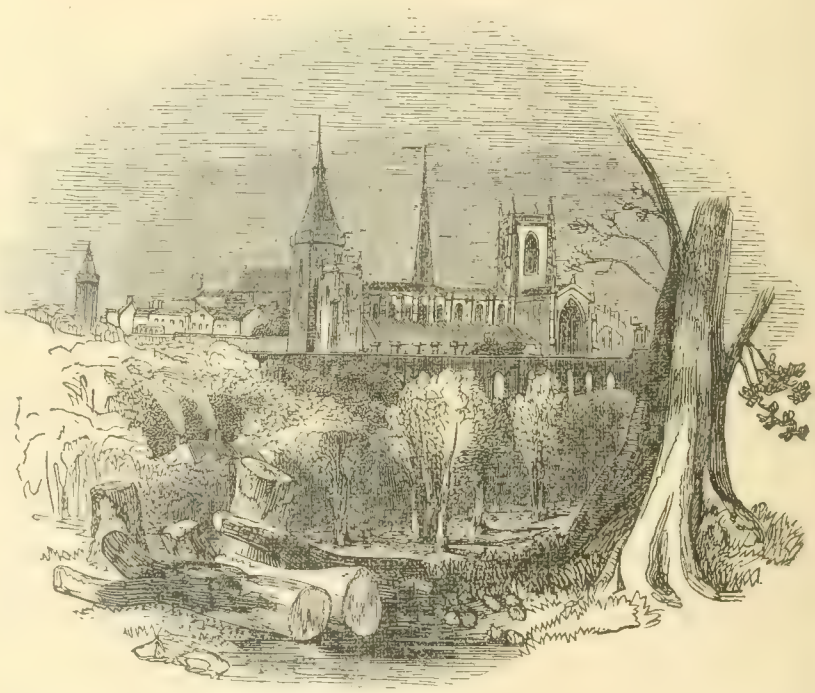
Orders were given in England for the earl of Salisbury, sir William Neville, and sir Philip Courtenay, to put to sea with a large body of men-at-arms, to guard the coasts; for it was reported that the Spaniards and Evan of Wales were on the seas, with six thousand men, to burn the country. These lords had under their command forty large ships, without counting sloops, and two thousand men-at-arms, not including archers. They set sail from Cornwall, where they had embarked for the coasts of Brittany, and, arriving at St. Malo, burnt in the harbor seven large Spanish ships that were lying there. The country was much surprised at this, and said the duke had sent them orders to come thither: they began to suspect his intentions more than ever, and strengthened all their towns, castles, and cities.

The duke had placed his confidence in some of the knights of Brittany, who had betrayed his secret, so that the king of France ordered his constable to invade Brittany with a large body of men-at-arms, and to take possession for him of all cities, towns, castles, and fortresses, as well as such persons whom he should find in rebellion, and confiscate their property. The constable marched from Paris to Angers, and from thence issued his summons. He was there joined by the duke de Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the viscounts de Meaux and d'Ausnay, sir Raoul de Coucy, Robert de St. Pol, Raoual de Raineval, Louis de Sancerre marshal of France, with numbers of barons and knights from the countries of Vermandois, Artois, and Picardy, without counting those from Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine.

The earl of Salisbury, who was at St. Malo with his army, was informed of this assembly of men-at-arms, and also that the whole of Brittany was in opposition to the duke. He set sail with his fleet, and bore away until he came to Brest, which has one of the strongest castles in the world. When the duke of Brittany heard of the march of the constable, he was afraid of trusting himself to the inhabitants of Vannes or Dinan, or indeed to any of his principal towns: he thought if he should shut himself up in any one of them, he would run great risks. He went, therefore, to the castle of Auray, which is situated between Vannes and Rennes, and was attached to him; for he had given the command of it to an English knight called sir John Austin. The duke left his lady under the care of this knight, entreating him to guard her well, which he promised to do. After this, he rode to St. Mahé; but they shut the gates against him: from thence he went to Concarneau,† where he embarked for England.

* Lord Hailes, in his Annals, says: "David II. died 22nd February, 1370-1, in the castle of Edinburgh, in the 47th year of his age, and the 42nd of his reign. He was buried in the church of the abbey of Holyrood, before the great altar."

† "Concarneau"—a seaport in Brittany, about four leagues from Quimper.



Dunfermline Abbey, the Burial Place of Robert Bruce and the early Kings of Scotland. From an Original Drawing.

The constable of France entered Brittany, attended by those barons and knights of the country who had been at the siege of Becherel, they having left the continuance of it to the knights and lords of Normandy. On the arrival of the constable before Rennes, the inhabitants knew that his visit was to take possession of the whole country; for the king and his council had published a declaration that the duke had forfeited it, because he had surrendered to the English different towns, castles, and forts, and had even wished to take part with the king of England against the crown of France, from which he held his duchy by faith and homage. They were unwilling to incur the horrors of war, and received the constable in a peaceful manner, acknowledging the king of France for their lord. After the constable had gained possession of Rennes, he hastened to Dinan, which surrendered to the obedience of the king of France. He next advanced to Vannes, which did the same. Luzumont,* however, held out for the duke; it was roughly assaulted and taken by storm, so that all within were put to death. The constable marched to Jugon, which accepted the terms of the king of France; as did also the castle of Guy la Forêt, la Roche-derrien, the towns of Guingamp, St. Mahé, and St. Malo. In like manner did Quimpercorentin, Quimperlé, Credo, Galande, as well as several other fortresses in the neighborhood, turn to the French. The constable marched first through lower Brittany, because it was more attached to duke John de Montfort than the upper parts.

When the duke of Brittany embarked for England, he nominated sir Robert Knolles governor of the duchy, but very few lords obeyed him. He, however, sufficiently reinforced his castle of Derval with men, and, having provided it with every necessary, gave the command of it to his cousin Hugh Brock. Sir Robert shut himself up in Brest.

The constable came before Hennebon: the governor was an English squire, called Thomelin Ubich,† nominated by the duke. There was also with him in the castle a knight named sir Thomas Prior, who had been sent thither by sir Robert Knolles; and their garrisons might consist of about fourscore men, without counting the inhabitants of the town. The French, on their arrival, began to make a violent attack on the castle: they always carried with them many large engines and cannons, by means of which they had taken several towns, castles, and forts in Brittany: in particular, they had stormed the town of Quimperlé, of which James Ross, a valiant squire of England, was governor. He could obtain no quarter, for he fell into the hands of sir Oliver de Clisson, who slew him and several others with his own hand: he had no mercy nor pity on any Englishman.

Let us return to the siege of Hennebon. The constable of France, after he had pointed his engines and cannon against the walls of the town and castle, which the lord Charles de Blois could never conquer, ordered all the men-at-arms to make a brisk assault, for he had

* Probably Sucinio—a castle near Vannes, which was taken by assault, and the garrison slain.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

† "Thomelin Ubich." Q. Wich, or Holbeck. Barnes calls him Thomas Wien

resolved to sup in the place that evening. They made a most fierce attack, without sparing themselves; and the inhabitants, assisted by the English, made as gallant a defence. Upon this, the constable called out to them, saying: "Attend to me, you men of Hennebon: it is quite certain we must conquer you, and that we will sup in your town this evening: if, therefore, any of you be bold enough to throw a stone, arrow, or by any means hurt the smallest of our boys so that he be wounded, I vow to God I will have you all put to death." These words so much frightened the inhabitants that they retired to their houses, leaving the English to defend the place as well as they could: but the town was too large for them to guard every part of it, so that the army of the constable entered, and put all the English to death except the two captains, whom they made prisoners. Because the townsmen had obeyed the constable, he commanded that no one, when they stormed the place, should dare any way to injure them. When sir Bertrand du Guesclin had thus won the town and strong castle of Hennebon in Brittany, he remained there for fifteen days, and then marched toward Concarneau.

In the mean while, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Neville, sir Brian Stapleton, and sir William Lucy, having reinforced and revictualled the fort of Brest with men-at-arms, archers, and provisions, had embarked on board their ships in order the better to defend it against the French, whom the English knew to be in Brittany, but were uncertain to what quarter the constable would lead them. The constable on coming before Concarneau, which is a sea-port, took it by storm, and slew all the English except their captain, sir John Langley, who received quarter. The French repaired the town, and strengthened it with men-at-arms and all sorts of provision. They then advanced to Brest, in which were sir Robert Knolles, with two hundred men-at-arms, and as many archers.

The lords of France and Brittany laid siege to Brest: they had with them about six thousand combatants. Shortly after they had commenced this siege, the duke of Anjou sent for sir Oliver de Clisson, who had under his command some of his men, to come and lay siege to la Roche-sur-Yon, which the English still held. Sir Oliver surrounded the place, and pointed against it large engines, which he had brought from Angers and Poitiers. In company with these Bretons came several nobles and gentlemen of Poitou and Anjou: they kept up a sharp attack, and pressed hard the garrison of la Roche-sur-Yon, saying they would never leave the place before they had conquered it. The duke of Anjou returned to his own country, but frequently sent provision and other articles to those who were carrying on the siege. The constable, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and de Perigord, the dauphin d'Auvergne, and the great barons of France still maintained the siege of Brest; but too little did they gain, for it is one of the strongest castles in the world. As sir Robert Knolles was the governor, the lords of France resolved to send a body of men to invest his castle of Derval. Many noblemen of Brittany and of Touraine went on this expedition: they were, in the whole, about four hundred fighting men.

CHAPTER CCCXVI.

THE FRENCH BESIEGE FOUR DIFFERENT PLACES. LA ROCHE-SUR-YON SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH. THE SIEGE OF BREST IS RAISED BY CAPITULATION, WHICH IS NOT KEPT.

The lords of France were at this time besieging four towns at once; namely, Becherel, Brest, la Roche-sur-Yon, and the one just formed before Derval. The besiegers had many an assault to make, and many gallant feats of arms to perform, in order to obtain success.

The inhabitants of la Roche-sur-Yon, being farthest off from any assistance, and surrounded on all sides, entered into a capitulation, that if they were not succored within one month, the garrison would march out, and deliver up the castle to the king of France. The lord de Clisson and the other lords returned at the appointed day; and, when no reinforcements appeared to raise the siege, the castle surrendered, and the English, under the passports of the lord de Pons marched away for Bordeaux.*

After this, sir Oliver de Clisson and the others who had been at this conquest, marched to Derval, whither they had caused large machines and engines to be brought. To this siege of Derval came the constable of France, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and du Perche, with numbers of the knights and barons of France, for they found they were only losing their time before Brest. Two thousand, however, remained behind, who built a block-house in such a situation that no one could enter Brest to reinforce or revictual it. Sir Hugh Brock and the garrison in Derval, seeing themselves attacked by such a force, were alarmed lest they should be taken by storm, and proposed a treaty for a truce of two months; and if within that time they were not relieved by the duke of Brittany, or others in sufficient force to keep the field, to raise the siege, and to combat the French, they would surrender themselves and the castle to the duke of Anjou, or to the constable; but if a body of men-at-arms should arrive, and offer battle to the French, the garrison should remain in peace. This treaty was concluded, and information sent to the duke of Anjou, who was on the borders: he approved of it, on condition that the garrison of Derval should not during the truce receive any one into the castle. Sir Hugh Brock sent several knights and squires as his hostages for the due execution of the treaty.

After this capitulation, the constable of France made an excursion to the city of Nantes. The citizens shut their gates, because he had with him a large army, and went forth to know his intentions. The constable told them he had been nominated and sent by the king of France, their lord, to take seisin and possession of the duchy of Brittany, which sir John de Montfort, who called himself duke, had forfeited. The citizens requested time to hold a council, to deliberate on what he had said, before they gave an answer. After a long time debating the business, they returned and spake to the constable: "Dear lord, it seems quite marvellous to us how the king of France can thus seize the inheritance of our lord the duke; for the king, not long since, commanded us to receive him as our duke. We have therefore sworn fealty and homage to him; and he has in return promised and sworn to govern us as subjects, which he has hitherto punctually done. We have never had any grounds for suspecting him of fraud or guile. If you enter this town by virtue of the procuration you say you have, we will allow you so to do; but on condition, that if it should happen that the duke of Brittany return to this country, and be desirous of becoming a good Frenchman, so that all prelates, barons, gentlemen, and good towns in Brittany, shall acknowledge him for their lord, we shall be acquitted without loss for what we now do, or may have before done; and that you will not consent to any violence being offered to us, nor will you receive the rents or revenues of Brittany, but they shall remain as a deposite with us until we have other information, or hear news more agreeable to us than what you have brought. The constable swore to keep everything as procurator for the king of France in this case. He and all those who were with him then entered the city of Nantes, which is the principal town in Brittany.

When sir Robert Knolles heard that his cousin, sir Hugh Brock, had concluded a capitulation for the castle of Derval with the French, and found that unless he also entered into a negotiation he could by no means leave his post to succor it, sir Robert made offers of treating with the French and Bretons who had remained before Brest: they replied that they could do nothing without the constable. An English knight and two squires, having had passports, came to a mansion near Nantes, where the constable resided, on the banks of the Loire, with other knights of France and Brittany. A treaty was entered into, on these terms; that the garrison of Brest should have a truce for forty days, during which time, unless there should arrive a sufficient force to fight with the constable, the fort was to be surrendered. The garrison was to remain on the same footing it then was, without receiving any reinforcements of men or provision. The negotiators returned to sir Robert Knolles, who sent, as pledges to the constable, able and sufficient knights and squires. The hostages, on their arrival, were ordered to the prison of the constable; and all those who had been at the siege of Brest departed. The constable gave also leave for several others to go away, whom the king of France sent to garrison his cities, castles, towns, and forts in Picardy, for the duke of Lancaster had landed at Calais with a large army.

When the earl of Salisbury (who had all that season cruised on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, having for that purpose been reinforced by the king of England, so that he might have on board with him a thousand men-at-arms and two thousand archers,) heard of the capitulation of Brest, he said, that if it pleased God, he would offer combat to the French. He made sail, and arrived at Brest, which is situated on the seashore, when he disembarked, and drew up his men in order of battle before Brest: at night, they all retreated to their vessels. This he daily performed, in order to be ready to fight the enemy, should they advance to that quarter.

The constable had dismissed the greater part of his men: he had also on his hands, the sieges of Becherel and of Derval, and did not imagine the earl of Salisbury would have arrived on the coast so soon. He set out from Nantes when the day approached for the surrender of Brest, but did not march quite so far; for he had had intelligence that the English were in sufficient force to fight with him. On hearing this, he halted where he was, and remained there quiet for about seven days, being desirous of having the advice of a full council of war which he had summoned. The earl of Salisbury had posted himself very advantageously before Brest; and, finding that the constable and Bretons did not advance, he sent a herald to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who, on his arrival, respectfully saluted him, and said: "My lord, the earl of Salisbury and the lords of England signify by me, who am a herald at arms and their servant, that as you had for a long time besieged the town and castle of Brest, and certain treaties and capitulations had been entered into for its surrender unless it should be succored before a certain day, which is not far distant, they wish to inform you that they have encamped themselves before Brest to fulfil this engagement and to defend the castle: they beg and entreat of you, therefore, to advance, when you shall be fought with without fail; and supposing you refuse your consent to this, that you will send back the hostages." The constable replied: "Herald, you bring us agreeable news, and are welcome. You will tell your masters, that we are more desirous to combat them than they are too meet us; but that they must march

* My MS. mentions sir Robert Grenacres as governor of La Roche sur-Yon.

to the place where the treaty was first entered into and agreed upon. You will inform them, that if they will advance to that place, they shall infallibly have a battle."

The herald returned to his masters before Brest, and delivered his message: they sent him back to the constable, to whom he said: "My lord, I come again from my lords and masters, to whom I repeated the words you charged me with: they say, that as they are only attached to the sea service they have not brought any horses with them, and are not accustomed to march on foot; for which reason they inform you, that if you will send them your horses, they will come without delay to any place you shall please to appoint, and fight with you." "My good friend," answered the constable, "we will not, please God, give such advantage to our enemies as we should do were we to send them our horses. It would also be considered as an insult; and, should we think of such a thing, it would be right we should have good and sufficient security to answer for our horses." "In truth," replied the herald, "they have not charged me to add anything on this head; only, that if you do not accept their proposition, they say you have not any cause to detain their hostages, and that in returning them you will act but justly." The constable said, he was not of that opinion.

Thus did the business remain; and the herald returned to the earl of Salisbury and the knights before Brest, who, when they found they could not gain anything, and that the hostages were not sent back, were exceedingly vexed; they, however, remained steadily before the place, without moving, until the appointed day was passed, and then perceiving the constable would not advance to fight with them, they entered Brest, which they greatly reinforced and revictualled. The constable, finding the English were not likely to come to offer him battle, marched off, carrying with him the English hostages as prisoners, and said, the English had not kept what they had bound themselves to perform.* After the relief of Brest, the earl of Salisbury put to sea to guard the coasts, according to the orders he had received. Sir Robert Knolles set out also from Brest, and arrived at his castle of Derval. As soon as this was known, information of it was sent to the duke of Anjou, who was with the constable near Nantes. They guessed what would be the consequence of this; for sir Robert broke all the treaties which his cousin had entered into, and sent to tell the duke of Anjou and the constable, that he should not keep one article of them, as his people had not the power to enter into any treaty without his knowledge and consent. The duke, on hearing this, came in person to the siege of Derval.

CHAPTER CCCXVII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LANDS AT CALAIS, AND INVADES PICARDY. A PART OF HIS ARMY DEFEATED BY THE LORD DE BOURSIERS† BEFORE RIBEMONT.‡ ANOTHER PART OF HIS ARMY IS DEFEATED NEAR SOISSONS BY AN AMBUSCADE OF BURGUNDIANS AND FRENCH.

Upward of three thousand men-at-arms and ten thousand English archers had landed at Calais. Three years before, this expedition had been planned and provided for: of course, it was well furnished with all things. The following knights passed over with the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany: the earls of Warwick, Stafford and Suffolk, Edward lord Despencer, first baron of the realm, and at that time constable of the army, the lords Willoughby, de la Pole, Basset, Roos, Latimer, lord Henry Percy, lord Lewis Clifford, lord William Beauchamp, the canon de Robesart, sir Walter Hewett, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Richard de Pontchardon, and many other knights and squires from England; but I cannot name them all.

The king of France, who knew well that the English would cross the sea, had reinforced his cities, towns, castles, and forts in Picardy, Artois, and also in Vermandois, and had everywhere posted men-at-arms in sufficient numbers; such as Bretons, Burgundians, Picards, Normans, and many whom he had subsidized from the Empire. The English left Calais as soon as they had mounted and arranged their carriages, of which they had great numbers. They marched in three battalions, and in such good order as it was not easy to improve: that of the marshals marched first, of which the earls of Warwick and Suffolk were the leaders; then the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, who had many gallant knights to accompany them: the constable, the lord Despencer, brought up the rear. They marched in close order, without any one being suffered to quit his rank; and the van was always armed ready for combat. They were quartered together at night, keeping a strong and strict guard to prevent a surprise. They advanced three leagues a day, and no one dared to march before the banners of the marshals, unless he had been ordered forward as a scout.

They passed by Montreuil, of which the lord Handebourg* was governor, St. Omer, and afterwards Terouenne, but without attacking them. The light troops burnt all the lands of the count de St. Pol, and the army advanced very near to Arras, when the two dukes took up their quarters in the monastery of St. Eloy, and remained there two days. They then marched off by the walls of Arras, but made no assault, for they knew it would be lost time. They came to Bray-sur-Somme,† where the two marshals had a sharp engagement before the gates; for there was a good garrison within of able knights and squires of Picardy, under the command of the viscount de Meaux and sir Raoul de Rayneval. The canon de Robesart struck down three with his spear before the gate, and the skirmish was severe; but the French so well defended the gates, that they lost nothing. The English continued their march, following the course of the river Somme, which they thought to cross between Ham, in Vermandois, and St. Quentin. Thus did this army advance under the command of the duke of Lancaster, according to orders from the king his father.

The lord de Boursiers was at this time returning from Hainault into France, and arrived so opportunely at Ham that the inhabitants most earnestly entreated of him to remain there to assist them in defending their town against the English. He complied with their request, staying with them two days, during the time the English passed by, following the course of the river Somme, to enter the Vermandois and to cross the river at the narrowest part. When the lord de Boursiers heard that the English had almost all passed, and that they were advancing toward St. Quentin and Ribemont, where the lord du Chin, whose daughter he had married, possessed a large estate, and where he also had lands in right of his wife, he took leave of the citizens of Ham, who thanked him much for his services, as he knew the castle of Ribemont was quite unprovided with men-at-arms. He was attended by as many companions as he could muster, but they were very few in number, and rode on until he came to St. Quentin, where he did not arrive without great danger, for the whole country was overspread with English. He got into the town just in time, for the English light troops came to the gates as he entered them. The lord de Boursiers found there sir William des Bourdes, who was governor of it for the king: he was received by him joyfully, and much pressed to stay there, to help in defence of the town.

The lord de Boursiers excused himself by saying, that he had undertaken to go to Ribemont, to defend that town and castle, which was without any garrison; and he entreated sir William so much for assistance that he gave him twelve cross-bows. He had not advanced far before he saw a company of English; but, as he knew the country well, he took a more circuitous road to avoid them: the English never quitted their line of march. He was this whole day in much peril on his road toward Ribemont. He met a knight from Burgundy, called sir John de Bueil, who was going to St. Quentin; but, after some conversation with the lord de Boursiers, he returned with him toward Ribemont. His force might now consist of about forty spears and thirty cross-bows. As they were approaching Ribemont, having sent forward one of their scouts to inform the inhabitants that they were coming to their aid, they perceived a body of English advancing, who appeared to consist of at least fourscore men on horseback. "The French said, "Here are our enemies returning from pillage: let us meet them." Upon which they stuck spurs into their horses, and galloped off as fast as they could, crying out, "Notre Dame Ribemont;" they fell upon the English, whom they defeated and slew. Happy were they who could escape.

When the French had thus conquered these English, they came to Ribemont, where they found the lord du Chin, who a little before had entered the town with forty spears and twenty cross-bows. While these three noble knights were on the square of the town before the castle, and many of their men had gone to their quarters to disarm themselves, they heard the sentinel on the castle wall cry out, "Here are men-at-arms advancing to the town." On which they went nearer the castle, and asked how many he thought there might be: he answered "About fourscore." Upon which, the lord de Boursiers said, "It behoves us to go and fight with them, for otherwise we shall have much blame in having suffered them thus to come up to our very walls unnoticed." The lord du Chin replied, "Fair son, you say well: order out our horses, and display my banner." Sir John de Bueil rejoined, "Gentlemen, you shall not go without my company: but I would advise you to act more deliberately in this business; for peradventure they may be men-at-arms lightly mounted, whom the marshals or constable may have sent hither to draw us out of our fortress, and our sally may turn out to our loss."

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* My MS. has the following additions:

"The herald, on receiving his last message, returned to his lords before Brest, who held a council on it.

"Shortly after this, the constable, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the lords de Clisson and de Laval, with the other barons and knights, amounting to four thousand lances and twenty thousand other men, marched to within one day's journey of Brest, where, having strongly encamped themselves, they sent to let the English know they were now on the spot where the treaty had been concluded, and if they would march thither they would be combated; otherwise they would lose their hostages. The earl of Salisbury, on learning this, found the French were trickish and had not any real intention of fighting, so that he returned for answer by his own herald, who accompanied the French herald, that if the constable would advance two-thirds of the way, they would perform the other third; or, if the French would not do this, the English would advance half of the way on foot, if the French would there meet them on foot: or, if the French would not accept either of these propositions, they were bound in justice to return the hostages, for the English had cheerfully and honorably performed their engagement."

† Denys Sauvage calls him the lord de Soubise, but gives no reason for it. My MSS. have Boursiers.

‡ Ribemont is a town in Picardy, four leagues from St. Quentin.

* "Handebourg." Q.

† "Bray-sur-Somme"—a village of Picardy, election of Peronne.

The lord de Boursiers said: "If you will adopt my plan, we will go and fight them, and that as speedily as may be; for whatever may happen, I am determined to do so." On saying this, he fixed on his helmet and tightened his armor, and then sallied forth with about one hundred and twenty combatants. The English were about fourscore, part of the troop of sir Hugh Calverley, though sir Hugh himself had remained with the duke of Lancaster: there were as many as six knights and other squires, who had advanced to revenge the deaths of their companions. On the French coming out at the gate, they met the English, who, lowering their spears, vigorously attacked them: they opened their ranks, when the English galloped quite through: this caused so great a dust that they could scarcely distinguish each other. The French soon formed again, and shouted their cry of "Notre Dame Ribemont!" Many a man was unhorsed on both sides. The lord du Chin fought with a leaden mace, with which he smashed every helmet that came within reach of it; for he was a strong and lusty knight, well made in all his limbs: but he himself received such a blow on his casque that he reeled, and would have fallen to the ground had he not been supported by his squire. He suffered from this blow as long as he lived.

Several knights and squires of the English were greatly surprised that the arms on the lord du Chin's banners were perfectly the same as those of the lord de Coucy, and said, "How is this? has the lord de Coucy sent any of his men hither? he ought to be one of our friends." The battle was very mortal; for in the end almost all the English were killed or made prisoners, few escaping. The lord de Boursiers took two brothers of the name of Pembroke: one a knight, the other a squire. Sir John de Bueil took two others, with whom they retreated into Ribemont. The English army marched by, but made no assault; for they thought it would be losing time. Orders were given to do no damage, by burning or otherwise, to the lands of the lord de Coucy, who was at that time in Lombardy, and interfered not with the wars in France.

The English fixed their quarters in the valleys below Laon and lower down than Bruyeres* and Crecy,† whence they did much mischief to the Laonnois. But before this, the king of France had ordered everything valuable to be carried into the towns and strong places, which were so well garrisoned that the English could not gain anything by attacking them, nor indeed had they any thoughts of so doing, but were only anxious that the French would meet them in battle in the plain. The king, however, had forbidden this very strictly in his daily orders. He had them followed by the rest of his cavalry so close on their rear, as to intimidate them from quitting the main army. The French took up their quarters every evening in fortified towns, and in the day time pursued the English, who kept themselves in a compact body.

It happened that one morning a party of English, to the number of six score lances, who were overrunning the country beyond Soissons, fell into an ambuscade of Burgundians and French. It was commanded by sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Hugh de Porcien, sir John de Coucy, the viscount de Meaux, the lords de Rayneval and de la Boue, with several more knights and squires, amounting in the whole to full three hundred lances. They had followed the English, and this night they had encamped in the fields of the Soissonnois, where they had placed an ambuscade in a small coppice. The English came in the morning to plunder a village behind which their army was quartered. When they had passed the ambush, the French sallied forth with banners and pennons displayed. The English, seeing such a large body so near them, halted, and would have sent to their army, which was a good league off; but sir Walter Huet, a great English captain, and near the spot where this surprise happened, mounting his horse in great haste, his lance in its rest, but without helmet or vizor, and only his coat of mail on, galloped forward without further thought or consideration: his men followed him as well as they could. In the confusion, he had his neck quite pierced through with a spear, and fell dead on the field.

The English fought very valiantly, but at last were almost all taken or slain. The French made prisoners of the following knights: sir Matthew Redmayne, sir Thomas Fowkes, sir Hugh Brudenel, sir Thomas Spencer, sir Thomas Emerton, sir Nicholas Gascoign, sir John Chandler, sir Philip Cambray, sir John Harpedon, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Robert Twyford, sir Geoffry Say, sir John Bourchier, sir Geoffry Worsley, sir Lionel Daultry; and, of esquires, William Daultry, John Gaillard, Thomas Bradley, Henry Montford, Guy Hewett, John Meynil, William Gostwick, John Flamstead, Thomas Sollerant, William Quentin, Robert Boteler, Robert Audley, Ralph Stanley, and Thomas Archer.‡

News was carried to the main body that their men were engaged: upon which, the marshals, with the whole army, hastened thither: though they could not make such speed, but that the business was finished, and the Burgundians and French had left the field. The English knew not where to seek the French. Thus passed this action, according to the information I have received, near to Soucy in the Soissonnois, the 20th September, 1363.

After these two encounters at Ribemont and Soucy, nothing further befel the duke of Lancaster and his army that is worth mentioning. They marched through various narrow passes and defiles, but kept in close and good order. The council of the king of France therefore said to him: "Let them go; by their smoke alone they cannot deprive you of your kingdom: they will be tired soon, and their force will dissolve away, for as storms and tempests appear sometimes in tremendous forms over a whole country, yet they dissipate of themselves, and no essential harm happens: thus it will befal these English.

* "Bruyeres"—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon.
† "Crecy sur-Serre"—a town in Picardy, three leagues from Laon.
‡ I have copied these names from Barnes.

CHAPTER CCCXVIII.

THE HOSTAGES SENT FROM DERVAL ARE BEHEADED. SIR ROBERT KNOLLES RETALIATES ON THOSE PRISONERS WHOM HE HAD TAKEN. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FINISHES HIS EXPEDITION.

Sir Robert Knolles, as I have before related, was returned to his castle of Derval, which he considered as his own inheritance, and had determined to break the treaty which had been entered into by his cousin and the duke of Anjou; on which account, the duke himself was come to the siege of Derval, attended by numbers from Brittany, Poitou, and the lower countries. The king of France was desirous that his constable, who was there, and the lord de Clisson, with several more, should return to France, to assist his brother the duke of Burgundy in the pursuit of the English. He frequently renewed these orders to the different lords, who were anxious to obey them, and also to gain possession of this castle of Derval.

When the day was passed on which the castle was to have been surrendered, the besiegers wondered what the garrison were thinking on: they imagined that sir Robert Knolles had thrown himself into it with reinforcements. The duke and constable sent to sir Robert, and to sir Hugh Brock who had made the treaty. The herald, on arriving in the square of the castle, said to the gentlemen present: "My lords send me here to inquire from you the reasons, which they would willingly learn, why you do not ransom your hostages by surrendering the castle according to the terms of the treaty to which you, sir Hugh, have sworn." Sir Robert Knolles then addressed the herald, saying, "Herald, you will tell your masters, that my cousin had no authority to enter into any capitulation or treaty without my consent first had; and you will now return with this answer from me."

The herald went back to his lords, and related to them the message sir Robert Knolles had charged him with: they sent him again to tell the garrison, that from the tenor of the treaty, they ought not to have received any one into the fort, and that they had received sir Robert Knolles, which they should not have done; and likewise to inform them for a truth, that if the castle was not surrendered, the hostages would be beheaded. Sir Robert replied, "By God, herald, I will not lose my castle for fear of the menaces of your lords; and if it should happen that the duke of Anjou, through arrogance, puts my friends to death, I will retaliate; for I have here in prison several knights and squires of France, and if I were offered one hundred thousand francs I would not show mercy to any one of them." When the herald had delivered his answer, the duke of Anjou sent for the headsman, and ordered the hostages, who were two knights and a squire, to be brought forth, and had them beheaded before the castle, so that those within might see and know them.

Sir Robert Knolles instantly ordered a table to be fixed without-side of the windows of the castle, and had led there four of his prisoners, three knights and a squire, for whom he might have had a great ransom, but he had them beheaded and flung down into the ditch, the heads on one side and the bodies on the other. The siege was raised after this, and all the men-at-arms returned to France; even the duke of Anjou went to Paris to visit the king his brother: the constable, with the lord de Clisson and others, marched to the city of Troyes, for the English were already in that part of the country: they had crossed the river Marne, and were taking the road toward Auxerre.

At this time, pope Gregory XI. had sent the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras in legation to France, to endeavor, if possible, to make peace between the kings of France and England: these two prelates had many difficulties in travelling toward the king of France and his brothers, and afterwards to the duke of Lancaster: the English, however, kept advancing through the country of Forets, having passed Auvergne, Limousin, and the rivers Loire, Allier, Dordonne, and Lot. Neither the English nor French were much at their ease in this expedition: three knights of Hainault, sir F.- res de Barlammont, sir Bridol de Montagin, and le bègue de Warlan, as well as some on the side of the English, died on their march. The dukes of Lancaster and Brittany continued their route with the army until they were arrived at Bergerac, four leagues from Bordeaux, continually pursued by the French. The duke of Anjou and the constable of France were in the upper countries near Rouergue, Rodais, and Toulouse, and had advanced as far as Perigueux, where they had fixed their quarters.

The two before-mentioned prelates journeyed from each party, preaching to them several reasons why they should come to an agreement. But each held so obstinately to his own opinion that they would not make any concessions, without having considerable ad-

vantages given them. The duke of Lancaster came to Bordeaux about Christmas; and the two dukes remained there the whole winter and the following Lent. Several knights went away, on the expedition being finished: the lord Basset and his company returned to England, for which king Edward reprimanded him.

CHAPTER CCCXIX.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU'S CAMPAIGN INTO UPPER GASCONY.*

Soon after Easter, in the year 1374, the duke of Anjou, who resided at Perigord, made a great muster of his forces; at which the constable of France and the greater part of the barons and knights of Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, and Touraine, were present. There were also, from Gascony, sir John d'Armagnac, the lords d'Albret and de Perigord, the counts de Comminges and de Narbonne, the viscounts de Caraman, de Villemure, and de Thalar, the count dauphin d'Auvergne: most of the lords of Auvergne and of Limousin: the viscount de Minedon, the lords de la Barde and de Pincornet, and sir Bertrand de Charde. They amounted to fifteen thousand men on foot, and a large body of Genoese and cross-bows. They began their march toward upper Gascony, and came before St. Silvier,† of which an abbot was lord. Notwithstanding it was talked of as a strong town, the abbot was afraid of losing it by force; so that he began to treat with the duke of Anjou, telling him that neither himself nor his territories wished to wage war against him, or in any way incur his indignation, and that the strength of his town and all he could bring to defend it, were as nothing in comparison with the castles of upper Gascony, whither, it was supposed, he intended to march. He therefore entreated that he might remain in peace, upon the terms that he should observe an exact neutrality; and that, whatever those lords of Gascony who possessed mesne fiefs should do, he would do the same. His request was granted, on his giving hostages, who were sent to prison in Perigueux.

The whole army, of which the duke of Anjou was commander, marched away toward Montmarsen,‡ and the town of Lourde§ in Upper Gascony, of which sir Arnold de Vire was governor. The French besieged and surrounded it on all sides, having demanded if they were willing to surrender themselves to the duke of Anjou. The inhabitants of Lourde soon agreed to it; but the knight said, that the count de Foix had appointed him to that post, and he would not surrender to any man except to him.

When the constable of France heard this, he ordered the army to advance and briskly assault it, which they did with so much vigor that the town was taken and the governor slain, as well as several men and women: the town was pillaged and ruined, and left in that state; however, on their departure they placed therein some of their men. The French entered the lands‖ of Châtel-bon, which they despoiled; they then passed through the territories of Châtel-neuf, which they attacked, and continued their march upward toward Bierne, and came to the entrance of the lands of the lord de l'Escut: they advanced until they came to a good town and strong castle, called Sault,¶ which was dependent on the county of Foix.

The prince of Wales had frequently intended, before his expedition to Spain, to make war on the count de Foix for all these mesne fiefs, which he had in Gascony, because the count would not acknowledge that he held them from him: the affair had remained in this situation in consequence of the Spanish expedition. Now, however, the duke of Anjou, who was conquering all Aquitaine, seemed willing to take possession of it, and had thus besieged Sault in Gascony, which was not a trifle nor easy to gain: the governor of it was sir William de Pau. When the count heard they were conquering his lands and the mesne fiefs, for which it was just he should pay homage either to the kings of France or England, he sent for the viscount de Châtel-bon, the lords de Marsen and de l'Escut, and the abbot de St. Silvier. He then demanded a passport from the duke of Anjou, who was occupied with the siege of Sault, that they might wait upon him in safety: the duke granted it. They therefore went and held a conference with him and his council, when it was agreed that the aforesaid lords and their territories should remain in peace until the middle of August, on condition that those who should then be the strongest before the town of Monsac,** on the part of the kings of France or of England, and there keep the field, should have the enjoyment of these rights, and to that party these lords of mesne fiefs should ever after belong. The count de Foix and the other lords gave hostages for this agreement. The duke of Anjou returned to Perigueux with his army, but did not dismiss any one.

* For a more chronological account of this campaign, see hist. de Languedoc, vol. iv. p. 580.

† "St. Silvier." Probably St. Silvier de Rustan, in Bigorre.

‡ "Montmarsen"—a town in Gascony.

§ "Lourde"—a town in Gascony—the capital of the valley of Lavedan, diocese of Tarbes.

‖ These lands are beyond the Pyrenees: therefore, it more probably alludes to the town of Mauvoisin, and the other lands the viscount held under the king of England.—See *Hist de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 583.

¶ "Sault de Navaille"—a small town in Gascony, near Orthez.

** A town in Perigord, near Bergerac.

CHAPTER CCCXX.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE AND HIS COMPANIONS ARE RANSOMED. A SHORT TRUCE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH. BECHEREL SURRENDERS ON TERMS. THE DEATH OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

About this time there was an exchange made of the lands of the constable of France and sir Oliver de Mauny, which the king of Spain had given to them for their gallant services. The constable exchanged his estate of Soria in Castille for the earl of Pembroke, who had been made prisoner off La Rochelle. Sir Oliver de Mauny gave up his estate of Grette for sir Guiscard d'Angle and his nephew William, Otho de Grantson, John de Grinieres, and the lord de Tannaybouton.

While this treaty was going forward, another was opened between the dukes of Anjou and of Lancaster, through the means of the two before-mentioned prelates. The duke of Lancaster sent, under passports, to the duke of Anjou at Perigord, (where he resided and governed as king or regent the lordships of England and France,) the canon de Robesart, and the lords William Hellunay and Thomas Douville. A truce was agreed on, between these dukes and their allies, until the last day of August: and they engaged themselves to be, in the month of September, in the country of Picardy—the duke of Anjou at St Omer, and the duke of Lancaster at Calais. After this truce, the dukes of Lancaster and of Brittany, the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, and Stafford, the lords de Spencer and Willoughby, the canon de Robesart, lord Henry Percy, the lord Manne,* with the other lords and knights, set out from Bordeaux the eighth day of July, and returned to England.

Sir John Appleyard and sir John Cornwall held their castle of Becherel for nearly a year against the French, who were closely besieging it, and had much constrained them; but not receiving any intelligence of succors coming to their assistance, and their provisions beginning to fail, they held a council whether it would not be advisable to offer terms for its surrender. They entered, therefore, into a treaty with the lords d'Hambuye, d'Estonville, de Blainville, de Frainville, and the barons of Normandy, who were quite tired with the siege having continued so long. But they would not conclude anything without the knowledge of the king of France. He consented, that if the duke of Brittany in person did not come in sufficient force before Becherel, by All-Saints day next approaching, to raise the siege, the garrison should surrender on capitulation. Hostages were given to observe these terms.

The earl of Pembroke was ransomed for 120,000 francs, which the Lombards of Bruges agreed to pay when he should be arrived in good health at Bruges. The earl journeyed, under the passport of the constable, through the kingdom of France: but a fever, or some other sickness, overtook him on the road, so that he was obliged to travel in a litter unto the city of Arras, where his disorder increased so much as to occasion his death. The constable, by this event, lost his ransom.† The earl of Pembroke left by his second wife, the lady Anne, daughter of sir Walter Manny, a fair son who at that time was two years old.

Sir Guiscard d'Angle obtained his ransom, as you shall hear. You remember that the lord de Roye entered into an agreement with sir Oliver de Mauny, a Breton knight, and nephew to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, that if he could deliver the lord de Roye from his prison by means of an exchange, he should have the daughter of the baron de Roye for his wife, who was of very high birth. Upon this, sir Oliver de Mauny sent to the king of England, to know which of the knights he would wish to have set at liberty for the lord de Roye. The king was most inclined for sir Guiscard d'Angle. The lord de Roye was therefore sent home free, and the lord de Mauny espoused his daughter. Shortly afterwards, the lord de Roye himself married the daughter of the lord de Ville and de Floron in Hainault. The other knights, that is to say, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir Otho de Grantson, and sir John de Grinieres, obtained their liberties, and compounded in a handsome manner for their ransom with sir Oliver de Mauny.

CHAPTER CCCXXI.

SEVERAL TOWNS IN GASCONY SURRENDER TO THE KING OF FRANCE. SIR HUGH DE CHASTILLON RETURNS FROM PRISON. THE CASTLE OF BECHEREL SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

When the middle of August approached, which was the appointed time for the meeting before Monsac, the duke of Anjou arrived with a grand array of men-at-arms. He fixed his quarters in the plain before Monsac, where he was lodged for six days without any one coming to meet him. The English thought that the truce which had been entered into would have annulled this agreement. But the duke of Anjou and his council did not consider it in this light. Sir Thomas Felton, sénéschal of Bordeaux, argued the matter for a long time; but he could not gain anything. The duke, therefore, sent to the count de Foix, the viscount de Châtel-Bon, to the lords

* Q. Maine.

† The constable carried on, for three years, a fruitless lawsuit with the Flemish merchants for this ransom, which they refused to pay. He at length gave up his claim to the king of France for 50,000 francs.—*Hist de Bretagne.*

de Marsen, de Chateauneuf, de l'Escut, and to the abbot de St. Silvier, to summon them to keep their agreements, or he would put to death their hostages, and enter their lands in such a manner as would oblige them to throw themselves on his mercy. These lords, therefore, placed themselves and their lands under the obedience of the king of France. The inhabitants of Monsac opened their gates, and presented the keys to the duke of Anjou doing to him fealty and homage. The lords who attended the duke entered the town with him, where they remained for eighteen days; during which time they held councils as to what part they should next march.

Shortly after the middle of August, when the truces which had been entered into between the English and French in Gascony were expired, these lords recommenced the war. The duke of Anjou came before la Réole;* and, after three days' siege, the inhabitants submitted to the king of France. From thence he marched to Langon,† which also surrendered; as did St. Macair,‡ Condom,§ Bazille,‖ la Tour de Prudence, Mauleon,¶ and la Tour de Drou. Full forty towns and castles turned to the French in this expedition: the last was Auberoche.** The duke of Anjou placed in all of them men-at-arms and garrisons: and, when he had arranged everything according to his pleasure, he and the constable returned to Paris, for the king had sent for them. He dismissed, therefore, the greater part of his army: and the lords de Clisson, de Beaumanoir, d'Avaugour, de Ray, de Riom, the viscounts de la Val, de Rohan, and the other barons, returned to the siege of Becherel, to be ready at the time appointed: for it was reported that the duke of Brittany, sir Robert Knolles, and the lord de Spencer would attempt to raise the siege.

You have before heard how sir Hugh de Châtillon, master of the cross-bows, had been made prisoner near Abbeville, by sir Nicholas Louvain, and carried into England: he was unable to obtain his liberty on account of the large sum asked for his ransom: however, a Flemish merchant stepped forward, and exerted himself so effectually that he cunningly got him out of England. It would take too much time to enter into the whole detail of this business; therefore, I shall pass it over. When he was returned to France, the king gave him back his office of master of the cross-bows, and sent him to Abbeville, as he had before done, to guard that frontier, with two hundred lances under his command. All the captains of castles and towns were ordered to obey him; such as sir John de Bethouilliers governor of Boulogne, sir Henry des Isles governor of Dieppe, and those who commanded in the frontier towns of Terouenne, St. Omer, Liques, Fiennes, and Montroye.

It happened that the lord de Gommegines, governor of Ardres, and sir John d'Ubrues, collected their forces in Ardres, to the amount of about eight hundred lances. They marched, one morning early, well mounted, toward Boulogne, to see if they should meet with any adventures. That same morning, sir John de Berthouilliers, governor of Boulogne, had also made an excursion, with about sixty lances, toward Calais, and with the same intent. On his return, he was met by the lord de Gommegines and his party, who immediately charged the French, and overthrew them, so that their captain saved himself with great difficulty, but lost fourteen of his lancemen. The lord de Gommegines, after the pursuit, returned to Ardres.

The master of the cross-bows this day made a muster of his forces: he had with him a great number of men-at-arms from Artois, Vermandois, and from that neighborhood: in all, upward of three hundred lances. The count de St. Pol, who had lately come to Picardy from his estates in Lorraine, was on his road to fulfil a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne: he was informed on his way, that the master of the cross-bows was about to undertake an excursion which made him wish to be of the party: they therefore rode together and advanced before Ardres, where they remained drawn up for some time; but they knew nothing of the English being abroad, nor the English of them.

After the French had continued some time before Ardres, and saw that none attempted to sally from the town, they began their retreat toward the abbey of Liques. No sooner had they marched away than an Englishman privately left the place, and rode through lanes and cross-roads (for he knew the country well) until he met the lord de Gommegines and his party returning to Ardres, who, when he learnt the expedition of the French, slowly advanced with his men in a compact body. When the French had passed Tournehem, having also had intelligence of the English being abroad under the command of the governor of Ardres, they immediately marched toward them, and placed an ambuscade in a coppice, above Liques, of three hundred lances, of which sir Hugh de Châtillon was the captain. The young count de St. Pol was ordered forward on the look-out, and with him went many knights and squires. Not far distant, by the side of a large hedge, the lord de Gommegines and sir Walter Ukeues†† had halted, and drawn up their force on foot in a very handsome manner. Sir John Harlestone set off on a gallop, with twenty lances, to entice the French into this ambuscade, saying he would allow himself to be pursued to the place where they were: he therefore entered the plain. The young count de St. Pol, who was arrived thither with a hundred lances, spying sir John Harlestone's troop, called out to his companions, "Forward, forward! here are our enemies." Upon which they stuck spurs into their horses, and hastened as fast as they could to come up with the English. But sir John Harlestone began his retreat, allowing them to pursue him until he came to the hedge where the English were drawn up, with their archers in front. On the arrival of the French, the English received them with battle-axes, swords, and spears: the archers began so brisk an attack that men and horses were overthrown. Many gallant deeds were done; but in the end the French were surrounded, and the greater part slain. The young count de St. Pol was made prisoner by a squire of Gueldres: the lords de Pons and de Clary, sir William de Nielle, sir Charles de Châtillon, Leonnet d'Araines, Guy de Vaisnel, Henry des Isles and John his brother, the chatelain de Beauvais, and several other knights and squires, were also captured.

Shortly after this defeat, the lord de Châtillon came, with his banner and three hundred lances, to the path of the hedge; but, when he saw that his men were defeated, he wheeled about with his troops, and returned without striking a blow; upon this, the English and Hainaulters led their prisoners to the town of Ardres. The lord de Gommegines, that evening, bought the count de St. Pol from the squire who had taken him: he soon after carried him to England, and presented him to the king, who thanked him kindly for so doing, and made him great presents.

When the duke of Anjou and the constable were returned to Paris from Gascony, they found the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras had been some time with the king. These prelates continued their journey, and arrived at St. Omer. The duke of Lancaster and the lord Bacinier had crossed the sea to Calais, and from thence went to Bruges. The duke of Anjou soon after came to St. Omer in grand array, and sent for his cousin sir Guy de Blois to meet him, who left Hainault handsomely equipped to wait on the duke. The constable of France, the lords de Clisson, de la Val, and sir Oliver de Mauny, with upward of six hundred lances, had posted themselves on the frontiers between France and Flanders, near to Aire, La Croix, Bailleul, Cassel, and in that neighborhood, to guard the country, and to prevent any injury being offered to the count of Flanders; for he had not any great confidence in the negotiators, nor would he go to Bruges notwithstanding their earnest solicitations.

You have before heard how the garrison of Becherel had held out for upward of a year, and had entered into a capitulation to surrender, if they were not relieved before All-saints-day. When the day was near approaching, the king of France ordered thither many men-at-arms: and all the knights of Brittany and Normandy were entreated to be there, except such as were with the constable. The two marshals of France, the lord Louis de Sancerre and lord Mouton de Blainville, the earl of Harcourt, sir James de Vienne admiral of France, the dauphin of Auvergne, sir John de Bueil and several more, arrived before Becherel. These lords kept the day with great solemnity; but as none appeared to relieve the castle, it was surrendered, and those who were so inclined left it. Sir John Appleyard and sir John Cornwall marched out with their men, embarked and crossed over to England. The barons of France took possession of the place, which they repaired, revictualled and reinforced with men, provision and artillery.

By orders from the king of France, these men-at-arms shortly after laid siege to St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Coutantin, which had belonged to sir John Chandos; and after his death the king of England had given it to sir Aleyne Boxhull, who at that time was in England: he had left there as governor a squire called Carenton,* with sir Thomas Cornet, John de Burgh, and the three brothers Maulevriers: there might be with them about six score companions, all armed and ready for defence. St. Sauveur was first besieged on the side next the sea by sir John de Vienne admiral of France, with all the barons and knights of Brittany and Normandy. There was also a large army before it, with plenty of everything. The lords of France had pointed large engines against it, which much harassed the garrison.

CHAPTER CCCXXII.

A TRUCE AGREED ON AT BRUGES BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND. THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETIRES TO HIS OWN COUNTRY, AND REGAINS SOME OF HIS TOWNS AND CASTLES.

We will now return to the noble negotiators at Bruges, that is to say, the dukes of Anjou† and Burgundy, the count de Saltzbourg, the bishop of Amiens, the elected bishop of Bayeux; the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Salisbury and the bishop of London.‡ In

* "La Réole"—a town in Bazadois, eighteen leagues and a half from Bordeaux.
† "Langon"—a town in Bazadois, six leagues from Bordeaux.
‡ "St. Macaire"—nine leagues from Bordeaux.
§ "Condom," a city of Gascony, four leagues from the Garonne.
‖ "Bazille." Not in Gazetteer.
¶ "Mauleon"—a town in Armagnac, diocese of Aire.
** "Auberoche"—a town in Perigord, near Perigueux.
†† He is before called sir John d'Ubrues.

* Probably Carrington.
† The historian of Languedoc says, the duke of Anjou was not present at this meeting, but in Avignon; and that, when the treaty was concluded, the duke of Burgundy sent from Bruges orders for the séneschal of Beaucaire to publish it. Vol, iv. p. 367. Passports were, however, granted to the duke of Anjou, by Edward, to come to Bruges, and are to be found in Rymer.
‡ In addition, there were sir John Cobham, sir Frank van Hall, sir Arnold Savage, and master John Shepeye and master Simon Multon, doctor of laws.—See their warrant in Rymer.

order that no harm might happen to these lords, nor to their people, who were going from one to the other, it was agreed there should be a truce, to last to the first of May, 1375, in all the country between Calais and the river Somme; but that it should not interfere with the other parts of the country now at war. Upon this being done, the lords de Clisson and de la Val were sent back to Brittany with their forces, to assist in guarding that country and the neighboring frontiers.

During the time these negotiations were going forward at Bruges, the duke of Brittany, as has before been said, remained in England, where he felt much for the distress of his country, the greater part of which had turned against him: his duchess also was besieged and shut up in the castle of Auray. The duke, while he resided with the king of England, was very melancholy: upon which the king, who much loved him, said: "Fair son, I well know that through your affection to me, you have put into the balance, and risked, a handsome and noble inheritance: but be assured that I will recover it for you again, for I will never make peace with the French without your being reinstated." On hearing these fine promises, the duke bowed respectfully to the king, and humbly thanked him. Soon after this conversation, the duke of Brittany assembled at Southampton two thousand men-at-arms and three thousand archers, who all received their pay for half a year in advance, by orders from the king of England.* Among the commanders were the earls of Cambridge and March, the lord de Spencer, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nicholas Camoire, sir Edward Twyford, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir John Lesley, sir Thomas Grantson, sir Hugh Hastings, the lords de Mannet and de la Pole, with many other knights and squires.

The duke and all his men-at-arms arrived at St. Mathieu de Fine Poterne in Brittany, where, after they had disembarked, they attacked the castle very sharply. This castle was out of the town, and ill supplied with men and artillery, so that the English took it by storm, and slew all who were in it. When the inhabitants of the town were informed of this, they opened their gates, and received the duke as their lord. The English next advanced to the town of St. Pol de Léon, which was strong and well inclosed. The duke took his station; and, during a marvellously well-conducted attack, the archers, who were posted on the banks of the ditches, shot so excellently, and so much together, that scarcely any dared appear to defend them: the town was therefore taken and pillaged. After this, they came before St Brieu, which at that time was well provided with men-at-arms and all other provisions and stores: for the lords de Clisson, de Beaumanoir, the viscount de Rohan, and many other barons of Brittany, whose quarters were at Lamballe, had lately been there and had reinforced it with everything necessary. The duke and the English besieged this town.

When the garrison of St. Sauveur le Vicomte heard that the duke of Brittany and the English lords were arrived in Brittany, they expected them to come and raise their siege; which they much desired, for they were greatly straitened by the engines, which day and night cast stones into the castle, so that they knew not where to retire to avoid them. Having called a council, they resolved to make overtures to the French lords, to obtain a truce for six weeks, until Easter 1375; and proposed, that if within that time there should not come any relief, which might be sufficient to offer battle and raise the siege, they would surrender themselves, their lives and fortunes being spared, and the fortress should be given up to the king of France. This treaty went off, and the siege continued; but no harm was further done to those of St. Sauveur, for the besiegers and garrison were both inactive.

CHAPTER CCCXXIII.

SOME BRETON LORDS OF THE FRENCH PARTY ARE NEAR BEING TAKEN BY THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, BUT ARE DELIVERED BY THE TRUCES AT BRUGES.

The viscount de Rohan, the lords de Clisson and de Beaumanoir, were guarding the frontiers against the duke of Brittany and the English, at that time before St. Brieu. Sir John Devereux was then quartered near to Quimperlé, and was destroying that part of the country: he had caused to be repaired and fortified by the peasants a small fort which he had made his garrison, and called it the New Fort, in which he resided, so that none could venture out of the town without risk of being taken. This information the townsmen of Quimperlé sent to the lord de Clisson and the other lords at Lamballe. They marched immediately thither, leaving a sufficiency of men to guard that town, and rode on until they came before this new fort, which they surrounded. News of this was carried to the British army before St. Brieu. The duke had ordered a mine to be sprung, which they had worked at for fifteen days; but at that moment the miners had lost their point, so that it was necessary for them to begin another: which when the duke and the lords of the army heard, they said among themselves; "Everything considered, we are but losing time here: let us go to the assistance of sir John Devereux, and if we shall be able to fall in with those who are besieging him in the open field, we shall perform a good exploit. Upon this, they held a council, and marched off, taking the road for the new fort, which the lords of Brittany were then assaulting. They had done so much that they were already at the foot of the walls, and dreaded not what might be thrown down upon them; for they were well shielded, but those within the fort had not wherewithal to annoy them in that manner.

Just at this instant a scout came with speed to the lords of Brittany who were busy at the assault, saying, "My lords, make off in haste from hence; for the English are coming with the duke of Brittany, and they are not more than two leagues off." The trumpet sounded a retreat: they collected themselves together, called for their horses, set off, and entered Quimperlé, which was hard by. They closed the gates; but scarcely had they raised the draw-bridges, and strengthened the barriers, when the duke of Brittany with the barons of England were before it. They had passed by the new fort, and spoken with sir John Devereux, who thanked them exceedingly for coming, otherwise he must have been very shortly made prisoner. The duke and the English formed the siege of Quimperlé, and ordered their archers and foot soldiers, well shielded, to advance, when a sharp attack commenced; for the English, as well as those in the town, were very determined: so that there were many wounded on both sides. Every day there were such skirmishes and assaults that those in the town saw they should not be able to hold out much longer, and there did not seem any likelihood of their receiving assistance. They could not escape any way without being seen, so well was the town surrounded: and if they should be taken by storm, they doubted if they should receive any quarter, more especially the lord de Clisson, for he was much hated by the English.

These lords of Brittany opened a treaty with the duke to surrender; but they wanted to depart on a moderate ransom, and the duke would have them surrender unconditionally: they could only obtain a respite for eight days, and that with very great difficulty. This respite, however, turned out very fortunate to them; for during that time two English knights, sir Nicholas Carswell and sir Walter Ourswick,* sent by the duke of Lancaster from Bruges, where he had remained the whole winter, arrived at the army of the duke of Brittany. They brought with them deeds engrossed and sealed of the truces, entered into between the kings of France and England. The duke of Lancaster sent orders, that in consequence of the treaty of Bruges, the army should be disbanded without delay. The truce was immediately read and proclaimed through the army, and signified also to those who were within Quimperlé. The lords de Clisson, de Rohan, and de Beaumanoir, and the others, were much rejoiced thereat, for it came very opportunely.

The siege of Quimperlé being raised, the duke of Brittany disbanded all his troops, except those of his household, and went to Auray, where his duchess was. The earls of Cambridge and of March, sir Thomas Holland earl of Kent, the lord de Spencer, and the other English, returned home. When the duke of Brittany had settled his affairs at his leisure, and had reinforced the towns and castles of Brest and Auray with artillery and provisions, he set out from Brittany with his duchess, and went for England.

CHAPTER CCCXXIV.

ST. SAUVEUR LE VICOMTE SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH. THE LORD DE COUCY LEADS A LARGE ARMY INTO AUSTRIA, WHICH HE CLAIMS AS HIS INHERITANCE.

On the day in which the truces were concluded at Bruges between the kings of France and of England, to last for one whole year, including their allies, the dukes of Lancaster and Burgundy again swore they would return thither on All-saints-day. Each party was to keep, during this truce, whatever he was then in possession of. The English thought that the capitulation respecting St. Sauveur le Vicomte would be voided by this treaty; but the French would not allow of this, and said the treaty did not affect the prior engagement concerning it: so that, when the day arrived for its surrender, the king of France sent troops thither from all quarters. There were assembled before it upward of six thousand knights and squires, without counting the others; but no succor came to its relief, and when the day was expired, St. Sauveur was given up to the French, but most unwillingly, for the fortress was very convenient for the English. The governor sir Thomas Cornet, John de Burgh, the three brothers Maulevriers, and the English, went to Carentan, where having embarked all which belonged to them, they sailed for England.† The constable of France reinforced the town and castle of St. Sauveur le Vicomte with a new garrison, and appointed a Breton knight as gov-

* Edward nominated the earl of Cambridge conjointly with the duke of Brittany, his lieutenants in France, with full powers to act as they pleased, without prejudice to the rights of the duke or to the patrimony of the church, dated 24th November, 1374.—See Rymer.

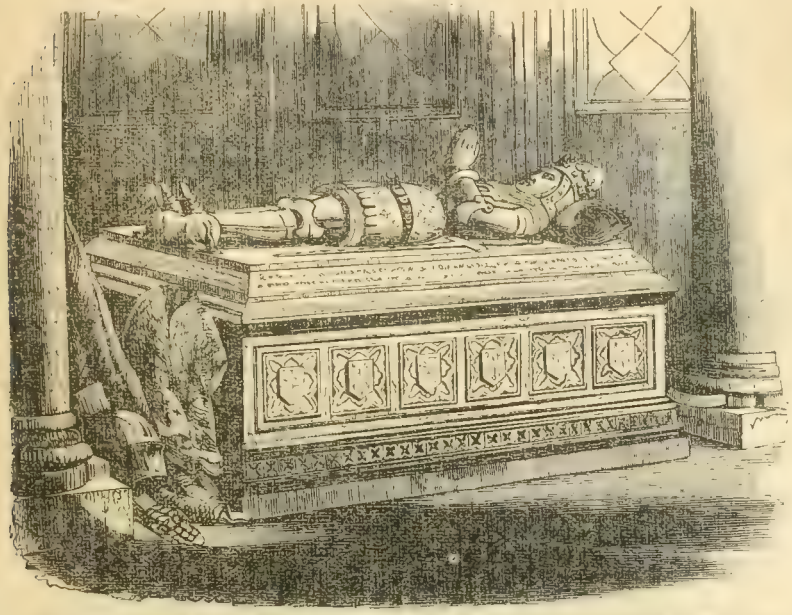
† Q. Mume.

* Sir Nicholas Charnels—sir Walter Urswick.—Barnes.

† Froissart has forgotten to add sir Thomas Carington among the governors of St. Sauveur le Vicomte. Nothing was said against him until the reign of Richard II. when he was accused of having treacherously given up this place by sir John Annesley, who had married sir John Chandos's niece: he challenged him to single combat, fought and vanquished him in the lists, formed in Palace yard in the presence of the king. He was afterwards drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged for his treason.—Dugdale, Fabian, &c.

ernor. I heard at the time, that the king of France gave him the lordship of it.

The lord de Coucy at this period returned to France: he had been a long time in Lombardy with the count de Vertus,* son of the lord Galeas Visconti, and had made war on lord Bernabo Visconti and his allies, for the cause of the church and of Gregory XI. who at that time was pope, and for the holy college of Rome. The lord de Coucy, in right of succession to the lady his mother, who was sister to the duke of Austria last deceased, was the true heir of that duchy. The last duke did not leave any child by legal marriage, and the inhabitants of Austria had disposed of the estate in favor of a relation, but farther removed than the lord de Coucy. This lord had frequently complained of such conduct to the emperor, the lord Charles of Bohemia. The emperor readily acknowledged the lord de Coucy's right: but he could not compel the Austrians to do the same, who were in great force in their own country, and had plenty of men-at arms. The lord de Coucy had gallantly carried on the war against them several times, through the aid of one of his aunts, sister to the aforesaid duke, but he had not gained much. On the lord de Coucy's return to France, the king entertained him handsomely. Having considered there were numbers of men-at-arms in France then idle, on account of the truce between the French and English, he entreated the king to assist him in obtaining the free companies of Bretons, who were overrunning and harassing the kingdom for him, and lead them into Austria. The king, who wished these companies anywhere but in his kingdom, readily assented to his request. He lent, or gave, I know not which, sixty thousand francs, in order to get rid of these companions. They began their march toward Austria about Michaelmas, committing many ravages wherever they passed. Many barons, knights, and squires of France, Artois, Vermandois, Hainault, and Picardy, such as the viscounts de Meaux and d'Aunay, sir Raoul de Coucy, the baron de Roye, Pierre de Bar, and several others, offered their services to the lord de Coucy. His army was increased by all those who wished to advance themselves in honor.



Tomb of Edward the Black Prince, Canterbury Cathedral. The Surcoat, Shield, Sword, and Gloves, placed by our Artist, at the end of the Tomb, are those actually worn by the Prince, and now preserved in the Cathedral. From an original drawing.

CHAPTER CCCXXV.

THE TRUCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND IS PROLONGED. THE DEATH OF THE BLACK PRINCE. THE LORD DE COUCY RETURNS, HAVING HAD INDIFFERENT SUCCESS.

When the feast of All-saints was drawing near, the duke of Burgundy, the count de Saltzbourg, the bishops of Amiens and of Bayeux, came to Bruges by orders of the king of France, to hold a conference. The duke of Anjou staid at St. Omer, where he continued the whole time. From the king of England there came, the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, the earl of Salisbury and the bishop of London: so that the town of Bruges was well filled by their retinues, more especially by that of the duke of Burgundy, who kept a most noble and grand state. Sir Robert de Namur resided with the duke of Lancaster, and showed him every attention as long as he remained in Flanders.

The embassadors from the pope, the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras, were also there, who went to and fro to each party, proposing different terms for an accommodation, but without any effect; for these lords, in their first parley, were too much divided to come to any agreement. The king of France demanded repayment of fourteen hundred thousand francs which had been given for king John's ransom, and that the town of Calais should be dismantled. This the king of England would never consent to. The truces were therefore prolonged until the feast of St. John the Baptist in the year 1376. The lords remained all that winter in Bruges, and some time longer. In the summer, each returned to his own country, except the duke of Brittany: he continued in Flanders with his cousin the count Lewis, who entertained him handsomely.

In this year, on Trinity-Sunday, that flower of English knighthood the lord Edward of England, prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, departed this life in the palace of Westminster near London. His body was embalmed, placed in a leaden coffin, and kept until the ensuing Michaelmas, in order that he might be buried with greater pomp and magnificence when the parliament assembled in London.*

King Charles of France, on account of his lineage, had funeral service for the prince performed with great magnificence, in the holy chapel of the palace in Paris, which was attended, according to the king's orders, by many prelates and nobles of the realm of France.

The truces, through the mediation of the embassadors, were again prolonged until the first day of April.

We will now say something of the lord de Coucy and the Germans. When those of Austria and Germany heard that he was advancing with so strong a force to carry on the war against them, they burnt and destroyed three days' march of country by the river side, and then they retreated to their mountains and inaccessible places. The men-at-arms, of whom the lord de Coucy was the leader, expected to find plenty of forage, but they met with nothing: they suffered all this winter very great distress, and knew not in what place to seek provision for themselves, or forage for their horses, who were dying of cold, hunger, and disorders: for this reason, when spring came, they returned to France, and separated into different troops to recruit themselves. The king of France sent the greater part of the companies into Brittany and lower Normandy, as he imagined he should have occasion for their services.

The lord de Coucy, on his return into France, began to think of becoming a good and true Frenchman; for he had found the king of France very kind and attentive to his concerns. His relationship to the king made him consider it was not worth his while to risk the loss of his inheritance, for so slender a reason as the war with the king of England: for he was a Frenchman by name, arms, blood, and extraction. He therefore sent the lady his wife to England, and kept with him only the eldest of his two daughters: the youngest had been left in England, where she had been educated. The king of France sent the lord de Coucy to attend the negotiations carrying on at Bruges, which continued all the winter. None of the great lords were there, except the duke of Brittany, who had staid with his cousin the count of Flanders; but he entered very little into the business.

CHAPTER CCCXXVI.

RICHARD, SON OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, IS ACKNOWLEDGED AS PRESUMPTIVE HEIR TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND. THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE HAVING FAILED, AND THE TRUCES EXPIRED, THE WAR IS RENEWED BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

After the feast of Michaelmas, when the funeral of the prince had been performed in a manner suitable to his birth and merit, the king of England caused the young prince Richard to be acknowledged as his successor to the crown after his decease, by all his children, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, the lord Thomas his youngest son, as well as by all the barons, earls, prelates, and knights

* John Galeas Visconti, first duke of Milan, bore the title of count de Vertus, until Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, invested him with the ducal dignity 1395. He gained, by treachery, possession of his uncle Bernabo, and put him to death by poison. For further particulars, see Muratori and Corio.

* The prince of Wales was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury. For particulars, see Mr. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

of England. He made them solemnly swear to observe this; and on Christmas-day he had him seated next to himself, above all his

Portrait of Richard the Second. From a curious full-length picture, formerly on the walls of the Jerusalem, or Painted Chamber, in the ancient Palace of Westminster.

children, in royal state, that it might be seen and declared he was to be king of England after his death.

The lord John Cobham, the bishop of Hereford, and the dean of London, were at this time sent to Bruges on the part of the English. The French had sent thither the count de Saltzbourg, the lord de Châtillon, and master Philibert l'Espiote. The prelates, embassadors from the pope, had still remained there, and continued the negotiations for peace. They treated of a marriage between the young son of the prince and the lady Mary, daughter of the king of France: after which the negotiators of each party separated, and reported what they had done to their respective kings.

About Shrovetide, a secret treaty was formed between the two kings for their embassadors to meet at Montreuil-sur-mer; and the king of England sent to Calais sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Richard Sturey, and sir Geoffry Chaucer. On the part of the French were, the lords de Coucy and de la Rivieres, sir Nicholas Bragues and Nichloas Bracier. They for a long time discussed the subject of the above marriage; and the French, as I was informed, made some offers, but the others demanded different terms, or refused treating. These lords returned therefore, with their treaties, to their sovereigns; and the truces were prolonged to the first of May. The earl of Salisbury, the bishop of St. David's chancellor of England, and the bishop of Hereford, returned to Calais; and with them, by orders of the king of France, the lord de Coucy, and sir William de Dormans chancellor of France.

Notwithstanding all that the prelates could say or argue, they never could be brought to fix upon any place* to discuss these treaties between Montreuil and Calais, nor between Montreuil and Boulogne, nor on any part of the frontiers; these treaties, therefore, remained in an unfinished state. When the war recommenced, sir Hugh Calverley was sent governor of Calais.

* They durst never trust to meet together in any place between Montreuil and Calais, &c.—Lord Berners.

CHAPTER CCCXXVII.

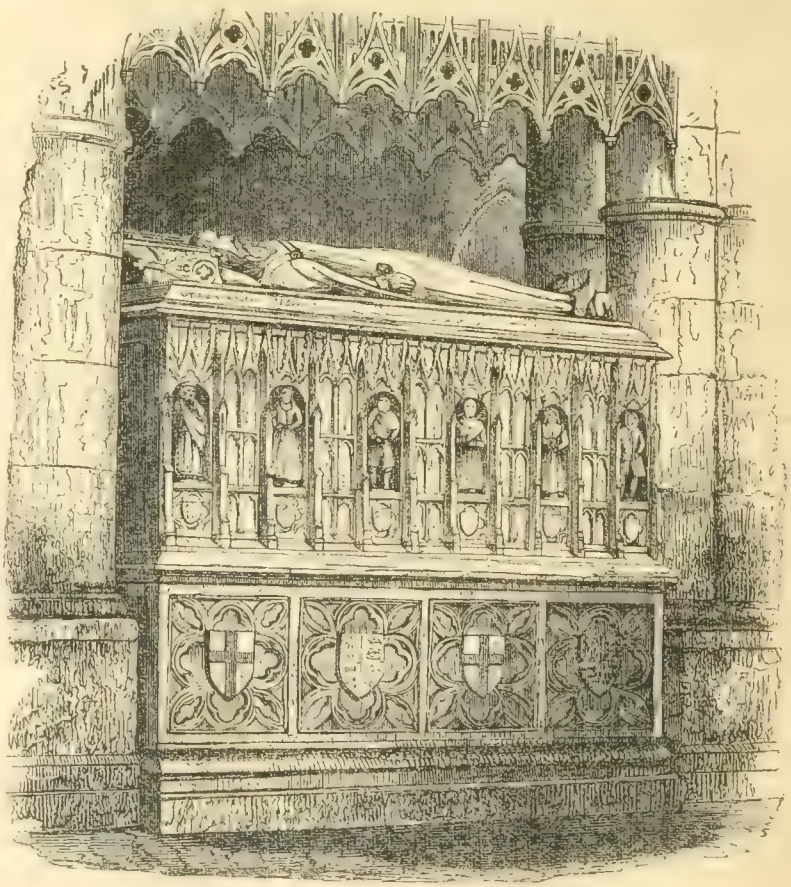
POPE GREGORY XI. LEAVES AVIGNON, AND RETURNS TO ROME. ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD III. RICHARD, SON OF THE LATE PRINCE OF WALES, IS CROWNED KING OF ENGLAND.

When pope Gregory XI. who had for a long time resided at Avignon, was informed there was not any probability of a peace being concluded between the two kings, he was very melancholy, and, having arranged his affairs, set out for Rome, to hold there his seat of government.

The duke of Brittany, finding the war was to be renewed, took leave of his cousin the count of Flanders, with whom he had resided upward of a year, and rode toward Gravelines, where the earl of Salisbury and sir Guiscard d'Angle, with a body of men-at-arms and archers, came to meet him, to escort him to Calais, where the duke tarried a month: he then crossed over to England and went to Shene, a few miles from London, on the river Thames, where the king of England lay dangerously ill: he departed this life the vigil of St. John the Baptist, in the year 1377. Upon this event, England was in deep mourning. Immediately all the passes were shut, so that no one could go out of the country; for they did not wish the death of the king should be known in France, until they had settled the government of the kingdom. The earl of Salisbury and sir Guiscard d'Angle returned at this time to England.

The body of king Edward was carried in grand procession, followed by his children in tears, and by the nobles and prelates of England, through the city of London, with his face uncovered, to Westminster, where he was buried by the side of his lady the queen.

Shortly afterwards, in the month of July, the young king Richard, who was in his eleventh year, was crowned with great solemnity at the palace of Westminster: he was supported by the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany. He created that day four earls and nine knights; namely, his uncle the lord Thomas of Woodstock earl of Buckingham, the lord Percy earl of Northumberland, sir Guiscard d'Angle earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Mowbray earl of Nottingham. The young king was placed under the tutorship of that accomplished knight sir Guiscard d'Angle, with the approbation of all, to instruct him in the paths of virtue and honor. The duke of Lancaster had the government of the kingdom.



Tomb of Edward the Third, Westminster Abbey. From an original drawing.

As soon as the king of France learnt the death of king Edward,

he said that he had reigned most nobly and valiantly, and that his name ought to be remembered with honor among heroes. Many nobles and prelates of his realm were assembled, to perform his obsequies with due respect, in the Holy Chapel of the Palace at Paris. Shortly after, Madame, the eldest daughter of the king of France, died. She had been betrothed to that gallant youth William of Hainault, eldest son of duke Albert.

CHAPTER CCCXXVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE EQUIPS FOR SEA A LARGE FLEET, WHICH BURNS SEVERAL TOWNS IN ENGLAND.

During the negotiations for peace, the king of France had been very active in providing ships and galleys: the king of Spain had sent him his admiral, sir Fernando Sausse, who, with sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, had sailed for the port of Rye, which they burnt, five days after the decease of king Edward, the vigil of St. Peter, in June, and put to death the inhabitants, without sparing man or woman. Upon the news of this event coming to London, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham were ordered to Dover with a large body of men-at-arms. The earl of Salisbury and sir John Montague, on the other hand, were sent to the country near Southampton.

After this exploit, the French landed in the Isle of Wight. They afterwards burnt the following towns: Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth,* and several others. When they had pillaged and burnt all in the Isle of Wight, they embarked and put to sea, coasting the shores until they came to a port called Poq.† The earl of Salisbury and sir John Montague defended the passage, but they burnt a part of the town of Poq. They again embarked, and coasted toward Southampton, attempting every day to land; but the earl of Salisbury and his forces, who followed them along the shore, prevented them from so doing. The fleet then came before Southampton; but sir John Arundel, with a large body of men-at-arms and archers, guarded well the town, otherwise it would have been taken. The French made sail from thence toward Dover, and landed near to the abbey of Lewes, where there were great numbers of the people of the country assembled. They appointed the abbot of Lewes, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir John Fuselee their leaders, who drew up in good array to dispute their landing, and to defend the country. The French had not the advantage, but lost several of their men, as well might happen. However, the better to maintain the fight, they made the land, when a grand skirmish ensued, and the English, being forced to retreat, were finally put to flight. Two hundred at least were slain, and the two knights, with the abbot of Lewes, made prisoners.

The French rëembarked, and remained at anchor before the abbey all that night. They then heard, for the first time, from their prisoners, the death of king Edward and the coronation of king Richard, and also a part of the regulations of the kingdom, and that great numbers of men-at-arms were under orders to march to the coast. Sir John de Vienne dispatched a sloop to Harfleur, where there was a knight in waiting, who immediately rode to Paris to the king, and reported to him such intelligence respecting the death of king Edward that he was convinced of its truth.

The French and Spaniards put to sea, and having the wind favorable, came with an easy sail that same tide, about the hour of nine, before Dover. They amounted in all to about six score galleys. At that time there were in Dover the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, with immense numbers of men-at-arms and archers, who, with a hundred thousand common men, were waiting for the arrival of the French, drawn up before the port with displayed banners, for they had seen them at a distance, and they were continually joined by people from the country who had noticed this large fleet.

The French came before the harbor, but did not enter it, making for deep water, as the tide began to ebb. Notwithstanding this, the English continued strict guard all that day and following night. The French who were on the sea came with the next tide before Calais,‡ to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who closed their gates against them.

CHAPTER CCCXXIX.

THE TOWN OF ARDRES SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH. THE DEATHS OF THE CAPTAL DE BUCH AND OF THE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

While these things were passing, sir Hugh Calverley, governor of Calais, sir John Harlestone, governor of Guines, and the lord de Gommegines, governor of Ardres, made very frequent excursions into Picardy; three or four in every week. They advanced often before St. Omer, Arques, Mouton, Fiennes, and the towns in that neighborhood, as well as to Boulogne and near to Terouenne, which were particularly molested by the garrison of Ardres. Complaints of them had frequently been made to the king of France. On asking how this was to be prevented, he was answered, "Sire, the garrison of Ardres is not so strong but it may be won." The king replied, "have it then we will, whatever it may cost us." He soon after issued a secret summons, and it was not guessed to what part he intended sending this army, of which he made the duke of Burgundy general. There were in it twenty-five hundred lances of good and hardy men. They marched suddenly to the castle of Ardres, which they invested. With the duke of Burgundy were the count de Guines, the marshal de Blainville, the lords de Clisson and de la Val, de Rougement, de la Riviere, de Bregide, de Frainville, d'Ainville, d'Ancoing, de Rayneval, and d'Angest, sir James de Bourbon, the seneschal of Hainault, with many other knights and barons. They had with them machines that cast stones of two hundred weight, with which they made a most vigorous assault.

The lord de Gommegines, captain of the castle, was astonished to see himself surrounded by such numbers of gallant men-at-arms, who seemed determined, that if the place were taken by storm, they would spare no one they should find within it. As he was not provided with artillery for a long siege, through the mediation of his cousin-german, the lord de Rayneval, he offered to enter into a treaty for surrendering the place, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared. This treaty was long debated; but at length the castle was surrendered, and all who chose it departed, and were conducted by sir Walter de Bailleul to the town of Calais. Sir William des Bordes was appointed governor of Ardres: he was succeeded by the viscount de Meaux, who remained there a long time: the third governor was the lord de Saimpy.

The same day that Ardres surrendered, the duke laid siege to the castle of Ardvick, which the three brothers Maulevriers held for England. During the three days he staid there, many skirmishes passed; but they at last surrendered, and the garrison was conducted to Calais by the marshal of France. After this the duke besieged Vauclignen, which also surrendered on the same terms as the others had done: and, when the duke had revictualled and reinforced them with men-at-arms and cross-bows, he disbanded his army and returned to the king at Paris. The Breton lords went to Brittany, for they had heard that the duke of Brittany had arrived at Brest with a large army. The Barons of Burgundy and the others returned to their own homes.

You have before heard how the lord John captal de Buch, having been made prisoner before Soubise, was confined in the Temple at Paris. The king of England and his son greatly desired his liberty, and it had been much debated at the negotiations at Bruges: they would willingly have given in exchange for him the young count de St. Pol and three or four other knights: but the king of France and his counsel would not consent. The king had him informed through the grand prior, who had the guard of him, that if he would swear never to bear arms against the crown of France, he would listen to terms for his liberty. The captal replied, that he would never make this oath, though he were to die in prison. He remained therefore strictly guarded for five years in confinement, to his great discomfort; for he bore it so impatiently that at last he died.* The king of France had him interred; and a solemn service was performed, which was attended by the barons, prelates and nobles of France.

England was thus losing her grest captains; for, in this same year, the lord de Spencer, a great banneret of England, died. He left issue by his lady, the daughter of the late sir Bartholomew Burghersh, one son and four daughters. Soon after the death of that gallant knight the captal de Buch, the queen of France was brought to bed of a daughter, who was named Catherine; and, while in childbed, the queen was seized with an illness that caused her death. This amiable queen was daughter of the valiant duke of Bourbon, killed at the battle of Poitiers. Her obsequies were performed in the abbey of St. Denis, where she was buried with great solemnity, to which were invited all the nobles and prelates of France in the neighborhood of Paris.

CHAPTER CCCXXX.

THE WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE KING OF NAVARRE. THE SIEGE OF CHERBOURG. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER INVADES BRITTANY. THE CASTLE OF AURAY SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

Since the peace made at Vernon between the kings of France and Navarre, as has been before related, and since the king of Navarre had left his two children with their uncle the king of France, suspicions had fallen on a squire of the king's household. He had been placed there by the king of Navarre at the time he left his children: his name was James de la Rue. A lawyer, who was one of the king of Navarre's council, and his chancellor in the county of Evereux, was also implicated in this business: the name of this chancellor was master Peter du Tertre.

These two men were cruelly executed at Paris, and acknowledged, before all the people, that they had intended to have poisoned the king of France. The king immediately collected a large army, the command of which he gave to the constable: there were with him the lord de la Riviere and many other barons and knights. They marched into Normandy, to attack the castles of the king of Navarre,

* Lamende, Dartemode, Plamende, Plesume.—D. Sauvage.

† Q. if not Pool.

‡ Lord Berners says, The Frenchmen with the next tide came before the haven of Calais, and *there entered*.—Ed.

* The prince of Wales gave to the captal de Buch, and his male heirs, the county of Bigorre, with all its towns, &c. the 7th June, 1369. Confirmed by the king.—Rymer

which were strong and well garrisoned, and laid siege to one of them called Pont-au-demer.* The French had with them many cannon, and various engines and machines, with which, in the course of different assaults, they pressed the garrison hard; but they defended themselves valiantly. Though there were many attacks and skirmishes, the siege lasted a long time: the castle was much ruined, and the garrison hard pushed. They were frequently required by the constable to surrender, or they would all be put to death, if the place were taken by storm: this was the threat which the constable was accustomed to make. The men of Navarre seeing their provisions decrease, and finding themselves much weakened, without any hopes of assistance from their king, who was at too great a distance, surrendered the castle, and were conducted to Cherbourg, carrying with them all their plunder. This castle was razed to the ground, though it had cost large sums to erect: and the walls and towers of Pont-au-demer were levelled with the ground.

The French then advanced to besiege the fortress of Mortain,† where they remained some time; but the garrison, seeing no appearance of assistance from the king of Navarre, and that the other Navarre fortresses were too weak to resist the French, surrendered themselves on the same conditions with those of Pont-au-demer. You must know, that in this expedition, the constable put under the obedience of the king of France all the towns, castles, and forts in the county of Evreux: the castles and principal towns were dismantled, that from henceforward no war should be carried on against the kingdom of France from any town or castle which the king of Navarre held in the county of Evreux. The king of France established in them the gabelle and subsidies, in like manner as they were in the realm of France.

On the other hand, the king of Spain had ordered his brother, the bastard of Spain, to enter Navarre with a powerful army: he attacked towns and castles, and gained much country, in spite of the king of Navarre, who could do but little to defend himself. He sent to inform king Richard of England how he was situated, in the hope that he would aid him in opposing the king of France in his county of Evreux; for that he himself would remain in Navarre, to guard his fortresses against the king of Spain.

King Richard, in consequence of a council which had been called on this business, sent sir Robert le Roux‡ with a body of men-at-arms and archers, to Cherbourg. The garrisons of the different fortresses won by the constable in the county of Evreux were also collected at that town. When all were assembled, they were a numerous and handsome body of picked men, who had provided the castle with stores, for they concluded it would be besieged. The constable and the lord de la Riviere, having visited every place in the county of Evreux with their army, found that all the towns formerly belonging to the king of Navarre were now under the obedience of the king of France: they then came before Cherbourg, which is a strong and noble place, founded by Julius Cæsar, when he conquered England, and likewise a sea-port.

The French besieged it on all sides except that of the sea, and took up their quarters in such a manner before it as showed they were determined not to quit until they had conquered it. Sir Robert le Roux and his forces made frequent sallies, for neither night nor day passed without skirmishing. The French could never form a wish for feats of arms but there were always some ready to gratify it. Many combats took place with lance and sword, and several were killed or taken prisoners on each side, during this siege, which lasted the whole summer.

Sir Oliver du Guesclin posted himself in an ambuscade near the castle: he then ordered his men to begin a skirmish, in which the French were repulsed by the English, and driven back as far as the ambuscade of sir Oliver, who immediately rushed out with his troop, sword in hand, and advanced boldly on the enemy, like men well practiced in arms. The encounter was sharp on both sides, and many a man was unhorsed, killed, wounded, or made prisoner: at last, sir Oliver du Guesclin was taken, and avowed himself a prisoner to a Navarrois squire, called John le Coq, an able man-at-arms: he was dragged into Cherbourg. The skirmish was now over, more to the loss of the French than of the English. Sir Oliver was sent to England, where he remained prisoner for a long time in London, and was at last ransomed.

The French remained before Cherbourg, at a heavy expense, the greater part of the winter, without having gained much. They thought they were losing time, and that Cherbourg was impregnable, as all sorts of reinforcements, men-at-arms, provision and stores, might be introduced into it by sea: for which reason the French broke up their camp, and placed strong garrisons in the places round Cherbourg, such as Montbourg, Pont Doue, Carentan, St. Lo, and in St. Sauveur le Vicomte. The constable then disbanded his army, and every one returned to the place whence he came. This was in the year 1378.

You have before heard how the duke of Brittany had left that country, and had carried his duchess with him to England. He resided at the estate he had there, which was called the honor of Richmond, and took great pains to obtain assistance from the young king, Richard, to reconquer his duchy, which had turned to the French, but he was not listened to. At length the duke of Lancaster was informed, that if he landed in Brittany with a good army, there were some forts and castles that would surrender to him: in particular, St. Malo, a handsome fortress, and a sea-port town. Upon this, the duke of Lancaster, having raised a large army, went to Southampton. He there prepared his vessels and stores, and embarked with many lords, men-at-arms, and archers. This fleet had favorable winds to St. Malo; and when near the shore, having landed and disembarked their stores, they advanced toward the town, and closely besieged it. The inhabitants were not much alarmed, for they were well provided with provision, men-at-arms, and cross-bows, who valiantly defended themselves, so that the duke remained there a considerable time. When the constable of France and the lord de Clisson heard of this, they sent summonses everywhere, and marched to St. Malo to raise the siege. Many thought that a battle must ensue; and the English drew out their army several times in battle-array, ready for the combat; but the constable and the lord de Clisson never came near enough for an engagement. The English, therefore, having lain before the town some time, and not perceiving any inclination in the inhabitants to surrender, the duke of Lancaster was advised to decamp, for he saw it was only wasting time: he therefore reëmbarked, and returned to England, where he dismissed his army.

The castle of Auray was still in the possession of the duke of Brittany, who resided quietly in England: the king of France sent thither several lords of France and Brittany, who began a siege which lasted a long time. The garrison of Auray, not seeing any hope of succor, entered into a treaty, that if they were not relieved by the duke of Brittany or the king of England, with a sufficient force to raise the siege on a certain day, they would surrender. This treaty was acceded to; and when the appointed day arrived, the French were there, but no one came from the duke nor the king of England: the castle was therefore placed under the obedience of the king of France, in the same manner as the other castles and principal towns of Brittany; and those of Auray, who were attached to the duke, departed thence.

CHAPTER CCCXXXI.

THE FRENCH GARRISON OF MONTBOURG IS DEFEATED BY THE ENGLISH AT CHERBOURG.

Soon after Easter, in the year of our Lord 1379, king Charles of France, finding the garrison of Cherbourg was oppressing the whole country of Coutantin, appointed sir William des Bourdes, a valiant knight and good captain, to be chief governor of Coutantin, and of all the fortresses round Cherbourg. Sir William des Bourdes went thither with a handsome body of men-at-arms and Genoese cross-bows, and fixed his quarters at Montbourg; which he made a garrison against Cherbourg; whence he formed frequent expeditions, and would willingly have met with the men of Cherbourg; for he wished for nothing better than an engagement with them, as he felt himself a good knight, bold and enterprising, and had also under his command the flower of the men-at-arms from all the adjacent garrisons. About the same time, sir John Harlestone was sent to Cherbourg, to take command of it. I have before mentioned him as being governor of Guines. He had embarked at Southampton with three hundred men-at-arms and as many archers, and with them had safely arrived at Cherbourg. There were in this army sir Otho de Grantson,* and among the English sir John Aubourc,† sir John Orcelle,‡ with other knights and squires. On their arrival, they disembarked their horses and armor, with other stores, and remained some days in Cherbourg to recruit themselves, and make preparations for expeditions and for carrying on the war in earnest.

Sir William des Bourdes puzzled himself day and night in endeavoring to find out some means of annoying them. You must know, that these two governors laid several ambuscades for each other, but with little effect: for by chance they never met, except some few companions, who adventured themselves fool-hardily, as well to acquire honor as gain: these parties frequently attacked each other: sometimes the French won, at others, they lost. Such skirmishes continued so often, that sir William des Bourdes marched out one morning from Montbourg, with his whole force, toward Cherbourg, in hopes of drawing that garrison out into the plain.

On the other hand, sir John Harlestone, who was ignorant of the intentions of the French, had also that same morning made an excursion, and had commanded his trumpets to sound for his men to arm themselves, as well horse as foot, and to advance into the plain: he had already ordered who were to remain in the garrison. He marched forth in handsome display, and ordered sir John Orcelle, with his foot soldiers, to take the lead as their guide. Having done this, he sent forward his light troops. Sir William des Bourdes had made a similar arrangement of his army. They both advanced in this array until the light troops of each party met, and came so near that they could easily distinguish each other. Upon which, they returned to the main body, and reported all they had observed. The

* "Pont-Audemer"—a town in Normandy, on the Rille, forty-one leagues from Paris.
† "Mortain"—a town in Normandy, seventy-one leagues from Paris.
‡ Probably sir Robert Roose, or Rouse.

* "Sir Otho de Grantson"—was before mentioned, not as an Englishman, but as one who had an estate on the other side of the sea.
† "Sir John Aubourc." May it not be Aubrey?
‡ "Sir John Orcelle." Perhaps Worseley, or Horseley.

two leaders, on hearing their reports, were quite happy; for they had at last found what they had been seeking for, and were much rejoiced thus to meet.

When the two knights had heard the news from their light troops, they each drew up their forces with great wisdom, and ordered their pennons to be displayed. The English foot were intermixed with their men-at-arms. As soon as they were within bow-shot, the French dismounted; so did likewise the English: then the archers and cross-bowmen began to shoot sharply, and the men-at-arms to advance with their lances before them in close order. The armies met, and blows with spears and battle-axes began to fly about on all sides. The battle was hardly fought, and one might there have seen men-at-arms make trial of their prowess.

Sir William des Bourdes was completely armed, and, with his battle-axe in his hand, gave such blows to the right and left, that on whomsoever they fell that person was struck to the ground. He performed valorous deeds, worthy of being praised for ever after; and it was not his fault the English were not discomfited. In another part of the field, sir John Harlestone, governor of Cherbourg, fought well and valiantly with his battle-axe, one foot advanced before the other; and well it needed him, for he had to do with an obstinate body of hardy men. Several gallant deeds were performed this day; many a man slain and wounded. Sir John Harlestone was struck down and in great peril of his life; but by force of arms he was rescued. The battle lasted long, and was excellently kept up, as well on one side as on the other. The English had not any advantage, for they had as many killed and wounded as the French; but at last the English continued the combat so manfully, and with such courage, that they gained the field; the French were all either slain or made prisoners: few men of honor saved themselves, for they had entered into the engagement with so much good heart that they could not prevail on themselves to fly, but were determined to die or to conquer their enemies.

Sir William des Bourdes was made prisoner on good terms by a squire from Hainault, called William de Beaulieu, an able man-at-arms, who for a considerable time had been attached to the English in the castle of Calais: to him sir William surrendered in great grief, and much enraged that the victory was not his. The English that day did much harm to the French. Several were made prisoners toward the end of the engagement; but it was a pity to see the numbers killed. When the English had stripped the dead, sir John Harlestone and his men returned to Cherbourg, carrying with them their prisoners and their riches. You may be assured that they rejoiced mightily in the success of this day, which God had given to them. Sir William des Bourdes was feasted and entertained with every possible attention; for he was personally deserving of whatever could be done for him. This defeat took place, between Montbourg and Cherbourg, the day of St. Martin *le bouillant* 1379.

When the king of France heard that the garrison of Montbourg and its governor were either slain or made prisoners, and that the country was much alarmed by this defeat, the king, like one well advised and attentive to his affairs, immediately provided a remedy, by sending, without delay, fresh troops to guard the frontiers, the fortresses and the country round Cherbourg. Sir Hutin de Bremalles was appointed general to these troops by the king of France, who kept the country against the English. However, by orders of the king, they afterwards abandoned Montbourg, and all the country of Coutantin, which is one of the richest in the world. They made all the inhabitants give up their handsome houses and other possessions, and retreat out of this peninsula. The French guarded the frontiers at Dune, Carentan, and at St. Lo, and all the borders of the peninsula of Coutantin.*

* The division into volumes here observed is in accordance with the French edition of D. Sauvage and of the most authentic MSS. Mr. Johnes did not adhere to the original arrangement, but divided the work and numbered the chapters to suit the four quarto volumes in which he originally published his work, and Lord Berners, who published his translation in two folio volumes, attended only to that natural division, so that the numbers of his latter chapters are quite at variance with those of other editions. We have thought it better to restore the old division which originated with Froissart himself. The numeration and arrangement of the chapters will be found nearly in unison with that of D. Sauvage: but Mr Johnes's additions and corrections prevent their being identical.—Ed.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

SECOND VOLUME*

OF THE

CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

CHAPTER I.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ENGLISH IN THE BORDELOIS.

You have before heard related how the duke of Burgundy had made an incursion from the borders of Picardy, which was very honorable to him and profitable to the French; and how he had placed in Ardres, and the other castles of which he had gained possession, governors and men-at-arms to defend them; especially in the town of Ardres, where he had established for a time sir William des Bourdes, and, in his absence, the viscount de Meaux and the lord de Saimpy. These captains had it repaired and strengthened, notwithstanding it was strongly fortified before. The king of France had heard the news of this with infinite pleasure, and considered this expedition as having done him great service. He sent immediate orders to the governor of St. Omer, commanding the town of Ardres to be reinforced and provided with every kind of store and provision in the most ample manner: which orders were punctually obeyed. The army was disbanded, except the troops which were attached to the lord de Clisson and the Bretons; but they returned as speedily as they could into Brittany, for news had been brought to the lord de Clisson and the other barons before Ardres, that Janequin le Clerc,† an English squire and an expert man-at-arms, had sailed from England to Brittany, and had reinforced Brest with Englishmen. These Bretons, therefore, carried with them sir James de Verchin, séneschal of Hainault. The duke of Burgundy returned to his brother the king of France.

At this period, there was a large body of men-at-arms assembled on the borders of the Bordelois, in obedience to the summons of the duke of Anjou and the constable of France, who had appointed a day for attacking the Gascons and English, of which I shall speak more fully when better informed than I am at present.

While the duke of Burgundy was with his army in Picardy, as I have before said, the duke of Anjou resided in the good town of Toulouse with the duchess his lady, and was devising, night and day, different schemes to annoy and harass the English; for he found that various castles and towns on the river Dordogne, and on the borders of Rouergue, the Toulousain, and Querci, were still harassing the country and those inhabitants who had put themselves under his obedience. He was anxious to provide a remedy for this, and resolved to lay siege to Bergerac: this place being the key to Gascony, and standing on the frontiers of Rouergue, Querci, and Limousin. But as he found there were yet several great barons of Gascony adverse to him, such as the lords de Duras, de Rosem, de Mucident, de Langurant, de Guernoles, de Carles, and sir Peter de Landuras, with many more, he determined to raise a large force that would not only enable him to oppose these lords but to keep the field. He wrote, therefore, to sir John d'Armagnac, who, in such a business, would not fail him, and sent also to the lord d'Albret. He had before sent for the constable of France, the lord Louis de Sancerre, the lord de Coucy, and many knights and squires, in Picardy, Brittany, and Normandy, who were all willing to serve him and to advance their reputation in arms and renown. The constable and marshal of France were already arrived.

The duke of Anjou knew that there existed a coolness between the relations and friends of the lord de Pommiers, and sir Thomas Felton, high séneschal of Bordeaux, and the Bordelois. I will tell you the reason of it, and afterwards clear it up. Long before that period, in the year 1375, there was a cruel instance of justice executed at Bordeaux by the orders of sir Thomas Felton, lieutenant for the king of England in the Bordelois, upon sir William lord de Pommiers, on suspicion of treason, which astonished every one. By orders of sir Thomas Felton, this lord de Pommiers was arrested in Bordeaux, together with a lawyer, his secretary and counsellor, called John Coulon, a native of Bordeaux. It was proved on them (as I was at the time informed,) that the lord de Pommiers had agreed to surrender himself and all his castles to the French; from which charge they could never clear themselves, so that they were condemned to death. The lord de Pommiers and his secretary were publicly beheaded in the market-place of the city of Bordeaux, before all the people, who much wondered thereat.‡ His relations blamed this proceeding exceedingly, and that gallant knight, sir Aymon de Pom-

* The author employs the first twenty-seven chapters in recapitulating the events of the three last years of the preceding volume, which had been too succinctly related.—St. Palaye's *Essay on the Works of Froissart.*

† Janequin le Clerc—I imagine to be sir John Clark, of whom Hollingshed speaks so handsomely in the 3rd of Richard II., and who was killed in a battle at a sea-port in Brittany.—See Hollingshed.

‡ A. D. 1377, 1378.

Rotuli Vasconiæ de anno primo Ricardi II. Membranæ 16, 17, 18, 19.

1. Processus judicii redditi contra Willelmum Sans, dominum de Pomers, pro proditione, in curia Vasconiæ, et de castris et terris suis satisfactis ad dominum regem.

miers, uncle to sir William, set out from Bordeaux and the Bordelois very indignant at such a disgrace to his family, and swore he would never again bear arms for the king of England. He crossed the seas to the Holy Sepulchre, and made several other voyages. On his return, he changed to the French interest, placing himself and his territories under the obedience of the king of France. He immediately sent his challenge to the lord de l'Esparre, and made war upon him, because he had been one of the judges of his nephew.

Sir John Blessac, sir Peter de Landuras, and sir Bertrand du Franc, were also implicated in these suspicions of treason, as well as on account of the surrender of the castle of Fronsac, which had been delivered up to the French, it being the inheritance of the lord de Pommiers who had been beheaded: they were detained in prison at Bordeaux upward of seven months. They were at length set at liberty, through the entreaties of their friends, for nothing could be proved against them. Sir Gaillard Vighier, however, continued a long time in imminent danger, which surprised many, as he was not of that country, but had come from Lombardy with the lord de Coucy, and was in the service of pope Gregory, who exerted himself in his deliverance as soon as he heard of his imprisonment, the knight having insisted on his innocence. By these means, much secret hatred was caused, from which many mischiefs ensued.

When the duke of Anjou saw the time was arrived for his marching from Toulouse, and that the greater part of his men-at-arms were in the field—in particular, the constable of France, in whom he had the greatest confidence—he set out from Toulouse, and took the direct road to Bergerac. Sir Perducas d'Albret was governor of the place: he resided in a small castle, a short league from Languedoc, called Moueux, which is a strong fort.

The duke of Anjou and his army marched until they came before Bergerac, when they encamped themselves all around it, and as near the river as possible, for the greater ease of themselves and their horses. Many great barons were with the duke: in the first place, sir John d'Armagnac, with a large troop; the constable of France, with another large body; the lord Louis de Sancerre, sir John de Bueil, sir Peter de Bueil, sir Evan of Wales, sir Maurice de Trisiquidi (who had formerly been one of the thirty knights on the French side at the duel in Brittany,) sir Alain de Beaumont, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir William and sir Peter de Mornay, sir John de Vers, sir Baldwin Cremoux, Thibaut du Pont, Heliot de Calais, and many other able men-at-arms with large companies. They encamped themselves to a great extent in those fine meadows along the river Dordogne, so that it was a great pleasure to look at them.

The constable was lodged very near to the quarters of the duke. Those companions who were desirous of advancing themselves frequently came to the barriers to skirmish: many of whom were slain or wounded by arrows, as in such adventures must happen. At the end of six days after the town of Bergerac had been besieged, the lord d'Albret, and sir Bernard d'Albret his cousin, arrived in the camp of the duke, well accompanied by men-at-arms and foot-soldiers, where they were received with joy, as the army was by them greatly reinforced.

The duke, with the principal leaders of the army, held a council on the eighth day, to consider in what manner they could most effectually annoy the inhabitants of Bergerac. Many speeches were made, and different proposals offered. It was long debated to storm the town, but afterwards this measure was abandoned, as their men might suffer much, and not make any great gain. The council broke up without coming to any determination, except to continue on the siege; for they were still expecting large bodies of men-at-arms from France, and in particular the lord de Coucy.

CHAPTER II.

SIR THOMAS FELTON IS DEFEATED AND MADE PRISONER, WITH MANY OF THE PRINCIPAL LORDS OF GASCONY, BY A PARTY OF FRENCH AT THE SIEGE OF BERGERAC.

Sir Thomas Felton, who resided at Bordeaux, was not at his ease from knowing that his enemies were but twelve leagues distant, and in such numbers that he could not think of opposing them by force,

Duke of Anjou with his army, marching against Bergerac. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

having also learnt the duke of Anjou's summons and intentions: he had, therefore, sent information to the king and council in England; but those whom he had dispatched thither had not been able to do anything, for the kingdom of England was much shaken, and different parties were mutually opposing each other. The duke of Lancaster, in particular, was unpopular with the common people; from which cause much party animosity and danger happened afterwards in England. No men-at-arms were sent either to Gascony or to Brittany; on which account, those who were defending the frontiers for the young king were very ill pleased. It happened that sir Thomas Felton had desired the lord de l'Esparre to go to England, for the better information of the king and his uncles respecting the affairs of Gascony, in order that they might take counsel to provide for them. The lord de l'Esparre had already left Bordeaux, and was proceeding on his voyage; but the wind proving unfavorable, he was driven into the Spanish seas, where he was met by some ships from Spain, with whom he engaged unsuccessfully; he was made prisoner and carried to Spain, where he remained upward of a year and a half, and suffered many mortifications from the relations of the lord de Pommiers.

Sir Thomas was a truly valiant man: he had written and sent special messengers to the lords de Mucident, de Duras, de Rosem, and de Langurant, four of the most noble and powerful barons of Gascony, and who were attached to England, to request, that for the honor of the king their lord, they would not fail, on any account, to defend the principality, and to desire they would come to Bordeaux with their vassals; for all knights who were anxious to acquit themselves toward the king and lord were already arrived there. When they were all assembled, they amounted to full five hundred lances: they remained at Bordeaux, and in the Bordelois, during the time when the duke of Anjou was beginning the siege of Bergerac. Sir Thomas Felton and these four Gascon barons held a council, in which they resolved to march toward the French, and post themselves in a secure situation, to see if they could gain any advantage over them. They set out, therefore, from Bordeaux with upward of three hundred lances, taking the road for La Réole, and came to a certain town called Yuret,* in which they quartered themselves. The

* "Yuret," probably Yvrac—a village in Guienne, near Bordeaux.

French knew nothing of this ambuscade, and suffered much from it. The siege of Bergerac was still going forward: there were many skirmishes and deeds of arms performed with the garrison by the besiegers; but the French were not great gainers, for sir Perducas d'Albret, the governor, was very active in opposing them, that no blame might be imputed to him.

The army called another council, and resolved to send for a large machine, called a sow, from La Réole, in order the more to harass the garrison. This sow was a large engine, which cast weighty stones, and one hundred men, completely armed, could be drawn up in it, and attack the walls. Sir Peter de Bueil, sir John de Vers, sir Baldwin de Cremoux, sir Alain de Beaumont, the lord de Montcalay, and the lord de Gaures, were ordered to go for this engine: they left the army, in consequence, with about three hundred men-at-arms whom they could depend on, and, fording the river Dordogne, rode toward La Réole: they advanced between Bergerac and La Réole, until they came to Yurac, where the English were in ambuscade with upward of four hundred combatants, of which they were ignorant.

News was brought to the army and to the constable of France, that the English had taken the field; but it was unknown which way they had marched. The constable, lest his men might be surprised, immediately ordered a large detachment to guard the foragers, who were out between the rivers Garonne and Dordogne, and gave the command of it to sir Peter de Mornay, sir Evan of Wales, Thibaut du Pont, and Heliot de Calais: there might be in this detachment two hundred lances of tried men. Sir Peter de Bueil, and the others who were sent to bring the sow, rode on to La Réole, and, having laden a great many carts with it, set out on their return, but by a different route from that by which they had arrived, for they required a broader road for their convoy, and yet they were to pass by Yurac, or very near to it, where the English were in ambuscade: however, they were so fortunate as to meet with a second detachment from their army, when they were within a short league of the town. The whole then amounted to full six hundred lances. They continued their march in greater security, and more at their leisure.

Sir Thomas Felton and the barons of Gascony in Yurac were informed, that the French were escorting that way a very large engine, from La Réole to their siege of Bergerac. They were much rejoiced at this intelligence, and said it was what they wished. They then armed themselves, mounted their horses, and drew up in the best array they were able. When they had advanced into the plain, they had not long to wait before they saw the French, marching in a large body, and in handsome order. No sooner was each party assured that those whom they saw were enemies, who seemed mutually eager for the contest, than sticking spurs into their horses, and with spears in their rests, they charged each other, shouting their different war-cries. I must say, that in this first conflict, many a gallant tilt was performed, and many a knight and squire were unhorsed and driven to the ground. In such deadly warfare, there is no accident but what may happen. Heliot de Calais, a most able squire and good man-at-arms, was knocked off his horse, by a violent stroke on the throat-piece with a spear, whose broad point was as sharp and as fine as a razor. This iron cut through the throat-piece, as well as all the veins: the stroke beat him to the ground, when he shortly after died: the more the pity. By this accident did he end his days. Among the French, there was a knight from Berry or Limousin, named sir William de Lignac, an excellent man-at-arms, who this day performed many gallant deeds.

The combat was sharp, and long continued on each side, close to the village of Yurac: when their lances failed, they drew their swords, and the attack was more vigorously renewed. Many feats of prowess were performed, many captures made, and many rescued. Of the English slain on the spot, was a Gascon knight, called the lord de Gernos and de Calais: of the French, Thibaut du Pont. This battle was well and long fought: many handsome deeds were done, for they were all men of valor: but in the end the English could not gain the field: they were fairly conquered by the French. Sir William de Lignac captured with his own hand sir Thomas Felton, sénéschal of Bordeaux: nearly at the same time, the lords de Mucident, de Duras, de Rosem, de Langurant, were also made prisoners. Few of the English or Gascons but were made prisoners or slain.

Those who could escape met, on their return toward Bordeaux, the sénéschal des Landes, sir William Helman, the mayor of Bordeaux, and sir John de Multon; in the whole, about one hundred lances, who were hastening to Yurac; but, when they heard the news of so complete a defeat, they wheeled about, and returned as speedily as possible to Bordeaux.

CHAPTER III.

BERGERAC SURRENDERS TO THE DUKE OF ANJOU. THE LORDS DE DURAS AND DE ROSEM, AFTER HAVING PROMISED TO BE OF THE FRENCH INTEREST, RETURN AGAIN TO THE ENGLISH.

When this engagement was over and the field cleared, and all those who had been made prisoners placed under a secure guard, they set out on their return to the siege carrying on at Bergerac. The duke of Anjou was mightily rejoiced when he heard of the detachments having had such success, and that all the flower of Gascony, the knights and squires his enemies, were either killed or taken, and among them sir Thomas Felton, who had been very active against him; so that he would rather have lost five hundred thousand francs than that it should have been otherwise. Sir Peter de Bueil, sir William de Lignac, sir Evan of Wales, and others, continued their march until they came to their army before Bergerac, where they were received with much pleasure by the duke of Anjou, the constable, the barons and knights their friends, who considered their success as very honorable and profitable to them.

On the morrow, the sow they had brought was erected near to the walls of Bergerac, which much alarmed the inhabitants, who held a council to consider their situation, and whether they could maintain it. They addressed themselves to their governor, for they found they could not long hold out, as no succor was to be expected since their sénéschal was taken, and with him the chivalry of Gascony, on whose asssistance they had depended. Sir Perducas told them, they were in sufficient strength to hold out for some time, being well provided with provisions and artillery, if they made not any foolish agreement.

Things remained in this situation until the next morning, when the trumpets of the army sounded for an assault, and every one repaired to his banner. The constable of France, who was in the field with a grand array, sent to hold a parley with the inhabitants before the assault began, or any of their men were wounded or slain; in which he remonstrated with them, that having had their leaders made prisoners, from whom alone they could hope for assistance, and who were now in treaty to place themselves and their lands under the obedience of the king of France, they could not look for any relief; and, should the town be taken by storm, it would inevitably be destroyed by fire and flame, and none receive quarter. These threats frightened the inhabitants, who demanded time to hold a consultation, which was granted to them. The burghers then assembled, without calling in their governor, and agreed to surrender as good Frenchmen, provided they were peaceably and gently dealt with, without any of the army entering their town, which was directly granted.

When sir Perducas d'Albret, their governor, heard of this, he mounted his horse, ordered his men to march, and, having passed the bridges, made for the fort of Moncin, when Bergerac surrendered to the French. The constable of France took possession of it, placing therein a governor and men-at-arms to keep and defend it.

After the surrender of Bergerac, the duke of Anjou was advised to advance further into the country, and lay siege to Castillon* on the Dordogne. News of this was soon spread through the army, when every one began to make his preparations accordingly; that is to say, the duke, the constable, and the other men-at-arms, except the marshal of France, who remained behind to wait for the lord de Coucy, as he was expected to arrive that evening (which indeed he did,) when the marshal advanced to meet him with a very large attendance of his men, and received him most amicably. They remained all that night in the place which the duke had left. The duke and his army advanced to a fine mead, on the banks of the Dordogne, in his march to Castillon.

Under the command of the lord de Coucy were, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Tristan de Roye, the lords de Faignelles, de Jumont, sir John de Rosay, sir Robert de Cleremont, and several other knights and squires. They marched from their quarters, and continued advancing in company with the marshal of France and his troops until they arrived at the army of the duke, where they were received with much satisfaction.

In the road to Castillon, there is a town called St. Foy: before the vanguard arrived at Castillon, they marched thither, and having surrounded it, began to attack it briskly. This town had not any men-at-arms, and but trifling fortifications, so that it did not long defend itself. On its surrender, it was pillaged. The siege was formed before Castillon above the river, and continued for fifteen days: of course, there were many skirmishes at the barriers, for some English and Gascons had retreated thither after the battle of Yurac, and defended themselves valiantly. The Gascon barons who had been made prisoners at Yurac, were still in the French camp, and in treaty to turn to the French party. Sir Thomas Felton was not solicited so to do, as he was an Englishman, but had his ransom fixed by his master, sir William de Lignac, to whom he paid thirty thousand francs, and obtained his liberty: but this was not immediately settled. After much negotiating, the four Gascon barons turned to the French: they engaged, on their faith and honor, that themselves and their vassals would ever remain good Frenchmen; for which reason the duke of Anjou gave them their liberties.

The lords de Duras and de Rosem left the duke with a good understanding, intending to visit their estates: the lords de Mucident and de Langurant remained with the army, and were graciously treated by the duke of Anjou, with whom they frequently dined and supped. The first-mentioned lords thought the duke very obliging in thus lightly allowing them to depart, which indeed he afterwards

* "Castillon"—a town of Guienne, election of Bordeaux.

repented, as he had good reason. These two lords, when on their road conversing together, said, "How can we serve the duke of Anjou and the French, when we have hitherto been loyal English? It will be much better for us to deceive the duke of Anjou than the king of England, our natural lord, and who has always been so kind to us." This they adopted, and resolved to go to Bordeaux, to the sénéschal des Landes, sir William Helman, and assure him that their hearts would not suffer them to become good Frenchmen. The two barons continued their journey to Bordeaux, where they were joyfully received: for they had not then heard anything of their treaties with the duke of Anjou.

The sénéschal des Landes and the mayor of Bordeaux were inquisitive after news, and what sums they had paid for their ransoms. They said, that through constraint and threats of death, the duke of Anjou had forced them to turn to the French: but added, "Gentlemen, we will truly tell you, that before we took the oath, we reserved in our hearts our faith to our natural lord the king of England; and, for anything we have said or done, will we never become Frenchmen." The knights from England were much pleased with these words, and they declared they had acquitted themselves loyally toward their lord.

Five days afterwards, news was brought to the duke of Anjou and the army before Castillon, that the lords de Duras and de Rosem had turned to the English, which very much astonished the duke, the constable, and the other barons. The duke then sent to the lords de Mucident and de Langurant, told them what he had heard, and asked what they thought of it: these barons, who were exceedingly vexed, replied, "My lord, if they have broken their faith, we will not belie ours; and that which we have said and sworn to you we will loyally keep, nor shall the contrary be ever reproached to us; for by valor and gallant deeds of arms have your party conquered us, and we will therefore remain steady to our obedience to you." "I believe you firmly," said the duke of Anjou; "and I swear by God first, and then by my lord and brother, that on leaving this place, we will not undertake any one thing before we have besieged the towns of Duras and Rosem." Things remained in this state; that is to say, the duke of Anjou much enraged at the conduct of the two Gascon barons, and the siege continuing before Castillon. The town and castle of Castillon, on the Dordogne, was a town and inheritance of the captal de Buch, whom the king of France had detained in prison at Paris.

CHAPTER IV.

CASTILLON, AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES IN GASCONY, SURRENDER TO THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

During the time Castillon was besieged, there was a great famine, insomuch that for money there was difficulty in getting provisions. The French were forced to march twelve or fifteen leagues for forage for the army, and in going and returning they ran great risks; for there were many castles and English garrisons on the frontiers, from whence they sallied forth and formed ambuscades; or they waited in the narrow passes and defiles; and whenever they found themselves the strongest, they fell upon the French foragers, killed and wounded them, and carried off their forage. For this reason, they never could forage but in large bodies.

The siege of Castillon was carried on with much vigor, and the garrison so harassed by assaults and engines that they surrendered, on their lives and fortunes being spared. The men-at-arms marched out, and as many more as chose to leave it, and went to St. Macaire,* where there is a good castle and strong town. On the surrender of Castillon, the duke of Anjou received the fealty and homage of the inhabitants, and renewed the officers: he appointed as governor of it a knight from Touraine, called sir James de Montmartin. When they were about to march from Castillon, they called a council to consider whither they should go next; and it was determined to advance toward St. Marine; but, as several small forts were scattered about the country before they could arrive there, it was not thought proper to leave them in the rear on account of the foragers. They therefore, on quitting Castillon, marched to Sauveterre,† which they besieged.

Other intelligence was brought, respecting the lords de Duras and de Rosem, different from what had been at first reported; that in truth they were at Bordeaux, but it was not known on what terms. This news was spread through the army, and was so public as to come to the ears of the lords de Mucident and Langurant: they mentioned it to the lord de Coucy and sir Peter de Bueil, whom they were desirous to interest in excusing those knights, adding that it was very simple to believe such tales so lightly told. They replied, they would willingly undertake to speak to the duke, who told them he should be very happy to find the contrary true to what he had heard. The affair remained in this state, and the siege of Sauveterre continued. The town of Sauveterre held out only for three days; for the knight who was governor surrendered it to the duke, on condition of himself, his troops, with their fortunes, being spared.

By these means they marched and came before St. Bazille, a good town, which immediately surrendered, and put itself under the obedience of the king of France.

They then advanced to Montsegur,* which they attacked on their arrival, but did not gain it on this first attempt. They encamped and refreshed themselves for the night. On the morrow, they prepared for the assault, and those within, seeing they were in earnest, began to be greatly alarmed, and called a council, wherein it was at last determined that they would offer to surrender on having their lives and fortunes spared; and upon these terms they were received. The French marched away to another good walled town, situated between St. Macaire and La Réole, called Auberoche. They were four days before they could gain it, which was done by capitulation.

The French then advanced to St. Macaire

CHAPTER V.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF ST. MACAIRE BY CAPITULATION—THE TOWN OF DURAS BY STORM, BUT THE CASTLE RECEIVES QUARTER.

The army of the duke of Anjou was daily increasing from all quarters; for such knights and squires as were desirous of renown came to wait on him, and to serve him. The siege was formed before St. Macaire in a very handsome manner; for those men-at-arms had retreated thither who had quitted the garrisons which had surrendered. The town, therefore, had been greatly reinforced, and better guarded. There were many grand assaults and skirmishes, as well before the town as at the barriers. While the siege was going forward, the duke of Anjou and the constable of France ordered the leaders of the different corps to make excursions in various parts. Large detachments, therefore, set out, under the orders of the marshal of France, sir Perceval de Marneil and sir William de Moncontour. These detachments remained for six days in the field, took several towns and small castles, and put all the surrounding country under the subjection of the king of France. None went out to oppose them, for the whole country was almost empty of men-at-arms attached to the English, and the few who were there fled toward Bordeaux. When they had finished their expeditions, they returned to the army.

The inhabitants of St. Macaire knew well that they could not hold out for a long time: and the besiegers promised them every day, that if they suffered themselves to be taken by storm, they should all without mercy be put to death. They began to be doubtful lest their career might terminate in this cruel manner, and secretely opened a treaty with the French to surrender, on their lives and fortunes being spared. The men-at-arms in St. Macaire had intelligence of this, and suspecting the inhabitants might perhaps form some treaty inimical to them, they retired into the castle, which was large and strong, and built to stand a good siege, taking with them all their own wealth, and a good deal of pillage from the town. Upon this, the inhabitants surrendered their town to the king of France. The duke of Anjou received intelligence during the siege of St. Macaire, that his lady the duchess had been brought to bed of a son at Toulouse. The duke and the whole army were much rejoiced at this event, and their warlike heroism was greatly increased. The men-at-arms entered the town, for it had large and handsome houses, in which they refreshed themselves, as they had wherewithal, the town being well provided with every sort of provision.

The castle was surrounded on all sides, and engines erected before it, which cast such large stones as greatly astonished the garrison. While this siege was carrying on, true intelligence was brought respecting the lords de Duras and de Rosem, by two heralds, who declared they had turned to the English. On hearing this the duke said, "Let me but gain St. Macaire, and I will immediately march and lay siege to Duras." He ordered the attacks on the castle to be renewed with greater vigor, for he was not willing to leave it in his rear. The garrison seeing themselves thus attacked, without any hopes of succor, and knowing that the duke and constable were determined to have them by fair or foul means, thought they should act wisely if they entered into a treaty, which they accomplished, and delivered up the castle, on their lives and fortunes being spared, and on being conducted to Bordeaux. Thus did the town and castle of St. Macaire become French. The duke of Anjou took possession of it, appointed a governor, and then decamped with his whole army, taking the road toward Duras.

The army continued its march until it came before Duras, when an attack was immediately ordered. The men-at-arms made themselves ready, and the cross-bowmen, well shielded, advanced to the town; some of whom had provided themselves with ladders, in order the more easily to scale the walls. This attack was very severe, and those who had mounted the walls fought hand to hand with their opponents: so many gallant deeds were done by each party, that it lasted the greater part of the day. When they had thus well fought for a length of time, the marshals ordered the trumpets to sound a retreat, and every man retired to his quarters for the night. In the mean time, sir Alain de la Haye, and sir Alain de St. Pol, arrived at the army with a large troop of Bretons, who had marched toward

* St. Macaire—a city in Guienne, on the Garonne, nine leagues from Bordeaux.
† Sauveterre—a town in Gascony, diocese of Comminges.

* A village in Gascony, election of Landes.

Libourne,* and had attacked an English garrison at Cadillac,† which they had taken by storm, and slain all within it.

On the morrow morning, the duke ordered the storming to be renewed, and that each man should exert himself to the utmost. He had it also proclaimed by a herald, that whoever should first enter Duras should receive five hundred francs. The desire of gaining this reward made many poor companions come forward. Ladders were placed against the walls in various places, and the attack began in earnest; for the young knights and squires, who were eager for renown, did not spare themselves, but fought with a thorough good will.

Storming of Duras. From a MS. of Froissart of the fifteenth century.

The lord de Langurant had ascended a ladder, with a sword in his hand, and fought hard to enter the town the first, not indeed for the five hundred francs, but to illustrate his name; for he was exceedingly angry that the lord de Duras had so lightly turned to the English. The lord de Langurant, as I must say, performed such deeds that his own people as well as strangers were quite astonished therewith, and advanced so far that his life was in great jeopardy; for those withinside the walls tore off the helmet from his head, and with it the hood, so that he would inevitably have been slain, if his own squire, who followed him close, had not covered him with his target. The knight descended the ladder by degrees, but he received in his descent several heavy blows on the target. He was much esteemed for this assault, by all those who saw him.

In another part, sir Tristan de Roye and sir Perceval d'Ayvenal, mounted on ladders, fought most valorously; and also sir John de Jumont and sir John de Rosay, where each for his part did wonders in arms. On the battlements was the lord de Seriel, mounted on a ladder, fighting gallantly hand to hand with those on the inside; and all who saw him said, that if any one was likely to have the advantage of first entering the town, he was in the road so to do. This knight did not thus adventure himself for profit, but for glory: however, as fortune is hazardous, he was struck down with such force by a sword, that he tumbled into the ditch, and broke his neck. In suchwise died this knight. The same fate attended a squire from Brittany, who bore for his arms two chevrons gules, chequered with or, argent, and azur. This vexed the constable so much that he ordered the assailants to be reinforced, and the fight continued with more vigor than before. The lord de Mucident proved himself an able knight, and showed he was indeed a Frenchman from the manner in which he assaulted.

The town of Duras was taken by storm, and the first persons who entered it were sir Tristran de Roye and sir John de Rosay. When the men-at-arms in Duras saw that the town must be lost, they retreated into the castle, leaving the rest to its fate. Thus was Duras taken, and all found in it were put to death. The men-at-arms retired to their quarters, where they disarmed themselves, and took their ease, having plenty of provision with them.

On the morrow morning, the constable of France, attended by the marshal, mounted their horses, and rode to the castle to reconnoitre, and see on which side they could best attack it. Having well examined it, they found it was marvellously strong, and said, that without a very long siege, it would not be easily taken: on their return, they related this to the duke of Anjou. "That does not signify," replied the duke, "for I have said and sworn, that I would not stir from hence until I should have this castle under my obedience." "And you shall not forswear yourself," answered the constable. Engines were directly pointed against the castle, as they were ready on the spot. When those within saw the great preparations that were making against them, as well by those in the town as by the French, and that the attack would be severe, and probably fatal to them, they thought it advisable to enter into a negotiation. They opened a treaty with the constable, who agreed to spare their lives and fortunes on their surrendering the castle. The duke of Anjou was therefore advised by the constable not to fatigue or hurt his men, but to grant them quarter, which he did. On the third day they marched out of the castle, and were conducted whither they wished to go, and the constable took possession of it; but I believe that the duke of Anjou ordered it to be razed to the ground.

* "Libourne"—a city of Guienne on the Dordogne, ten leagues from Bordeaux.

† "Cadillac"—a town in Guienne, seven leagues from Bordeaux.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU RETURNS TO THE DUCHESS AT TOULOUSE, AND THE CONSTABLE TO THE KING OF FRANCE. EVAN OF WALES LAYS SIEGE TO MORTAIN SUR-MER.

After the conquest of the town and castle of Duras, the duke of Anjou ordered sir John de Jumont, sir Tristan de Roye, and sir John de Rosay, to remain in the town of Landurant,* (for the lord of it had turned to the French since he had been made prisoner at the battle of Yurac,) with one hundred good spears to guard the frontiers against the Bordelois: he himself wished to return to Toulouse to see his duchess, who had been delivered of a handsome boy, for he was desirous of holding a grand feast at Toulouse to celebrate this event. He therefore ordered men-at-arms to the different towns and castles which he had conquered. On dismissing Evan of Wales, he said to him: "You will take under your command the Bretons, Poitevins and Angevins, with whom you will march into Poitou, and lay siege to Mortain-sur-mer, which the lord de l'Estrade† holds; and do not quit the place for any orders you may receive in the king's name until you have had possession of it; for it is a garrison that has done us much mischief." "My lord," replied Evan, "as far as it shall be in my power I will loyally obey you." The duke, the constable, and the lord de Coucy, then ordered all those who were to accompany Evan into Poitou. Upon this full five hundred good men-at-arms left the duke, and took the road to Saintonge, in order to advance toward St. Jean d'Angely.

The duke of Anjou, the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, the marshal of France, sir John and sir Peter de Bueil, returned to Toulouse, where they found the duchess newly recovered from her lying-in. On this event there were very great rejoicings and feastings at Toulouse. The constable and the lord de Coucy then returned to Paris: the marshal de Sancerre into Auvergne, to assist the dauphin of Auvergne and the barons of that country, who were carrying on the war against the English that had remained in Limousin, Rouergue, and on the borders of Auvergne.

Let us now say something of Evan of Wales, how he laid siege at this season to Mortain, and how he harassed its garrison. Evan of Wales, being desirous of obeying the orders of the duke of Anjou, (for he knew well that whatever the duke did was by the directions of the king of France his brother, as he had paid all the expenses of

* "Landurant"—should be Landiras—a town in Guienne, near Bordeaux. William Shalton was lord of Landiras.—See Rolles' *Gasconnes*.

† The souldich de l'Estrade.—See Anstis.

the different expeditions he had made had advanced as far as Saintes. He had halted to refresh himself and his companions in that rich country between Saintes and Poitou, and in the beautiful meads which are on the banks of the rivers in those parts. Many knights and squires of Poitou were with him, such as the lords de Pons, de Touars, de Vivarois, the lord James de Surgeres, and several more. On the other hand, from Brittany and Normandy, were sir Maurice de Trisiquedi, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir Alain de St. Pol, sir Perceval d'Ayneval, sir William de Moncontour, the lord de Monmor, and Morelet his brother. These troops, when ordered, marched away, and laid siege to Mortain. The castle is situated on the Garonne, near to and below its embouchure with the sea: it is the handsomest and strongest fort in all the borders of the countries of Poitou, la Rochelle, and Saintonge.

When Evan of Wales, the barons and knights, were arrived there, they formed the siege very prudently, and provided themselves by little and little with everything they wanted; for they were well aware that they could never conquer the castle by storm, but that it must be won by distressing the garrison with famine and a long blockade. Evan, therefore, ordered four block-houses to be erected, so that no provision could enter the place by sea or by land.

At times, the young knights and squires who wished to display their courage, advanced to the barriers of the castle, and skirmished with the garrison. Many gallant deeds were there performed. There was a knight in Mortain called the souldich, who was from Gascony, a valiant knight and able man-at-arms, whose orders they obeyed as if he had been their governor. The castle was plentifully supplied with wines and provision, but they were in great want of several smaller necessaries.

CHAPTER VII.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE INSTIGATES THE SCOTS TO MAKE WAR ON ENGLAND. THE SCOTS TAKE THE CASTLE OF BERWICK.

King Charles of France, notwithstanding he always resided at Paris, or at various other places in France which pleased him more, and that he never bore arms himself, kept up a very sharp war against his enemies the English. He had formed alliances, as well in the empire as with the adjoining kingdoms, in a greater degree than the four or five preceding kings of France had ever done. He paid great attentions to all from whom he thought he should derive any assistance; and because king Richard of England was young, and his kingdom unsettled, he had sent to renew his alliance with the Scots, and with their king, Robert Stuart, who had succeeded his uncle king David Bruce, and to excite them to make war upon the English, so that they should be disabled from crossing the seas. Upon this, king Robert, after the death of Edward and the coronation of Richard, assembled his council at Edinburgh, where he had summoned the greater part of those barons and knights from whom he looked for assistance. He remonstrated with them against the English for having in former times done them much mischief by burning their country, razing their castles, killing and ransoming the inhabitants: that the time was now arrived when they might revenge themselves for all these disgraces; as king Edward was deceased, who had been so successful against them, and a young king was now on the throne.

The barons of Scotland and the young knights present, being desirous of advancing themselves and revenging the injuries which the English had formerly done to their country, replied unanimously, that they were willing and prepared to invade England, either to-day or to-morrow, or whenever he pleased. This answer was very agreeable to the king of Scotland, who returned them his thanks for it. Four earls were appointed captains of the men-at-arms; namely, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Mar and the earl of Sutherland; sir Archibald Douglas constable of Scotland, and sir Robert de Versi* marshal of the whole army.

Summonses were immediately issued for the assembling of the forces by a certain day in the Merse,† which is the country bordering on England. While this summons was obeying, a valiant squire of Scotland, named Alexander Ramsay, set off with forty men from his company, determined to perform a gallant enterprise. They were all well mounted, and, having rode the whole night through byeroads, came to Berwick nearly at daybreak. A squire attached to the earl of Northumberland, called William Bisset, was governor of the town of Berwick; and a very able knight, called sir Robert Abeton,‡ was constable of the castle.

When the Scots were arrived near Berwick, they concealed themselves, and sent a spy to observe the state of the castle. The spy entered it as far as the ditches, wherein there was not any water, nor indeed could any be retained in them, for they were of moving sands: he looked about him on all sides, but did not see a soul: upon which, he returned back to his masters. Alexander Ramsay directly advanced with his companions, without speaking a word, and passed the ditches: they had brought good ladders with them, which they placed against the walls. Alexander was the first who mounted them sword in hand, and entered the castle followed by his men without opposition.

When they had all entered, they hastened to the great tower where sir Robert Boynton slept, and began to cut down the door of it with the axes they had brought. The governor was suddenly awakened: he had slept all the night, and kept but a poor watch, for which he paid dear. He heard the door of his chamber broken, and thought it might be done by some of his own men who wanted to murder him, because he had quarreled with them the preceding week. With this idea, he opened a window which looked on the ditches, leaped out of it without further consideration, and thus broke his neck and died on the spot. The guards of the castle, who toward daybreak had been asleep, awakened by his groans, found the castle had been scaled and taken: they began to sound their trumpets, and to cry out, "Treason! treason!"

John Bisset, the governor of Berwick, on hearing their cries, armed himself, as well as all the able men of the town, and advanced toward the castle, when they plainly heard the noise of the Scots; but they could not gain entrance, for the gates were shut, and the drawbridge raised. Upon this, John Bisset, having considered a short time, said to those with him: "Come quickly: let us break down the supports of the bridge, so that none can sally out, nor get away without danger from us."

They soon got hatchets and wedges, and the supports of the gate next the town were destroyed. John Bisset sent off a messenger to the lord Percy at Alnwick, which is but twelve leagues off, to request he would come immediately to his assistance with all his forces, for that Berwick castle had been taken by the Scots. He also said to Thomelin Friant,* who was the person he sent: "Tell my lord of Percy the state you have left me in, and how the Scots are shut up in the castle, and cannot get away, unless they leap the walls; so let him hasten here as fast as he possibly can."

Alexander Ramsay and his men having scaled the castle of Berwick, thought they had done wonders, as in truth they had: they would have been masters of the town if John Bisset had not acted so prudently, and slain whomever they pleased, or shut them up in the tower, for such was their intention: they said, "Let us now go into the town; it is ours; and seize all the riches, which we will make the good men of the town carry away for us, and then we will set fire to it, for it cannot now make any resistance: in three or four days' time, succors will come from Scotland, so that we shall save all our pillage: and on our departure we will set the castle on fire, and by these means repay our hosts." All his companions assented, for they were eager for gain. They tightened on their arms, and each grasped a spear, for they had found plenty in the castle, and, opening the gate, let down the draw-bridge. When the bridge was let down, the chains which supported it broke; for the pillars on which it should have rested were destroyed, and the planks carried into the town. When John Bisset, and the inhabitants there assembled, saw them, they began shouting out, "Oh what, are you there? keep where you are, for you shall not go away for a certainty without our permission."

Alexander Ramsay, seeing their appearance, soon found they intended to keep them confined in the castle, and that they must get away as well as they could: he therefore shut the gates, to avoid their arrows, and ordered his people to inclose themselves within, intending to defend the castle. They flung all the dead into the ditches, and shut up the prisoners in a tower. They thought the place was full strong enough to hold out until succors should come from Scotland, for the barons and knights were assembling in the Merse and in that neighborhood: the earl of Douglas had even left Dalkeith, and arrived at Dunbar. We will now return to the squire whom John Bisset sent to Alnwick, and speak of his arrival, and of the information he gave to the earl of Northumberland.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND RETAKES THE CASTLE OF BERWICK.

Thomelin Friant made haste until he arrived at Alnwick, and entered the castle from the knowledge he had of it; for it was so early that the earl of Northumberland was not out of bed. Having arrived at his bedside to speak to him, for the business was very pressing, he said: "My lord, the Scots have this morning taken Berwick castle by surprise; and the governor of the town sends me to inform you of it, as you are the lieutenant of all these countries." When the earl heard this news, he made every possible haste to order succor to Berwick: he sent off letters and messengers to all knights and squires of Northumberland, and to those from whom he expected any assistance, desiring them to repair to Berwick without delay, and

* "Sir Robert de Versi." Q. † The Marches.—Ed.

‡ "Sir Robert Abeton"—sir Robert Boynton. Dr Fuller, in his history of Berwick, 1799, says, "that seventy-two gentlemen in 1377 took possession of Berwick castle by storm in the night, and continued masters of it for eight days, though it was besieged by seven thousand English archers and three thousand cavalry, and only lost two of their number, which had increased to forty-eight when they were subdued. Notwithstanding this heroic achievement, they were all put to the sword.

"Upon entering the castle, they killed the governor, sir Robert Boynton, but liberated his lady for two thousand marks.

"When the earl of Northumberland summoned these heroes to surrender, they boldly replied

"That they would not yield it either to the kings of England or Scotland, but would retain and defend it for the king of France."

No authority is mentioned.

* "Thomelin Friant." Q.

informing them that he was marching thither to besiege the Scots, who had conquered the castle.

This summons was soon spread over the country, and every man-at-arms, knight, squire, and cross-bowman, left their houses. The lord Neville, the lord Lucy, the lord Gastop,* the lord Stafford, the lord de Blelles,† the governor of Newcastle, and a right valiant and expert man-at-arms, called sir Thomas Musgrave, were there; but the earl of Northumberland first arrived at Berwick with his people; and

Alnwick Castle. From an original drawing.

forces daily came thither from all parts. They were in the whole about ten thousand men, who surrounded the castle so closely on all sides that a bird could not have escaped from it without being seen. The English began to form mines, the sooner to accomplish their purpose against the Scots and regain the castle.

Intelligence was brought to the barons and knights of Scotland, that the earl of Northumberland, with the chivalry of that country, were besieging their countrymen in Berwick castle: they therefore determined to march thither, raise the siege, and reinforce the castle, for they considered what Alexander Ramsay had performed as a most gallant achievement. Sir Archibald Douglas, the constable, said, "Alexander is my cousin, and it is his high birth that has caused him to undertake and execute so bold a feat as the taking of Berwick castle; it behoves us to do all in our power to assist him in this business, and if we can raise the siege it will be to us of great value: I am of opinion, therefore, that we march thither." He immediately ordered part of the army to remain behind, and the rest to advance toward Berwick. He chose five hundred lances from the flower of the Scots army, and set off well mounted and in good order, taking the road to Berwick.

The English, who were before Berwick with ten thousand men, including archers, soon heard how the Scots intended to raise the siege and reinforce the garrison: they called a council, and resolved to extend their ground, to wait for them and offer battle, as they were anxious to meet them. The earl of Northumberland ordered all to prepare themselves, and march into the plain to be mustered, when they were found to amount to full three thousand men-at-arms and seven thousand archers. When the earl saw his army so numerous, he said, "Let us keep to this ground, for we are able to combat all the force Scotland can send against us." They encamped on an extensive heath, without the walls of Berwick, in two battalions, and in good array.

This had been scarcely done an hour before they perceived some of the scouts of the Scots army advancing, but too well mounted to be attacked by the English: however, some English knights and squires would have been glad to have quitted their lines to have checked their career, but the earl said, "Let them alone, and allow their main body to come up: if they have any inclination for the combat, they will themselves advance nearer to us." The English remained very quiet, so that the Scots scouts came so close they were able to reconnoiter their two battalions and judge of how many men they were composed. When they had sufficiently observed them, they returned to their lords, and related what they had seen, saying, "My lords, we have advanced so near to the English that we have fully reconnoitered them: we can tell you, they are waiting for you, drawn up in two handsome battalions, on the plain before the town: each battalion may consist of five thousand men: you will therefore consider this well. We approached them so close that they knew us for Scots scouts; but they made not the smallest attempt to break their line to pursue us."

When sir Archibald Douglas and the Scots knights heard this account, they were quite melancholy, and said, "We cannot think it will be any way profitable for us to advance further to meet the English; for they are ten to one, and all tried men: we may lose more than we can gain: and a foolish enterprise is never good, and such is what Alexander Ramsay has performed." Sir William Lindsay, a valiant knight and uncle to Alexander Ramsay, took great pains to persuade them to succor his nephew, saying, "Gentlemen, my nephew, in confidence of your assistance, has performed this gallant deed, and taken Berwick castle. It will turn to your great shame, if he should be lost, and none of our family in future will thus boldly adventure themselves." Those present answered, "That they could not amend it, and that the many gallant men who were there could not be expected to risk their own destruction in the attempt to prevent a single squire from being made prisoner." It was therefore determined to retreat further up in their own country among the mountains near the river Tweed, whither they marched in good order and at their leisure.

When the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the other barons of England, found the Scots were not advancing, they sent off scouts to inquire what was become of them, who brought back intelligence that they had retreated toward the Merse beyond the castle of Roxburgh.* On hearing this, each man retired quietly to his quarters, where they kept a strict guard until the morrow morning about six o'clock, when they all made themselves ready for the attack of the castle. The assault immediately began: it was very severe, and continued until the afternoon. Never did so few men as the Scots defend themselves so well, nor was ever castle so briskly attacked; for there were ladders raised against different parts of the walls, on which men-at-arms ascended with targets over their heads, and fought hand to hand with the Scots. In consequence, many were struck down and hurled into the ditches. What most annoyed the Scots were the English archers, who shot so briskly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the bulwarks. This assault was continued until the English entered the castle, when they began to slay all they could lay hands on: none escaped death except Alexander Ramsay, who was made prisoner by the earl of Northumberland.

In this manner was Berwick regained. The earl of Northumberland appointed John Bisset constable thereof, a very valiant squire, through whose means, as you have already heard, it had been reconquered. He had every part of it repaired, and the bridge which he had broken down restored.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EARLS OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND NOTTINGHAM ENTER SCOTLAND WITH A LARGE ARMY.

After the recapture of Berwick castle, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, the two most powerful barons of the army, determined to make an excursion after their enemies, and if they could find them to offer them battle. As they had resolved, so did they execute: early on a morning they marched away taking the road to Roxburgh up Tweedside. When they had marched about three leagues, they called a council, and the two earls thought it advisable to send a detachment to Melrose, a large monastery of black monks, situated on the Tweed, which is the boundary of the two kingdoms, to know if any Scots were lying thereabouts in ambuscade; while they with the main body would march into the Merse; by which means they would not fail of hearing some news of the Scots. That valiant knight sir Thomas Musgrave was appointed commander of this detachment: it consisted of three hundred men-at-arms and as many archers. They left the army, which,

* "Gastop." Q. † "Blelles." Q. Bellasis.

* There seems some mistake of geography here.

on the separation, took a different route, one marching to the right and the other to the left. Sir Thomas and his son rode on to Melrose, where they arrived at an early hour, and took up their quarters, to refresh themselves and their horses, as well as to make inquiries after the Scottish army.

They ordered two of their squires, well mounted, to ride over the country, to endeavor to find out the situation of the Scots, and in what order they were. These two squires, on leaving their commanders, continued their route until they fell into an ambuscade of the Scots, commanded by sir William Lindsay, who had posted himself in hopes of meeting with some adventure, and to hear news of Berwick, and also what had been the fate of his nephew, Alexander Ramsay, and into whose hands he had fallen: this he was very anxious to learn: he had with him about forty lances. The English were seized immediately on their entering this ambush, which gave the knight very great pleasure. He demanded from them whence they came: but they were afraid of speaking, lest they should betray their masters: however, they were forced to be explicit, for the knight assured them that he would have them beheaded, if they did not truly answer all the questions he should put to them.

When things became so serious, and thew saw no means of escaping, they related how the castle of Berwick had been regained, and all found within put to death except Alexander Ramsay: they afterwards told how the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham were marching along Tweedside in search of the Scots, and how sir Thomas Musgrave, his son, sir John Seton, and sir Richard Breton, with three hundred spears and as many archers, were lodged in the abbey of Melrose, and that these knights had sent them out to discover where the Scots were. "By my troth," replied sir William Lindsay, "you have found us, and you will now remain with us." They were then taken aside, and given up to some of their companions, with orders to guard them well under penalty of their lives. Sir William Lindsay instantly sent off one of his men-at-arms, saying, "Ride to our main army, and tell them all you have heard, and the situation of the English: I will remain here until morning, to see if anything else may happen."

This man-at-arms rode on until he came to a large village beyond Morlaine,* which is called Hondebray,† situated on the Tweed, among the mountains, where there were large meads and a plentiful country; for which reason the Scots had quartered themselves there. Toward evening, the squire arrived; and, as they knew he had brought some intelligence, he was conducted to the earls of Douglas, Murray, Sutherland, and to sir Archibald Douglas, to whom he related all you have just read. The Scots were much vexed on hearing of the recapture of Berwick castle, but they were reconciled by the news of sir Thomas Musgrave and the other English knights being quartered at Melrose. They determined to march instantly, to dislodge their enemies, and make up from them for the loss of Berwick. They armed themselves, saddled their horses, and left Hadingtoun, advancing to the right of Melrose, for they were well acquainted with the country, and arrived a little before midnight. But it then began to rain very heavily, and with such a violent wind in their faces that there were none so stout but was overpowered by the storm, so that they could scarcely guide their horses: the pages suffered so much from the cold, and their comfortless situation, that they could not carry the spears, but let them fall to the ground: they also separated from their companions, and lost their way.

The advanced guard had halted, by orders of the constable, at the entrance of a large wood, through which it was necessary for them to pass; for some knights and squires who had been long used to arms said, they were advancing foolishly, and that it was not proper to continue their course in such weather, and at so late an hour, as they ran a risk of losing more than they could gain. They therefore concealed themselves and their horses under oaks and other large trees until it was day. It was a long time before they could make any fire from their flints and wet wood: however, they did succeed, and several large fires were made: for the cold and rain lasted until sunrise, but it continued to drizzle until the hour of six. Between six and nine o'clock, the day began to get somewhat warmer, the sun to shine, and the larks to sing. The leaders then assembled to consider what was best to be done, for they had failed in their intentions of arriving at Melrose during the night. They resolved to breakfast in the open fields on what they had, to refresh themselves and horses, and send out parties to forage. This was executed, and the greater part of their foragers spread themselves over the country and the adjacent villages. They brought hay and corn for the horses, and provision for their masters.

It happened that the English quartered in the abbey of Melrose had that morning sent out their foragers, so that the two parties met, and the English had not the advantage: several of their party were slain and wounded, and their forage seized. When sir Thomas Musgrave and the English knights in Melrose heard of it, they knew the Scots were not far distant: they ordered their trumpets to sound, and their horses to be saddled, while they armed themselves, for they were determined to take the field. They left the abbey in good order, and in handsome array. The Scots knights had received information from their foragers of their enemies being near: they therefore made all haste to refresh their horses, to arm and draw themselves up in order of battle, alongside and under cover of the wood. They were full seven hundred lances, and two thousand others, whom I call lusty varlets, armed with hunting spears, dirks, and pointed staves. The lord Archibald Douglas and his cousin the earl of Douglas said, "We cannot fail to have some business since the English are abroad: let us therefore be on our guard, for we will fight with them if the parties be nearly equal." They sent two of their men-at-arms to observe the order of the English, while they remained snug in their ambush.

* "Morlaine." Lambirlaw.—M'Pherson's *Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History.*

† "Hondebray." "It seems Hadingtoun: and, if so, the river ought to be Tyne" M'Pherson's *Geographical Illustrations.*

CHAPTER X.

SIR THOMAS MUSGRAVE AND THE ENGLISH UNDER HIS COMMAND ARE DEFEATED BY THE SCOTS.

Sir Thomas Musgrave and the knights of Northumberland, being desirous of meeting the Scots on equal terms, set out from Melrose, and took the road to Morlaine: they left the Tweed on their left hand, and, by an ascending road, made for a mountain called St. Giles.*

Two Scots scouts were posted there, who, having well considered the English, immediately set off to their own troops, and related their observations on the English; in what order they were marching, and that they had only seen three banners and ten pennons. The Scots were highly pleased with this intelligence, and said with a hearty good will, "In the name of God and St. Giles, let us march toward them, for they must be our prisoners." They then shouted their war-cry, which I think was, "Douglas, St. Giles!" They had not advanced half a league before both armies came in sight, and each knew a combat was unavoidable. Upon this the earl of Douglas knighted his son, and sir James Douglas displayed his banner. He also knighted the lord Robert and lord David, sons of the king of Scotland, who in like manner displayed their banners. There were made on the spot about thirty knights in the Scottish army, and one from Sweden, called sir George de Besmede, who bore on a shield argent a mill-iron gules with an indented bordure gules.

On the other hand, sir Thomas Musgrave made his son Thomas a knight, with others of his household. The lord Stafford and lord Gascoyn made some likewise. They drew out their archers, posting them on their wings; and, this day, the English cry was, "Our Lady of Arlestone!" The engagement then commenced with vigor, and the archers by their shooting confounded the men-at-arms; but the Scots were in such numbers, the archers could not be everywhere. There were between the knights and squires many a tilt and gallant deed performed, by which several were unhorsed. Sir Archibald Douglas was a good knight, and much feared by his enemies: when near to the English, he dismounted, and wielded before him an immense sword, whose blade was two ells long, which scarcely another could have lifted from the ground, but he found no difficulty in handling it, and gave such terrible strokes, that all on whom they fell were struck to the ground; and there were none so hardy among the English able to withstand his blows.

The battle was sharp and well fought as long as it lasted; but that was not any length of time, for the Scots were three to one, and men of tried valor. I do not say but the English defended themselves valiantly: in the end, however, they were defeated, and sir Thomas Musgrave, his son, with several other knights and squires, made prisoners. The Scots took seven score good prisoners; and the pursuit lasted as far as the river Tweed, where numbers were slain. The Scots, after this victory, resolved to march straight to Edinburgh, as they learnt from their prisoners that the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham were in the neighborhood on the other side of the Tweed, on their road to Roxburgh, and that they were in sufficient numbers to engage with all the force the Scots could bring against them: on which account, they thought they might as well abandon their expedition, in order to save themselves and guard their prisoners. They had wisely determined to retreat without making any halt; for, had they returned that evening to their former quarters, they would have run a risk of being conquered, as I shall now relate.

When the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the other barons of England, had separated from sir Thomas Musgrave, they advanced directly toward Roxburgh. They learnt from their spies, that the Scots, whom they were seeking to fight with, were quartered at Hondebray, which pleased them much, and they resolved to have a skirmish with them: they were marching thither that same night the enemy had left it: but it rained so hard that they could not accomplish their purpose: they therefore took up their quarters in the woods until the morrow, when they again sent out their scouts to find where the Scots were, who returned, saying that they could not see anything of them. They then determined to advance toward Melrose, in order to gain intelligence of sir Thomas Musgrave and his companions. When they had dined, they marched along Tweedside, on their way thither, and sent scouts over the river to learn some news of them.

* "St. Giles." Q. this mountain.

After the defeat on the plains of St. Giles, which I have just related, the scouts met several of their fellow-soldiers flying like men discomfited, who told them as much as they knew of the battle. Upon this, they returned, and with them the runaways, who related truly what had passed between the English and Scots: they well knew they had been defeated, but were ignorant who had been killed or who made prisoners. The lords of Northumberland, on hearing this unfortunate intelligence, were very melancholy, and with reason. They had two causes for vexation; for having lost the battle, and for having missed finding the Scots, whom they had been in search of.

A numerous council was assembled in the field, whether or not to pursue the Scots; but as they did not know which way they had marched, and night approaching, they resolved to make for Melrose, and fix their quarters there. Before they could accomplish their march to Melrose, they heard the truth of the event of the battle; that sir Thomas Musgrave, his son, with seven score men-at-arms, had been made prisoners by the Scots, who were carrying them off, and had taken the road to Edinburgh. These barons then found that they must submit to their loss, for help it they could not. They passed the night as well as they were able, and on the morrow they decamped, when the earl of Northumberland gave permission for every one to return to his home: he himself retired into his own country. Thus was this expedition put an end to. The Scots returned to Edinburgh, but not all, for the earl of Douglas and his son took the road to Dalkeith. This great success which they had obtained was a great novelty for Scotland. The knights and squires treated their prisoners handsomely, ransomed them courteously, and did with them the best they could. We will now leave off speaking of the Scots, and relate other events which happened in France.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DEATHS OF THE QUEENS OF FRANCE AND OF NAVARRE, AND THE RENEWAL OF THE FEUDS BETWEEN THEIR TWO HUSBANDS.

This year, in the month of February, the queen of France died, and, as the physicians said, by her own fault. She was with child of the lady Catherine, who was afterwards duchess of Berry.* The queen, as I have before said, was not very far advanced in pregnancy; but the doctors had forbidden her bathing, as being full of danger: however, she would persist and continued using baths, which brought on a mortal disorder. King Charles of France never married again. Soon after the death of the queen of France, the queen of Navarre died also. She was sister-german to the king of France. Upon her death disputes arose among the lawyers of the county of Evreux in Normandy: they said, that that county was, by rightful succession from the mother, devolved to the children of the king of Navarre, who were separated from him, under age, and in the guardianship of king Charles their uncle.

King Charles of Navarre was so much suspected of having caused, in former times, many ills to France, that he was not thought worthy of possessing any inheritance in that kingdom under the name of his children. The constable of France, therefore, returned from Aquitaine, where he had been a considerable time with the duke of Anjou, and brought with him the lord of Mucident, that he might see the king and become acquainted with him. The constable was received by the king with great joy, as was the lord de Mucident on his account. There were many secret councils and conversations between the king and constable, which were not immediately made public, respecting the situation of France and Navarre. We will shortly return to this business; but, in order to chronicle justly all the events which at this period happened in the world, I will relate to you the beginning of that grand schism which desolated the church, by which all Christendom was shaken, and from which many evils were engendered and spread abroad.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DEATH OF POPE GREGORY XI. AFTER THE SUDDEN DEATH OF HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR, THE CARDINALS ARE CONSTRAINED TO ELECT URBAN VI. WHICH CAUSES A SCHISM IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

You have before heard how pope Gregory XI. filled the papal chair at Avignon. When he found there was not any likelihood of his bringing about a peace between the kings of France and England, he was much displeased, for he had labored hard at it, as well as the cardinals by his orders. He resolved, as a matter of devotion, to revisit Rome and the holy see, which St. Peter and St. Paul had edified and augmented; for he had made a vow to God, that if he should ever be raised to so eminent an honor as the papacy, he would never hold his seat but where St. Peter had placed it. This pope was of a delicate constitution and sickly habit, so that he suffered more than another; and during his residence at Avignon he was much engaged with the affairs of France, and so much pressed by the king and his brothers, that he had not time to attend to his own concerns: he therefore said, he would place himself at a distance, that he might enjoy more repose. He made preparations in the most ample manner becoming such a great personage, on the riviera of Genoa and on all the roads. He told his brethren the cardinals to provide for themselves; for, being resolved to go to Rome, he should certainly set out. On hearing this, the cardinals were much surprised and vexed; for they remembered the Romans, and would willingly have turned him from taking this journey, but they could not succeed.

When the king of France was informed of it, he was in a violent passion; for when at Avignon he had him more under his power than anywhere else. He wrote, therefore, directly to his brother the duke of Anjou, at Toulouse, signifying, that on the receipt of the letter, he should set out for Avignon, and endeavor, by talking to the pope, to make him give up his intended journey. The duke of Anjou did what the king had ordered, and went to Avignon, where he was received with great respect by the cardinals. He took up his lodgings in the palace of the pope, that he might have more frequent opportunities of conversing with him. You may easily imagine that he acquitted himself ably in the different conversations he had with the pope, to dissuade him from his intentions of going to Rome; but he would not listen to him on this subject, nor give up anything that related to the affairs beyond the Alps: he ordered, however, four cardinals to remain at Avignon; to whom he gave full powers for them to act in all respects, excepting some papal cases, which he had not the power to delegate out of his own hands. When the duke found that neither reason nor entreaties could prevail with his holiness to remain where he was, he took leave of him, and said at his departure, "Holy father, you are going into a country, and among people by whom you are but little loved. You leave the fountain of faith, and a kingdom wherein the church has more piety and excellence than in all the rest of the world. By this action of yours, the church may fall into great tribulation; for should you die in that country (which is but too probable, as your physicians declare,) these Romans, who are a strange people and traitors, will be lords and masters of all the cardinals, whom they will force to elect a pope according to their wishes."

Notwithstanding these speeches and reasons, he would not put off his journey, but set out and arrived at Marseilles, where the galleys of Genoa had been ordered to wait for him. The duke of Anjou returned to Toulouse.* Pope Gregory embarked at Marseilles with a numerous attendance, and a favorable wind landed him at Genoa. After having revictualled his galleys, he again embarked, and, making sail for Rome, disembarked not far from it. You must know, that the Romans were exceedingly rejoiced at his arrival: the consuls and all the principal nobility of Rome went out to meet him on horseback with great pomp, and conducted him with triumph into that city. He took up his residence in the Vatican, and often visited a church within Rome which he was much attached to, and to which he had made many considerable additions: it was called Santa Maria Maggiore. He died soon after his arrival, in this same church, in which he was buried, and there lies. His obsequies were performed in a magnificent manner, as was becoming so eminent a personage.

The cardinals, shortly after the death of pope Gregory, assembled in conclave at the Vatican. As soon as they had met to elect a pope, according to the usual modes, who might be worthy and of service to the church, the Romans collected in great numbers, in the suburbs of St. Peter: they were, including all sorts, upward of thirty thousand, encouraging each other to do mischief, if things did not go according to their wishes. They came frequently before the conclave and said, "Listen to us, my lords cardinals: allow us to elect a pope: you are too long about it. Choose a Roman, for we will not have one of any other country: if you shall elect another, neither the Roman people nor the consuls will consider him as pope, and you will run a risk of being all put to death!" The cardinals heard these words, and being in the power of the Romans, were not at their ease, nor assured of their lives: they therefore appeased their anger as well as they could. The wickedness of the Romans arose to such a height that those who were nearest the conclave broke in, to frighten the cardinals, in order that they might the sooner decide in favor of him whom they wished. The cardinals were much alarmed, fearing they would all be put to death, and fled, some one way, some another. The Romans, however, would not suffer them to depart, but collected them again together whether they would or not. The cardinals, finding themselves in their power and in great danger, made quickly an end of the business, to appease the people: and, though it was not done through devotion, yet they made a good election of a very devout man, a Roman, whom Pope Urban V. had raised to the purple: he was called the Cardinal of St. Peter.

This election pleased the Romans exceedingly, and the good man had all the rights attached to the papacy; but he only lived three days, and I will tell you the reason. The Romans, being desirous of having a pope from their own nation, were so much rejoiced at the election falling as it had done on the cardinal of St. Peter, that they took the good man, who was at least one hundred years of age, and placing him on a white mule, carried him in triumph for such a length of time, through Rome, out of wickedness and exultation of their victory over the cardinals by having gained a Roman pope, that the fatigue was too much for him. On the third day, he took to his bed, and died, and was buried in the church of St. Peter.

* See Chap. CCCXXIX.—Ed.

* Denys Sauvage says in a note, that it was after this return to Toulouse, he undertook the expedition mentioned in the 1st chapter of this volume.

The cardinals were much vexed at the death of the pope; for as they saw things were taking a wrong turn, they had determined, during the life of this pope, to have dissembled with the Romans, for two or three years, and to fix the seat of the church elsewhere than at Rome, at Naples or Genoa, out of the power of the Romans. This would have been carried into execution, but the pontiff's death deranged everything. The cardinals assembled in conclave, in greater danger than before; for the populace collected in large bodies before St. Peter's, showing plainly that they would not scruple to destroy them unless they elected a pope according to their pleasure. They kept crying out before the conclave, "Consider, my lords cardinals; consider well what you are about, and give us a Roman pope, who will reside among us; otherwise we will make your heads much redder than your hats." Such speeches and menaces frightened the cardinals, for they wished rather to die confessors than martyrs; to free themselves from all danger, they began to deliberate on the choice of a pope, but it fell not on one of their brother cardinals. They elected the archbishop of Bari, a very learned man, who had labored much for the church. With this promotion to the papacy the Romans were satisfied. The cardinal of Geneva put his head out of one of the windows of the conclave, and, calling out aloud to the Roman populace, said, "Be appeased, for you have a Roman pontiff, Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of Bari." The people unanimously answered, "We are satisfied."

The archbishop was not at this moment at Rome, but, as I believe, at Naples. He was immediately sent for, and, being much pleased at the event, came directly to Rome to show himself to the cardinals. On his arrival, great feasts were made: he was elevated, and had all the powers of the papacy. He took the name of Urban VI. This name was very gratifying to the Romans, on account of Urban V. who had much loved them. His elevation was published in all the churches in Christendom, and made known to the different potentates, emperors, kings, dukes, and earls. The cardinals wrote also to their friends, to inform them that they had chosen a pope by a good and fair election, of which several repented afterwards. This pope renewed all the graces and pardons which his predecessor had given, so that divers left their own countries and repaired to Rome to receive them. We will now for a while leave this matter, and return to the principal object of our history, the affairs of France.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE SENDS EMBASSADORS TO FRANCE, IN HOPES OF REGAINING POSSESSION OF HIS CHILDREN. TWO OF HIS PEOPLE ARE CONVICTED OF HAVING ATTEMPTED TO POISON THE KING OF FRANCE.

You have before heard, that after the death of the queen of Navarre, sister to the king of France, there were many persons who, from love to one and hatred to the other, had declared that the inheritance of the children of the king of Navarre, which had fallen to them on their mother's decease, was legally their due; and that the king of France, their uncle by the mother's side, had a right to the guardianship of them, and the management, in their name, of all the lands which the king of Navarre held in Normandy, until his nephews should be of age.* The king of Navarre was suspicious of something being proposed like to the above, for he was well acquainted with the laws and customs of France. He therefore determined to send the bishop of Pampeluna and sir Martin de la Carra into France, to entreat the king in the most amicable manner that, out of love to him, he would send him his two sons, Charles and Peter; and that, if it were not agreeable to the king to allow of both coming to him, he at least would let him have Charles, for a treaty of marriage was in contemplation between him and the daughter of king Henry of Castille. He resolved, notwithstanding this embassy to France, to order his castles in Normandy to be secretly inspected and reinforced, that the French might not seize them; for, if they were not strengthened in every respect, they might do so; and, should they once get possession, he could not regain them when he pleased.

He made choice, for this business, of two valiant men-at-arms of Navarre, in whom he had great confidence, whose names were Peter de Basille and Ferrando. The bishop of Pampeluna and sir Martin de la Carra arrived in France, and had long conferences with the king, to whom, with much reverence, they recommended the king of Navarre, and entreated of him that he would suffer his two sons to depart. The king replied, that he would consider of it. They afterwards received an answer in the king's name, his majesty being present, that "the king wished to have his nephews, the children of Navarre, near him: that they could not be anywhere better placed: and that the king of Navarre ought to prefer their being with their uncle, the king of France, to any other person: that he would not allow either of them to leave him, but would keep them near his person, and form them a magnificent establishment, suitable to their rank as sons of a king, and his own nephews." This was all they could obtain.

* Denys Sauvage says, in a marginal note, that he does not understand this: for the kings of Navarre, from father to son, were the legal inheritors of the county of Evreux: nor how the children could claim any right from their mother.

During the time these embassadors were in France, Peter de Basille and Ferrando arrived at Cherbourg with many stores. These two visited, by orders of the king of Navarre, the whole county of Evreux, renewed the officers, and placed others in the different forts, according to their pleasure. The bishop of Pampeluna and sir Martin de la Carra returned to Navarre, and related to the king, whom they met at Tudelle,* all that had passed in France. The king was not well pleased that he could not have his children, and conceived a violent hatred against the king of France, which he would have shown if he had had the power; but he was incapable of hurting that kingdom, and besides he had not formed any alliances. He thought it, therefore, better to dissemble, until he should have greater cause of complaint, and more real evils be done unto him. The king of France and his council received information that the king of Navarre was reinforcing all the castles and towns in Normandy, which he called his own; and they knew not what to think of his conduct.

At this time there was a secret armament formed in England, of two thousand men-at-arms, who were embarked, but without any horses, of which the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge were the commanders. The Normans, hearing of it, had informed the king of France that this expedition was certainly intended for the coasts of Normandy, but they could not say whither it had sailed. Others supposed it to have been undertaken by the advice of the king of Navarre, who meant to deliver up to the English his strong places in Normandy. The king of France was also told, that he must hasten his preparations, if he wished to be master of these castles, and that it had been too long delayed; for, if the English should once gain them, they would be enabled to harass France very much, and they could not obtain a more convenient entrance into the kingdom than by being possessors of the towns and castles of the king of Navarre. Two secretaries of the king of Navarre were arrested in France, a lawyer and a squire: the name of the first was Peter du Tertre, and the other James de Rue: they were conducted to Paris for examination, and were found so intimately connected with the king of Navarre's intentions of poisoning the king of France, that they were condemned to death, and were executed and quartered at Paris accordingly.†

CHAPTER XIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE POSSESSIONS OF THE KING OF NAVARRE TO BE SEIZED AS WELL IN NORMANDY AS IN LANGUEDOC. THE KING OF NAVARRE FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH THE ENGLISH. THE TERMS OF THAT ALLIANCE.

These machinations and wicked attempts of the king of Navarre were so numerous, that the king of France swore he would not undertake anything before he had driven him out of Normandy, and had gained possession, for his nephews, of every town and castle which the king of Navarre held there. Every day brought fresh information and worse news, respecting the king of Navarre, to the palace of king Charles. It was currently reported that the duke of Lancaster was to give his daughter Catherine to the king of Navarre, who, in return, was to deliver up to him the whole county of Evreux. These reports were readily believed in France, for the king of Navarre had but few friends there. The king of France, at this period, went to reside at Rouen, where he had summoned a large body of men-at-arms, and had given the command of it to the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, who advanced to Bayeux, a city in Normandy attached to Navarre. These barons had with them the lord Charles and lord Peter, the two sons of the king of Navarre, to show to the whole country and to the county of Evreux, that the war they were carrying on was in behalf of these children, and for the inheritance which belonged to them in right of their mother, and which the king of Navarre wrongfully withheld. However, the greater part of the men-at-arms were so much attached to the king of Navarre, that they would not quit his service; the Navarrois who were collected in Bayeux, as well as those whom he had sent thither, maintained the war for him handsomely.

The king of France ordered commissioners to Montpellier, to seize all the lands and lordships which were in the possession of the king of Navarre. When these commissioners, sir William des Dormans and sir John le Mercier, were arrived at Montpellier, they sent for the principal inhabitants, to whom they showed their instructions. Those of Montpellier obeyed. Indeed it was necessary for them to do so; for had they acted otherwise they would have suffered for it, as the duke of Anjou and the constable of France had entered their territories with a considerable force, who wished for nothing better than to carry the war thither. Two knights of Normandy, governors of Montpellier for the king of Navarre, were made prisoners by orders of the king of France, as were also sir Guy de Graville and sir Liger d'Argesi, who remained a long time in confinement. Thus was the town of Montpellier and all the barony seized by the French.

We will now return to the army of Normandy, and relate how the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere went on. They advanced to Bayeux, and laid siege to it. The garrison towns of Navarre had closed their gates against the French, and showed no intentions of speedily surrendering them. When the king of Navarre heard that the French had seized the town and territory of Montpellier, and tha

* "Tudelle"—a village in Armagnac, diocese of Auch. † See Chap. cccxxx.—Ed.

speedily surrendering them. When the king of Navarre heard that the French had seized the town and territory of Montpellier, and that a large army was in the county of Evreux, where they were pillaging and destroying his towns and castles, he held many conferences on these subjects with those in whom he placed the greatest trust. It was determined in these councils, that as he could not receive any assistance but from England, he should send thither a person in whom he confided, with credential letters, to know if the young king Richard and his council were willing to form an alliance with him, and to assure them, that from henceforward he would swear to be true and loyal to the English, and would place in their hands all the castles which he possessed in Normandy. To execute this embassy to England, he called to him a lawyer in whom he greatly trusted, and said to him: "Master Paschal, you will set out for England, and manage so as to return to me with good news, for from this day forward I will be steady in my alliance with the English."

Master Paschal prepared to do what he had been ordered; and, having made himself ready, he embarked, made sail, and landed in Cornwall, and from thence journeyed on until he arrived at Sheen, near London, where the king resided. He approached his person, and recommended to his majesty his lord the king of Navarre. The king entertained him handsomely. There were present the earl of Salisbury and sir Simon Burley, who entered into the conversation and answered for the king, saying his majesty would shortly come to London, and summon his council on a day fixed on between them.

Master Paschal, at this council, informed the king of all that he had been charged to say: he harangued so ably and eloquently, that he was listened to with pleasure. The council for the king replied, that the offers which the king of Navarre had made were worth attending to: but that, in order to form so extensive an alliance as the king of Navarre was desirous of making, it would be necessary for him to come over himself, that he might more fully explain everything, for the affair seemed well deserving of it. On this, the council broke up, and master Paschal returned to Navarre, when he related to the king that the young king of England and his council were desirous of seeing him. The king replied, he would go thither, and ordered a vessel, called a lin,* to be prepared, which sails with all winds, and without danger. He embarked on board this vessel, with a small attendance: he, however, took with him sir Martin de la Carra and master Paschal. The king of France, some little time before he set out for Rouen, had conceived a great hatred against the king of Navarre: he was informed secretly, by some of his household, of all his negotiations with England: in consequence, he had managed so well with king Henry of Castille, that he had sent the king of Navarre his defiance, and had commenced a severe war against him. The king of Navarre had therefore, before his embarkation, left the viscount de Castillon, the lord de Lestrac, sir Peter de Vienne, and Bascle, with a large body of men-at-arms, as well from his own country as from the county of Foix, with orders to defend his kingdom and his forts against the Spaniards. He embarked with a very favorable wind, which landed him in Cornwall, from whence he journeyed until he came to Windsor, where king Richard and his council were, He was received there with great joy; for they thought they might gain much from him in Normandy, more especially the castle of Cherbourg, which the English were very desirous of possessing.

The king of Navarre explained to the king of England and his council, in a clear manner, with eloquent language, his wants, and his reasons for coming, so that he was willingly attended to, and received such promises of succor that he was well satisfied. I will inform you what treaties were entered into between the two kings.

The king of Navarre engaged to remain for ever true and loyal to the English, and never to make any peace with the kings of France or Castille without the consent of the king of England. He engaged to put the castle of Cherbourg into the hands of the king of England, who was to guard it for three years at his own costs and charges, but the lordship and sovereignty of it were to remain in the king of Navarre. If the English should be able, by force of arms, to gain any of the towns or castles which the king of Navarre had then in Normandy, from the French, they were to remain with the English: the lordship, however, resting in the king of Navarre.† The English were much pleased with these terms, because they gained a good entrance to France through Normandy, which was very convenient for them.

The king of England promised to send, at this season, a thousand spears and two thousand archers, by the river Gironde, from Bordeaux to Bayonne; and these men-at-arms were to enter Navarre, and make war on the king of Castille. They were not to quit the king nor the kingdom of Navarre so long as there should be war between the kings of Navarre and Castille. But these men-at-arms and archers, on entering the territories of Navarre, were to be paid and clothed by the king of Navarre as was becoming them, and on the same footing as the king of England was accustomed to pay his soldiers.

Different treaties, alliances, and regulations were drawn up, signed, sealed, and sworn to, between the kings of England and Navarre, which were tolerably well observed. In this council, the king named such members as were ordered to Normandy, and those who were to go to Navarre: because neither the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, nor the duke of Brittany, were present at these treaties, it was resolved to send copies sealed to them, in order that they might hasten to invade Normandy.

* "Lin"—a Felucca, or small frigate. Du Cange.

† See Rymer—for the passport to the king of Navarre, and the treaty at length, an. reg. Ric. II.

The passport for Charles of Navarre is dated a year later than Froissart mentions. It is in Rymer dated the 12th August, from the manor of Clarendon, 1370, to continue to the feast of St. John Baptist following, for five hundred persons.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LORDS DE COUCY AND DE LA RIVIERE TAKE SEVERAL PLACES IN THE COUNTY OF EVREUX FROM THE KING OF NAVARRE.

King Charles of France, being wise and subtle (as his whole life plainly showed,) had received information of the armament in England, but was ignorant whither it was to sail, to Normandy or Brittany. On account of these doubts, he had kept in the latter country a large body of men-at-arms, under the command of the lords de Clisson, de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Beaumanoir and de Rochefort. They had beseiged Brest by block-houses only, to prevent any provision from entering. The governor of Brest was a valiant English squire called James Clerk.

Now, because the king of France knew of the king of Navarre's voyage to England, in the hopes of forming an alliance with his adversary the king of England, he suspected that this naval armament would land in Normandy, and seize by force those castles which belonged to the king of Navarre: he therefore in haste sent orders to the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, stating to them his suspicions, with orders to conquer, by the speediest modes possible, all castles, more particularly such as were near to the sea-coasts, by force or by negotiation. He knew that Cherbourg was not easy to be taken, and also that it could not be reinforced on the land side.

The king of France had likewise ordered large bodies of men-at-arms to Valognes* from the lower parts of Brittany. Sir Oliver du Guesclin commanded the Bretons; and the lord d'Ivoy and sir Perceval were the leaders of the Normans. The lords de Coucy and de la Riviere had besieged the city of Bayeux with a great force, which was daily increasing from the additions the king of France was sending to them from all quarters. Bayeux is a handsome and strong city near the sea, which at that time belonged to the king of Navarre. The citizens (finding themselves thus besieged by their neighbors, who told them, that if the town were taken by storm, they would all inevitably be destroyed, both men and women, and the town repeopled with another set of inhabitants,) began to be seriously alarmed. They saw no appearance of assistance coming to them, but, on the contrary, found themselves in opposition to the lord Charles de Navarre, to whom the country of Evreux belonged, in right of succession to his late mother. The inhabitants also listened to the harangues of the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, who, with impressive language, showed them the dangers into which they were running: knowing likewise that their bishop was well inclined toward the French, they thought, considering all things, it would be much better for them to surrender their city from affection, as they were required to do by the above-mentioned lords, than to remain in such peril. The inhabitants of Bayeux demanded a truce for three days; during which time, a treaty was so far concluded that the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere entered the city, and took possession of it for the king of France, as his acknowledged commissaries. The attorney-general was sent thither on the part of the children of Navarre, who were present during all the negotiations.

The two lords renewed all the officers of the city, and, for fear of a rebellion, left a body of good men-at-arms: they then marched off to lay seige to Carentan, a handsome and strong town situated on the sea-shore, and in the district of Caen. The inhabitants of Carentan were without any governor of note: indeed, they had not had one since sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who had been their governor for four years, and had died there; so that they had not any to look to for advice but themselves: they knew also that the admiral of France, sir John de Vienne, in conjunction with the Spanish admiral, and a large force, were before Cherbourg, but were ignorant of the treaties of the king of Navarre, as well as unacquainted with the result of his journey to England. They were attacked every day in two different manners; by words and by arms; for the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere were very anxious to gain this town, and succeeded in winning it by capitulation: they put it under the obedience of the king of France, reserving the rights of the two sons of the king of Navarre.

These lords of France readily granted very favorable terms, in order to get possession of such towns and castles as they wanted by the most expeditious means. They took possession of Carentan, reinforcing it with men-at-arms: they then departed, and came before the castle of Molineaux,† which in three days capitulated. They advanced to Conches,‡ and encamped on the banks of the beau-

* "Valognes"—a town in Normandy; it lies between Cherbourg and Carentan.

† "Molineaux"—a village in Normandy, election of Caen.

‡ "Conches"—a market town in Normandy, near Evreux

rendered on terms; for the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere having the heir of Navarre with them, gave a good color to their proceedings.

However, when any town or castle surrendered itself to the king of France, or to his commissaries, there was a condition in the treaty, that all those who chose to depart might go wherever they pleased: those who did depart only went to Evreux, of which Ferrando, a Navarrois, was governor. After the conquest of Conches, which was gained, as you have heard, by treaty, they advanced before Passy,* where there was an assault: many were killed and wounded on both sides. That same day, the castle surrendered to the king of France: they then marched away. In short, all that the king of Navarre possessed in Normandy surrendered, excepting Evreux and Cherbourg. When they had won different small forts, and placed the whole country under the obedience of the king of France, they laid siege to Evreux, which was cut off from any communication with Cherbourg.

In Evreux there was, according to custom, the strongest garrison of Navarrois in Normandy; and the inhabitants never perfectly loved any other lord but the king of Navarre. The place was closely besieged. It held out for a long time: for Ferrando, the governor, performed in person several gallant deeds of arms. About this time the king of Navarre, being returned to his own country, expected to have had some assistance from the English; but it does not appear that he had any succors from them, for the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, before these treaties had been entered on, had experienced very contrary winds for their voyage to Normandy, and so numerous a levy as had been ordered of four thousand men-at-arms and eight thousand archers, could not immediately be assembled at Southampton, where they were to embark. It was St. John Baptist's day before they were all collected and had sailed from England. The earl of Salisbury and sir John Arundel were still at Plymouth, who ought to have reinforced Brest and Hennebon;† but they had wanted wind, so that they joined the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge's army. They landed on the Isle of Wight, where they remained some time waiting for intelligence, and to know whether they should sail for Normandy or Brittany: they there learnt that the French fleet was at sea, on which sir John Arundel was ordered back to Southampton, with two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers, to defend that place.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU RETAINS LARGE BODIES OF MEN-AT-ARMS AGAINST THE ENGLISH. THE SPANIARDS LAY SIEGE TO BAYONNE.

On account of the information the king of France had received from the Normans, that the English were in great force at sea, but doubtful whither it was directed, he had issued a special summons throughout his realm for every knight and squire, according to his degree, to keep himself fully prepared to march to whatever part he should be ordered. The duke of Anjou had also, at this period, retained large bodies of men-at-arms from all quarters, with the intention of laying siege to Bordeaux. He had with him his brother the duke of Berry, the constable of France, and all the flower of knighthood from Gascony, Auvergne, Poitou and Limousin. In order to carry their enterprise, he had raised an immense army, and had also, with the consent of the king of France, collected two hundred thousand francs in Languedoc; but he could not at present undertake this siege, for the king of France had recalled the duke of Berry, the constable and other barons, on whose assistance he had depended, as it was well known the English were at sea, but uncertain in what part of the kingdom they would attempt to land. Notwithstanding this expedition from Languedoc had failed, the poor people who had been so hard pressed to pay such large sums were never repaid any part.

The king of Castille, about this time, laid siege to Bayonne with full twenty thousand Spaniards and Castillians: he began the siege in the winter, and continued it through that whole season. Many gallant deeds were performed there by sea and land, for Roderigo le Roux, don Fernando de Castille, Ambrose de Boccanegra and Peter Bascle, lay at anchor before Bayonne with two hundred vessels, and gave sufficiency of employment to its inhabitants. The governor of the town at the time was a right valiant knight from England, called sir Matthew Gournay. His good sense and prowess were, as I have been informed, of great assistance to the townsmen. I have heard from some of those who were besieged, that the Spaniards would have succeeded in their attempt on Bayonne, had not a great mortality afflicted their army, so that out of five that were taken ill three died.

King Henry had with him a necromancer from Toledo, who declared that the whole air was poisoned and corrupted, and that no remedy could be had for it without risking the death of all. In consequence of this decision, the king broke up the siege; but the Spaniards and Bretons had conquered a number of small forts and castles in the adjacent country, into which they entered; and the king went to refresh himself at la Coulongne.* He sent his constable, with ten thousand men, to lay siege to Pampeluna.

In that city were the viscount de Castillon, the lord de Lescut and le Bascle, with two hundred lances in the whole, who carefully guarded the place. The king of Navarre, who had but lately returned from England, resided at Tudelle, impatiently expecting the succors which were to come to him from England, and which indeed had been ordered; for, by directions from the king and council, the lord de Neville and sir Thomas de Termes,† were at Plymouth, or in that neighborhood, with about one thousand men-at-arms and two thousand archers, and were laying in their stores for the voyage to Bordeaux; but they had not met with a passage according to their wishes.

With regard to the great army under the command of the duke of Lancaster, at last it landed near to St. Malo: news of which was soon carried to the Breton lords of the French party, and immediately the viscount de Belliere, sir Henry de Malatrait and the lord de Combor, left their habitations and flung themselves into St. Malo with two hundred men-at-arms, to the great joy of Morfonance the governor who otherwise would have been hardly pushed.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ENGLISH, AT THIS PERIOD, MAKE EXCURSIONS INTO VARIOUS PARTS OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE. THE MELANCHOLY DEATH OF EVAN OF WALES.

Sir John Arundel, who had remained at Southampton with his two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers, received information from some prisoners who had been taken in a Norman vessel, that the duke of Lancaster had well scoured the ports of Normandy, so that none of the French dared to put to sea. He directly ordered his vessels and four large ships to be got ready, laden with provisions, in which he embarked, and made sail for Cherbourg, where he was joyfully received. The castle remained under the guard of the English, on the departure of the Navarrois; but sir Peter de Basle the governor, did not leave it. I must inform you, that Cherbourg is only to be conquered by famine; for it is one of the strongest castles in the world: the garrison made many profitable excursions on those of Valognes. Sir John Arundel, after he had garrisoned Cherbourg with English, remained there but fifteen days to revictual it, and returned to Southampton, of which he was governor.

We will now speak of the siege of St. Malo. When the English entered the harbor, they found therein a number of vessels from La Rochelle, laden with good wines; the merchants were soon eased of them, and their vessels burnt. The siege of St. Malo was directly commenced, for they were in sufficient numbers to undertake it: they overran the country, and did much damage. Those who were most active in this business were sir Robert Knolles, and sir Hugh Broc his nephew, who were well acquainted with those parts. These two made excursions daily, and the canon de Robesart in company with them. Some days they lost, and at others gained: they, however, burnt and destroyed all round St. Malo.

The army of the duke of Lancaster had plenty of provision, for they had brought with them large quantities from England. Many severe assaults were made on St. Malo, and the attacks as ably resisted, for there were several men-at-arms within it not easily to be conquered. The lords of the army caused the carpenters to make sheds, under which they could with greater ease carry on their attacks; they had four hundred cannons pointed against the different parts of the town, which very much harassed its inhabitants. Among the various assaults, there was one which was particularly severe, for it lasted a whole day, and many English were killed and wounded: those within made so prudent a defence as not to lose a man: a knight from England called sir Peter l'Esaume, was slain, for whose death the duke and the earl were sorely vexed. We will now return for a while to the siege of Mortain-sur-mer in Poitou, and to Evan of Wales.

Evan of Wales had closely blockaded Mortain in Poitou, of which place the souldich de l'Estrade was governor, and had erected four block-houses; the first was built on the edge of a rock before the castle, on the Garonne, and Evan had posted himself within it: the second was built between the water and the lower castle, opposite to a postern gate, from which none could issue without the certainty of being taken: the third was on the opposite side of the castle: the fourth was the church of St. Leger, near half a league from the fort. The inhabitants of Mortain were long sorely harassed by these means, for the blockade lasted upward of a year and a half, in which time they were hardly pushed for provision and other necessaries, having neither stockings nor shoes to their feet; but what was the most grievous, they did not see any appearance of succor being sent to them.

During the time of this siege, there came out of England, and from the borders of Wales, a Welsh squire named John Lambe, who was scarcely a gentleman; and indeed he showed it, for no gentleman would ever have practised such base wickedness. It was said, that on his departure from England, he had been instigated by

* "Passy"—a town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

† "Henebon." Denys Sauvage thinks it should be Aubray, or Derval, instead of Hennebon.

* "La Coulongne." Salla calls it Calongne. Q. if not Orogne.

† "De Terme-." Sir Thomas Trivet.

some English knights to perform the treason he did; for Evan of Wales was greatly hated in England and Gascony, on account of the captal de Buch, whom he had made prisoner before Soubise in Poitou, and whose ransom could never be obtained either by the exchange of the count de St. Pol or by any other, nor for any sum of money that could be offered: this caused his death, through melancholy, in the Temple at Paris, to the very great regret of all his friends.

Evreux, Normandy.—From a Print in Nodier's Voyage Pittoresque et Romantique dans l'ancienne France.

About this time John Lambe arrived in Brittany, and continued his journey until he came to Poitou: he was honorably received everywhere, by calling himself one of Evan's friends, and speaking very good French. He said he was come from Wales to visit Evan, and was too lightly believed. For these reasons he was escorted by the men of Poitou to Mortain, where the siege was going forward. John Lambe advanced toward Evan, when, falling on his knees, he said in his country language, that he had left Wales to see and serve him. Evan, not harboring the least suspicion, received him kindly, thanked him for coming, and accepted his offers of service: he then asked the news from Wales. He told him enough of true and false, and made him believe that the whole principality was desirous of having him for their lord. This information gained so much the love of Evan (for every one naturally would wish to return to his own country) that he immediately appointed him his chamberlain. John won daily on the affection of Evan: there was no one in whom he had so great a confidence. Evan's regard increased so fast that evil befell him, for which it was a great pity, for he was a valiant knight, a good man, and the son of a prince of Wales whom king Edward had caused to be beheaded, but on what account I am ignorant.

The king of England had seized his lands in Wales; and this Evan, in his infancy, having come to France, explained his situation to king Philip, who willingly listened to him, retained him near his person, and as long as he lived he was one of the pages of his chamber, with his nephews d'Alençons and several other young nobles. He was also retained by king John, under whom he bore arms, and was at the battle of Poitiers, but fortunately escaped, otherwise death would soon have followed his captivity. On the peace between France and England, he went to Lombardy, where he continued to bear arms; and, on the renewal of the war, he returned to France, and conducted himself so well that he was much praised and loved by the king of France, and by all the great lords. I will now tell his end, which I shall do unwillingly: but it is necessary to show to posterity what became of him.

Evan of Wales had a custom during the siege of Mortain, as soon as he was risen, if it were a fine morning, to seat himself before the castle, when he had his hair combed and plaited for a considerable length of time, during which he viewed the castle, and the surrounding country, for he had not the smallest dread from any quarter: it was not usual for any one to attend him as a guard but this John Lambe. Very often it happened that he there completely dressed himself; and, if any one had business with him, they went there to seek him. On his last visit it was early morn and fine clear weather, and the heat of the night had prevented him from sleeping: he went thither all unbuttoned, with only his jacket and shirt, and his cloak thrown over him, when he seated himself as usual, attended by John Lambe. All the others were asleep, and no guard was kept, for he considered the castle of Mortain as conquered. After Evan had seated himself on the trunk of a tree, he said to John Lambe, "Go and seek my comb, for that will refresh me a little." He answered, "Willingly, my lord." On his way to seek for the comb, or when returning with it, the devil must have entered the body of this John; for with the comb he brought a short Spanish dagger that had a broad point, to accomplish his evil intentions: he struck this dagger into Evan, whose body was almost naked, and pierced him through, so that he fell down dead. After he had performed this deed, he left the dagger in the body, set off, and went slowly to the barriers of the castle, wherein he was received by the guards, to whom he made himself known, and was conducted to the souldich de l'Estrade. "My lord," said he to the souldich, "I have delivered you from one of the greatest enemies you ever had." "From whom?" replied the souldich. "From Evan of Wales," answered John. "By what means?" demanded the souldich. "By such means," said John, and then related to him the circumstances you have just heard. When the souldich heard this he shook his head, and, eyeing him with anger, replied, "Thou hast murdered him but know from me, that if we did not reap much advantage from thy wicked deed, I would have thy head cut off: what is done, however, cannot be undone; but such a death is unworthy of a gentleman, and we shall have more blame than praise for it."*

Thus was Evan of Wales killed by a wicked and treasonable act, to the great grief of the army and all manner of people. King Charles of France particularly lamented his loss, but he could not help it. Evan of Wales was buried in the church of St. Leger, which he had converted into a fort, half a league distant from the castle of Mortain, and all the gentlemen of the army attended his obsequies, which were very grandly performed.

The siege of Mortain was not, however, discontinued for this loss. There were very good knights from Brittany, Poitou, and France, who had resolved never to quit it unless forced by superior numbers; and they were more eager than before to conquer the castle, by way of revenge for the death of Evan. They remained in the same position, without making any assaults, for they knew the garrison were exceedingly straightened for provision, and that none could enter the place. We will leave this siege for a short time, and return to that of St. Malo; but we will first mention how those who had besieged Evreux persevered in it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE INHABITANTS OF EVREUX SURRENDER TO THE FRENCH. THE TWO ARMIES ASSEMBLE BEFORE ST. MALO.

The siege of Evreux being formed by the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, they had frequent communication with the king of France, who had fixed his residence at Rouen to be as near his army as possible. He was desirous they should gain Evreux, either by storm or capitulation, as soon as might be, for he knew the English were in great force in Brittany: he ordered, therefore, all his troops to advance thither to raise the siege of St. Malo, and to combat the English. These two lords acquitted themselves loyally and valiantly, for every day there were assaults as well as negotiations going forward They sent to remonstrate with the inhabitants on their folly in thus having war made upon them with the risk of losing their fortunes and having their houses razed to the ground; for they had their law-

* It would appear, however, from the following extract from the Fœdera, under the year 1381, of payments made on account of the war in Aquitaine, that John Lambe was sent on purpose to murder Evan—at least he is recompensed for it:

"Item paie le xviii jour de Septembre à Johan Lambe & a ses deux compagnions, en recompensacion & regarde, si bien de les bons & agréables services qu'il a fait à monsieur le prince, que Dieu absoile, & fera au roi q'ore est, come de la mourt de Yon de Galles—C francs."

After all the inquiries I have been able to make, I have not succeeded in identifying Evan of Wales with any known character in the old Welsh books. In the works of David Nanmor, who flourished from about 1430 to 1470, there is a passage where the poet, in looking for more happy times than his own in futurity, among other predictions announces the coming of Ievan Dyvi, or Evan of Dovy. Now this Evan of Dovy must have been some person of celebrity, at some period prior to the time of the writer before-mentioned, whose fame is totally obscured, probably owing to the danger of espousing the cause of that personage, from his being hostile to the existing government. This seems to be the only reason for the ambiguity of the poet, and it seems also satisfactorily to account for the silence of the Welsh writers respecting Evan of Wales.

ful lord with them, the lord Charles de Navarre, to whom, by right of succession from his mother, the county of Evreux had devolved. They advised them, therefore, not to attend to the erroneous opinions of that madman Ferrando of Navarre, who was there only to ruin them; for they must well know that the goodness of their cause would never allow them to march from thence without having conquered it; and, should it be taken by storm, every one would be put to the sword, and the town repeopled with new inhabitants. Such were the offers, speeches, and menaces to the townsmen of Evreux; but these did not prevent daily assaults from being made.

The inhabitants at last began to waver, on seeing that no succor was likely to be sent them; and they said to each other, "We see that the king of France does not claim the territory for himself, but for his nephew." They therefore entered into a treaty with the lord de Coucy. When Ferrando perceived this, he shut himself up in the castle, and would not be present at any of the meetings. In short, they surrendered on their lives and fortunes being spared, whether they were in town or country, and acknowledged the lord Charles for their lord. They then besieged Ferrando in the castle, who negotiated with the lords of France, and offered to surrender the castle if they would permit him and his men freely to depart. His offer was accepted. Shortly after, they packed up their baggage, and marched out of Evreux, under the conduct of the lords de Coucy, de la Riviere, and sir John le Mercier, taking the road to Cherbourg.

After the conquest of Evreux, all the leaders of the French army went to Rouen, where the king resided, in order to consider what was next for them to do; for they had heard that the English were besieging St. Malo. The king of France received them very graciously; in particular, the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere; for having so well succeeded in their exploits. All the men-at-arms remained in Normandy: not one of their captains were dismissed, but were regularly paid their allowances. The king of France, during his residence at Rouen, had heard of the English having laid siege to St. Malo with a powerful army, and that the inhabitants were hard pressed by their daily assaults. He was unwilling to lose his subjects, as well as the town; for if St. Malo were taken, Brittany would be very much weakened in that part. The king had, therefore, to this purpose, issued a special summons for assembling troops, in order to assist them against the English, which no one dared to disobey. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the count d'Alençon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Guines, sir John de Boulogne, and great numbers of barons and knights of all sorts, marched thither with numerous forces. The king sent orders to his constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to see that none absented themselves from this assembly.

The constable obeyed, and came with all the men-at-arms of Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine. The marshal de Blainville and the marshal de Sancerre, the two marshals of France, were also there. From other parts came sir Olivier de Clisson, the lord de Léon, with the knights and barons of Brittany: there were ten thousand men-at-arms at least, and in the plains one hundred thousand horses.*

These men-at-arms took up their quarters as near to each other as they could; but there were between them and the English an arm of the sea and a river. When the sea ebbed, some young knights usually adventured on the sands, and performed several gallant deeds. Never was there seen so numerous an assembly of knighthood in Brittany. If the French were in great force, the English were very powerful, and each party thought there must be a combat, for every day there was an appearance of it from the banners and pennons fluttering in the wind. The English frequently drew out their army in battle-array, to examine the force of the French and the strength of the banners and pennons, which were there in very great abundance. It was a great pleasure to see them thus drawn out in a line of battle, and advance toward the river, to show that they were ready to engage. The English said, "Let us look at our enemies, who will soon, at low water, cross over and fight with us." But they had no such inclination, and were afraid of trying the chance; for their leaders would not allow them to advance to the combat.

During these frequent displays on each side, the earl of Cambridge, being fatigued with their inutility, declared with an oath, that if he saw them continued without any further advance made toward a battle, he would engage the French himself, whatever might be the consequence. The vanguard, composed of numbers of able men under the command of the constable, who well knew the hot and impatient temper of the English, were ordered to draw up their battalions on foot, on the sands as near to the river as possible. The earl of Cambridge, who saw this manœuvre, cried out, "Let them who love me follow me, for I am going to engage!" He then dashed into the river, which was low, but the tide was returning, and he began to cross it with his banner: the English commenced shooting at the French, when the constable ordered his men to retreat to the fields, in hopes the English would have crossed; for very willingly would he have seen them do so, and have had them on the other side of the water.

The duke of Lancaster was prepared, with a very strong battalion, to follow his brother, should there have been occasion. He said to Gerard de Brees, a squire from Hainault who was near him: "Gerard, see how my brother ventures: he shows the French by his example his willingness for the combat, but they have no such inclination." Thus was this business carried on, without any deeds of arms being performed worth mentioning: the French keeping on one side the water, the English on the other. The flood beginning to increase, the English retreated out of the river, and returned to their quarters: the French followed their example. While these appearances of a battle were carried on, the siege of St. Malo was continued, and several feats of arms were done. The French guarded the banks so well, that the English were afraid to cross the water.

It frequently happened that several knights or squires of Brittany, well acquainted with the country, forded the river, and in their excursions met the English foragers, with whom they engaged; and success, as is usual in such cases, was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. The lords of England resolved to employ a mine, to gain entrance into St. Malo; for otherwise they thought they could not win it, as it was well provided with men-at-arms, who carefully defended it, as well as with all sorts of stores and artillery. The English were obliged to be continually armed, and to keep in a body ready for battle, should the French advance; and for this reason, they had not leisure to assault the town, except by their cannon, of which they had plenty, that greatly annoyed it. Having fixed on a spot, they set their miners to work. We will now leave for a while the siege of St. Malo, and return to that of Mortain in Poitou.

* Denys Sauvage doubts if this number of horses be not too great

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ENGLISH RAISE THE SIEGE OF MORTAIN.

You have before heard related the death of Evan of Wales, how he was murdered, and how the Bretons and Poitevins were before Mortain, under the command of sir James de Montmort, sir Perceval d'Ayneval, sir William de Montcontour, and sir James de Surgeres, who would not break up the siege, for they were much enraged at the death of Evan of Wales their commander, and wished to revenge themselves on the garrison for it. You have also heard how sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Scrope, sir Thomas Breton, sir William Cendrine, with a large body of men-at arms and archers, had been ordered to the country near Bordeaux, and to assist those in Mortain, with sir Matthew Gournay, who resided in Bayonne, and who daily found employment there against the Gascons and barons possessing fortresses in those parts. These four knights had remained with their men upward of seven months at Plymouth, waiting a favorable wind to carry them to Gascony, which though it vexed them much, they could not help themselves.

You have heard likewise that the lord Neville of Raby had been ordered with a body of men-at-arms and archers to the assistance of the king of Navarre, with the appointment of séneschal of Bordeaux. All these knights met at Plymouth, which was very agreeable to every one of them. On the arrival of the lord Neville, they had a wind to their wish, and, having embarked on board the vessels that had been long laden, they set their sails, and steered for Gascony. This fleet consisted of six score vessels and forty barges, having on board about a thousand men-at-arms and two thousand archers. They had favorable weather, which carried them into the port of Bordeaux, the night of Our Lady, in September, in the year of grace 1378.

When the Bretons and Poitevins who were before Mortain saw this great fleet pass by, with trumpets sounding and every sign of joy, they were much cast down; while, on the contrary, the garrison were rejoiced, for they justly imagined they should very soon be relieved, or that there would be a battle, as they thought they never would have come so far to remain idle. Sir James de Montmort and the other leaders of the army assembled in council, and debated for some time in what manner they should act; they repented they had neglected to accept the offers of negotiating; for the souldich do l'Estrade had, a short time before, proposed a parley, and offered to surrender the castle, on the garrison being allowed to march in safety to Bordeaux; but the French would not listen to it. However, they now sent a herald to say, they would accept of their terms: but the souldich replied, he would have nothing to say to them; that he did not want to capitulate, for that the reinforcements he looked for were arrived; and that they might remain or march away, as should please themselves. Things remained thus, when the lord Neville and the English arrived at Bordeaux, where they were magnificently received by sir William Helmen, séneschal des Landes, sir John de Multon, mayor of Bordeaux, the archbishop, the ladies, and citizens.

Soon after his arrival, he issued a summons to the knights and squires of Gascony attached to England, and collected so many vessels that four thousand embarked on board of them, and sailed down the river Garonne, to raise the siege of Mortain. News was soon carried to the French army, that the English and Gascons were coming down the river in great force to raise the siege: upon this, the leaders called another council, wherein it was resolved, that as they were not sufficiently strong to wait for their enemies, it was better to give up their lost time than to run a greater danger; having ordered their trumpets to sound, they marched away without doing anything more, and retreated into Poitou. All, however, did not march off, for a company of Bretons and Welsh, who had been attached to Evan of Wales, retired into the block-house of St. Leger,

which they said would hold out against every force, and dragged all their artillery in with them. The English and Gascon knights, who came full sail down the river Garonne, cast anchor in its mouth before Mortain; when they disembarked leisurely, and as they landed drew up in order of battle to attack the fort of St. Leger, into which the Bretons and Welsh had retired. Immediately a sharp attack commenced. While this assault was going on, the lord Neville sent a herald to the castle to speak with the souldich, and to inquire how he was. The herald performed his message, and reported that they were in good health, but so naked they had not a shoe to their feet nor a coat to their backs. The attack on St. Leger lasted three hours; and the assailants gained nothing, but had several wounded. The barons then encamped, with the intent of not departing thence before they had conquered it, and were much vexed that the lord de Montmort and the other lords were not shut up in this fort: those lords had very wisely marched off, and had left the Bretons.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ENGLISH RECOVER SEVERAL STRONG CASTLES FROM THE FRENCH IN THE BOURDELOIS.

The lord Neville and the English knights, on the morrow, gave orders for the assault being renewed: the trumpets sounded for the attack, and each company advanced to the fort St. Leger, when it began marvellously fierce. That fort is situated on a rock which cannot easily be approached, and the weakest side is defended by wide ditches. The assailants labored hard, but got nothing except many killed and wounded. The attack ceased; when they thought it most advisable to fill up the ditches as well as they could, that they might gain more advantage in their next assault. Having filled up the ditches with much difficulty, the Bretons who were within the fort began to be more alarmed than before, and not without reason; so they entered into a treaty. The lords from England, being as anxious to assist the king of Navarre as to recover several places which the Bretons held in the Bourdelois, readily listened to their proposals. The fort of St. Leger was surrendered, on condition that the garrison should depart without danger to themselves or fortunes, and be conducted whither they chose to go. Thus was the fort of St. Leger won by the English; when the principal lords went into Mortain, and found there the souldich de l'Estrade and his party in the manner the herald had described them. He was immediately accommodated suitably to his rank, and the castle revictualed and reinforced with fresh troops. They then returned by the river Garonne to Bordeaux the same way they had come.

When these knights were recruiting themselves at Bordeaux, they learnt that a baron held a fort called St. Maubert, six leagues distant, in Medoc, from whence he much harassed the country. They embarked on the Garonne great provision of stores and artillery, and, having mounted their horses, marched by land to St. Maubert, with about three hundred spears. The Gascons who accompanied lord Neville in this expedition were, sir Archibald de Greilly, the lords de Roussy, de Duras, and de Tournon. On the arrival of these barons with their forces before St. Maubert, they encamped, and soon after began an assault, which at the onset was very severe; for the Bretons who were in St. Maubert were men of courage, and had for their captain a person called Huguelin, round whom they rallied, and by whose advice they acted with vigor.

These first attacks did not harm the Bretons; when the English retired to their quarters, and on the morrow erected their engines to cast stones, in order to break through the roof of the tower in which they resided. On the third day they ordered an assault, and said such a ruffianly crew could not hold out much longer. This attack was sharp, and many were slain; for never did men defend themselves better than these Bretons: however, seeing that no assistance was likely to come to them, they entered into a treaty: for they found they would never be left in quiet until they were conquered. Treaties were concluded between them and the lords of the army, that they should surrender St. Maubert, and march out without any damage to themselves or fortunes, and should retire into Poitou, or wherever they chose, and be conducted thither.

When lord Neville had gained St. Maubert, he had it repaired, revictualled, and provided with artillery: he placed therein Gascons to guard it, and appointed a squire from Gascony, called Peter de Prefias, governor, and then returned to Bordeaux. The English at Bordeaux received daily information that Pampeluna in Navarre was besieged, under the conduct of the infant of Castille; but they neither heard from the king of Navarre nor that king from them, which very much displeased him. We will now return to the affairs of Brittany and Normandy, and tell how the siege of St. Malo continued.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MINE WHICH THE ENGLISH HAD MADE AT ST. MALO FAILS; IN CONSEQUENCE, THE SIEGE IS RAISED.

There were many grand attacks made by the English on St. Malo, during the siege; for they had full four hundred cannon, which fired day and night against the town and castle. The governor, whose name was Morfonace, a valiant man-at-arms, was resolved to defend it well, aided by the counsels of sir Hervé de Malatrait, the lord de Combor and the viscount de la Belliere, and had so far succeeded that there was not as yet any apparent damage. In the adjacent country, as I have before said, was the flower of France, as well great lords as others; they amounted to sixteen thousand men-at-arms, knights and squires, with upward of one hundred thousand horses. They were as willing for the combat as the English could be; but each of them sought to have an advantage: what, however, prevented this from happening several times was the large river, when the tide was in, between the two armies, which hindered them from attacking each other. The mine was advancing, of which the inhabitants of St. Malo had some suspicions. In such large armies as these, it was not possible but that the foragers of each should frequently have rencounters, in which fortune favored sometimes one party, and sometimes the other; for there were very expert and youthful knights of each army who sought for such exploits. The miners of the duke of Lancaster labored hard at their work day and night, to carry it under the town and throw down part of the walls, so that the men-at-arms and archers might easily gain an entrance.

Morfonace and the knights in the town guessed what they were about, and knew well that if they should succeed they were ruined. They did not fear their other assaults, for the town was well provided with all sorts of stores and artillery for two years, if necessary: wherefore they considered how they might best counteract this mine. After having long consulted, they succeeded in their attempt: it was in some sort accidental, for things fell out with extraordinary good fortune for them.

Richard, earl of Arundel, was on guard one night with his people, but he was very inattentive to obey the orders he had received, of which the garrison were informed by their spies or otherwise. When they had fixed on an hour in which they imagined the army (trusting to lord Arundel's want of vigilance) would be fast asleep, they sallied from the town very secretly, and advanced to where the miners were at work, who had little more to do to complete their mine. Morfonace and his company, being prepared to accomplish their enterprise, destroyed the mine at their ease; and some of the workmen who were within were never seen afterwards, as the mine fell upon them.

When they had finished this business, they said they would awaken the guard next the town, in order that they might know with what success their gallantry had been crowned. They advanced to one of the wings of the army, shouting their war-cry, cutting down tents, and slaying all they met, so that the whole army was seriously alarmed. Morfonace and his companions retreated into St. Malo without any loss; during which time the English armed themselves, and advanced in front of the duke's division, who was much astonished at this event: he demanded how it could have happened, when they informed him, that by the negligence of the guard, the mine had been destroyed, and they had suffered a great loss. Upon this, the earl of Arundel was sent for and sharply reprimanded by the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge for his neglect: he excused himself as well as he was able, but was so greatly ashamed that he had rather have lost several thousand pounds. After the destruction of the mine, the principal chiefs held a council to determine how they should act. They saw they had lost the season of the year, which was not to be regained; for should they attempt another mine, winter would come before it could be finished; they therefore resolved, taking all things into consideration, that their wisest plan would be to break up their camp and return to England. Orders were, in consequence, issued by the duke and the marshals for the army to decamp, and embark on board their fleet in the port of St. Malo. This order was soon obeyed; and, having a favorable wind, they made sail for Southampton, where they arrived. On disembarking, they learnt that sir John Arundel, the governor of Southampton, was gone to reinforce the garrison of Cherbourg.

Thus was this army dispersed, when some recrossed the seas, and others returned to their own country. The common people in England began to murmur against the nobles, saying they had that year done little good in suffering St. Malo to escape from them: in particular, the earl of Arundel found no favor with them. We will now leave the English, to speak of the French and of Cherbourg.

CHAPTER XXII.

SIR OLIVER DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER BY THE GARRISON OF CHERBOURG.

Soon after the English had retreated from St. Malo, and the French had reinforced the town and castle, the constable of France resolved to march and lay siege to Cherbourg; of which place sir John Harlestone was governor, who had with him many knights from England and Navarre. The whole army, however, did not march thither; for the dukes of Berry, of Burgundy, of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin of Auvergne, with other chiefs and great lords, sent back their troops to their different countries. Several went to pay their respects to the king at Rouen, who very graciously received them. The Bretons and Normans advanced to Valognes, three leagues from Cherbourg, where they erected small forts. They knew

well that sir John Arundel had reinforced the garrison, and they supposed he was still there.

Between Cherbourg and Valognes are large forests, even as far as Coutances. The garrison of Cherbourg could sally forth, and make excursions over the country as often as they pleased, for there were in the forests well-hedged roads, which prevented them from being attacked, and Cherbourg is one of the strongest castles. The garrison of Valognes were exceedingly vexed that they could not hurt the English, by harassing the country. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, brother to the constable, imagined that if he could, by means of the forest, approach in a cunning way near to Cherbourg, to reconnoitre it; particularly if he could any how besiege it; or if at least he could seize the town, which lies at some little distance from the castle, he would so strongly fortify it that the garrison could not quit or enter the castle without great loss.

Sir Oliver determined to try this project; and taking with him about fifteen lances, and guides who were acquainted with the roads through the forest, he set out one morning from Valognes, continuing his march until he had passed through the forest opposite to Cherbourg. That same day sir John Arundel had visited the town to amuse himself, and had brought with him a squire of Navarre, called John Coq, to show him the town. He was there informed that the French were at hand reconnoitering the place. "My lord," said John Coq, "I have heard that sir Oliver du Guesclin, the constable's brother, has passed the wood, and is examining our castle: for God's sake, let him be pursued. I think I can conduct you in such a manner that he must fall into our hands, so that we may conquer them all." "By my faith," replied sir John, "I am very willing so to do." Having armed themselves secretly, they mounted their horses, in number about one hundred lances, picked men, and set out from Cherbourg, entered the forest without the French knowing anything of the matter, and rode on. Sir Oliver, finding the place of such strength as to make it impossible to besiege it, took the same road to Valognes by which he had come. He had not marched three leagues before sir John Arundel and John Coq, with their companions, who had been very exactly conducted, charged them, shouting "Our Lady for Arundel!" When sir Oliver heard this cry, and saw them advancing, he wished himself in Valognes: he therefore mounted a fleet courser, in hopes of saving himself, for he found the parties were too unequal for a combat; and his people dispersed themselves in the forest. Too few kept together. John Coq, like a valiant man-at-arms, pursued sir Oliver so closely that at last he made him his prisoner: there were also ten or a dozen more taken; the remainder saved themselves among the trees, and returned to Valognes as well as they could, and related to sir William des Bordes how they had fallen into an ambuscade, and that sir Oliver, with the remainder of their companions, had been made prisoners.

The knights and squires at Valognes were greatly hurt at this, but help it they could not. Sir Oliver du Guesclin was conducted by the garrison to the castle of Cherbourg, where he was told his ransom would be at least ten thousand francs. This capture was great news for England; and the business continued thus for a considerable time. Sir Oliver du Guesclin remained prisoner in Cherbourg, under the guard of John Coq who had taken him; but sir John Arundel had all the profit: he ransomed sir Oliver and those who had been captured with him, but not immediately. When the garrison of Cherbourg had been reinforced, sir John Arundel returned to Southampton, of which place he was governor. There remained with sir John Harlestone in Cherbourg some English knights; such as sir John Copeland, sir John Briole, sir Thomas Pigourde and several knights and squires: who so carefully guarded it that no damage was done. We will now leave for a while Cherbourg, and speak of lord Neville, the sénéschal of Bordeaux, sir Thomas Trivet, with others their companions, and show how they prospered.

Oliver du Guesclin made prisoner by the garrison of Cherbourg

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FRENCH GARRISON OF BERSAT* IS DEFEATED. THE TOWN SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH. THE KING OF NAVARRE COMES TO BORDEAUX, TO SOLICIT AID FROM THE ENGLISH.

The lord Neville, who resided at Bordeaux, had had good information that the infanta of Castille, with a large army of Spaniards, was besieging the good city of Pampeluna, and that the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut, Raimond de Rameren, with several others, were shut up in it; but he had no intelligence of the king of Navarre, nor where he kept himself, which very much astonished him: he supposed, however, that he should soon hear from him. The inhabitants of Bordeaux and the adjacent countries entreated him not to quit those parts, nor to send away any of his men-at-arms, so long as the Bretons should hold any forts near them: they informed him particularly how the garrison of Bersat very much harassed the country of the Bourdelois. To the inquiries of the lord Neville, how many Bretons there might be in Bersat; they answered, there were full five hundred fighting men. Upon this, he called to him the sénéschal des Landes and sir William Scrope, and said to them: "Take two or three hundred lances, with as many archers, and march to Bresat, and manage so as to free the country from that garrison; when we will afterwards turn our thoughts to things of greater importance."

These two knights wished nothing more than to obey the orders they had received; and collecting their men, they crossed the Garonne, and marched toward Bersat. The same day the English had left Bordeaux, the garrison of Bersat had made an excursion, with about six score lances: they had ascended the river Garonne in hopes of meeting some boats, and were under the command of a knight from Perigord, called sir Bertrand Raimond, a good man-at-arms. About a short league from Bersat, the two parties of English and French came suddenly in sight of each other. When sir Bertrand saw that a combat was unavoidable, he was no way alarmed, but gave proper orders to his men, who were almost all Gascons, and drew them up in handsome array.

The English charged them with couched lances, spurring their horses until they were in the midst of them. On the first shock, many were unhorsed on each side, and several gallant deeds done. At last, however, the French Gascons could not maintain the fight; for there were too many against them, who were likewise chosen men. The party from the garrison of Bersat were either slain or

* "Bersat"—a small town of Limousin, diocese of Limoges.

made prisoners; very few escaped. Sir Bertrand Raimond and sir William Hemon were among those taken. The English then rode on toward Bersat. When the garrison found that their party had been defeated, they were thunder-struck, and surrendered the place upon their lives being spared. Thus did Bersat become English; and the detachment returned to Bordeaux. At the same time the English returned to Bordeaux (the night of All-saints, in the year 1378,) the king of Navarre came also thither, without being expected. The English received him most honorably; and, after they had lodged him and his attendants commodiously, they asked what news from his country and of the Spaniards, for they had received orders to make such inquiries. He fully answered their questions, by saying that the infant John of Castille had besieged Pampeluna with a large army, and had much constrained those who were within it. He therefore entreated them, in conformity to the orders they had from the king of England, to make themselves ready to assist his people, and to raise the siege. The English knights replied they were perfectly willing, and through no negligence on their part should the siege fail to be raised; that they would prepare everything speedily, but added, "Sir, you will return to your country, and issue out a special summons to your people; for we will be with you on a fixed day, when we shall be altogether in greater force: besides, your people know the country better than we do." The king of Navarre replied that they spoke well, and what they had proposed should be done. After this, he remained with the English but three days, when he took his leave, and left the city of Bordeaux, returning home by sea; for there were, in the neighborhood of Bayonne and the city of Dax in Gascony, several fortresses in the hands of the Bretons. The king of Navarre safely arrived at the town of St. Jean, where he resided.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE INFANT OF CASTILLE BESIEGES PAMPELUNA. SIR THOMAS TRIVET, IN CONDUCTING SUCCORS TO THE KING OF NAVARRE, TAKES SEVERAL PLACES IN GASCONY FROM THE FRENCH.

During the time the king of Navarre was at Bordeaux, and since his return to his own country, John of Castille, son of the king of Spain, with the constable of Castille, who was the chief of this war, and whose name was don Pedro de Manriquez, had besieged the good city of Pampeluna with a large force.

With them were the count don Alphonso, the count de Medina, the count de Manons, the count de Ribede, Peter Ferrand de Falesque, Peter Goussart de Modesque, and several other barons and knights from Spain, with their troops.*

These Spaniards, on their march toward Pampeluna, had taken and burnt the town of Lorwich and the city of Viana, on this side Logrono; and there was not a lord in Navarre who dared to show himself before them, but each remained shut up in his castle. The king of Navarre knew well all this, for he had continually messengers coming and going, but he could not do anything without the assistance of the English.

Lord Neville,† who resided at Bordeaux, whither he had been sent by the king of England and his council, was informed of all the treaties between the two kings, and that it was incumbent on him to fulfil them. Having considered this matter, he called to him sir Thomas Trivet, a very valiant knight, and said to him, "Sir Thomas, you know that we have been ordered hither to guard the frontiers of this country, to drive out our enemies, and to assist the king of Navarre, who has been lately here, and told us how much he was in want of our help. You were present when I promised him assistance. This must be done, or we shall be blamed. Therefore, my dear friend and companion, I appoint you leader of the troops I shall send to this war, and now order you to march thither with five hundred lances and a thousand archers. I shall remain where I am, being séneschal of Bordeaux, under the orders of the king of England; for I must pay attention to what passes here, as this whole country is not very secure against our enemies." "My lord," replied sir Thomas, "you do me more honor than I deserve: I will obey your orders, as in justice I ought to do, and will acquit myself in this business to the utmost of my power." "Of that, sir Thomas," answered lord Neville, "I am perfectly assured."

Sir Thomas Trivet made no long delay, but, having completed his preparations, set out from Bordeaux with his complement of men-at-arms and archers, taking the road toward Dax in Gascony. There were with him William Condone, sir Thomas Berton, sir John Affulée, sir Henry Paule, sir William Croquet, sir Louis Malin, sir Thomas Fourque, and sir Robert Haston, all Gascons. When this army was arrived at the city of Dax, they received intelligence that the king of Navarre was at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, there assembling his men-at-arms. This news was very pleasing to them. Sir Matthew Gournay,‡ uncle to sir Thomas Trivet, was governor of Dax, who received his nephew and his companions very agreeably, and helped them to find out lodgings. Sir Thomas's intentions were to have continued his march without baiting: but sir Matthew Gournay said to him, "Fair nephew, since you have with you so large a force, let us free this country from the Bretons and French, who hold at least a dozen fortresses between this place and Bayonne; otherwise you leave them in your rear, and they may do us much mischief the ensuing winter. If you consent, the country will thank you, and I entreat it of you." "By my faith," replied sir Thomas, "I am very willing." Soon after this conversation, he set about the business, and, drawing out his forces in the plain, marched toward a fort called Montpin, which was in the possession of the Bretons. A squire from the county of Foix, whose name was Taillardon, was governor of it.

On their arrival, the English began a very severe attack. The fort was stormed, and all in it put to the sword except Taillardon, who was made prisoner. After having placed in the castle a new garrison, they marched away, and came before another, called Carcilhat, which the Gascons held. They immediately commenced an assault, but not gaining it directly, they encamped. On the morrow, they renewed the attack with so much vigor that it was taken, and all within slain except the governor, who was from Lower Brittany, and called Yvonnet Aprisidly: he was given to the English as prisoner, and the castle burnt. They then marched toward another fort, called Besenghen, of which a Gascon squire was governor, whose name was Roger de Morelac. The English were two days before they could win it, which was at last done by capitulation: the garrison marched out in surety, and each man returned to his home.

From this castle they came before Tassegnon, which is situated three leagues from Bayonne, and laid siege to it. The Bayonnois were much rejoiced when they heard of this; and they were joined from that town by full five hundred men with lances and shields, bringing with them the largest of their warlike engines. The garrison of Tassegnon having done so much harm to those of Bayonne, made them thus desirous of their destruction; but they would never have succeeded had it not been for the judgment and advice of the English: yet with all their united force they were fifteen days before they gained it, which was done by capitulation, on the garrison marching out in safety under passports from sir Thomas Trivet, who had them escorted as far as Bregent, which belonged to the French. The Bayonnois bought the castle for three thousand francs, and then razed it, carrying the stones to Bayonne; where the English were received with great joy, and had all things according to their wish by paying for them.

CHAPTER XXV.

SIR THOMAS TRIVET WITH THE ENGLISH COMES TO THE SUCCOR OF THE KING OF NAVARRE. THE SIEGE OF PAMPELUNA IS RAISED.

The king of Navarre, who resided at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, was exceedingly angry that the English were so long coming, for his country was in great danger; and the city of Pampeluna would have been taken by the Spaniards, had it not been for the viscount de Chastillon, the governor, who had under him in all but two hundred Gascon spears, but his prudence and watchfulness prevented it.

Sir Perducas d'Albret was governor of the town of Tudela in Navarre; the count Pullois and his brother Roger commanded in the city of Miranda: a knight from Catalonia, called sir Raymond de Bageth, was governor of another strong town in Navarre, named Arques.* The king of Navarre, placing his confidence in these captains, remained at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, and left them to act as they pleased. The whole country round Pampeluna was destroyed; for none dared to oppose the Spaniards, and they concluded they must by a long siege gain the town. However, those within thought otherwise; for the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut, and sir William de Paux, defended it so well, that the Spaniards began to be tired: winter was approaching, it being about St. Andrew's day, and their provision was becoming scarce: for, if the viscount de Roquebertin had not reinforced them with men-at-arms and sixty horse loads of provision, they would have retreated at All-saints day.

The king of Navarre sent one of his knights, called sir Peter de Bascle, to the English, to entreat them, if they wished to serve him, to hasten their march; for they had too long delayed it, according to the promises they had made, and the need he had of them. The knight rode until he came into the country of Bayonne, and found the English before a castle named Poulat, to whom he delivered his message very punctually. Sir Thomas Trivet replied, that as soon as the castle he was now before was conquered, he would march for Navarre, and that the knight might return and depend on what he had said. Sir Peter went back, and two days afterwards the castle surrendered, on the garrison marching out in safety. It was re-garrisoned, and afterwards the country continued tolerably quiet. There were some other smaller bodies, who had posted themselves in churches and monasteries, that harassed the country; but they were in no great numbers. The English, therefore, declared they could no longer remain with them, but must march to Navarre to raise the siege of Pampeluna and combat the Spaniards.

* Ferreras does not mention any siege of Pampeluna, but says the infant advanced to Gorriaz, near Pampeluna, and afterwards besieged Viana: when, having taken it, he returned to Castille. He notices only the first of the Spaniards in the text.—Vol. v. pp. 458, 459.

† Lord Neville of Raby.—Dugdale.

‡ Sir Matthew Gournay was fourth and youngest son of Thomas, one of the murderers of Edward II. He was a soldier of fortune, an able and valiant man, and seneschal des Landes (a sandy tract between Bordeaux and Bayonne.) He died 2th September, 1406, and is buried at Stoke under Hamden, county of Somerset.—*For further particulars, and his epitaph, see* Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 20.

* "Arques"—probably les Arcs.

Sir Thomas Trivet, sir Matthew Gournay, with their men, returned to Dax, where they halted four days: on the fifth, they departed, and took the road to Navarre. Sir Matthew Gournay marched back to the city of Bayonne with those under his command, to defend the country, and to conquer some of the small forts which the Bretons still held. Sir Thomas continued his march until he arrived at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, where he found the king of Navarre, who was right glad to see him. He lodged the knights in the town, and the men-at-arms found the best quarters they could in the country about. The king had, some time before, issued his summons for a large army to assemble before the city of Miranda: none dared to disobey it, and all knights and squires had in consequence prepared themselves to march to Pampeluna against the Spaniards.

News arrived at the Spanish army, that the English with a powerful force were with the king of Navarre, at St. Jean, to the amount of twenty thousand men-at-arms. Upon this, a council was held of the principal chiefs, to consider whether to wait for the king of Navarre, or to retreat. This was long debated; for some of the captains wished to wait for the English and Navarrois, while others were of a contrary opinion, saying they were not strong enough to meet such an army, and too much fatigued and worn down by the length of the siege. This council sat a considerable time: at last, orders were given to decamp, and make a handsome retreat into their own country. What inclined them most to this was, that some valiant knights who had great experience in war, declared that their honor would not suffer any disgrace, for that king Henry, being returned into Castille, had sent, fifteen days before, orders of recal to his son, as well as for the discontinuance of the siege of Pampeluna.

The Spaniards, therefore, quitted their quarters, and when they marched off, set fire to them, taking the road to Logrono and to St. Domingo in Castille. When the inhabitants of Pampeluna saw them march away, they were much rejoiced, for they had pressed them hard. News was brought to the king of Navarre and to the English at St. Jean of the Spaniards having raised the siege, and of their retreat to their own country. They seemed as if much enraged at it, for they would willingly have fought with them. Notwithstanding this, they marched to Pampeluna, where they found the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut, and the others, who received them with pleasure.

When these men-at-arms had refreshed themselves for two or three days in Pampeluna, they thought it advisable to march from thence and divide themselves in different garrisons, to gain more country: besides, the mountains of Navarre are too cold in the winter, being covered with snow. The English were, therefore, ordered to Tudela; the lord de l'Escut to Pont à la Reine;* the count Pullois and his brother Roger to Corella, and the lord de Chastillon to Mundon. In this manner were the men-at-arms distributed, and the king of Navarre remained in his palace at Pampeluna. The garrisons in Navarre continued in peace without manifesting any inclination to make excursions during the winter: on which account, the Spaniards dispersed, and king Henry went to reside at Seville, accompanied by his queen and children.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ENGLISH AND NAVARROIS OVERRUN THE KINGDOM OF SPAIN. THE EVENTS THAT BEFEL THEM THERE.

Sir Thomas Trivet and his companions were quartered in Tudela, and had not done anything since their entrance into Navarre; but, hearing that the Spanish army was disbanded, they determined to make an excursion into Spain, to perform something for their pay. They made preparations for a secret expedition, and sent information of it to the count Pullois and his brother Roger, who came to Tudela with two hundred lances and three hundred shields: when they were all mustered, they might be about seven hundred spears, twelve hundred archers, and as many other foot soldiers. They loaded many horses, with all sorts of provision, and, marching away, encamped, on Christmas-eve, in a fair meadow by a river side at the foot of the mountain Montcain,† which separates the three kingdoms of Navarre, Castille, and Arragon: on the other side of this mountain lies a country called Val di Soria. This day the weather was very fine, and wondrous hot. When they had dined, the captains assembled in council to determine whether they should remain there Christmas-day, or attempt some warlike exploit; for they were on the borders of the enemy's country. They resolved to march that very night, so as to arrive at the city of Soria‡ by dawn on Christmas-day, and scale its walls.

This plan was adopted, and orders given in consequence. Three hundred lances were only to be employed; the others with the foot were to remain where they then were until the morrow, to hear the success of the enterprise. The count Pullois with one hundred lances, and sir Thomas Trivet with his troops, having guides to conduct them, were to march in four divisions and to form three ambuscades, the more secretly to execute their enterprise and the more surely to succeed in it. About two o'clock after midnight, they were armed and mounted, but without any trumpets. The captains and the guides made themselves well acquainted with the different points of the country, that they might all arrive punctually at Soria at the same time. They had ascended the mountain and advanced into the plains, when it began to snow and hail so marvellously fast that the ground was all covered, and they rode on until the morrow without meeting each other. This misfortune of the English fell out luckily for the inhabitants of Val di Soria, as they had not taken any precautions against an attack; and, had they met according to the plan laid down, they must have taken the town by escalade, without a possibility of a disappointment.

When sir Thomas Trivet and the other captains saw that their attempt had failed, they were much vexed: they collected themselves as well as they could, to take some refreshment from their sumpter horses, and then to follow the right road to Soria, according to their original intentions. As they had resolved, so did they execute; and, after a short breakfast, sir Raymond de Balge, a Navarrois, was chosen to advance before the town with forty lances, in order to draw out the javelin-men who were the guard of it. The knight rode up to the barriers, where he skirmished with the guard; for these javelin-men were full two hundred; they sallied forth instantly, and began a combat, when the others retreated by little and little to draw them further into the plain. The garrison would have very roughly treated this detachment, if their ambuscade had not advanced to their assistance: they charged the guard full gallop, with spears in their rests, so that at the first shock several were killed and wounded, and the rest driven back into the town with great loss. They immediately closed their gates and barriers, and mounted the battlements, for they expected an assault; but they were disappointed, as the English and Navarrois retreated in the course of the day, and returned to their quarters, where they had left their men.

They remained there that night; and on the morrow, which was St. Stephen's day, they marched to a town called Quasquan,* in Navarre, where they met the king of Navarre, who had come thither on Christmas-eve. The English, on their way to Cascante, burnt several villages, and in particular a considerable one called Nigrete, which they completely pillaged.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SIR THOMAS TRIVET MAKES AN EXCURSION TO THE TOWN OF ALFARO IN CASTILLE. PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF SPAIN AND NAVARRE. THE DEATH OF HENRY KING OF SPAIN. HIS SON JOHN IS CROWNED AS HIS SUCCESSOR.

While king Henry resided at Seville, in the heart of his kingdom, news was brought to him that the English had made an incursion, and burnt the town of Soria, in the name of the king of Navarre. He was much enraged thereat, and swore he would make them pay for it. He wrote letters to his son, John of Castille, commanding him instantly to issue a particular summons throughout the kingdom, and to assemble the nobles: for that he should very shortly be in Castille, to revenge himself on the king of Navarre for the excesses which he had committed. The infant neither dared nor wished to disobey the commands of his father, but immediately issued the summons.

While these men-at-arms were collecting, and before the arrival of king Henry, sir Thomas Trivet resolved to march toward a handsome town in Spain called Alfaro. In this design, he set out one evening from Cascante, leaving there the king of Navarre, with only one hundred lances; but they were all such as he could depend on. They came near to Alfaro about daybreak, and halted a league from the town, where they placed themselves in ambush. Sir William Cendrin and sir Andrew Andrac were sent forward, with about ten spears, to alarm the place. They came to a little brook which runs before the town, and is dangerous to pass: however, Andrew Andrac and Peter Mascle, Navarrois, made their coursers leap over it, and galloped up to the barriers.

The town was exceedingly alarmed; and, having sounded their trumpets to assemble their men-at-arms, they opened the gates and barriers, sallied forth, and directly began to skirmish. Of these ten lances, there were only those I have named who had crossed the brook, so that, when they saw such numbers advancing, they wheeled about and leaped back again. Those of Alfaro seeing so small a number, and not suspecting an ambuscade, followed them closely, passing the rivulet a little higher up, at the ford. The ten spears allowed themselves to be pursued as far as the ambush, from whence sir Thomas and the others rushed full gallop, shouting their cry, and, charging the enemy, unhorsed several. In truth, the Spaniards, unable to withstand the English, turned about as quickly as they could: few escaped death or being made prisoners.

The alarm was great in the town, which made the English think they should be immediate masters of it, for they saw the inhabitants were as good as defeated: however, they were disappointed, for the women of the place saved it by their presence of mind. While the English were crossing the brook, they closed the gates and barriers, and, having mounted the battlements over the gate, showed every inclination to defend themselves. When sir Thomas saw them thus

* "Pont a la Reine"—Punte a la Reyna—appears by the map to be in Arragon.
† "Montcain"—probably by the map, Moncayo—it seems near to Tarracona.
"Soria"—a town of Castille.

* "Quasquan"—Cascante, near to Tudela.

drawn up, he said as he was advancing, "Look at these good women: let us return back, for we cannot do anything more." Upon which they retreated, crossed the brook, and made for Cascante, carrying with them their prisoners. Sir Thomas Trivet acquired great favor from the king of Navarre for the success of this expedition.

About fifteen days after this affair of Alfaro, the Spaniards took the field, amounting in the whole, horse and foot, to twenty thousand men, with a good inclination to combat the English. The king of Navarre, on hearing this, went to Tudela, attended by sir Thomas Trivet and his troops, and sent orders for all the garrisons of Navarre to march thither: they willingly obeyed his orders, as they wished for nothing more than to engage the Spaniards. The Spaniards were only waiting for the arrival of king Henry, who had left Seville with a numerous attendance, and was traversing his kingdom to St. Domingo, where on his arrival he halted, and quartered his people in the adjacent plain. When don John heard that the king was come to St. Domingo, he left Alfaro, and marched thither with his army. It was the intention of the Spaniards to lay siege to Tudela and inclose the king of Navarre in it, or force him to fight.

The king of Navarre was informed of all this, and he knew that he was not strong enough to risk a battle with king Henry, who had forty thousand men, including horse and foot. There were some prelates and barons, wise and valiant men of both kingdoms, in either army, who foresaw that great troubles might arise if the two kings, Henry and Charles, should mutually slay each other in battle: they therefore proposed an armistice, that they might endeavor to settle their differences: but these negotiators had much labor and difficulty before they could bring matters to an issue, for the English, who amounted to full two thousand, were haughty and bitter against the Spaniards, and advised the king of Navarre to risk a battle.

On the other hand, the Spaniards, who were very numerous, held the English and Navarrois cheap. The treaties, however, were drawing to a conclusion; and, with much difficulty, an armistice was agreed on, for six weeks, between the two kingdoms, with the intent of concluding a peace. The negotiators proposed also that a marriage should take place between the eldest son of king Henry with a daughter of the king of Navarre, that the peace might be more solid and durable. The king of Navarre readily listened to this proposal, for he saw by it how highly his daughter would be settled. The prelates and barons of both realms advised also that Charles, eldest son of the king of Navarre, should marry a daughter of king Henry. This was concluded; and don Henry, king of Castille, was to use his influence with the king of France, under whose guardianship Charles was, that he should be permitted to return to Navarre. This he performed; and the king of France complied with his request.

The king of Navarre, on account of these marriages, was willing to surrender, for ten years, to the king of Spain, as a security for his good faith, the towns and castles of Estella, of Tudela, and of la Guardia. King Henry consented to give up to the English sir Peter Courtenay and the lord de l'Esparre, a Gascon, who were his prisoners. All these different treaties were sealed, and sworn to be faithfully observed for ever by the two kings; and it was agreed that whoever should any way infringe them should submit himself to the judgment of the pope.

While these negotiations were going forward, the king of Navarre, who was indebted to the English twenty thousand francs, sent the viscount de Chastillon to Arragon to borrow this sum from the king of Arragon, who readily lent it to him, but took for his security the good towns of Pampeluna, Miranda, Borgo la Reyna, Corella and St. Jean du Pied des Ports. By these means, the English were paid their demands: they left the king of Navarre, well satisfied with their conduct, returned to Bordeaux, and from thence to England.

The marriage was concluded between Charles of Navarre and the daughter of king Henry: she was called Jane, and was very handsome. In this year the king of Castille died, and his eldest son, don John, succeeded him. He was crowned with the consent of all the prelates and barons of Spain, king of Castille, Seville, Gallicia and Cordova; and they swore to him, for ever, fealty and homage. About this time, war commenced between the kings of Portugal and Castille, which lasted a considerable time, as you will hear related in this history. But we must now return to the affairs of France.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE LORD DE MUCIDENT TURNS TO THE ENGLISH. THE LORD DE LANGURANT IS MORTALLY WOUNDED. THE GOVERNOR OF BOUTEVILLE IS DEFEATED, AND THE CASTLE SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

You have before heard that the lord de Mucident had turned to the French party. He had remained at Paris for upward of a year, until he was tired; for he had expected more from the king of France than he had received, which made him repent having changed his side. He said he had been forced so to do, and that it was not of his own free will.

He had therefore resolved to quit Paris privately, where he had too long resided, return to his own country, and then surrender himself to the English; for he preferred serving the king of England to the king of France. He acted upon this plan, and gave all his acquaintance to understand, except those of his council, that he was disgusted. One evening he mounted his horse incognito, only two persons with him, set out from Paris, and rode to his own country, where his people followed him. He continued his journey until he came to Bordeaux, where he found the lord Neville, to whom he related his adventures. He attached himself to the English, and declared he would rather betray his troth to the king of France than to his natural lord the king of England. The lord de Mucident remained steady to the English ever after as long as he lived.

The duke of Anjou was much enraged when he heard of this, and swore, that if ever he could lay hands upon him, he would make his head fly from his shoulders. This was told to the lord de Mucident, who in consequence took every precaution in his power. The lord de Langurant remained steadfast to the French. He was an able and active knight, and harassed much the vassals of those who had turned to the English possessing lands adjoining to his own; such as the lords de Rosem, de Duras, de Mucident; which made these three barons very angry, and excited them to attempt all means to slay him; for he was their bitter enemy.

The lord de Langurant, being a knight eager for battle, was riding out one day attended by about forty lances: he advanced near to an English garrison called Cadillac,* which belonged to the captal de Buch and his brothers. He posted his men in ambush in a wood, telling them that he would ride alone to the castle to see if any one would sally forth against him. His men obeyed: when, riding to the barriers of Cadillac, he spoke to the guards, asking, "Where is Bernard Courant, your captain? Tell him that the lord de Langurant wishes to tilt with him; and, since he is so valiant a man-at-arms, he will not refuse my request for the love of his lady. If he should not consent, it will turn to his shame, and I will publish everywhere that he had refused to break a lance with me through cowardice." One of the valets of Bernard, at that time at the barriers, replied, "Lord de Langurant, I have perfectly heard what you have said: I will go and inform my master; for cowardice shall never be a reproach to him, if you will be so good as to wait." "By my faith," answered the lord de Langurant, "that I will." The valet went to his master, whom he found in his chamber, and told him what you have heard.

When Bernard heard this, his heart swelled within him, and he fiercely exclaimed, "Give me my arms, and saddle my steed, for he shall never return with a refusal." His orders were promptly obeyed: being armed, he mounted on horseback with his lance and buckler, and, having the gates and barriers thrown open, advanced into the plain. The lord de Langurant was much pleased when he saw him: lowering his spear, he placed himself in the position of a good knight, as did his squire. They were both well mounted; and, spurring their horses, their lances struck with such force on their shields as shivered them to pieces. At the second pass, Bernard Courant gave such a deadly blow on the shoulder of the lord de Langurant as to drive him out of his saddle, and fell him to the ground. When Bernard saw him fall, he was rejoiced, and turning his horse upon him, as the lord de Langurant was raising himself up, Bernard, who had great strength, caught him with both hands by the helmet, tore it off his head, and flung it under his horse.

The troops of the lord de Langurant who were in ambush, noticing all this, began to advance to rescue their lord. Bernard Courant perceived them, and, drawing his dagger, said to the lord de Langurant, "Surrender yourself my prisoner, lord de Langurant, rescued or not, or you are a dead man." The lord de Langurant, who trusted to his people for assistance, was shy, and made no answer. When Bernard saw that he would not make any reply, he was inflamed with passion, and, fearing lest he might suffer from delay, struck him with his dagger on the head, which was bare, and drove it into him: then, drawing it back, he put spurs to his horse, galloped within the barriers, where he dismounted, and put himself in a posture of defence, if there should be a necessity for it. The lord de Langurant's people, on coming to him, found him mortally wounded: they were very much enraged at it, and, having bandaged his wound as well as they could, carried him back to his castle, where he, on the morrow, expired. Such was the end of the lord de Langurant in Gascony.

At this period, a deed of arms was performed, in the Rochellois, against Heliot de Plaisac, a very amiable squire and gallant man-at-arms, governor of Bouteville,† an English garrison, wherein there were about six score lances, English and Gascons, who, pillaging the whole country, advanced almost daily as far as the towns of La Rochelle or St. Jean d'Angely. They kept these towns in such dread that none dared to venture out but very privately, which angered greatly the knights and squires of that country. They considered well this business, and resolved either to apply such a remedy as would put a stop to it, or to lose their lives or liberties in the attempt. They collected, in the town of La Rochelle, about two hundred spears, on whom they could depend; for it was toward this town that Heliot de Plaisac made his excursions. There were now in it, from Poitou and Saintonge, the lords de Touars, de Puissances, sir James de Surgeres, sir Perceval de Coulogne, sir Reginald de Go-

* "Cadillac"—a village in Guienne, seven leagues from Bordeaux.
† "Bouteville near Cognac.

mers, sir Hugh de Vivonne, and several other knights and squires, all well inclined to meet and combat their enemies. These lords had had information that Heliot de Plaisac was on his march toward La Rochelle, in search of prey. They gave their orders accordingly, and sallied out in the evening well armed and mounted. On their departure, they directed that the cattle should, on the morrow, be driven out to the fields to take their chance; which was obeyed.

When the morrow came, Heliot de Plaisac and his troop arrived before La Rochelle, while their foragers collected the cattle, and had them driven away by the peasants of the country. They had not gone more than a league before the French (who were upward of two hundred lances) fell upon their wing, quite unexpectedly, and charged them vigorously; so that, at this first onset, several were unhorsed. Heliot de Plaisac cried out, "On foot, on foot! let no man fly, but send away the horses; for, if the day be ours, we shall have horses enow, and, if we lose it, we shall not want any." The English and Gascons, of Heliot's party, drew up on foot, and in good order. The French did the same, for they were afraid of their horses being wounded by the spears and swords of the enemy.

The battle then commenced. It was severe, and of long continuance; for they fought hand to hand, pushing their spears up to their guards at every thrust. Many gallant deeds were done; there was many a capture, and many a rescue. However, the Poitevins and Saintongers won the field, and their enemies were either slain or made prisoners, for very few escaped: the forage was recaptured, and Heliot de Plaisac taken and carried to La Rochelle.

Shortly afterwards, these lords marched to the castle of Bouteville, which was soon and easily taken, for scarcely any one was within it. Thus was Bouteville gained by the French, to the great joy of all the country round about. Heliot de Plaisac remained in prison for a long time.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SIR THOMAS TRIVET RETURNS TO ENGLAND WITH HIS COMPANIONS. HIS HERALD RELATES TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER THE PARTICULARS OF THE DEATH OF KING HENRY OF CASTILLE, AND THE CORONATION OF HIS ELDEST SON DON JOHN.

At this time, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmen, and the other knights who had been in Spain to the assistance of the king of Navarre, returned to England. They immediately waited on the king, who at that time resided at Chertsey: his two uncles, the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, were with him. These knights were graciously received by the king and his lords; and many questions were asked concerning the news of the countries they came from: they told all they knew; how the war had been carried on in Spain and Navarre, and how those two kings had concluded a peace, relating exactly the articles of the treaties, and also that the king of Navarre had married his eldest son to a daughter of king Henry.

The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge were very pensive on hearing this intelligence, for they had considered themselves as heirs to all Spain in right of their wives: they inquired at what time king Henry had died, and if the Spaniards had crowned his son king. Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmen answered: "My dear lords, when king Henry the bastard died, we were not at the coronation of his son; for at that time we had retreated into Navarre; but we have a herald who was present, and you may, if you please, learn from him every particular concerning it."

The herald was called in, and the duke desired he would relate how everything passed. He answered: "My lords, I will comply with your request, and tell you all. While these knights were at Pampeluna, waiting the conclusion of the treaties, I remained by their permission with the king of Navarre, and was much respected by him and his people. I left Pampeluna, and accompanied him to St. Domingo, where, on his approach king Henry came out to meet him with a numerous train, as a proof of his affection. The king of Navarre and his people were treated with much honor: in the evening he was entertained with a very handsome supper. While at table, news was brought that a wild boar was discovered in the adjoining moors; a hunting party was directly formed for the morrow. The two kings and their huntsmen were present; the boar was taken; and they returned to St. Domingo in the most friendly manner.

"The next day, king Henry set out for Pierreferrade,* to keep an appointment he had made with his people. He was there seized with an illness, of which he died. The king of Navarre was told of it as he was on his road to visit him: he returned back much vexed thereat. I then took my leave of him, and went to Castille to learn what was going forward. King Henry died on Wednesday. Shortly after, on the 25th day of July, the feast of St. James and St. Christopher, John, eldest son of the late king Henry, was crowned king of Castille, in the cathedral church of the city of Burgos. All the barons and prelates of Spain, Galicia, Cordova, and Seville were present, and swore, on the holy Evangelists, their homages to him as king. He created that day two hundred and ten knights, and made several magnificent presents. On the morrow after his coronation, he went, attended by great numbers of his nobles, to a convent of nuns, out of Burgos, which is called les Oruches, where he heard mass and dined. After dinner, there was a grand tournament; at which the viscount de Roquebertin, from Arragon, won the prize. When this was over, the king returned to Burgos, where the feasts lasted for fifteen days."

The duke of Lancaster asked if the king of Portugal had been invited thither: the herald said, "He had been invited, but did not come; and I was informed he told the envoy who carried the invitation, that he would never attend the coronation of the son of a bastard." "On my faith," replied the duke, "he did well to send such an answer, and I thank him for it. Things shall not long remain as they now are. It shall soon be otherwise, for my brother and myself will call upon don John for that inheritance of which he now styles himself king." Here the conversation ended, when they called for wine and refreshments. We will now leave this matter, and return to what was passing in France.

* "Pierre ferrade." Q. I cannot find any thing like this name in the map near to St. Domingo. There is Pont-ferrad on the western boundary of Leon, but that appears to be too distant.

Denys Sauvage does not seem to understand this passage.

Moreri says, Henry died at St. Domingo.

Ferreras, in his History of Spain, says, the vulgar report was, that Henry was poisoned by means of a handsome pair of jackets, which Mahomet king of Granada sent him as a present, lest, what having made peace with the king of Navarre, he might turn his arms against him. Ferreras himself seems to doubt it. He died at Saint Domingo la Calcada, 29th May, 1374. The infant John was then proclaimed king, and left St. Domingo for Burgos, carrying with him the body of his father, which he deposited there, in order for its being transported to Toledo.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS STOPS THE PROGRESS OF AN EMBASSADOR FROM THE KING OF FRANCE TO SCOTLAND: THIS CAUSES GREAT DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THEM.

King Charles, who at this time governed France, was very sagacious and subtle, as his conduct showed; for, though he never quitted his closet or his amusements, he reconquered all that his predecessors had lost in the field at the head of their armies, for which he was greatly to be commended. Now, because the king of France knew that king Robert of Scotland, and that whole kingdom, bore a mortal hatred to the English (for never can these two kingdoms love each other,) that a better understanding between him and the Scots might be continued, he determined to send one of his knights, and a secretary to his council, to king Robert and the Scots, to treat with them; to examine the state of that country, and see whether they were in a condition to carry on any effectual war: for Evan of Wales had during his life-time informed him, that the most certain way of disturbing England was through Scotland.

The king of France, having well considered this matter, had various ideas on the subject; and, having fixed his plan, he called to him one of his knights, a prudent man, named sir Peter lord de Bournezel, and said: "You will carry this message to Scotland, and salute the king and barons, with the assurance that we and our realm are willing to enter into treaties with them on the footing of good friends, in order that, when the season shall be favorable, we may send over troops, to be there admitted in the like manner as the practice has been with our predecessors in former times: and in your journeys thither and back again, as well as during your residence, you will take care to keep such state as shall become an embassador from the king; for such is our will; and every expense shall be repaid you." The knight answered, "Sire, your orders shall be obeyed."

He did not delay his journey long after this; but, when his preparations were ready, he took leave of the king, and set out from Paris, continuing his route until he came to Sluys in Flanders. He waited there for a wind, which being unfavorable, detained him fifteen days. During this time he lived magnificently; and gold and silver plate were in such profusion in the apartments as if he had been a prince. He had also music to announce his dinner, and caused to be carried before him a sword in a scabbard, richly blazoned with his arms in gold and silver. His servants paid well for everything. Many of the towns-people were much astonished at the great state this knight lived in at home, which he also maintained when he went abroad. The bailiff of the town, who was an officer under the earl of Flanders, had noticed this conduct, and could not remain silent on the subject, for which he was to blame, but went and informed the earl of it, who at the time resided at Bruges, and his cousin the duke of Brittany with him. The earl of Flanders having considered a while, with the advice of the duke of Brittany, ordered the embassador to be brought thither. The bailiff returned to Sluys, and came very uncourteously to the king's knight; for he laid his hand on him, and arrested him in the name of the earl.

The knight was exceedingly surprised at this proceeding: he told the bailiff, that he was embassador and commissioner from the king of France. The bailiff said, "that might be; but he must speak with the earl, who had ordered him to be conducted into his presence." The knight could not by any means excuse himself from being carried to Bruges with all his attendants. When he was brought into the apartments of the earl, he and the duke of Brittany were leaning on a window which looked into the gardens. The knight cast himself on his knees before the earl, and said, "My lord, I am your prisoner." At which words, the earl was mightily enraged, and replied with a passion, "How, rascal, do you dare to call your-

self my prisoner, when I have only sent to speak with you? The subjects of my lord may very freely come and speak with me; but thou hast ill acquitted thyself by remaining so long at Sluys without coming to visit me, when thou knewest I was so near; but, I suppose, thou disdainedst it." "My lord," answered the knight, "saving your displeasure"—He was interrupted by the duke of Brittany, who said, "It is by such tattlers and jesters of the parliament of Paris, and of the king's chamber, as you, that the kingdom is governed; and you manage the king as you please, to do good or evil according to your wills: there is not a prince of the blood, however great he may be, if he incur your hatred, who will be listened to: but such fellows shall yet be hanged, until the gibbets be full of them."

The knight, who was still on his knees, was much mortified by these words: he saw that it was better for him to be silent than to make any reply: he did not therefore answer, but quitted the presence of the earl and his lords, when he found an opportunity. Some worthy people who were with the earl made way for him, and carried him to refresh himself. The knight afterwards mounted his horse, and returned to his hotel in Sluys, where I will tell you what happened to him. Although all his stores were embarked, and there was a favorable wind for Scotland, he would not sail and risk the dangers of the sea; for he was warned that he was watched by the English who resided in Sluys, and that, if he should sail, he would be taken, and carried to England. Through fear of this happening, he gave up his intended voyage, quitted Sluys, and returned to the king at Paris.

You may easily imagine, that the lord de Bournezel was not long before he told the king all that had befallen him in Flanders: he related everything exactly as it had happened. It was necessary he should do so by way of excusing himself for not having obeyed his orders, as the king was very much surprised at his return. When sir Peter was relating the events of this journey, there were present several knights of the king's chamber: in particular, sir John de Guistelles of Hainault, a cousin to the earl of Flanders, who mutteringly repeated the words of sir Peter; so that, thinking the knight had spoken too freely of the earl of Flanders, he could not contain himself, but said: "I cannot thus hear my dear cousin the earl of Flanders so slightingly spoken of; and if, sir knight, you mean to affirm for truth all you have said, and assert that he by his act prevented you from fulfilling your orders, I challenge you to the field, and here is my glove."

The lord de Bournezel was not slow to reply: "Sir John, I say that I was thus arrested and conducted by the bailiff of Sluys, and brought before the earl of Flanders; and that every word which I have spoken as from that earl and the duke of Brittany were said by them; and if you wish to say anything to the contrary, and that it was not so, I will take up your glove." "I do say so," replied the lord de Guistelles. At these words, the king looked very grave, and said, "Come, come; we will hear no more of this." He then retired into his closet, attended by his chamberlains, very well pleased that sir Peter had so frankly spoken, and had so well answered sir John de Guistelles. He said to them smiling, "He has kept his ground well: I would not for twenty thousand francs it had not so happened." Sir John de Guistelles, who was one of the king's chamberlains, was afterwards so ill at court, and received with so much coldness, that he noticed it, and wished not to abide the consequences: he therefore took leave of the king, and went to Brabant to duke Winceslaus, who retained him in his service. With regard to the king of France, he was much angered with the earl of Flanders; for it appeared to several of the kingdom, that he had prevented the lord de Bournezel from continuing his journey to Scotland. He had also entertained his cousin the duke of Brittany, who was greatly out of favor with the king of France. Those who were near the person of the king easily saw that the earl of Flanders was not in his good graces. Shortly after this event, the king of France wrote very sharp letters to his cousin the earl of Flanders, which contained also menaces, for that he had supported and kept with him the duke of Brittany, whom he considered as his enemy.

The earl wrote back again, and made the best excuses he could. These were, however, of no avail; for the king of France sent him sharper letters, in which he declared, that if he did not send away his enemy the duke of Brittany, he would look upon him in the same light. When the earl of Flanders saw the manner in which the king took it, and that he would follow it up, he considered with himself (for he had a quick imagination,) and resolved to show these menaces to his principal towns, more especially to Ghent, to know what answer they would wish him to send. He dispatched copies to Bruges, Ypres and Courtray; and he set out with the duke of Brittany for Ghent, where they lodged at the postern gate. He was received by the citizens with very great joy, for at that time they were much pleased to have him among them. When the deputies from the other towns were arrived, according to their orders, the count had them assembled; and John de la Faucille harangued them, in his name, on the cause of his meeting them: he read to them the letters which had been received within the last two months from the king of France. After these letters had been read, the earl spoke as follows: "My children, and good people of Flanders, through God's grace, I have been for a long time your lord: I have governed you in peace as much as was in my power; and you have never seen anything in me but a desire to maintain you in prosperity, as a good lord should act in regard to his subjects. It must be very displeasing to me, and to you also who are my faithful subjects, that I should incur the hatred of my lord the king, because I keep with me my cousin-german the duke of Brittany, who at this time is not in favor with the court of France; nor, in truth, can he place any dependence on his vassals of Brittany, through the hatred of five or six of his barons. The king insists that I banish him my house and territories, which would be very extraordinary. I do not say but that if I should assist my cousin in opposition to France, the king might have cause to complain: but I have neither done so, nor have I any such inclinations. It is for this cause I have assembled you, to explain to you the dangers that might happen if you should be desirous for him to remain with me." They answered unanimously, "My lord, we do wish him to remain with you: and we know not that prince, however great he may be, who should resolve to make war upon you, but who would find in your earldom of Flanders two hundred thousand men completely armed."

This reply was very agreeable to the earl of Flanders, who said, "My good children, I thank you." The assembly now broke up; and the earl was so well pleased that he gave them permission to return to their own homes in peace. The earl, at a proper time, returned to Bruges in company with the duke of Brittany. Things remained in this situation. The earl was very popular with his subjects, and the country continued in peace and prosperity: this, however, did not last long, through extraordinary wickedness, which brought on great tribulation, as you will hear related in this history.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETIRES FROM FLANDERS TO ENGLAND. THE YOUNG COUNT DE ST. POL, WHILE A PRISONER IN ENGLAND, MARRIES.

The king of France was punctually informed of everything that had passed, and the speech which the earl of Flanders had made. He did not love him the better for this: but, as he coud not remedy it, he thought it more prudent to overlook it: he declared, however, that the earl was the proudest prince alive. From the king's manner, it was visible he was the lord he would most willingly have humbled, both for his pride and for his opposition to his desires. The earl of Flanders, notwithstanding the king of France had written to say he was very much displeased at his keeping the duke of Brittany with him, did not send him away, but entertained him as long as he wished to stay, and gave him a handsome establishment. At last, the duke was advised to visit England, which he likewise wished to see: he took leave of the earl his cousin, and went to Gravelines, where he was met by the earl of Salisbury, with five hundred men-at-arms and a thousand archers, for fear of the French garrisons, and conducted to Calais: sir Hugh Calverley, the governor, received him with all respect.

When the duke had staid at Calais five days, having a favorable wind, he embarked with the earl of Salisbury, and landed at Dover, and from thence went to the young king Richard, who received them with much joy; as did also the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, and the great barons of England.

You have before heard how sir Valeran de Luxembourg, the young count de St. Pol, had been made prisoner in a battle between Ardres and Calais, and had been carried to England under the king's pleasure, who had purchased him of the lord de Gommegines: for the lord de Gommegines had set on foot this expedition, in which the count had been made a prisoner by a squire, a good man-at-arms, from the country of Gueldres. The young count de St. Pol remained a long time a prisoner in England, without being ransomed: true it is, that the king of England, during the lifetime of the captal de Buch, offered him several times to the king of France and to his allies in exchange for the captal; but neither the king of France nor his council would listen to it, nor give up the captal in exchange, to the great dissatisfaction of the king of England.

Things remained for some time in this situation. The count de St. Pol had an agreeable prison in the beautiful castle of Windsor, and was allowed the liberty of amusing himself with hawking wherever he pleased in the environs of Westminster and Windsor: he was thus trusted on the faith of his word. The princess, mother of king Richard, resided at that time at Windsor, with her daughter, the lady Maude, the most beautiful woman in England. The young count de St. Pol and this lady fell loyally in love with each other: they frequently met at dancings, carollings, and at other amusements; so that it was suspected the young lady tenderly loved the count, and she discovered the whole to her mother. A treaty of marriage was then entered into between the count de St. Pol and the lady Maude Holland: the count was ransomed for six score thousand francs; of which one half was to be remitted on his marriage, the remainder he was to pay. When the treaty had been concluded between the young people, the king of England granted permission for the count to cross the sea, in order to procure his ransom, on his promise to return within the year. The count went to France to see his friends, the king and his cousins of France, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, and also duke Albert.

In this year, a cruel charge was laid against the count de St. Pol:

he was accused of an intention to deliver up to the English the strong castle of Boucham. The king ordered him to be arrested and closely guarded, declaring that the count in fact meant to have entered into treaties inimical toward him; from which charge the count could never clear himself. On this occasion also, the lord canon de Robesart, the lord de Vertaing, sir James du Sart and Gerard d'Obies, were imprisoned in the castle of Mons in Hainault. This charge at length came to nothing; for, the king of France not being able to prove anything against them, they were set at liberty. The young count returned to England, to acquit himself of his engagement to the king, and to marry his bride. He paid the sixty thousand francs according to his obligation, and recrossed the sea, but did not enter France, for the king disliked him much.

The count and countess went therefore to reside at the castle of Han-sur-Heure, which the lord de Moraine, who had married his sister, lent them; and there they remained during the life of the king of France; for the count could never regain his love. We will now leave these things, and return to France.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAKES WAR ON BRITTANY. SIR WILLIAM DES BORDES IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE GARRISON OF CHERBOURG.

At this period, all Brittany was armed, as well against the duke as against the French. Several of the principal towns had a good understanding with the duke, and wondered he was not sent back: there were also many knights and squires of Brittany of the same opinion; and, by means of a treaty, the countess de Penthievre, mother to the children of Charles de Blois, was not averse to his return. But sir Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, the lords de Clisson, de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, and the lord de Rochefort, kept the country in a state of warfare with the force sent them from France. At Pontorson, St. Malo, and in that neighborhood, were great numbers of men-at-arms from France, Normandy, Auvergne, and Burgundy, who committed very great devastations.

The duke of Brittany, who was in England, received full information of all this, and that the duke of Anjou, who resided at Angers, was carrying the war into his country: he heard also that the principal towns had armed themselves against the French, as well as several knights and squires, in his name, for which he felt himself much obliged. But, notwithstanding all these favorable symptoms, he was afraid to return to Brittany with full confidence in them, for he was always suspicious of some treason: neither did his own council, the king of England, nor duke of Lancaster advise him to go thither.

Sir William des Bordes maintained the garrisons in Normandy and Valognes of which he was captain: he had with him the deputy séneschal of Eu, sir William Marcel, sir Braque de Braquemont, the lord de Torcy, sir Percival d'Ayneval, the bègue d'Yury, sir Lancelot de Lorris, with many other knights and squires, who, day and night, employed their thoughts in devising how they could damage Cherbourg, of which sir John Harlestone was governor. The garrison of Cherbourg made as frequent sallies as they pleased; for they could do so without any one knowing of it, through the extensive forest with which they were surrounded. They had made a road through the wood in such a manner that they could overrun part of Normandy without danger from the French.

It fell out that both garrisons made an excursion the same day without the knowledge of each other, and by accident met at a place called Pastoy-ès-Bois. When they met, like knights and squires desirous of fighting, they all dismounted except sir Lancelot de Lorris, who remained on horseback, his lance in its rest, and his target on his neck, requesting a tilt in honor of his lady. Several heard his demand; for there was also among the English some knights and squires who had bound themselves in like manner by vows of love to their ladies. I believe it was sir John Copeland, a hardy knight, who accepted his challenge. Then, spurring their horses, they charged each other very gallantly, and gave dreadful blows on their targets. Sir Lancelot was, however, so severely struck by the English knight that his shield and other armor was pierced through, and himself mortally wounded. It was a great pity, for he was an expert knight, young, handsome, and much in love. He was there and elsewhere sincerely lamented.

The French and English then attacked each other, fighting hand to hand. On the part of the French, sir William des Bordes, the deputy séneschal of Eu, sir William Marcel, sir Braque de Braquemont, and the others, showed themselves good knights, and fought manfully. Sir John Harlestone, sir Philip Picourde, sir John Burley, sir John Copeland, and the rest of the English behaved well; and, from their superior fighting, they at last won the day. The French knights and squires were either taken or slain: in particular, a squire from Hainault, called William de Beaulieu, and sir William des Bordes were made prisoners. They were conducted to Cherbourg, where they met sir Oliver du Guesclin, who was a prisoner also.

Thus ended the business, as I was informed.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GEOFFRY TETE-NOIRE AND AIMERIGOT MARCEL, CAPTAINS ATTACHED TO ENGLAND, TAKE SEVERAL STRONG PLACES IN AUVERGNE AND LIMOUSIN FROM THE FRENCH.

There happened daily in Auvergne and Limousin feats of arms, and wonderful enterprises; more especially in the neighborhood of the castle of Ventadour, in Auvergne, which is one of the strongest places in all that country. It was sold or betrayed to the most cruel of all Bretons, called Geoffry Tête-noire. I will relate how this happened.

The count de Ventadour de Montpensier was an ancient knight and honorable man, who no longer took part in the wars, but remained peaceably in his castle: this knight had a squire, or varlet, called Ponce du Bois, who had served him for a length of time without having profited much by his service: seeing that henceforward he should have no opportunities of gaining riches, he determined, by bad advice, to enrich himself, and in consequence entered into a secret treaty with Geoffry Tête-noire, who resided in Limousin, to deliver up the castle of Ventadour to him for the sum of six thousand francs. This was agreed to; but he had inserted among the conditions that no harm should be done to his master, the count de Ventadour, and that he should be put out of his castle in a courteous manner, and that everything of his should be restored to him. This was complied with, for the Bretons and English who entered the castle did not in the smallest degree hurt the count nor his people, and only retained the stores and artillery, of which there were great plenty.

The count de Ventadour went to reside at Montpensier,* with his wife and children, beyond Aigueperse in Auvergne. Geoffry Tête-noire and his troops kept possession of Ventadour; from whence they ravaged the country, and took many strong castles in Auvergne, Rouergue, Limousin, Quercy, Gevaudan, Bigorre, and in the Agenois, one after the other.

With this Geoffry Tête-noire, there were other captains, who performed many excellent deeds of arms, as Aimerigot Marcel, a Limousin squire attached to the English party, who took the strong castle of Cassuriel, situated in the bishopric of Clermont in Auvergne; from whence the above-mentioned Aimerigot and his companions overran the country at their pleasure. Captains of other castles were also in his company, such as the bourg Calart, the bourg Anglois, the bourg de Champagne, Raymond de Force, a Gascon, and Peter de Béarn, a Béarnois.

Aimerigot made one day an excursion, with only twelve companions, to seek adventures: they took the road toward Aloise, near St. Flour, which has a handsome castle, in the bishopric of Clermont: they knew the castle was only guarded by the porter. As they were riding silently toward Aloise, Aimerigot spies the porter sitting on the trunk of a tree withoutside of the castle: a Breton, who shot extraordinarily well with a cross-bow, says to him, "Would you like to have that porter killed at a shot?" "Yes, replied Aimerigot;" and I beg you will do so." The cross-bowman shoots a bolt, which he drives into the porter's head, and knocks him down: the porter, feeling himself mortally wounded, regains the gate, which he attempts to shut, but cannot, and falls down dead. Aimerigot and his companions hasten to the castle, which they enter by the wicket, and see the porter lying dead and his wife distracted beside him: they do her no harm, but inquire where the constable of the castle is: she replies that he is at Clermont. They promise to spare her life, if she will give them the keys of the castle and of the dungeon; which when she had done, for she could not any way defend herself, they shut her out, having given her what belonged to her, and indeed as much as she could carry away. She went to St. Flour, which is but a league off: the inhabitants were much frightened, as well as the adjoining country, when they heard that Aloise was become English.

Soon after this, Aimerigot Marcel recaptured the strong castle of Balon by surprise; the governor was asleep in the great tower, when he scaled the walls, for the place was not easy to be taken by force; but, by means of this tower, the castle might be gained. Aimerigot, therefore, thought of a subtle trick: having possession of the father and mother of the governor, he ordered them to be led in sight of the tower, making every preparation to behead them, if the son did not surrender himself. The good people thought they were instantly to be murdered, and cried out to their son to take compassion on them, bewailing most lamentably their unfortunate lot.

The governor was much affected: he could not suffer his parents to be put to death: he therefore surrendered the tower, when the whole family were thrust out of the castle. Thus did Balon belong to the English, a circumstance which, in its consequences, much harassed the country; for all sorts of people who wished to do evil retired thither, or to Cassuriel, two leagues from Limoges, to Carlat, to Aloise, to Ventadour, or to some other such castles. When these garrisons were all collected in a body, they might amount to five or six hundred lances: they overran the whole country, and the territories of the count dauphin d'Auvergne, situated at no great distance from their garrison; for none ventured to oppose them when thus collected together. It is true, the lord de Chupier was a great enemy to them; as were the lord de Forterel and the bastard de Forterel,

* "Montpensier"—a town in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont, near Aigueperse.

his brother, and a squire from the Bourbonnois called Gordomes. This Gordomes, one day meeting Aimerigot Marcel, by a gallant exploit, took him prisoner, and ransomed him for five thousand francs: so much did he gain for him. Thus was the war carried on in Auvergne, Limousin, and the adjoining countries.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

A SCHISM IN THE CHURCH. THE CAUSE OF IT. THE BRETONS MAKE WAR ON THE ROMANS. THE QUEEN OF NAPLES GIVES UP HER TERRITORIES TO POPE CLEMENT VII.

I HAVE been a long while silent on the affairs of the church: I now return to them, for it is become necessary. You have before heard how the cardinals, to appease the Roman populace, who were very much enraged against them, had chosen for pope the archbishop of Bari, whose name, before his elevation, was Bartholomew Prignano: he afterwards assumed that of Urban VI. and gave indulgences according to the usual custom. The cardinals intended, on a proper opportunity, to make another election: for this pope, being choleric and obstinate, was neither profitable to them nor to the church; so that when he found himself invested with the powers of papacy, in consequence of which many princes of Christendom had written to him to acknowledge their obedience, he became very haughty, and desirous of retrenching the powers of the cardinals, and depriving them of several of their rights and accustomed prerogatives.

This conduct was highly displeasing to them: they held a meeting, and declared that he would never do them any service, and was besides unfit to govern the Christian world. Several proposed to elect another, more wise and prudent, and better able to govern the church. The whole body were eager for this, more especially that cardinal who was afterwards elected pope. During the whole summer, the affair continued in suspense; for those who wished a new election dared not publicly declare their intentions for fear of the Romans. About the time of the vacations, many cardinals left Rome to amuse themselves in different places in the neighborhood. Urban went to a city called Tivoli, where he remained a considerable time. During these vacations or terms (that lasted not long, for there were many clergy from different parts of the world at Rome, waiting for graces which had been promised, some of whom had been collated to churches,) the refractory cardinals assembled to elect a pope, and their unanimous choice fell on sir Robert de Geneva, son to the count of Geneva, whose first promotion had been to the bishopric of Terouenne, then to the archbishopric of Cambray, and at last cardinal of Geneva. The greater number of cardinals attended this election. The new pope took the name of Clement.

At this period, Silvester Budes, a valiant knight from Brittany, was in the country near Rome, and had under him upward of two thousand Bretons, who in the late years had done much against the Florentines, whom pope Gregory had made war upon and excommunicated for their rebellion; but, through the intercession of Silvester Budes, they had been pardoned. Pope Clement and the cardinals of his party, sent secretly for him and his troops. He marched directly into the strong castle of St. Angelo, in the village of St. Peter, the better to check the Romans.

Pope Urban, and the cardinals attached to him, were afraid to quit Tivoli, though they very much wished it, on account of these Bretons; for they were determined men, who murdered all whom they met in opposition to them. The Romans, on finding how dangerously they were situated, sent for other soldiers, Germans and Lombards, who daily skirmished with the Bretons. Clement granted indulgences to all the clergy who wished for them, and published his election throughout the world.

When king Charles of France was informed of this, he was much astonished: he summoned his brothers and all the great barons, the prelates, the rector and principal doctors of the university of Paris, to know which of the two popes, the first or the last, he ought to pay obedience to. This matter was not soon determined, for the clergy were of divided opinions: but, in the end, all the prelates in France inclined to Clement, as did the king's brothers and the majority of the university of Paris. The king received so much instruction and information at this assembly from the most learned of the clergy, that he put himself under the obedience of Clement, whom he held for the true and loyal pope. He then published an edict throughout his realm for every person to consider Clement as pope, and to obey him as a god upon earth. The king of Spain was of the same opinion; as were the earl of Savoy, the duke of Milan and the queen of Naples.

Clement having gained the king of France, his cause acquired great credit; for the kingdom of France is the fountain of faith and of excellence, from the grand churches which are established there and the noble prelatures. Charles of Bohemia, king of Germany and emperor of Rome, was still living: he resided at Prague in Bohemia, where he had heard of all these things to his great astonishment. However, his empire of Germany, excepting the bishopric of Trect,* was so strongly inclined in their faith to Urban, that they would not hear mention made of another. The emperor dissembled as long as he lived, and replied so courteously, whenever any conversation passed on this subject, that his barons and prelates were quite satisfied. Notwithstanding this, the churches in the empire obeyed Urban; but the whole of Scotland acknowledged Clement.

Earl Lewis of Flanders oppressed very much the Clementists in Brabant, Hainault and Liege; for he was a determined Urbanist, and said that this pope had been scandalously treated. The earl was so much believed and loved in the parts where he resided, that, on his sole account, the churches and landholders followed his opinion. But those of Hainault, with the churches and their appendages, as well as their sovereign, called Albert, remained neuter, and obeyed neither one nor the other of the popes; for which reason, the archbishop of Cambray at that time, called John, lost his temporalities in Hainault.

Pope Clement, about this time, sent the cardinal de Poitiers, a very prudent and wise man, to France, Hainault, Flanders and Brabant, to preach and to instruct the people; for he had been present at the first conclave, and could well explain that through fear they had elected the archbishop of Bari to the papacy. The king of France, his brothers and the prelates of that realm, received him very graciously, and listened attentively to his words and doctrines, which seemed to carry truth with them, and to be of a nature to engage their whole faith. On leaving France, he went to Hainault, where he was received with joy. He was also received in the same manner by the duke and duchess of Brabant, but gained nothing more. He thought of calling at Liege on his return, but was advised to the contrary, and therefore returned to Tournay, intending to visit Flanders from thence, and converse with the earl: however, he did not; for it was signified to him from the earl, that he would have nothing to say to him, considering Urban as pope, and in that opinion would live and die.

The cardinal went from Tournay to Valenciennes, and from thence to Cambray, where he staid a long time in hopes of receiving good news. Thus was the Christian world divided, and the churches differed in regard to which was the legal pope. Urban had the larger number; but the most profitable in revenue and obedience fell to Clement.

Clement, by the advice of his cardinals, sent to have the palace at Avignon prepared for him; for it was his intention to repair thither as soon as he was able. In the interim, he resided at Fondi, where he granted his indulgences to all such clergy as were desirous of having them. Large bodies of soldiers occupied the plains and villages near Rome, and made war upon that city and the village of St. Peter, which they attacked day and night; while those who were in the castle of St. Angelo gave much disturbance to the Romans. The inhabitants, having strengthened themselves by many German soldiers, collected together, and in one day conquered the village of St. Peter: such Bretons as were able, secured themselves in the castle of St. Angelo; but they were so much harassed, as to surrender the castle on having their lives spared, and retreat toward Fondi, and to the flat country thereabouts. The Romans dismantled the castle of St. Angelo, and burnt the village of St. Peter.

When sir Silvester Budes, who was still in that country, heard that his people had lost the village of St. Peter and the castle of St. Angelo, he was much vexed, and thought how he could revenge himself on the Romans. He learnt from his spies, that the principal persons from the city were to meet in council at the capitol; upon which he planned an enterprise of men-at-arms, whom he had retained near him, and rode that day through by-roads to Rome, which he entered by the gate leading to Naples. On his arrival, he made directly for the capitol, and came there so opportunely that the council had just left their hall, and were in the square. These Bretons, couching their spears and spurring their horses, charged the Romans full gallop, and slew and wounded numbers of the principal persons of the city. Among those that lay dead in the square were seven banners and two hundred other rich men: a great many more were wounded. When the Bretons had performed this exploit they retreated, as it was evening: they were not pursued, on account of the night, and because the Romans were so frightened that they could only attend on their friends. They passed the night in great anguish of heart, burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded.

The next morning, they bethought themselves of an act of cruelty, which they put into execution: they attacked the poor clergy who resided in Rome, and who had not been guilty of the smallest fault, slew and wounded upward of three hundred, but in particular, they showed no mercy to any Bretons who fell into their hands. In this miserable situation was Rome and its neighborhood, on account of two popes; and those who had not been any way concerned in the business paid dearly for it.

Pope Clement and his cardinals resided at Fondi, where the queen of Naples came to visit and encourage him; for she and her subjects were attached to him as pope, and anxious to support him as such. The queen of Naples* had entertained an idea for a considerable time of surrendering the kingdom of Sicily and county of Provence, which were dependencies on her crown, into the hands of the pope, for him to give according to his will, as an inheritance, to any prince of high birth in France, but who must have the means of defending her against those of the house of Hungary, whom she mortally hated

* "Trect." Q. Trent.

* "The queen of Naples;" the celebrated Joan. Her history is differently related from Froissart's account.

On the queen's arrival at Fondi, she humbled herself before the pope, and, having confessed herself to him, related all her affairs without disguise, adding: "Holy father, I possess several great and noble inheritances; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria, and the county of Provence. In truth, king Lewis of Sicily, duke of la Puglia and Calabria, my father, during his lifetime, acknowledged holding these territories from the church, and, taking my hand on his death-bed, said to me: My good child, you are heiress of a very extensive and rich country; and I believe that many princes will endeavor to obtain you for a wife on account of the handsome territories you will possess. Now, I would recommend you to follow my advice, which is, to unite yourself with a powerful prince, who will be able to keep your kingdoms in peace; and should it so happen that, through God's will, you have not any heirs, yield to whoever may be at the time pope all your territories; for king Robert, my father, so charged me on his death-bed, which is the reason, my dear daughter, I order you so to do, and discharge myself from it. Holy father, I promised to comply with his wishes, and pledged my faith, in the presence of all who were in the chamber, to fulfil his last request. In truth, holy father, after his decease, with the consent of the nobles of Sicily and Naples, I wedded Andrew of Hungary, brother to Lewis king of Hungary, by whom I had not any children; for he died a young man, at Aix in Provence.* After his death, they married me to Charles prince of Taranto, by whom I had a daughter. The king of Hungary, being angry that his brother died, made war on my husband, the lord Charles, and took from him la Puglia and Calabria: he also made him prisoner in battle, carried him to Hungary, where he died during his confinement.

"After this, with the consent of my nobility, I was united to James king of Majorca, who went to France for the lord Louis de Navarre to come and marry my daughter, but he died on the road. The king of Majorca left me with the intention to reconquer his kingdom of Majorca, which the king of Aragon kept from him by force; for he had put his father to death in prison, and disinherited the son. I told the king, my husband, that I was sufficiently rich to maintain him in as pompous a style as he should please; but he insisted so much, and gave such plausible reasons for recovering his inheritance, that I consented, with a half-willing mind, for him to act as he pleased; but, on his departure, I particularly enjoined him to go to king Charles of France, and explain to him his business, and to follow what he should advise: this, however, he totally neglected to do, and ill consequences resulted from it; for he went to the prince of Wales, in whom he had greater confidence than in the king of France, who is my relation, and who promised to assist him in his undertaking. However, during the time he was on this expedition, I wrote and sent embassadors to the king of France, to desire he would send me a nobleman of the blood-royal, to whom I might give my daughter, that our territories should not be without heirs. The king of France attended to my proposals, for which I thank him, and sent me his cousin Robert d'Artois, whom I married to my daughter.

"Holy father, my husband, the king of Majorca, died during his expedition: I then married the lord Otho of Brunswick. The lord Charles Durazzo, seeing that the lord Otho would enjoy my inheritance during my life, made war upon us, and took us prisoners in the Castle del Ovo, when the sea was so high that it seemed to cover us. We were all so much frightened that we surrendered ourselves, on our lives being spared. The lord Charles detained in prison my husband, myself, my daughter, and her husband, so long that the two last died. We gained our liberty afterwards by a treaty, which gave up to him la Puglia and Calabria; and he now looks to inherit Naples, Sicily, and Provence; for which reason he seeks alliances everywhere, and will set aside the rights of the church as soon as I shall be dead, or at least he will do everything in his power to accomplish it.

"Wherefore, holy father, as I wish to acquit myself toward God, you, and the souls of my predecessors, I now place in your hands all the territories which belong to me, of Sicily, Naples, la Puglia, Calabria, and Provence, and give them up to you to dispose of to whomsoever shall be to you the most agreeable, and who shall be able to conquer them from our enemy Charles Durazzo."

Pope Clement heard this speech with pleasure, and received the gift in great reverence, replying, "My daughter of Naples, we will take such measures that your territories shall have an heir of your noble and powerful blood, and who shall be fully able to resist all who may wish to oppose him." Public and authentic acts were drawn up of all these gifts, so that they might in future establish the right, and make everything clear to those who in times to come may hear of them.*

QUEEN OF NAPLES surrendering her Territories to pope Clement VII. From a MS. of the 15th century.

CHAPTER XXXV.

POPE CLEMENT GOES TO AVIGNON. HE MAKES THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAGNIFICENT PRESENTS. SIR SILVESTER BUDES AND HIS COMPANIONS ARE BEHEADED.

WHEN the queen of Naples and the lord Otho of Brunswick had concluded with the pope the object of their journey to Fondi, and had remained there to amuse themselves as long as they chose, they took leave, and returned to Naples. Pope Clement thought it would not be for his advantage to remain longer so near Rome. Having learnt that Urban and the Romans were laboring hard to gain the love of the Neapolitans and the lord Charles Durazzo, he was alarmed lest the roads to Avignon should be so blocked up by sea and land that he would not get thither, which he was very desirous to accomplish. What made him the more eager to arrive at Avignon was his wish to present as a gift, without prejudice or violation, those rights which the queen of Naples had given him over the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, to the duke of Anjou, and which had been legally signed and sealed.

He therefore prudently arranged his affairs in secret, and embarked on board the galleys which had been sent from Arragon, attended by his cardinals and their families: having favorable winds, they arrived, without accident, at Marseilles, to the great joy of the people in those parts: thence the pope went to Avignon, and sent information of his arrival to the king of France and his brothers, who were much pleased thereat. The duke of Anjou, who at that time resided at Toulouse, waited on him. The pope, immediately on his arrival, presented him with all those powers with which the queen of Naples had invested him. The duke of Anjou, who was ever ambitious to be possessed of honors and large possessions, received these gifts most gratefully, and accepted them for himself and his heirs, telling his holiness, that as soon as he was able, he would visit those countries with such a force as should enable him to resist all the enemies of the queen of Naples. The duke remained with the pope about fifteen days, and then returned to Toulouse to the duchess and his children. The pope gave the command of his men-at-arms to sir Bernard de la Salle and to Florimond Guerrier.

At this period, there was in Tuscany a right valiant English knight called sir John Hawkwood,† who had there performed many most gallant deeds of arms; he had left France at the conclusion of the

* She had him murdered, and thrown out of a window at Aversa, where he lay for several days, and was at last discovered secretly by his nurse, who was very fond of him, and a canon of St. Januarius, in the cathedral of Naples. The whole of what she relates is very incorrect.

* For further accounts of her life, see Bayle's Dictionary.

† "Sir John Hawkwood." For an account of him, see vol. vi. of the Bibliotheca Britannica, where there is a life of him, his engraved portrait and tomb. See also M. Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini.

peace of Bretigny, and was at that time a poor knight, who thought it would be of no advantage to him to return home; but when he saw, that by the treaties, all men-at-arms would be forced to leave France, he put himself at the head of those free companions called Rate-comers, and marched into Burgundy. Several such companions, composed of English, Gascons, Bretons, Germans, and of men from every nation, were collected there. Hawkwood was one of the principle leaders, with Bricquet and Carnelle, by whom the battle of Brignais was fought, and who aided Bernard de la Salle to take the Pont du St. Esprit.

When they had harassed the country for some time, the marquis de Montferrat made a treaty with them to assist him in his war with the lords of Milan. This marquis led them over the Alps, after he had paid them sixty thousand francs, of which Hawkwood received, for himself and his troops, ten thousand. When they had finished the war for the marquis, the greater part of them returned to France; for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lords de la Marche, de Beaujeau, and sir Arnold d'Andreghen marshal of France, wished to lead them into Spain, to don Henry de Trastamare, against don Pedro king of Spain.

Sir John Hawkwood and his companions remained in Italy, and were employed by pope Urban as long as he lived in wars in the Milanese. Pope Gregory, successor to Urban, engaged him in the same manner. Sir John had also a profitable employment, under the lord de Coucy, against the count de Vertus and his barons; in which, some say, the lord de Coucy would have been slain, if sir John Hawkwood had not come to his assistance with five hundred combatants, which he was solely induced to do because the lord de Coucy had married one of the king of England's daughters. This sir John Hawkwood was a knight much inured to war, which he had long followed, and had gained great renown in Italy from his gallantry.

The Romans, therefore, and Urban, who called himself pope, resolved, on Clement leaving Italy, to send for Hawkwood, and appoint him commander-in-chief of all their forces: they made him large offers of retaining him and his whole troop at a handsome subsidy, which he accepted, and acquitted himself loyally for it. In company with the Romans, he defeated a large body of Bretons under the command of Silvester Budes; the greater part of whom were either slain or taken: Silvester Budes was carried prisoner to Rome, where he was in great danger of being beheaded. To say the truth, it would have been more for his honor, and for that of his friend, had he been so the day he was brought there; for he and another squire of Brittany, called William Boileau, were afterwards beheaded in the city of Mascon by order of pope Clement. They were suspected of treachery, on account of having escaped from the prisons in Rome, no one knew how, and had come to Avignon, where they were arrested.

The cardinal of Amiens was the author of their arrest; for he hated them ever since the wars in Italy, when they had killed some of his baggage-horses, and seized a large quantity of money and gold and silver plate, which Silvester had distributed among his followers, by way of pay, being unable otherwise to satisfy them. The cardinal was much enraged at this conduct, and secretly charged them with treason. On their arrival at Avignon, they were seized, and accused of treacherously intending to betray the pope: they were then sent to Mascon, where both were instantly beheaded.

In this state were affairs in those distant countries. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was indignant against the pope and cardinals on account of the death of his cousin Silvester Budes; and, if he had lived a little longer, he would have shown, or have caused it to have been shown them, that it was very displeasing to him. We will, for the present, leave these matters, and speak of the war in Flanders, which began about this time. The people were very murderous and cruel, and multitudes were slain or driven out of the country. The country itself was so much ruined, that it was said a hundred years would not restore it to the situation it was in before the war.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE STATE OF FLANDERS BEFORE THE WAR. THE CAUSES OF THE DISPUTES BETWEEN THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE FLEMINGS. JOHN LYON INTRODUCES THE DISTINCTION OF WHITE HOODS.

Before the commencement of these wars in Flanders, the country was so fertile, and everything in such abundance, that it was marvellous to see; and the inhabitants of the principal towns lived in very grand state. You must know, that this war originated in the pride and hatred that several of the chief towns bore to each other: those of Ghent against those of Bruges, and others in the like manner, vying with each other through envy. However, this could not have created a war without the consent of their lord the earl of Flanders, who was so much loved and feared that no one dared to anger him.

The earl, being wise and prudent, carefully avoided encouraging a war between his vassals; for he foresaw, that if any difference should arise between him and them, he would be much weakened and less formidable to his neighbors. He carefully avoided war for another reason, considering it as destructive to all his possessions, although at last he was forced to it: he had hitherto reigned in great prosperity and peace, and had as many pleasures and enjoyments as any earthly lord can have. The wars which ensued were caused by so trifling an event, that if the earl had possessed any prudence, it ought not to have produced that effect; and those who read this book, or who may have it read to them, will say, that it was the work of the devil. You know wise men think the devil, who is subtle and full of artifice, labors night and day to cause warfare wherever he finds peace and harmony, and seeks by distant means, and by degrees, how to accomplish his ends. And thus it fell out in Flanders, as you will clearly see and learn from the different treaties and ordinances which follow relative to these matters.

During the time that earl Lewis of Flanders was in his greatest prosperity, there was a citizen of Ghent called John Lyon; he was wise, subtle, and bold, but cruel, enterprising and cool in business, and very much in favor with the earl, as it should seem; for he employed him to assassinate, in a secret way, a man of Ghent that was disagreeable to him, and who acted contrary to the wishes of the earl. John Lyon sought a quarrel with him, and killed him. This man was greatly lamented by all; and, for grief of what he had done, John Lyon went and resided at Douay, where he lived for three years, keeping a handsome state, for which the earl paid.

John Lyon, on account of this murder, was instantly deprived of everything he had in the city of Ghent, and banished from it for four years. The earl managed so as to make up the matter and recover for him the freedom he had lost of Ghent, which was a circumstance not before heard of, and several in Ghent and Flanders were much astonished at it, but so it happened. In addition to this, the earl, that he might enrich himself and live well, made him deacon of the pilots: this office might be worth to him a thousand francs a-year, doing honestly his duty. Thus was John Lyon so much in the good graces of the earl that no one was equal to him.

At this time, there was a family in Ghent called the Matthews: they were seven brothers, and the most considerable of all the pilots. Among these seven brothers was one named Gilbert Matthew, who was rich, wise, subtle, and more enterprising than any of his family. This Gilbert bore in secret a great hatred to John Lyon, because he saw him so much in favor with the earl; and he occupied his thoughts, day and night, how he could supplant him. He sometimes inclined to have him slain by his brothers, but gave it up for fear of the earl. He thought so much on this subject that at last he hit upon a plan to accomplish it: however, I will first tell you the real cause why they hated each other, that you may the more fully understand it. There existed formerly, in the town of Deynse, a mortal hatred between two pilots and their families; one was called Peter Guillon, and the other John Barbé. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers were connected by blood to one of these families, and John Lyon, by similar ties, to the other. This hatred was for a long time nourished in secret, though they sometimes spoke, and even ate and drank with each other; and Gilbert made more of this connection than John Lyon did. Gilbert, without striking a blow, bethought himself of a cunning contrivance.

The earl of Flanders resided sometimes at Ghent: Gilbert, during these residences, got acquainted with one of the earl's chamberlains, who was attached to his person, and said to him: "If my lord of Flanders pleased, he might gain, every year, a handsome revenue from the pilots, who now pay nothing: it might be levied on the foreign trade, provided John Lyon, who is deacon of the pilots, would acquit himself honestly." The chamberlain said he would inform the earl of it, which he did. The earl (like other great lords, who naturally wish for gain, and who did not foresee the consequences, but only seek to get the money into their hands) told his chamberlain to bring Gilbert Matthew to him, and he would hear what he had to say.

Gilbert was introduced, and, in conversation, made use of such arguments as appeared reasonable to the earl, who replied, "It is well: let it be so." John Lyon was immediately called into the apartment, in presence of Gilbert Matthew, quite ignorant of what had passed, when the earl opened the business to him, and added, "John, if you choose, we may gain much wealth by this scheme." John was indeed loyal in his employment, but saw this was not a reasonable demand: being unwilling to speak to the contrary, he replied, "My lord, what you have required, which it seems Gilbert has proposed, I cannot execute myself, for it will be too heavy upon the mariners." "John," answered the earl, "if you exert yourself, the business will be done." "My lord," replied John, "I will then do every thing in my power."

The conference broke up, when Gilbert Matthew (whose only aim was to ruin John Lyon in the mind of the earl, to deprive him of his office, so that, being turned out, it might profit him) went to his six brothers, and said to them; "It is now time to assist me, which I hope you will do, like good friends and brothers, for it is your cause I am fighting. I will discomfit John Lyon without striking a blow, and so ruin him in the opinion of the earl that he shall be more disliked by the earl than he had before been liked. Now, notwithstanding all I may say or argue at the meeting to be holden, you must refuse to comply: I will dissemble, and argue that if John Lyon would faithfully acquit himself, this ordinance would be obeyed. I know so well our lord, that sooner than give up his point, John Lyon will lose his favor, as well as his office, which will be given to

me; and, when I am in the possession of it you will comply with the demand. We are very powerful with the mariners of this town, so that none of them will dare oppose us. I will afterwards so manage that John Lyon shall be slain, and we have our revenge without appearing in the matter."

All his brethren complied with this request. The meeting was held of the mariners, when John Lyon and Gilbert Matthew explained the will of the earl, who proposed, by a new statute, to lay a tax on the navigation of the Lys and the Scheld. It appeared very burdensome, and too great a stretch of power, particularly to the six brothers of Gilbert, who were more firm and unanimous in their opposition to it than all the rest. John Lyon, their deacon, was secretly rejoiced at this; for he was desirous of maintaining all their ancient rights and privileges, and flattered himself that the brothers were in his favor, while they were acting just the contrary. John Lyon reported to the earl the answer of the mariners, adding, "My lord, it is a thing which cannot be done: much evil may result from it: let things remain as they are, and do not attempt to introduce any novelties." This answer was not very pleasing to the earl, for he perceived that if the impost were laid, and collected in the manner he had been told, he should have received from six to seven thousand florins of revenue: he therefore made no reply, but did not think less upon it, and had those mariners whom John Lyon found rebellious sued by actions and otherwise.

On the other hand, Gilbert Matthew came to the earl and his council, to say that John Lyon did not act well in this business; that if he had his office, he would so manage the mariners that the earl of Flanders should have this revenue hereditarily.

The earl did not see clear, for this revenue, with his avarice, blinded him; and, without asking for advice, he deprived John Lyon of his office, which he gave to Gilbert. When Gilbert thus saw himself deacon of the pilots, he turned his brothers according to his will, and gave the earl satisfaction in regard to this impost, for which he was not the more beloved by the majority of the mariners; but they were forced to submit, for the seven brothers, assisted by the earl, were too many for them, and it behooved them to do so in silence.

Thus did Gilbert Matthew, by this wary method carry his point, and obtain the favor of the earl of Flanders. Gilbert made very handsome presents to the officers and chamberlains of the earl; by which means he blinded them, and gained their friendship. All these fine gifts were paid for by the mariners, which dissatisfied many, but they dared not complain. John Lyon, by the above-mentioned means and intrigues of Gilbert, entirely lost the good graces of the earl: he lived quietly on his fortune, suffering patiently whatever was done to him. Gilbert, being now deacon, and secretly hating John Lyon, took away from him a third or fourth of the profits which were his due from the navigation. John Lyon did not say one word, but, prudently dissembling, and with an apparent good will, took whatever they gave him; for, he said, there were times when it was better to be silent than to talk.

Gilbert Matthew had a brother named Stephen, a cunning fellow, who had watched all the actions of John Lyon: he said to his brothers (for he prophesied to them all that was to happen;) "Certainly, gentlemen, John Lyon suffers at this moment, and keeps his head very low; but he acts with good sense, and will contrive to throw us as low as we are now high. I will give you one piece of advice, which is, to kill him while we continue in the favor of my lord the earl: I can very easily do it, if you charge me with this business, by which we shall escape all the danger, and can easily get acquitted for his death." His brothers refused to consent to this, saying he had not done them any wrong, and that no man ought to lose his life but by the sentence of a judge.

Things remained in this situation for some time, when the devil, who never sleeps, put it into the heads of the people of Bruges to make a canal from the river Lys: the earl agreed in their plans, and sent a number of pioneers, with a body of men-at-arms to guard them. They had in former times attempted to do this, but the citizens of Ghent had by force made them desist. News was brought to Ghent, that the inhabitants of Bruges were now intending to carry by force their old scheme of making a canal to obtain the waters of the Lys, which would be very prejudicial to them; so that great murmurs arose in Ghent, more particularly among the mariners, who were much affected by it. They said, that the people of Bruges should not thus make a canal to draw off the course of the river, as it would be the ruin of the town. Some others said, in an underhand manner, "Now God save John Lyon! had he been our deacon, such an attempt would not have been made, nor the people of Bruges have had the courage to have undertaken this business."

John Lyon was duly informed of all these things: he began to awaken, saying, "I have for some time slept; but it seems that this trifling affair in appearance has roused me, and shall create such troubles between this town and the earl as will cost a hundred thousand lives." Intelligence of these diggers was brought, with great additions, that much inflamed men's minds; for it chanced, that a woman on her return from a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne, being weary, seated herself in the market-place, where there were crowds of people. They asked her, where she came from? she said, "From Boulogne: and I have seen in my road the greatest curse that can ever befal the town of Ghent; for there are upward of five hundred diggers, who are laboring day and night to open a course for the Lys; and, if they be not immediately prevented, they will turn to their town the current of that river."

This speech of the woman was heard, and repeated in different parts of the town. The townsmen rose, and said, such things were not to be suffered nor borne quietly. Many of them went to John Lyon to ask advice in the matter, and how they should act. When John Lyon saw himself thus appealed to by those whose love and favor he wished to gain, he was much rejoiced, but took care not to show any signs of it; for it would not be a fit opportunity until the business should be more fully ascertained: he therefore made them greatly intreat him before he would speak, or give any opinion on the subject. When he was prevailed on to speak, he said: "Gentlemen, if you wish to risk this business, and put an end to it, you must renew an ancient custom that formerly subsisted in the town of Ghent: I mean, you must first put on white hoods, and choose a leader, to whom every one may look, and rally at his signal."

This harangue was eagerly listened to, and they all cried out, "We will have it so, we will have it so! now let us put on white hoods." White hoods were directly made, and given out to those among them who loved war better than peace, and had nothing to lose. John Lyon was elected chief of the white hoods. He very willingly accepted of this office, to revenge himself on his enemies, to embroil the towns of Ghent and Bruges with each other, and with the earl their lord. He was ordered, as their chief, to march against the pioneers and diggers from Bruges, and had with him two hundred such people as preferred rioting to quiet.

When Gilbert Matthew and his brothers saw the numbers of these white hoods, they were not too well pleased: Stephen said to his brothers, "Did not I well forewarn you, that this John Lyon would discomfit us? It would have been better if I had been believed, and had been allowed to have killed him, than to have seen him in the situation he is in, or will be, through these white hoods he has reëstablished." "No, no," replied Gilbert, "let me but speak with my lord, and they shall be put down. I am willing they should accomplish their enterprise against the pioneers from Bruges, for the good of our town; for, in truth, it will be completely ruined, if they be suffered to proceed."

John Lyon and his rout, when they had all their white hoods, marched from Ghent, with the intention of killing the diggers and those who guarded them. News was soon carried to the pioneers, that a large force from Ghent was coming against them: they were so much afraid of the consequences they left their work, and retired to Bruges; and none were bold enough to return to their digging. John and his white hoods, not seeing any one, returned to Ghent: but they did not remain quiet, for they went up and down the town, looking at and examining everything. John Lyon kept them in this state, and told some of them in private to make themselves comfortable, to eat and drink, and not to mind expense; for those should pay their score at a future time who would not now give them a farthing.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

BY THE EXHORTATIONS OF JOHN LYON, THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT SEND SOME OF THEIR PRINCIPAL CITIZENS TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS, TO DEMAND THE PRESERVATION OF THEIR LIBERTIES AND FRANCHISES. THE EARL REQUESTS THESE CITIZENS TO ABOLISH THE WHITE HOODS.

During the time of these white hoods, and in the same week that they had marched, under the conduct of John Lyon, to Deynse, in search of the pioneers from Bruges, another cause of distrust originated at Ghent, by some who were alarmed for its franchises: they complained to those who, by the constitution, were their magistrates, that at Erclo* (a dependency on Ghent) one of their burgesses was confined in the prisons of the earl, and that they had summoned the bailiff of the earl to surrender him up, but he had refused, which was directly contrary to their privileges, and thus by little and little they were encroached upon. In former times, they were held so high and of such consequence, and were then so well defended, that the noblest knight of Flanders thought himself honored by being a burgess of Ghent. The magistrates replied, "We will cheerfully write to the bailiff of Ghent on the part of the burgess whom he detains in prison, for him to send him to us; for, in truth, the powers of his office do not extend so far as to confine one of our burgesses in the prisons of the earl."

They acted accordingly, and wrote to the bailiff for the burgess who was prisoner at Erclo. The bailiff, Roger d'Auterme, was advised to send the following answer: "Ha! what a noise is this about a mariner? Were my prisoner ten times as rich as the one I have, I would never let him out of my prison without orders from the earl. I have powers to arrest, but none to set free." This speech was carried back, which gave much displeasure: they said, he had proudly answered. By such replies, and such unlucky accidents as the pioneers from Bruges wanting to dig on the lands of Ghent, and the encroachments on the privileges of Ghent, were that cursed crew

* Probably Eccloo.

called White Hoods introduced, and they became by degrees more feared and renowned. It behooveth such a set to have among them madmen and firebrands, to work upon the more peaceable.

This story of the burgess of Ghent being detained in the earl's prison at Erclo, and of the bailiff having refused to give him his liberty, was soon spread through the town of Ghent. Many began to murmur, and to say it ought not to be suffered; and that, from being too quiet about it, all the franchises of Ghent, which were so noble, would be lost. John Lyon, who only aimed at the embroiling the town of Ghent in such a manner with its lord that it would be impossible to settle it without loss, was not sorry when he heard these words, and wished they had been still stronger: he continued to spread secret rumors in different parts of the town, "that never could the jurisdiction or privileges of any town be properly maintained when once offices are put to sale." He intended this in allusion to Gilbert Matthew, meaning to say that he had bought the deaconship: he had also added a new debt to the navigation, which was greatly against the franchises of Ghent and their ancient privileges.

The earl now received, every year, three or four thousand francs, besides what he had from ancient custom, which caused many complaints from merchants as well as from the mariners; insomuch that those of Valenciennes, Douay, Lille, Bethune, and Tournay, began to think of giving up their commerce with Ghent, by which greater ruin would be brought upon the town, and very soon their franchises would be so neglected as to be worth nothing, if no one stood forward in support of them. Gilbert Matthew and the deacon of the small craft, who was his relation, had such speeches daily rung in their ears: they knew they came from John Lyon, but they dared not attempt to remedy it; for John had posted white hoods in various parts of the town, and had enlisted among them the boldest and most outrageous, so that they were afraid to attack them: besides, John Lyon never went abroad alone, for when he quitted his house he was surrounded by two or three hundred white hoods, and never went down the town but in cases of absolute necessity. He always made himself be much entreated before he would give any advice on events which happened, at home or abroad, against the privileges of the town.

Whenever he did give advice or harangue the people, he spoke so well, and with so much art, that his auditors were highly pleased with his language: they commonly were unanimous in believing all he spoke as truth. John Lyon, with much art, thus harangued: "I do not sey that we should in any way weaken or diminish the inheritance of my lord of Flanders; for, if we wished it, we are not able to do it: reason and justice forbid it. I am, therefore, of opinion, that we should be cautious how by any event we may incur his displeasure; for every subject ought to be on good terms with his lord. The earl of Flanders is our good lord, much feared and renowned: he has always maintained us in full peace and prosperity, which we should ever acknowledge, and endure the more (as we are bound to do) than if he had harassed us, and made it difficult for us to keep our own. True it is, that at this present moment, he is wickedly advised against us and the franchises of the good town of Ghent: that we of Ghent are no more in his good graces is apparent by the diggers (he residing in Bruges,) who came to break in on our inheritance, and carry away our river, by which measure our good town would have been quite ruined. In addition to this, he intends to build a castle at Deynse in opposition to us and to harass us; and we know that the people of Bruges have promised him, for some time past, that they would pay him from ten to twelve thousand francs a-year, if they could have the advantages of the river Lys. I would therefore advise, that the good town of Ghent should send to him some learned men, well informed of our affairs, who would remonstrate wisely and boldly with him on all these matters, and also respecting the burgess who is in prison at Erclo, whom his bailiff will not give up, at which the town is not pleased, as well as on other affairs respecting our town. After having remonstrated with him on these things, let them inform him, that neither himself nor advisers must imagine that we are so disheartened, that, if there should be occasion, we are not able and determined to resist; and that, after the town shall have had his answers, the good men of Ghent will take proper measures to punish those who shall act with hostility toward them." When John Lyon had concluded this oration in the square of the market-place, each man said, "He has well spoken; he has well spoken;" and then they all retired to their own homes.

Gilbert Matthew was not present at this harangue of John Lyon; for he was already afraid of the white hoods: but his brother, Stephen, had been there, who was ever foretelling what was to happen: he said on his return, "I have told you truly, and I have always so said, that, by God, John Lyon will be the ruin of us all. Cursed be the hour when you would not consent to my proposal; for, had you suffered me to have killed him, I could then have easily done it; but now he is out of our reach, and we dare not attempt even to hurt him, for he has more power in this town than the earl himself." Gilbert, replying, said: "Hold thy tongue, fool; whenever I please, with the assistance of my lord, I can put down these white hoods; and some of them who now wear them will not, in a short time, have heads to put them on."

Several of the most discreet men of the town were ordered to wait on the earl as embassadors; and I believe that Gilbert Matthew, the deacon of the pilots, was one of those chosen to go thither. John Lyon was the cause of this, because, if they should bring back any harsh answer, he would share the disgrace of it. They departed, and found the earl at Male,* and managed the business so well that at last the earl assented to all their demands, as well in regard to the prisoner detained at Erclo, as in his intentions to preserve inviolate all their franchises, and also in forbidding the people of Bruges ever again to dig on the territories belonging to Ghent. All this he promised; and, the more to please the citizens of Ghent, he engaged to command the canal which the men of Bruges had dug to be completely filled up again. They quitted the earl very amicably, and returned to Ghent; when they related all that had passed with their lord, and how willing he was to maintain all their franchises; but he requested, as a proof of their friendship, that the white hoods should be laid aside. As these words were speaking, the officers of the earl brought in their prisoner from Erclo, and surrendered him up, by way of reëstablishing peace according to the orders they had received, which caused great joy in the town of Ghent.

John Lyon, the chief of the white hoods, was present when the above answer was received, attended by ten or twelve of the principal of his rout. When they heard the earl's request for the white hoods to be laid aside, they were silent; but John Lyon addressed the meeting, and said, "My good people, you know and see clearly at present the value of these white hoods: have they not preserved for you, and do they not guard better your franchises, than those of red and black, or hoods of any other color? Many are they who are afraid of them; but be assured, and remember I tell you so, that as soon as the white hoods shall be laid aside, according to the ordinance which my lord wishes to have issued against them, I will not give three farthings for all your privileges." This speech so deceived the people that they separated, and the greater part returned to their homes, saying, "Let him manage the business; for he speaks truth, and we have never seen anything in him but what was for the advantage and honor of the town."

Things remained in this state, and John Lyon in greater danger of his life than before: upon which he formed a plan, which he afterwards executed; for he clearly saw that Gilbert Matthew had, in this embassy to the earl, instigated some mischief against him and his companions, notwithstanding the friendly answers which the earl had sent. He therefore resolved to counterwork his enemies, and gave secret orders to the leaders of the white hoods, and to those who commanded the companies of hundreds and of fifties, to keep their men day and night on guard well armed, and, on the first appearance of any movement, to march to him; for it would be better to kill than to be killed, since affairs were brought to such a pass. These orders were punctually observed, and they were exact in keeping themselves in readiness.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE WHITE HOODS MURDER THE BAILIFF OF GHENT IN THE MIDST OF THE MARKET. THE HOUSES AND GOODS OF THE FAMILY OF THE MATTHEWS ARE DESTROYED. A GRAND CONFUSION IN GHENT.

Not long afterwards, the bailiff of Ghent, Roger d'Auterme, came to town with full two hundred horse, in order to execute what had been planned between the earl, Gilbert Matthew, and his brothers. The bailiff, with his two hundred men, galloped up the streets, with the banner of the earl in his hand, unto the market-place, where he halted, and posted his banner before him. Gilbert Matthew, his brothers, and the deacon of the small craft, immediately went thither. It had been determined that these men-at-arms should march instantly to the house of John Lyon, and arrest him as the chief of the white hoods, with six or seven others, the most culpable, carry them to the castle of Ghent, and immediately cut their heads off.

John Lyon suspected some such thing; for he had received secret intelligence from his spies, scattered over different parts of the town. He knew of the arrival of the bailiff, and saw it was a thing determined upon. The other white hoods were informed that this day had been fixed on to arrest them, and were therefore ready prepared and assembled near the house of John Lyon, who was waiting for them: they came in bands of ten and twenty, and, as they marched up, they formed in the street: when they were all assembled, they were full four hundred. John Lyon marched off as fierce as a lion, saying, "Let us advance against these traitors, who wish to ruin the town of Ghent. I thought all those fine speeches which Gilbert Matthew brought back the other day were only meant for our destruction, and to lull us asleep; but we will make him pay dearly for them." He and his rout advanced hastily: they increased very much by the way; for there were those who joined him that had not as yet put on the white hoods, who cried out, "Treason! treason!"

They marched, by a roundabout way and a narrow street, to the corn-market, where the bailiff, who represented the earl, had posted himself. Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, the moment they saw

* It would seem from Bleau's grand atlas, that the domain and park of Male had been drowned by the sea since this time. The earl of Flanders was born there, and thence called Louis de Male.

John Lyon and the white hoods enter the market-place, left the bailiff, and ran away as fast as they could; and neither order nor array was observed, except by the men-at-arms whom the bailiff had brought thither. Immediately on the arrival of John Lyon in the market-place, with the white hoods, a large body of them advanced toward the bailiff; and, without saying a word, he was seized, thrown on the ground and slain. The banner of the earl was then dragged through the dirt, and torn to pieces; but not one man, except the bailiff, was touched. They then collected round John Lyon. When the earl's men-at-arms saw the bailiff dead, and their banner torn to pieces, they were thunder-struck, and, like men defeated, took to flight, and left the town.

You may easily imagine that Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who were known to be the enemies of John Lyon and the white hoods, did not think themselves very safe in their houses: they therefore set out as speedily as they could, and quitted the town through by-streets, leaving their wives, children, and goods behind them. They made what haste they could to the earl of Flanders, to whom they related all that had happened, and the death of his bailiff. The earl was sorely afflicted at this intelligence, as well he might, for they had treated him with great contempt; he was much enraged, and swore that he would have ample revenge before he ever returned to Ghent, and before they should have peace from him, so that all other towns should take an example from it. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers remained with the earl.

John Lyon and the white hoods persevered in their outrages; after the death of the bailiff, and the flight of the men-at-arms, as no one offered to revenge this murder, John, who wished to ruin the Matthews (for he bore them deadly hatred,) said, "Come, let us go after those wicked traitors who this day intended to have destroyed the town of Ghent." They hastened down the streets to the residence of the Matthews, but found none, for they had all gone off. They were sought for in every room throughout the houses of the adjoining streets; and, when they were convinced they were gone, John Lyon was much vexed. He gave up to his companions all their goods, when the houses were completely pillaged and razed to the ground, so that no vestige remained, as if they had been traitors to the whole body of the town.

When they had done this deed, they retired to their homes; nor was there a sheriff, or any other officer belonging to the earl or to the town, who said they had acted wrong: indeed, at that time all were afraid to say a word against them: for the white hoods were so numerous that none dared to provoke them, and they paraded the streets in large bodies without any opposition. It was said, both within and without the town, that they were connected with some of the sheriffs and rich men in Ghent, which was not unlikely; for such a ruffianly crew would never have dared to slay so noble a man as Roger d'Auterme, bailiff of Ghent, holding the banner of the earl in his hand at the time, if they had not depended on some good and able supporters in their wicked acts. They afterwards increased so much as to want no foreign aid, and became so powerful that none were bold enough to oppose anything they thought proper to undertake. Roger d'Auterme was carried away by the Friar Minors to their church, where he was by them buried.

After this event, several of the wisest and richest citizens in Ghent began to murmur, and were much vexed: they said among themselves, that a great outrage had been committed when the earl's bailiff had thus been murdered in the execution of his office; and that their lord would be justly offended, and never grant them peace; that these wicked people had put the town to the hazard of being totally destroyed, if God did not speedily afford a remedy. Notwithstanding all these words, there was not one among them who had courage personally to correct or reprove the authors of these atrocities. John de Faucille, who at that time was a man much renowned for his wisdom in Ghent, on finding things carried to such lengths as the murdering of the earl's bailiff, thought it must end badly: that he might not be suspected by the earl, he left the town privately, and went to a handsome country-house which he had near Ghent, and there remained, having given orders to tell every one he was very unwell and melancholy, and could see none but his own people. Every day, however, he had news from Ghent; for he had left there the greater part of his family, his wife, his children and his friends; and thus he dissembled for a considerable time.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TWELVE CITIZENS OF GHENT ARE DEPUTED TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS. THE WHITE HOODS PILLAGE AND BURN THE CASTLE OF ANDREGHIEN,* OF WHICH THE EARL WAS VERY FOND.

The good people of Ghent who were rich and industrious, and had wives, families and fortunes in the town and neighborhood, wishing as they did to live in an honorable way, were not well pleased to see things in this situation, and were very sensible how ill they had acted toward their lord; they therefore consulted among themselves how they could best remedy this ill deed, and throw themselves on his mercy, for it was better to do so soon than late. They called a council, in which it was debated what most profitable means they could use to save their own honors, and to promote the advantage of the town. John Lyon and the other leaders of the white hoods were invited to this council; otherwise they would not have dared to have holden it. Many proposals were made, and long debates ensued; but at last they determined unanimously to elect twelve of the most respectable of the inhabitants, who should solicit mercy and pardon for the murder of the bailiff: and if by this they could obtain peace, it would be a good thing; but every person must be included in the peace, and nothing moved in the business hereafter.

This resolution was acted upon, and twelve citizens elected to wait on the earl. John Lyon kept always saying, that it was right to be on good terms with their lord; but his wishes were just the contrary, for he thought and said internally, "Things are not yet in the situation I wish to put them in." The determination of the council soon became public: the twelve deputies set off, and journeyed on until they came to Male, where they found the earl, who on their approach was wondrous angry, and in a cruel passion against the inhabitants of Ghent. The twelve deputies acted well their parts by appearing contrite, and, with uplifted hands, entreated him to have pity on them. They pleaded their excuse for the death of his bailiff, adding, "Dear lord, have mercy on us, so that we may carry peace back to the town of Ghent, which loves you so much; and we engage, that for the time to come, this outrage shall be amply atoned for by those who have done it or excited it, so that you shall be satisfied, and that all large towns shall take example from it." They so long and affectionately solicited the earl, that he restrained his anger; and, by other good arguments which they urged, the affair was arranged and articles of peace drawn up. The earl was on the point of pardoning all the outrages committed against him by those of Ghent, on their making the reparation agreed on, when other intelligence arrived that I will now relate.

John Lyon, who had remained at Ghent, thought directly the reverse of what he had said in the council, that it was proper to be on good terms with their lord. He knew for a certainty he had already so much irritated the earl, that he would never forgive him, and if his pardon were promised, it would be through dissimulation, which would end in his being put to death. He therefore chose rather to throw aside all shame, since he had entered so far in the business, than to continue daily in the fear of his life; and thus he acted. During the time the deputation was gone to the earl to solicit peace, he collected all the white hoods under his command, and the different handicrafts in the town the most inclined to his way of thinking, and gained his end by great artifice; for, when they were assembled, he said to them, "Gentlemen, you well know how much we have angered my lord of Flanders, and upon what grounds we have sent a deputation to him. We do not know what answer they will bring back; whether peace or war; for he is not of a temper easily appeased, and he has near his person Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who will not fail to excite his anger. It is therefore, a hundred to one that we have peace. It behooves us, if we should have war, to look to ourselves, and see from whom we may get assistance, and by whom we may be supported. You, deacons of the different trades, do you draw out into the fields to-morrow your men; and we will see what appearance they make; for it is proper we take measures against a surprise. This will not cost us anything, and will make us more feared." They all answered, that he had well spoken. This measure was followed; and, on the morrow, they marched out of the gate leading to Bruges, and drew up in a handsome plain without Ghent, called Andreghien. When they were all arrived, John Lyon looked at them with great pleasure; for they were full ten thousand, well armed; and said, "Here is indeed a handsome company." When he had examined them for a short space, and had been all round them, he added, "I would propose that we visit my lord's house, since we are so near to it. I have been told that he has laid therein many stores and provisions, which may be of great prejudice to the town of Ghent."

This was agreed to; and they marched to Andreghien, which at the time was without guards or defence. They entered the house, and began to search it everywhere. The white hoods and their ribald crew which had entered, very soon despoiled it, taking away whetever they could lay their hands on. There were many rich jewels and clothes, for the earl kept there his wardrobe. John Lyon affected to be in a violent passion at this conduct, but was not so in reality, as it afterwards appeared; for, after they had left the castle and marched into the plain, on looking behind them, they saw the mansion in flames in twenty different places; and, if they had entertained the inclination, it was not in their power to extinguish it. John Lyon, who pretended to be much surprised, cried out, "How has this fire happened in my lord's house?" They answered, "By accident." "Well," replied he, "it cannot now be helped; and it is still better that accident should have burnt it, than that we should. Everything considered, it was but a dangerous neighbor; and my lord might have established a garrison therein, which would have annoyed us much." They all answered, "What you say is true."

They then returned to Ghent, and did nothing more that day; but what they had done was mischief enough, for it cost afterwards two hundred thousand lives, and was one of the principal causes which

* Q. if not Adeghem, which is near Eccloo.

enraged the earl of Flanders the most. John Lyon had done it, because he wished not for peace: he well knew, that whatever treaty was entered into, it would be sealed with his blood. This castle of Andreghien had cost the earl of Flanders, in building and ornamenting, two hundred thousand francs; and he loved it in preference to all his other residences. The well-intentioned inhabitants of Ghent, who were desirous of peace, were exceedingly hurt at this business; but help it they could not, nor did they dare to show any symptoms of anger, for the white hoods said the castle had been burnt accidentally.

News of this was brought to the earl at Male: those who came said, "My lord, you do not know that your beautiful house of Andreghien, which has cost you such sums to build, and of which you are so fond, is burnt to the ground." "Burnt?" replied the earl, who was much enraged at this intelligence. "Yes; help me, God, if it be not true." "And by what means?" "By accidental fire, as they say." "Ha, ha," answered the earl, "now it is all over: there shall never be peace in Flanders as long as John Lyon lives: he has had this house burnt in an underhand manner, but he shall dearly pay for it." He then ordered the deputation from Ghent to come to him, and said, "Ah, wretches! you supplicate my favor with sword in hand. I had acceded to every proposal you had made, according to your wish; and your people have set fire to and burnt the house I loved in preference to all my others. Do you think there had not been sufficient contempt shown me when they murdered my bailiff, while he was executing my orders, tore my banner, and trod it under foot? Know, that if my own honor were not concerned, and if you had not already obtained passports from me, I would now have you all beheaded. Quit my presence, and tell those wicked and outrageous men of Ghent, that they never shall have peace, nor will I listen to any negotiation, until I shall have given up to me all those whom I shall point out, and whom I will have beheaded without mercy."

These citizens were exceedingly hurt at the news they heard, and, like people who were perfectly innocent, endeavored to excuse themselves; but in vain, for the earl was so much enraged he would not hear them: he made them leave his presence, when they mounted their horses and returned to Ghent, and there related what they had done, and how well they had managed the business; that they had succeeded in obtaining an amicable settlement with the earl, when the unfortunate event of the castle being burnt came to his ears. After this, the earl threatened them greatly, and declared he would never consent to any peace until such of the townsmen as he should choose were given up to him. The well-meaning inhabitants saw things were taking a bad turn, and that the white hoods had ruined all; but there were none bold enough to speak out.

The earl of Flanders set off with his attendants from Male, and came to his hôtel at Lille, whither he summoned all the knights of Flanders, and every gentleman dependent on him, to have their advice how he should act on this occasion, and by what means he should revenge himself on the inhabitants of Ghent for the contempt they had shown. All the gentlemen of Flanders swore to be true and loyal to him, as every one ought to be toward their lord. The earl was much pleased at this, and sent reinforcements to the garrisons in all his castles at Dendremonde, Russelmonde, Alost, at Courtray and Oudenarde.

CHAPTER XL.

THE DEATH OF JOHN LYON. THE MEN OF GHENT CHOOSE CAPTAINS TO COMMAND THEM. SEVERAL TOWNS IN FLANDERS ALLY THEMSELVES WITH GHENT.

John Lyon was rejoiced when he found the earl of Flanders in earnest, and so much enraged against Ghent that he would not grant them peace; and that, by his manœuvres, he had pushed matters so forward, that the town would be obliged to make war whether it would or not. He said publicly: "You hear, gentlemen, how our lord, the earl of Flanders, is making preparations against you, and will not listen to any terms of peace: I therefore would advise, for greater security, that before we shall be more oppressed, we know what towns of Flanders will give us their support. I will answer for those of Gramont not being against us, but on the contrary they will assist us, as well as those of Courtray, which is in our castlewick, and within our jurisdiction. But as for those of Bruges, they are proud and haughty, and it has been by their means that all this mischief has been fomented: it therefore becomes us to march against them, in such force, that through fair or foul means, they unite themselves with us." All present answered, that his advice was good.

In course of time, every one that was to go on this expedition made himself ready. When they were all duly prepared, in a manner becoming them, they marched from Ghent, in number from nine to ten thousand men, carrying with them a large train of stores and provisions. The first day, they halted at Deynse: on the morrow, they advanced within a short league of Bruges, when they drew up in order of battle, in the plain, with their baggage in the rear. John Lyon ordered the deacons of the trades to go into Bruges, and know their intentions. They advanced thither, but found the gates shut and well guarded. When they therefore informed them what their business was, the guards said, they would cheerfully go and tell it to the burgomaster and sheriffs, who had posted them there. They did so, and the burgomasters and jurats told them to return and say that they would call a council to consider of it. When they came back with this answer, John Lyon cried out: "Advance, advance! let us attack Bruges; for, if we wait until they shall have held their council, we shall find great difficulty to gain an entrance: it is better we attack them before they consult together, and the suddenness of our attack will surprise them."

This plan was followed; and the men of Ghent advanced to the barriers and ditches of Bruges, John Lyon marching at their head on a black horse. He quickly dismounted, and took an axe in his hand. When the guard, who were not in sufficient strength, saw the men of Ghent were so determined to attack them, they were frightened, and ran away down the streets as far as the market-place, crying out, "Here are the men of Ghent! Quickly to your posts; for they are before your walls, and at your gates."

Those of Bruges who were assembling for the council were thunder-struck, and had not time to assemble nor to give any orders upon the occasion, while the majority of the people were desirous that the gates should be immediately thrown open. It behooved them to agree in this with the commonalty; otherwise it would have turned out badly for the rich inhabitants. The burgomaster and sheriffs, with many of the townsmen, came to the gate where the men of Ghent were with a good inclination to attack it. The burgomaster and the magistrates of Bruges, who for that day had the government of the town, advanced to open the wicket to parley with John Lyon. By treaty, they opened the barriers and gate, at which they held their conference, and were good friends. All now entered the town. John Lyon rode by the side of the burgomaster, and showed himself a bold and valiant man: his men marched in the rear in bright armor. It was a handsome sight to see them thus enter Bruges until they came to the market-place, where, as they arrived, they formed themselves into array in the square. John Lyon held a white truncheon in his hand.

A formal alliance was then entered into between the townsmen of Ghent and Bruges, which they mutually swore to keep, and to remain for ever as good friends and neighbors: those of Ghent were allowed to summon them, and to lead them with them wherever they pleased. Soon after they had been thus drawn up in the market-place, John Lyon and some of his captains went to the hall, whence they issued a proclamation for all the men of Ghent to retire peaceably to their quarters, and there to disarm themselves without noise, or any tumult, under pain of death; which was quickly obeyed. They were also forbidden to dislodge any one, or to engage in any quarrels, or to take anything from their hosts without instantly paying for it, under the same penalty.

This proclamation being issued, another was published on the part of the town, for each householder to receive as friends the good men of Ghent, and to afford them all sorts of provisions at the market prices; and that no undue advantage should be taken, nor any quarrels or contentions stirred up, under pain of death. All persons now retired to their houses or quarters; and the inhabitants of the two towns thus remained amicably together for two days, and strengthened their alliance and friendship mutually. Their treaties being drawn out and sealed, on the third day the men of Ghent departed, and marched to the town of Damme, which instantly opened its gates, and received them most courteously: they remained there two days. John Lyon, during his short stay, was seized with a sudden sickness that swelled his body exceedingly: the night he was taken ill, he had supped in great revelry with the ladies of the town; for which reason several said and maintained that he had been poisoned. Of this I know nothing, therefore shall not insist on it; but I do know that on the morrow he was placed on a litter, for he was taken ill in the night, and carried to Ardenbourg; but death prevented him going further, to the great sorrow of the men of Ghent, who were thrown into confusion by the event. All his enemies were as much rejoiced thereat as his friends were cast down. His body was conveyed to Ghent; and, on account of his death, the whole army returned thither. When the news of his decease was known in that town, it caused much sorrow; for he was greatly beloved by all, excepting the party of the earl. The clergy went out to meet the body, and conducted it into the town with as much solemnity as if he had been earl of Flanders. He was interred in the church of St. Nicholas, where his obsequies were performed, and where he lies.

Notwithstanding the death of John Lyon, the alliance between Ghent and Bruges was not broken; for they had carried sufficient hostages with them to Ghent, for the due performance of all its articles. The earl was exceedingly rejoiced at the death of John Lyon; as were Gilbert Matthew, his brothers, the deacon of the small craft, and all the party of the earl, who sent greater reinforcements than before to all his towns and castles, and ordered a sufficient number of good knights and squires of the castlewicks of Lille and Douay into the town of Ypres, declaring he would make Ghent repent of its conduct.

Soon after the death of John Lyon, those of Ghent considered they could not long remain without leaders. The deacons of the trades and the guards of the gates selected, according to their opinion, four of the most courageous and enterprising for their commanders, whose names were, John Pruniaux, John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle, and

Peter du Bois. They swore to pay these commanders the most exact obedience, under pain of death; and these four swore also to preserve and defend the honor and franchises of the town of Ghent. The four commanders excited those of Ghent to march against Ypres and the franc de Bruges, in order to obtain their union or put them to death. They therefore set off from Ghent, in grand array, to the amount of at least twelve thousand, all clad in bright armor. They took the road to Courtray. The inhabitants of Courtray allowed them to enter their town without fear, for they were within the jurisdiction of Ghent: they there refreshed themselves at their ease for two days. On the third day they marched toward Ypres, carrying with them two hundred well-armed men from among the cross-bows of Courtray. They followed the road to Thorout, where on their arrival they halted; and the commanders held a council, in which they resolved to send three or four thousand of their men, under the command of the captain of the white hoods, to treat with the inhabitants of Ypres, and the main body to follow to reinforce them, if there should be occasion. These orders were executed, and they came before Ypres.

The commonalty of Ypres and the small handicrafts, hearing of the arrival of the army from Ghent, instantly armed themselves, and drew up in the market-place, to the amount of full five thousand. The rich inhabitants had not any power in the town. The knights placed there in garrison by the earl, advanced in handsome order, to the gate leading to Thorout, where the Ghent men had halted without outside the barriers, requesting they would allow them to enter. The knights and their men were drawn up before the gate, and showed such an appearance that the men of Ghent could never have gained admittance but by force. However, the ancient trades of the town were resolved that they should enter, in spite of the knights: they left, therefore, the market-place, and came to the gate which the knights were guarding, and said: "Open the gate to our friends and neighbors from Ghent: we will have them enter our town." The knights replied, "They would do no such thing: for they had been ordered thither by the earl of Flanders to defend the town, which they would do to the utmost of their power; and it was not possible for the force of those of Ghent to enter otherwise than by treason."

Words multiplied so fast between the gentlemen and the deacons of small handicrafts, that the last shouted out, "Kill them, kill them! they shall not be masters of our town." They were immediately attacked, and, after a long contest, were roughly driven down the streets, as numbers were against them; and five knights were slain, among whom were sir Robert and sir Thomas de la Hourdrie, which was a great pity. Sir Henry d'Antoing was in imminent danger of his life, and with great difficulty could some of the principal inhabitants save him: at last, they did succeed in it, and many of the others were saved also. The gate was opened, so that the men of Ghent entered the town, and became the masters of it, without doing any damage. When they had remained there for two days, and had taken hostages from the inhabitants, who entered into a similar treaty with those of Bruges, Courtray, Gramont, and Damme, they set out from Ypres in a most courteous manner, and returned to Ghent.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE MEN OF GHENT BESIEGE THE TOWN OF OUDENARDE ON ALL SIDES. THEY MAKE A GRAND ASSAULT ON THE EARL OF FLANDERS IN DENDREMONDE.

The earl of Flanders, who resided at Lille, heard how the inhabitants of Ypres had turned against him, and what the small handicrafts had done; he was sorely vexed, as well for the loss of those knights who had there been slain as for other causes. He, however, comforted himself by saying, "Well, if we have this time lost Ypres, we shall another time regain it to their curse; for I will strike off such numbers of heads, all others shall be astonished at it." The earl intended particularly to provide the town of Oudenarde most amply with all sorts of stores, provision, and men-at-arms: for he thought that the men of Ghent would soon come to besiege it; and, if they succeeded, the loss would be great to him, for they would then have the whole navigation of the fine river Scheld at their command. He sent thither numbers of knights and squires from Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, who assembled their people in the town whether the inhabitants would or not.

The commanders in Ghent were informed what great preparations the earl had made in Oudenarde: they determined to attack it, declaring they would not return until they had gained it, had slain all within, and razed the walls to the ground. Orders were given in Ghent for every one to provide himself in a manner becoming his rank, and to be ready to march whithersoever he might be led. None dared to disobey this order: tents and pavilions were packed up, with all other stores: having marched out of Ghent, they encamped before Oudenarde, in the beautiful meadows on the banks of the Scheld. Three days after, the men from Bruges arrived, for they had been summoned, and took up their quarters on the side near to their town, bringing with them great quantities of baggage and provision. Next came those from Ypres in great array: then the men of Poperingue, Messines, and Gramont. The Flemings thus drawn up before Oudenarde were upward of one hundred thousand: they made bridges of boats and hurdles by which they crossed over the Scheld to each other.

The earl, who resided at Lille, thinking they would attack Dendremonde first, had sent to Germany, Gueldres, and Brabant, to ask the succor of a number of knights. The duke of Mons, his cousin, had come to serve him with a large body of knights, and had entered Dendremonde, where they met the earl of Flanders, who was already arrived there by his frontiers of Hainault and Brabant, and was truly glad of their company. The Flemings maintained the siege of Oudenarde for a long time; during which, there were daily many grand attacks and skirmishes, and several gallant deeds of arms, both before the town and at the barriers, where numbers were killed and wounded, for the Flemings acted madly and foolishly in hazarding their persons in these skirmishes, often to their great loss.

There were full eight hundred lances, knights and squires, in the town of Oudenarde, all valiant men: among whom were several barons, such as the lords de Guistelle, de Villiers, de Hullut, and de Cornais, Flemings: from Hainault were, the lords d'Anghien, d'Antoing, de Bosnel, de Taux, de Gommegines, and his three brothers, sir John, sir Daniel, and sir Joseph, the lords de Stainbourg, de Carue, sir Gerard de Marqueillies, the lord de Cohen, sir Rasse de Montigny, sir Henry de la Hamede, sir John de Gres, and other knights, amounting to about one hundred and five in number. They kept up a regular and numerous guard; for they had not any confidence in the inhabitants, and they made the women and children retire into the monasteries. The citizens and townsmen kept within their houses; and, in order to prevent the bad effects of the cannon and the perpetual fire which the Flemings kept up against the town, they had the houses covered with earth, to hinder them from taking fire.

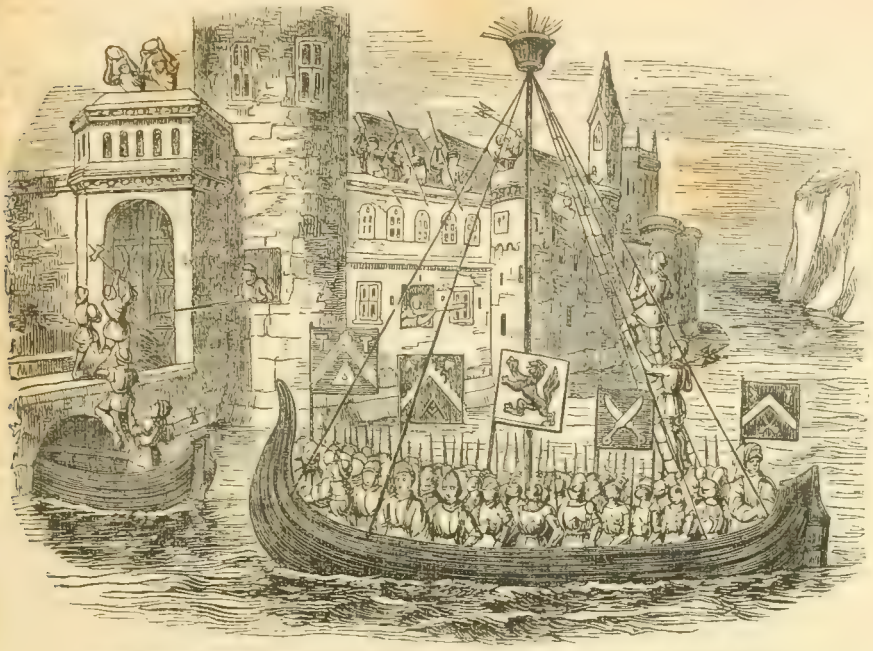
During the siege of Oudenarde, the commanders of the Flemings were informed that the earl was at Dendremonde, and had with him his cousin the duke de Mons and numbers of other knights. They determined to send six thousand of their army thither, to examine its appearance, and to make an assault upon it. This resolution was executed. The detachment which had been ordered, under the command of Rasse de Harzelle, continued their march until they came to a small village on the river Teure, a short league from Dendremonde, where they took up their quarters. These Flemings had provided themselves with a number of boats, which they had sent down the river, that they might embark on board of them, and attack the place by land and water. A little after midnight, they arose, armed themselves, and made every preparation to begin the attack the instant they should be arrived there; for they wished to surprise the knights in their beds. They began their march; but some of the country people, who had heard of this intention of the Flemings, informed the guards of it, saying, "Be sure you keep a strict and good guard; for a large body of the men of Ghent, who have been benighted, are lying hard by here, and we know what they intend to do." The guard at the gate related this to their captain, who was a knight from Holland, called sir Thierry de Bredoro: on receiving this intelligence, he strengthened his guard, and sent information of it to all the knights lodged in the castle and in the different houses.

Immediately on the break of day, the Flemings advanced by land and in their boats, well prepared for an instant attack. When those in the castle and town saw them approach, they sounded their trumpets to alarm every one, the greater part of the knights and squires being already armed. The earl of Flanders, who slept in the castle, heard of the march of the Flemings, and that they had commenced the attack; on which he instantly rose, armed himself, and sallied forth from the castle, his banner displayed before him. At this time, there were in the town, sir Gossuin de Wrle great bailiff of Flanders, the lord de Gau, sir Gerard de Rasenghien, sir Philip de Mamines, sir Philip de Rungi, a Burgundian, and others. All these knights advanced to meet the banner of the earl, and then they marched under it to the assault, which was already begun in a severe and horrible manner; for these Flemings had brought in their boats cannons and cross-bows, which shot such large and heavy bolts that when any one was struck by them there was no escape from death. Against these bolts they were strongly shielded; and the earl had with him some excellent cross-bows, who by their shooting gave the Flemings enough to do.

The duke de Mons was in another part with his troops drawn up, his banner before him; and there were in his company the lord de Brederode, sir Joseph and sir Thierry Lavare, sir Vivant de Chuperois, and several more, who each performed well their duty. In another quarter of the town, posted at a gate, were sir Robert Dale, sir John Villain, the lord de Vindescot, and sir Robert Mareschal. The attack here was very sharp, for the Flemings made vigorous assaults by land and water, in which many were killed and wounded on each side; but more on the side of the Flemings than on that of the gentlemen, as the Flemings adventured themselves fool-hardily. This attack lasted, without ceasing, from the break of day until full noon. A knight of the earl's party was slain, called sir Hugh de Rony, a Burgundian: he was much lamented, for he lost his life by too much boldness, and for want of prudence. Rasse de Harzelle, the commander of the detachment, fought valiantly, and by his words and actions greatly encouraged the men of Ghent.

The assault ceased in the afternoon, for Rasse found he was laboring in vain, and that in Dendremonde there were such brave men that

it could not easily be taken: his troops also began to be fatigued. He therefore sounded a retreat, when the men retired in a handsome manner along the river side, bringing off their fleet of boats; and on the morrow they returned to their army before Oudenarde.



MEN OF GHENT attacking the earl of Flanders in Dendremonde. From a MS. of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XLII.

SEVERAL ASSAULTS ARE MADE ON OUDENARDE. PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE FLEMINGS AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS, BY MEANS OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

THE siege of Oudenarde continued for a long time; and the Flemings before it were masters of the river and of the adjoining country, so that no provision could be introduced without great danger, and on the side toward Hainault. Sometimes victuallers, in hopes of gain, ventured, while the army was asleep, to come close to the barriers with provision, which by that means were brought into Oudenarde. Among the many attacks made upon the town, there was one which was very vigorous: it lasted the whole day. Upon this occasion, some new knights were created from Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, who wished to distinguish themselves. These new knights advanced to the barriers, where several skirmishes took place with the men of Ghent, in which many were killed and wounded; but they paid little attention to this, and being regardless of death, they advanced so boldly that when those in the front were slain or disabled, the rear dragged them out, took their places, and kept a handsome countenance. This attack lasted until the evening, when those of Oudenarde returned into the town, and shut the gates and barriers: they then buried their dead, and took great care of their wounded.

The Flemings thought they should certainly conquer the town by assault or famine; for they well knew that they had so closely surrounded it by land and water that nothing could enter it; and their remaining before it would not be of any detriment to them, for they were in their own country, and near their own homes. They had also every necessary article for their support, with all other things in great abundance, and cheaper than they would have had them at Bruges or Ghent. The earl of Flanders, being aware of the great number of men-at-arms that were in the town, suspected the intentions of the Flemings, that by keeping up the blockade, they would in the end starve them to a surrender: he would therefore have willingly listened to any overture for a negotiation that was honorable to him. To say the truth, this war against his subjects was highly disagreeable to him, and he had undertaken it contrary to his own opinion. His mother, the lady Margaret, countess of Artois, blamed him much, and took great pains to put an end to it.

The countess resided in the city of Arras, whence she wrote to the duke of Burgundy, to whom the heritage of Flanders would fall by his marriage with her grand-daughter, on the death of the earl. The duke, who had before received information of this affair, for news was daily brought to him on the subject, came to Arras, attended by his council, and sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, sir Guy de Pontalliers, and several others. The countess received him with great joy, discussed with much wisdom the subject of this war between her son and his subjects; how unbecoming and very displeasing it was not only to her but to all reasonable persons. She told him, that many valiant men, barons, knights, and squires, were honorably shut up in the town of Oudenarde, and in very imminent danger; and she begged, for God's sake, he would think of and provide a remedy. The duke replied, that he was bound to do so, and would exert himself to the utmost of his power. Shortly after he left Arras and went to Tournay, where he was joyfully received; for the inhabitants of Tournay wished much for peace on account of their merchandise, which was shut up on the Scheld.

The duke of Burgundy sent the abbot de St. Martin to the army before Oudenarde to sound the leaders of the men of Ghent, if they would enter into a negotiation. The abbot brought the the duke for answer, that out of respect for him, they would enter into a treaty: the duke granted passports, and received the same from the Flemings, for the negotiators to meet at Pont de Rosne, where the first conference lasted from morning until night. The duke himself went thither to parley with the Flemings; and, after the conference, he returned to Tournay in company with the earl, whom he brought back with him. These conferences continued for fifteen days. It was difficult to satisfy the Flemings, as they insisted on having Oudenarde demolished, to which the duke and his ministers would not consent. The Flemings kept up a grand and haughty appearance, making no account of peace; for they maintained, that as those within Oudenarde could not leave it without great danger to themselves, they considered the town as conquered.

The duke of Burgundy, seeing these Flemings so proud and presumptuous, and so indifferent to conclude a treaty, could not conceive their meaning; he therefore requested a passport for his marshal to visit the knights in Oudenarde, which was instantly granted him. The marshal of Burgundy went into the town, and found the knights well provided, excepting some articles of which they were greatly in want; they, however, boldly said to the marshal: "Tell my lord of Burgundy from us, not to enter into any dishonorable treaty on our account; for, through God's mercy, we are in good health, and care not for our enemies." This answer pleased the duke much, who at the time was at Pont de Rosne: however, he did not neglect to push forward his negotiations. To say the truth, those of Ypres and Bruges were tired of the war, as well as those from the Franc, who saw winter approaching: they therefore argued in council, that since the duke of Burgundy, to accommodate the business, had come thither in person, and had engaged to have everything pardoned; since also the earl would return in an amicable manner to Ghent, there to reside, and, let what would happen, would never remember the past; all these considerations ought to be attended to; and they considered themselves bound to acknowledge their lord with respect, and not attempt to tear his inheritance from him.

These words greatly softened the men of Ghent, and they agreed to accept the treaty. The duke gave a most magnificent dinner to the principal persons from Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and Courtray. On that day, it was settled that the siege should be raised, and a solid peace concluded between the earl and his subjects: that the earl should grant a general pardon to all, without any reservation, dissembling or exception whatever: that he should reside at Ghent, and that within a year the citizens of Ghent should rebuild the castle of Andreghien, which report said they had burnt. For the fuller confirmation of all this, John Pruniaux was to accompany the duke of Burgundy to Tournay, where it was to be properly drawn up and sealed. After this, the duke returned to Tournay, and John Pruniaux and John Boule remained with the army. On the morrow, peace was proclaimed between the two parties, the siege was raised, and every man returned to his home. The earl disbanded his soldiers, and greatly thanked the foreigners for the gallant services they had done him: he then went to Lille, to execute the treaties which his son-in-law the duke of Burgundy had concluded for him.

Some of the neighboring countries said, that this was a double-faced peace; that there would be another rebellion; and that the earl had only consented to it, in order to extricate such a number

of noble knights and squires from the danger they ran in Oudenarde. John Pruniaux, after the breaking up of the siege, went to Tournay, where the duke of Burgundy entertained him handsomely. The articles of the treaty were there completed, and sealed by the duke and the earl of Flanders. John Pruniaux afterwards returned to Ghent, and showed what he had done. The duke of Burgundy had so well managed the men of Ghent by kind words, that Oudenarde was saved from destruction; for, when the siege was raised in conformity to the treaty, they would have demolished the gates and walls of the town, that it might remain open and ready for them to retire to. The earl of Flanders having resided some time at Lille, after the duke of Burgundy had returned to France, went to Bruges, where he made a long stay: during which, he secretly showed great displeasure to some of the citizens of Bruges, without, however, doing anything more, nor seeming desirous of otherwise punishing them, for their having so readily deserted his party, and placing themselves under the command of Ghent. These citizens excused themselves by saying, what was indeed true, that it had not been through any fault of theirs, but was solely owing to the small handicrafts of the town, who would ally themselves with those of Ghent when John Lyon came before Bruges. The earl passed over their misconduct with as fair looks as he could, but he did not the less remember it. We will now leave him and the Flemings, and return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETURNS FROM ENGLAND, AT THE ENTREATY OF HIS SUBJECTS. THE ENGLISH ARE DESIROUS OF MARRYING THEIR YOUNG KING. THE KNIGHTS OF ENGLAND SENT TO THE AID OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MEET WITH GREAT TEMPESTS AT SEA.

You have before heard that the duke of Brittany resided in England with king Richard and his uncles, who entertained him handsomely, and that his country was in great trouble; for the king of France had ordered thither his constable with a large body of men-at-arms, who had fixed their quarters at Pontorson, and near St. Michael's Mount, whence they made war on all the adjacent country. The inhabitants of the cities and principal towns kept themselves well inclosed, and were very anxious for the return of their lord, to whom they had already sent letters and messengers: but he was fearful of trusting to them, until the prelates and barons of Brittany and the great towns began to murmur, and say: "We send every week letters of invitation to the duke; but, instead of coming, he only returns us excuses." "In God's name," said some of them, "there must be a reason for this: we send to him in too simple a manner. We ought to send him a knight or two of rank, in whom he may trust, and who will fully explain to him the true state of the country."

This proposal was agreed to; and two valiant knights, sir Geoffry de Querimel and sir Eustace de la Houssaye, were entreated to go to England, at the joint solicitations of the prelates, barons, and principal towns in Brittany.* These two knights made preparations for their voyage to England, and, embarking on board a vessel at Cano,† had weather and wind according to their wish. They made sail for Southampton, and there disembarked: continuing their journey to London, they found the duke and duchess of Brittany and sir Robert Knolles, who received them with great joy, and handsomely entertained them.

The knights then related to the duke the state and disposition of his country, and how very ardently his return was looked for; to confirm which, they gave the duke their credential letters from the prelates, barons, and principal towns of Brittany. The duke gave full credence to the knights and their letters, and said he would show them to the king and his uncles, which he did. When the king and his uncles heard all these things, and how the whole of Brittany, the prelates, barons and principal towns, excepting Guesclin, Laval, Clisson, Rohan and Rochefort, had sent to the duke their lord, supplicating him to return to his own country, the king said to him, "You must go over to Brittany, since they send for you, and maintain your rights: we will shortly send to your assistance a sufficient force of men-at-arms to defend your frontiers; but you will leave the lady-duchess with my mother and her brothers, while you go to carry on this war."

The duke heard these words with great joy, and made his preparations accordingly: he was not long in having everything ready at Southampton. When taking leave of the king, the princess of Wales, and of his duchess, he made a strict treaty of alliance with the king of England, and swore on his faith, that if he should speedily be succored by the English, he would always remain steadily attached to them, and do all in his power to make his country join with him; and that England should always find his ports open, whenever her fleets came thither. After this, he set out from London, accompanied by sir Robert Knolles and the two knights who were sent to him, with about one hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers. There was a short delay at Southampton, waiting for a favorable wind, where they embarked. They landed at Guerrande,* and rode on to Vannes. The inhabitants of that city received the duke with great demonstrations of joy, as indeed did the whole country when they heard of his arrival. The duke refreshed himself for five days, or thereabouts, at Vannes, and then went to Nantes: there he was waited on by barons, prelates, knights, ladies and damsels, who all offered their services, and put themselves under his obedience. They greatly complained of the French, and of the constable, who had quartered himself in the country near Rennes. The duke said, "My friends, I shall shortly have aid from England; for without the assistance of the English, I shall not be able to defend myself against the French; otherwise they will be too strong for us, seeing that we are not all in this country of one mind. But when the forces which the king of England has promised shall be arrived, if they have done you wrongs, we will return them the compliment." This speech greatly pleased those of the duke's party who were present.

In this same year, about St. Andrew's day, died the lord Charles, king of Germany and emperor of Rome. King Charles had done so well by money and by his great connections, that the electors of the empire had given it under their oaths and seals, they would elect, after his decease, his son emperor, and exert their whole power to maintain the siege before Aix, and to defend him against all opposers: so that, after the death of Charles, his son Winceslaus, who before was king of the Romans, signed himself emperor of Rome, king of Germany and Bohemia.

About this same season, there were many councils held in England, by the uncles of the king, the prelates and barons, relative to marrying the young king Richard. The English would have preferred a princess of Hainault, out of love for that good lady queen Philippa, who had been so virtuous, liberal and honorable, and who had come from Hainault; but duke Albert, at that time, had not any daughters marriageable. The duke of Lancaster would willingly have seen the king, his nephew, married to his daughter, whom he had had by the lady Blanch of Lancaster, but the people would not have consented to this for two reasons; that the lady was his cousin-german, and too nearly related; and that they wished the king to choose a queen from beyond sea, in order to gain stronger alliances. The sister of the king of Bohemia and of Germany, daughter of the lately deceased emperor, was then proposed, and the whole council assented to it.

Sir Simon Burley, a sage and valiant knight, who had been the king's tutor, and much beloved by the prince his father, was nominated to go to Germany, to treat of this marriage, as a wise and able negotiator. Every necessary preparation was ordered, as well for his expenses as otherwise. He set out from England magnificently equipped, and arrived at Calais; from thence he went to Gravelines, and continued his journey until he came to Brussels, where he met the duke Winceslaus of Brabant, the duke Albert, the count de *Blois*, the count de St. Pol, Sir William de Maulny, and numbers of knights from Brabant, Hainault, and other parts, partaking of a grand feast of tilts and tournaments; and it was on this occasion all these lords were there assembled. The duke and duchess of Brabant, from the love they bore the king of England, received this knight most courteously. They were much rejoiced on hearing the cause of his journey into Germany, and said it would be a good match between the king of England and their niece. They gave Sir Simon Burley, on his departure, special letters to the emperor, to assure him they approved very much of the marriage. The knight set out from Brussels, and took the road through Louvain to Cologne.

About this time, the king of England and his council ordered two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers to Brittany, under the command of Sir John Arundel: sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Banaster, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Walter Pole, sir John Bourchier, the lord Ferrers and the lord Basset were appointed to this expedition. The knights made all the preparation they wanted, and went to Southampton, where they embarked on board their vessels. When they had a favorable wind, they set sail. The first day, it was fair; but, toward evening, it veered about, and became quite contrary, which drove them, whether they would or not, on the coasts of Cornwall. The wind was so strong and impetuous, they were afraid to cast anchor. On the morrow, the storm continued as fierce as ever, and forced them into the Irish sea; when it became so violent, three of their ships sunk, on board of which were sir John Arundel, sir Thomas Banaster, and sir Hugh Calverley. Upward of eighty perished of their complement of men-at-arms, and in the number the commander-in-chief, sir John Arundel, which was great pity, for he was a valiant and enterprising knight. Sir Thomas Banaster and sir Walter Pole, two brave knights, were drowned, and many others.

Sir Hugh Calverley never before experienced greater peril; for all those who were in his vessel were drowned, except himself and seven sailors; but sir Hugh and the sailors took to the masts and cables to save themselves, and, as the wind was strong, they were blown on shore: but, having swallowed much sea-water, they were long sick and uncomfortable. Sir Thomas Trivet, sir John Bourchier, the lords Ferrers and Basset escaped this danger, with others: however, they were much driven and tumbled about. When the

* The Histoire de la Bretagne mentions three other persons as deputies, and cites the public acts for authority. Geoffrey de Querimel was a favorite of the duke.

† "Cano." Q. Concarneau.

* "Guerrande"—a town in Brittany, between the rivers Vilaine and Loire, diocese of Nantes.

tempest ceased, they returned as well as they could to Southampton, and waited on the king and his uncles; to whom they related their misfortunes, including sir Hugh Calverley among the drowned: but it was not so, as it afterwards appeared when he came to London.

This expedition was put an end to; and the duke of Brittany did not receive any assistance from the English, which was very much against him; for all that season and the ensuing winter the French carried on a destructive war. The Bretons, that is to say, sir Oliver de Clisson and his men, took the town of Dinant, by means of vessels and boats, which they pillaged, and kept afterwards, for a long time, against the duke and the country. We will now return to the affairs of Flanders.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE TOWN OF GHENT SENDS EMBASSADORS TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS TO ENTREAT HIM TO COME THITHER.

When peace was concluded between the earl of Flanders and the men of Ghent, by the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, which gained him great popularity throughout the country, the men of Ghent were very desirous that the earl should come and fix his residence in their town. The provost of Haerlabeke had strongly advised the earl to improve the affection between him and Ghent, in which he was seconded by all the earl's relations. The earl, however, continued to reside at Bruges, and never went near Ghent, which surprised every one; but, in particular the well-intentioned and principal inhabitants, who were anxious for peace. As for the white hoods and pillagers, who only sought disturbance, they dreaded his return: for they suspected, that if he did come, they would be privately corrected for the evils they had done.

Notwithstanding these doubts of the magistracy and town-council, the rich men were particularly impatient for his arrival, and wished they would send to request it; for they did not look upon the peace as stable until he should have resided in Ghent. Twenty-four deputies were selected to go to Bruges, to declare to the earl the great love the town of Ghent had for him, and their wishes for his residence among them. They set off in a magnificent manner, as those should who wait on their lord; but they were told on leaving the town, "Never think of returning to Ghent, unless you bring back the earl with you; otherwise you will find the gates shut." Thus did the citizens of Ghent set out, taking the road toward Bruges. When they were between Deynse and Bruges, they learnt that the earl was coming, which gave them great pleasure; and, after they had rode on about a league, they perceived the earl in the plain. On seeing him, they advanced in two divisions, making a lane, through which the earl and his knights passed.

The citizens made low reverences, and showed every mark of respect to the earl and to his attendants: but he scarcely looked at them, only touched a little his hat; and, during the whole time, he never noticed them. Thus they all rode on; the earl on one side, the deputation from Ghent on another, until they came to Deynse, where they stopped, for the earl was to dine there. The deputation took some houses for themselves, and dined also. After dinner, they waited on the earl; and, having knelt down before him (for the earl was seated,) they presented to him the humble affection of the citizens of Ghent, and remonstrated with him, that from their great love to him, and their earnest desire for him to reside among them, they had been deputed, adding; "On our departure, my lord, the townsmen said, that we must not think of returning unless we brought you with us." The earl, who had well heard these words, was for a time silent; when he said calmly—"I willingly believe all you say, and that many in Ghent wish me to come thither: but I am surprised they do not recollect, nor seem inclined to remember former times, when I was so desirous of complying with all their requests, and how I expelled from the country such of my gentlemen as they complained of, in compliance with their laws. I have too often opened my prisons, to surrender up mine and their own burgesses, whenever they solicited it. I have loved and esteemed them more than any other of my subjects; and they have behaved to me quite the contrary, slain my bailiff, destroyed the houses of my people, driven away my officers, burnt the house in the world which I loved the most, forced my towns to side with them, murdered my knights in the town of Ypres: in short, they have acted so wickedly toward me and my rights that I am tired of mentioning them, and wish never to remember them; but, whether I will or not, I cannot help doing so."

"Ah, my lord," replied the deputies, "do not think more of what has passed: you have pardoned us for all those evil deeds." "That is true," answered the earl, "and I do not mean, by what I have just said, that in time to come you shall fare the worse for it. I only point out to you the great cruelties and wickedness which I have suffered from the town of Ghent." The earl was then softened: rising up, he made them rise also, and, calling to the lord de Ruiseliers who was near him, said, "Let them bring wine." The deputation drank of it, and then retired to their lodgings, where they remained all night, for the earl staid there. On the morrow, they all rode together toward Ghent

CHAPTER XLV.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS ENTERS THE TOWN OF GHENT, AND SECRETLY DEPARTS FROM IT. THE WALLS OF OUDENARDE ARE RAZED BY THE WHITE HOODS, THEIR ALLIES AND ACCOMPLICES.

When the inhabitants of Ghent heard the earl was on the road thither, they were much rejoiced, and went out to meet him on horseback and on foot: they bowed very lowly when they met him, and showed him all the reverence in their power; but he passed on without saying a word, only just bowed his head to them. He rode to his hôtel, called La Pôterne, where he dined. Great presents were made him by the town, and the magistrates waited on him, who humbled themselves greatly in his presence, as was but right. The earl addressed them, saying, "that when there was a stable peace, everything ought to have a peaceable appearance: I would, therefore, that these white hoods be laid aside, and some amends made for the death of my bailiff, for his family are very importunate with me on the subject."

"My lord," replied the magistrates, "that is fully our intention; and we beseech your highness, that you would have the goodness to come to-morrow to the square, and explain to your subjects, in an amicable manner, what your wishes are: they will be so much rejoiced at seeing you again that they will comply with all your desires." The earl agreed to their request. In the evening, it was known to numbers, that the earl was, on the morrow, to harangue the people at eight o'clock in the morning, in the market-place. Good men were much pleased thereat; but the mad and outrageous thought little of it, and said they had had enough of harangues, and knew well what they were to do. John Pruniaux, John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle, and Peter du Bois, leaders of the white hoods, were fearful that everything would be laid to their charge, and, having discoursed together, sent for some of their men, making choice of those that were the worst and most violent of their companions, and said to them, "Be sure you remain all this night and to-morrow armed; and whatever may be said to you, do not put off your white hoods; but be all of you in the market-place to-morrow by eight o'clock, and make not any riot unless it be first begun on you. You will either give these orders to your companies or send them by a safe hand." They answered they would punctually comply, which they did.

The next morning, at eight o'clock, they all went to the market-place, but not in a body; they separated in different parties, for their leaders were among them. The earl came on horseback to the market-place, attended by his knights, squires, and magistrates of the town. John de Faucille was with him, and upward of forty of the richest and most respectable inhabitants. The earl, as he was passing up the market-place, cast his eyes on the white hoods, which made him melancholy: he dismounted, as did his attendants, and went to a window, from whence he leaned out, on a crimson cloth, which had there been spread for him.

The earl began to address the people in a very discreet speech, in which he showed what love and affection he had borne them before they had angered him. He remonstrated, that a prince and sovereign lord ought to be loved, feared, obeyed, and honored by his subjects, and explained how very contrary they had acted. He also noticed how well he had always defended them against their enemies, and had kept them in peace and prosperity: that he had opened to them communications by sea, which before his joyful accession had been shut against them. He displayed much argument and good sense, which were understood by the wise, and acknowled for truth. He was well listened to by several, but by others not at all, for they were desirous of confusion. When he had spoken an hour, he concluded by saying, "that after having so fully explained everything, he was willing to continue their good lord, in the same manner as he had formerly been: that he forgave all the injuries and contempt they had shown him; and that he would never more recollect the evil deeds which had passed, but would preserve to them their rights and franchises, as he had done. He entreated therefore, that no novelties might be introduced, and that those white hoods should be laid aside."

During the first part of his speech, all were silent, as if there had not been any one present; but, the moment he touched on the white hoods, murmurs were heard on all sides, which showed it was on that account. The people were then entreated to retire to their houses in a peaceable manner. The earl left the market-place with his attendants, and the rest went to their homes. But I must say, that the white hoods came the first to the market-place, and were the last to quit it; and, when the earl passed through them, they looked ill-humored at him, disdaining to pull off their caps, which affected him much; for he said afterwards to his knights, when he retired to La Pôterne, "I shall never gain my wish with these white hoods: they are an accursed wicked people. My mind tells me, things will not remain long as they now are: if I may judge from appearances, there is much evil intended; and, were I to lose all, I will not suffer such pride and wickedness."

The earl remained four or five days at Ghent, and then he departed in such a manner as showed he never again intended returning thither. He went to Lille, where he made his preparations for passing the winter. He scarcely took leave of any one when he quitted Ghent, and set out much out of humor, for which several of the town were

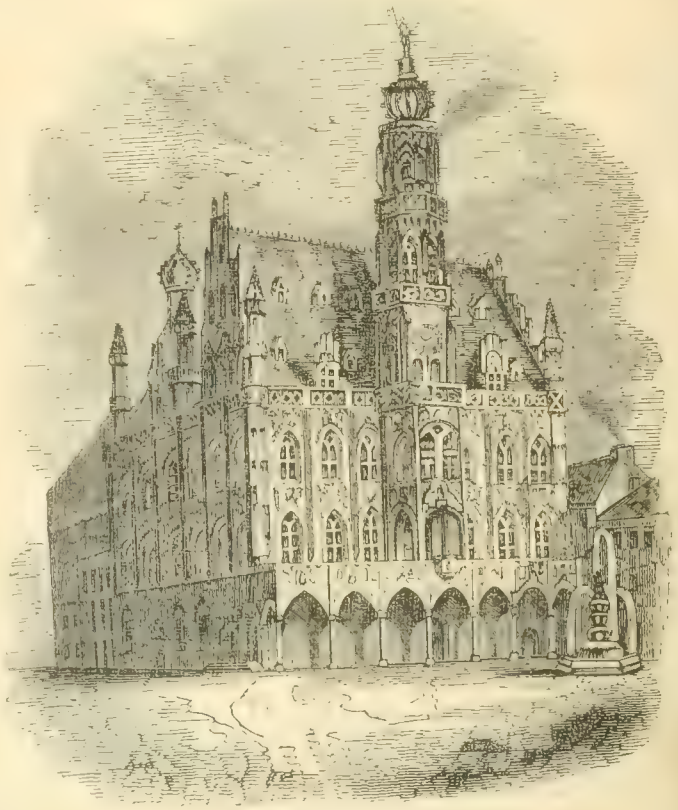
displeased, and said he would never do them any good again; that they would no more love him than he did them: he had now left them as he had done before; and that Gilbert and his brothers had so advised, seeing that he had so suddenly, and without affection, departed from Ghent. John Pruniaux, Rasse de Harzelle, John Boule and Peter du Bois, with the other wicked captains, were much pleased at all this, and spread rumors over the town, that the earl would return in the summer with sufficient force to break the peace; that it behooved every one to be on his guard, and to lay in good store of corn, oats, meat, salt, and all sorts of provision, for that no dependence could be placed on the earl.

The townsmen, therefore, laid in very great stores of all things necessary for them: when it was told the earl, he was mightily surprised, and could not guess why they were so very suspicious. To say the truth, when all which I have related is duly considered, one cannot but wonder how the men of Ghent dissembled, and had done so from the beginning. The rich and principal men of the town could not excuse themselves for their conduct at the commencement of these commotions; for certainly if they had been willing, when John Lyon first introduced the wearing of white hoods, they could easily have prevented it: they might have sent against the canal-diggers of Bruges other men who would have done as well as the white hoods: but they permitted them, because they did not choose to have it thought they were against the franchises of the town. They therefore consented to everything, for which the richest and most discreet men paid very dearly afterwards. They were no longer masters in the town, and dared neither speak nor act but as the white hoods pleased. They said, that neither for John Lyon nor for Gilbert Matthew, nor for their wars and hatreds would they take part; but they were united in one point, the preserving and defending the franchises of the citizens of Ghent, which they afterwards demonstrated, for they made a war which lasted for seven years; and, during that time, there were no quarrels in the town, which was their great cause of defence both at home and abroad. They were so much united together that there were not any distractions among them, but each subscribed his money and jewels to the general fund; and those among them who had the greatest abundance gave it to this stock, as you shall hear related.

Not long after the earl of Flanders' departure from Ghent, and fixing his residence at Lille, Oliver d'Auterme, cousin-german to Roger d'Auterme, whom the men of Ghent murdered, sent his defiance to that town, in revenge for his death. Sir Philip de Mamines did the same, as well as several others. After these challenges had been delivered, they met about fifty boats, with their crews, descending the Scheld, laden with corn for Ghent, on whom they retaliated for the death of their cousin: having seized the mariners, they put out their eyes, and in this maimed and miserable state they sent them to Ghent. The citizens of Ghent looked on this act as a personal injury done to them: when complaints of it were brought before the magistrates, they were much enraged, and knew not what to say. There were great murmurings throughout the town; and the majority of the inhabitants said the earl of Flanders had done it, so that scarcely any one that was a respectable character could offer anything in his defence.

The instant John Pruniaux, who was at the time the principal leader and master of the white hoods, heard this news, without saying a word to the magistrates of the town (I know not if he mentioned his plan to the other captains, his companions, but I should suppose he did,) assembled the greater part of the white hoods, and others equally inclined to do evil, and marched out of Ghent, taking the road to Oudenarde. When he came thither there was not any guard nor sentinel, for they suspected nothing: he seized the gate, and entered the town with his men, who amounted to more than five thousand. When morning came, he set laborers to work, with carpenters and masons whom he had brought with him; and they never ceased working until they had destroyed the two gates, the towers and the walls, which they flung into the ditch on the side toward Ghent. Now, how could those excuse themselves who had consented to this wicked deed? for they remained in Oudenarde, upward of a month, destroying the gates and the walls. If they had remanded their people as soon as it was known what they were doing, one might have excused them; but they did no such thing: on the contrary, they winked at it, and suffered them to proceed, until news was carried to the earl, who resided at Lille, how John Pruniaux had stolen into Oudenarde, and was destoying two of the gates and walls of it, as well as the towers.

The earl was in great choler on hearing this; indeed, he had good cause for it; and said, "Ha, these accursed people! the devil possesses them: I shall never have peace as long as these Ghent men have such power." He then sent some of his council to the magistrates of Ghent, to remonstrate with them on the violent outrage they had committed, and to declare they were people with whom no terms could be kept, since the peace which the duke of Burgundy had with great difficulty procured for them, had been already broken and infringed. The mayor and jurats of the town of Ghent excused themselves by saying, "that they never thought of breaking the peace, nor had they any such wish or inclination; and that if John Pruniaux had of himself committed any outrage, the town would not avow it." They excused themselves loyally and fully; but they added, "that the earl had permitted great excess to be committed against them, by those of his household, who had wounded and slain some of their fellow-citizens; and this was much felt by the whole town. What say you, my lords, to this?"



HOTEL DE-VILLE, OUDENARDE. From a Flemish Drawing.

The commissaries from the earl replied, "They had well revenged themselves." "Oh no," answered the magistrates: "we do not say that what John Pruniaux has done at Oudenarde was by way of revenge; for we can clearly prove by the treaty of peace, if we choose, and we appeal to the testimony of the duke of Burgundy, that Oudenarde was to have been dismantled by us, or put in the state it is now in: but at the entreaty of the duke, we did not then insist upon it." The commissaries replied; "It appears then, by what you have said, that you ordered it to be done, and you cannot now excuse yourselves from this charge: since you knew that John Pruniaux was gone to Oudenarde (whither he had marched with a large army, and had surprised it under shadow of the peace,) and that he was destroying the fortifications and throwing the walls into the ditch, you ought to have gone thither and forbidden him to commit such outrages, until you should have laid your complaints before the earl. Of the wounding and assaulting your citizens, you should have addressed yourselves to the duke of Burgundy, who had made the peace, and remonstrated with him on the business. By this means, your quarrels would have been made up; but you have not done so. My lord of Flanders therefore informs you, that since you have thus contemptuously behaved yourselves toward him, and then petition him with swords in your hands, he will one day take such cruel revenge on you that all the world shall ever afterwards speak of it." Then they left the mayor and jurats of Ghent, and, after they had dined, set out on their return through Courtray to Lille; when they related to the earl what they had done, and what excuses the town of Ghent had made.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE MEN OF GHENT SURRENDER OUDENARDE. THEY DESTROY THE HOUSES OF THE NOBLES. A CRUEL AND PITILESS WAR RENEWED BETWEEN THE MEN OF GHENT AND THE NOBILITY.

One may well be surprised to hear the matter of this treaty so diversely spoken of, and such astonishing accounts told of it, which every one who reads may understand. Some said the men of Ghent were in the right to make this war, which was so cruel and of such long continuance in Flanders, adding, they had a just cause for so doing; but it does not so appear to me from what I have seen, nor can I learn or understand but that the earl always preferred peace to war, except where his honor and dignity were concerned. Did he not give up the citizen who was confined in his prison at Erclo? Yes, he did; and they murdered his bailiff. In order to preserve peace, he again pardoned them this outrage; when they in one day caused an insurrection throughout all Flanders against him, and slew, even in the town of Ypres, five of his knights. They afterwards attacked Oudenarde, and besieged it, doing everything in their power to take and destroy it. After this, peace was concluded; but they refused to make any atonement for the death of Roger d'Auterme, though his family had frequently demanded it; for which that family had revenged themselves on some mariners, by whom all these disturbances were originally created: and was this a sufficient reason for the total destruction of Oudenarde? I think not; and this opinion is confirmed by many others agreeing in it. They said in reply, that the earl had other things to settle with Ghent; and insisted on having reparation made for what had been done to the mariners, before they would surrender Oudenarde.

The earl was exceedingly enraged, as well as his council, that the Ghent men should keep possession of Oudenarde. He knew not how to expel them from it, which made him sorely repent, that notwithstanding the peace he had entered into with Ghent, he had not more strongly guarded it. He frequently wrote and sent to them to surrender it to him; otherwise he would wage so severe a war that they should for ever remember it. The citizens of Ghent were unwilling to avow this act; for, if they had, the peace would have been broken. At last, some of the principal inhabitants, who wished for peace and tranquillity, such as John de Faucille, Guisebert de Guise, sir Simon Bete and many others, undertook the business; and, after twelve days negotiating, those from Ghent who were in Oudenarde returned home, and the town was surrendered to the earl's men. In order further to appease the earl, John Pruniaux was banished from Ghent and from Flanders for ever: his sentence stated it as the reason, that he had gone and taken possession of Oudenarde without the knowledge of the magistrates of Ghent. Sir Philip de Mamines, sir Oliver d'Auterme, le Galois de Manzes, le bastard de Widringues, and all those who had been actors or abettors in the maiming the mariners of Ghent, were also banished the country. These banishments appeased both parties.

Pruniaux quitted Flanders, and went to Ath in Brabant. Sir Philip de Mamines went to Valenciennes in Hainault; but, when those of Ghent heard it, they worked upon the provost and jurats of Valenciennes, so that the provost, John Paris, prevailed on the knight quietly to leave the town: he departed of his own free will, and resided at Warlain, near Douay, until he heard better news. The other knights and squires went from Flanders to Brabant, where they remained until more agreeable intelligence made them quit it. As soon as the earl of Flanders had regained possession of Oudenarde, he sent thither numbers of workmen to repair the gates, towers and walls, which he made stronger than before: the ditches also were deepened.

All this was known at Ghent; but they took no notice of it, lest they should be reprimanded for having infringed the peace. The discontented, however, said among themselves; "Let them work as long as they please in repairing Oudenarde, for, were it now of steel, it could not resist us, whenever we may choose to take it."

Although there was peace in Flanders, the earl had constant suspicions of Ghent; for every day some tales were brought him respecting it: and similar ones were told of him to the townsmen of Ghent. John de Faucille went to reside at Nazareth, a very handsome and strong house of his a good league distant from Ghent. He dissembled there as long as he was able, and would not be of the town-council, in order to avoid being marked by the earl. He also absented himself very much from his attendance on the earl, to preserve his popularity in Ghent, and thus, as it were, swimming between two streams, kept himself as much neuter as he could.

During the time the earl was repairing Oudenarde, and had just finished it, he was earnest, by letters and messages to his cousin the duke of Brabant, to get possession of John Pruniaux, who resided at Ath. He managed the matter so well that he was delivered up, and brought to Lille, where he was beheaded, and his body placed on a wheel as a traitor. Such was the end of John Pruniaux. At this same time, the earl came to Ypres, and held there several courts of justice, by whose judgments many wicked people were beheaded; such as fullers and weavers, who had opened the gates to the men of Ghent, and slain the earl's knights, that others might from them take warning. All this was told in Ghent, which made them more suspicious than before, especially the leaders of the expeditions to Oudenarde. They said among themselves; "Certainly the earl will, if he can, destroy all of us. He loves us so well, he only wants our lives. Has he not put to death John Pruniaux? In truth, we must own that we acted very wrong in regard to John Pruniaux, when we suffered him to be banished: we are guilty of his death; and, if they can catch us, such an end as his awaits us. Let us be on our guard."

Peter du Bois added; "If you will be advised by me, there shall not a gentleman's house of any strength remain in the country about Ghent; for by such houses we may all be destroyed, if we do not take care and provide a remedy." The others answered, "You say well; come quick, let us down with them all." Upon this, the captains, Peter du Bois, John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle, John de Launoy, and several others made preparations for setting out from Ghent, which they did, and burnt and destroyed all the houses of the gentlemen: whatever they found therein, they divided among themselves as fair booty. After this, they returned to Ghent; and none were bold enough to say to them, You have done ill.

The gentlemen, knights and squires, who resided at Lille with the earl, on hearing this, were much enraged, and with reason: they told the earl, that this outrage ought to be punished, and the pride of the Ghent men humbled. The earl gave to these knights and squires permission to make war on Ghent, and revenge themselves for the injuries they had suffered. They made alliances with many knights and squires of Flanders, and entreated their friends in Hainault to assist them, and chose for their commander le Hasle de Flandres, the eldest bastard son of the earl, a right valiant knight.

This Hasle de Flandres and his companions sometimes fixed their quarters in Oudenarde, at others at Gavres, Alost or Dendremonde, and had frequent skirmishes with the Ghent men. They advanced up to the barriers of the town, and destroyed almost all the windmills which were around it, committing other injuries on Ghent. They had with them a young knight from Hainault, well inclined to serve them, whose name was sir James de Verchin, séneschal of Hainault. He performed many gallant deeds, and advanced himself sometimes too rashly, in tilting close to the barriers, and twice or thrice won from them their helmets and cross-bows. This sir James de Verchin was very fond of arms, and would have greatly excelled if he had lived longer; but he died young, and in his bed, at the castle of Ombre, near Mortaigne, which was a great loss.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE NOBLES MAKE WAR UPON THE FLEMINGS.

The men of Ghent had been very free in their jokes and mockeries of the noblemen and gentry of Flanders, but were afterwards sorry for it, and had once intentions of sending to duke Albert of Hainault, to request he would recal his knights who were making war against them; but, on reconsidering the business, they thought it would only be lost labor, for the duke would not interfere in it. They were unwilling also to anger him more, for they should fare ill without his country; and if Hainault, Holland and Zealand were shut against them, they might consider themselves as ruined. They therefore gave up this, and followed other counsel, which was to send to those knights and squires of Hainault who held possessions within Ghent or its dependency, to come and serve them under pain of losing their estates: they, however, paid no attention to their summons. To this effect, they sent to sir Hervé, lord d'Antoing, who had an estate in Ghent, and was also constable of the castle, to assist them, or he would lose the rights of his castlewick; and, because he would not obey their summons, they razed his house of Vienne to the ground.

The lord d'Antoing sent them word, he would cheerfully serve them at their expense, and to their ruin; that they were not to place any dependence on him, for he would always be their enemy, and oppose them in every instance; that he would not hold anything of them, but from his lord the earl of Flanders, to whom he owed service and obedience. This lord kept well the promise he had made them; for he waged a mortal war against Ghent, and did them many injuries. He reinforced the castle with men and stores, by which means those in Ghent were much annoyed. On the other hand, the lord d'Anghien, whose name was Walter, though a young squire, but well inclined, did them much mischief. The war was thus sharply carried on during the whole season. The Ghent men dared not venture out of their town but in large troops; for whenever they met their enemies, if in superior numbers, they were all slain without mercy.

Thus was the war embittered between the earl of Flanders and Ghent, which afterwards cost a hundred thousand lives twice told; and with great difficulty could any end be put to it and peace re-established, for the leaders in Ghent knew they had done such evil deeds against the earl of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy that they were persuaded no treaty could be made or sworn to, whatever the outward appearance of it might be, but that their lives would be sacrificed. This made them firm in their resolutions, and resolved to keep up the division and war against the earl and gentlemen of Flanders: it also gave them the courage to fight desperately, which,

however, sometimes ill befel them in their enterprises, as you will hear related.

The earl of Flanders, who had fixed his residence at Lille, received daily information of the ill deeds of the men of Ghent, how they were destroying and burning the houses of his nobles: he was sore vexed, and said he would take so great a revenge on Ghent, that he would put it in fire and flames, with all the inhabitants within it. In order to be more powerful, the earl summoned all the barons of Flanders and gave up to them the whole country, the better to resist the white hoods. He appointed two leaders, Galois de Mamines and Peter d'Estrevilles. These two, with their company, bore the banner of the earl, and remained about three weeks between Oudenarde and Courtray, upon the Lys, where they did much damage. When Rasse de Harzelle was informed of this, he marched out of Ghent with the white hoods, to Deynse, where he thought to meet the army of the earl: but, when they knew that the Ghent men were on their march, they retreated to Tournay, and strengthened the town. They continued there, and in the neighborhood of Damme, Orchies and Vorlam a considerable time, so that the merchants dared not go from Tournay to Douay for fear of them. It was reported, the Ghent men intended besieging Lille and the earl within it; and for this purpose they would have formed an alliance with Bruges and Ypres. They had gained over Gramont and Courtray; but those of Bruges and Ypres were irresolute. They had disagreed with the handicraft trades, declaring it would be great folly to go so far to lay siege to Lille; for the earl, their lord, might form an alliance with the king of France, as he had formerly done, and receive from him much assistance.

These doubts kept the principal towns of Flanders at this time from entering into the war, so that no siege was formed. To prevent the earl from entering into any treaty with his son-in-law the duke of Burgundy, they sent embassadors, with most amicable letters, to the king of France, to supplicate him, for the love of God, not to take any part to their disadvantage; for their only wish was love, peace, obedience and service; and that their lord had very wrongfully and wickedly oppressed and harassed them: that what they were now doing was only for the preservation of their franchises, which their lord wanted to destroy. The king was somewhat inclined in their favor, though he showed not any appearance of it in public. The duke of Anjou, his brother, did the same; for, although the earl of Flanders was their cousin, he was not in their good graces, on account of having entertained the duke of Brittany for a long time much against their wills. They therefore troubled not themselves about his affairs: neither did pope Clement, who said, that God had sent him this rod because he was his enemy and would not acknowledge him as pope.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE DEATH OF SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

The good constable of France, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, had remained in Auvergne with many able men-at-arms. He had laid siege to Chateau-neuf de Randon,* three leagues from the city of Mende,† and four from the town of Puy in Auvergne, in the castle of which he had shut up several English and Gascons, who had come from the country of Limousin, where there were plenty of fortresses. The constable made many severe attacks on the castle during the siege, and swore that he would never depart until he was the master of it. When there, he was seized with so great a sickness that he kept his bed: this, however, did not prevent the siege from being continued: indeed, it was carried on by his army with greater eagerness. Sir Bertrand's malady was so deadly that he fell a victim to it, which was a severe loss to his friends and to the kingdom of France. His body was carried to the church of the Cordeliers of Puy in Auvergne, where it remained one night; and on the morrow it was embalmed, conveyed to St. Denis in France, and buried in a tomb very near that of king Charles of France, which the king had caused to be made in his lifetime. By his order, the body of sir Bertrand, his constable, was placed at his feet; and his obsequies were performed with the same honors as if he had been his own son: the king's brothers, as well as great numbers of the nobility, attended.

By the death of sir Bertrand, the office of constable became vacant; on which many councils were held to nominate a successor. Several great barons of France were thought of: in particular, the lords de Clisson and de Coucy. The king of France appointed the lord de Coucy governor of all Picardy, and also gave him the domain of Mortaigne, which is a handsome heritage, situated between Tournay and Valenciennes. Sir James de Verchen, the young sénéschal of Hainault, was turned out of it: he held it in succession from his father, who had been lord of it for a long time. I say, therefore, the lord de Coucy was greatly in favor with the king of France, who was desirous to nominate him constable: but the gallant knight excused himself with many reasons, and refused to undertake so weighty a charge as that of constable, adding that sir Oliver de Clisson was the fittest person of any, for he was a valiant, enterprising, and prudent knight, well known to and beloved by the Bretons.

Things remained thus for some time, when the men-at-arms of sir Bertrand returned to France, for the castle had surrendered the same day the constable had died, and the garrison of it had gone to that of Ventadour. When the king of France saw the men-at-arms of the constable, he turned aside for grief at the loss of him whom he had so much loved: he gave to each of them a handsome present suitable to their ranks. We will now leave this subject, and relate how the earl of Buckingham, youngest son of Edward III. of England, having assembled a large army of men-at-arms and archers, crossed the sea, and marched his army through France to Brittany.

* "Chateau-neuf de Randon"—a village in Lower Languedoc.

† "Mende"—an ancient city in Lower Languedoc, twenty-eight leagues from Alby.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY REQUESTS SUCCOR FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND. THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM, YOUNGEST SON TO THE LATE KING, IS APPOINTED COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION.

You have before heard, that when the duke of Brittany left England, king Richard and his uncles promised him aid of men at-arms and archers, which they performed with ill success; for this was the expedition under the command of sir John Arundel, who with two hundred men-at-arms were shipwrecked, he himself drowned, with fourscore men-at-arms and as many archers, and from which sir Hugh Calverley and sir Thomas Trivet most narrowly escaped. This unfortunate event put an end to the expedition, which not being known to the duke of Brittany, he and his council were exceedingly surprised, and could not conceive what was become of the English; for they were very anxious to profit by their assistance, in the sharp war which was carrying on against the duke by sir Oliver de Clisson, sir Guy de Laval, sir Oliver du Guesclin, the count de Longueville, the lord de Rochefort, and the French on the frontiers of his duchy.

The duke was advised to send some able men to England, to know why the reinforcements were not sent according to promise, and to hasten them over, for they were in great need of them. The lord de Beaumanoir and sir Eustace de la Houssaye were entreated by the duke and his nobility to make this journey to England: they answered, they would willingly comply. Letters were given to them by the duke and nobles of the country; when having departed, they embarked at Vannes, with a favorable wind, and arrived at Southampton. They there disembarked, and, having mounted their horses, went to London. It was about Whitsuntide, in the year of grace 1380.

The arrival of these two lords was soon notified to the king and to his three uncles. The Whitsun feast being arrived, the king went to Windsor to celebrate it, attended by his uncles and great numbers of the barons and knights of England. The two embassadors went thither also, and were graciously received by the king and the barons, when they presented their letters to his majesty and his uncles. After they had perused them, they knew the great need the duke of Brittany had for assistance, from the earnest entreaties he and the country made for it.

The embassadors then first heard of the death of sir John Arundel and his companions, who had perished at sea on their voyage to Brittany. The duke of Lancaster made excuses, saying, it was not owing to any fault of the king or his ministers, but ill-fortune at sea, against which none can make head when God wills it so. The embassadors, therefore, fully acquitted the king, and greatly lamented the deaths of those knights and squires who had perished. When the feasts of Whitsuntide were over, a parliament was holden at Westminster, to which were summoned all the members of the council.

While these doings were passing, sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, departed this life in the city of London. He was buried in the church of the Austin-friars.* The king ordered his obsequies to be most honorably performed, and they were attended by a great number of the prelates and barons of England: the bishop of London sung mass. Soon after the parliament was opened, the lord Thomas, youngest son of the late king of England, and many barons, knights, and squires of the realm, were ordered to cross the sea to Calais; and, if God should permit, they were to march through France, with three thousand men-at-arms, and as many archers, so that the lord Thomas might arrive in Brittany, attended by earls, barons, and knights, suitably to the dignity of a king's son. He undertook a bold task to pass through the kingdom of France, which is so extensive and noble, and which has such gallant chivalry and valiant men-at-arms.

When everything relative to the expedition had been discussed and finally arranged, the king of England and his uncle wrote letters to the duke of Brittany and to the nobles of the country, informing them in part of their will, what had been determined on by the parliament, and that for a certainty the earl of Buckingham would this season cross the sea to march to their aid. The king of England showed the embassadors many honors, and gave them very rich presents, as also did his uncles, when they set out on their departure for Brittany. They presented their letters to the duke, who, having

* "Austin-friars." See GOUGH'S *Sepulchral Monuments*.

opened and read them, showed them to the states of his country, who were satisfied with their contents. The king of England and his uncles did not delay this expedition, but sent summons to all those who had been selected to attend the earl of Buckingham; the barons to assemble in one place, and the knights in another. They had their wages paid them at Dover for three months, which were to commence as soon as they should land at Calais, as well for the men-at-arms as the archers, and their passage over was given to them. They crossed in small parties to Calais, and were upward of fifteen days before the whole had there landed.

EARL OF BUCKINGHAM, with his army, on their voyage to Calais, to assist the duke of Brittany. From a MS. of the 15th century.

Those of Boulogne having noticed such large bodies of men-at-arms continually crossing from Dover to Calais, gave notice of it to all the country and the different garrisons, that they might not be surprised. When this intelligence was known in the Boulonnois, the Terouennois, and in the county of Guines, all the knights and squires of those countries placed their wealth in different strong towns, to avoid losing it. The governors of Boulogne, Ardres, de la Montoire, d'Esperleck, de Tournehem, de Nordt, de Liques, and other castles on the frontiers, exerted themselves greatly in strengthening and victualing their garrisons; for they knew, that since the English had crossed over with so large a fleet that they would be attacked.

News of this armament was carried to the king of France, who resided at Paris. He sent immediate orders to the lord de Coucy, who at that time was at St. Quentin, to provide himself with men-at-arms, and to march to Picardy, to reinforce all the towns, cities, and castles in that province. The lord de Coucy duly obeyed the king's orders, and issued his summons at Peronne in the Vermandois, for the instant assembling of all the knights and squires of Artois, Vermandois, and Picardy. The lord de Saimpi was at that time governor of Ardres, and sir John de Bouillé of Boulogne.

The earl of Buckingham arrived at Calais with his army three days before Magdalen-day, in the month of July, 1380.

CHAPTER L.

THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM MARCHES WITH HIS ARMY FROM CALAIS.

THE garrison in Calais were much rejoiced at the arrival of the earl of Buckingham, for they well knew it would not be long before they began their march. The earl having refreshed himself for two days at Calais, on the third departed, and took the field, following the road toward Marquignes.* It is proper I should name to you the banners and pennons under the earl's command: first, the earl himself, and the earl of Stafford who had married his niece, a daughter of the lord de Coucy, rode with displayed banners; the earl of Devonshire, the lord Despencer, who was constable of the army, the lord Fitzwalter, marshal, the lord Basset, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrars, the lord Morley, the lord Darcey, sir William Windsor, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Hugh Hastings, and sir Hugh de la Sente,* advanced with their pennons; lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Clinton, sir Evan de Fitzwarren, sir Hugh Tyrrel, the lord de la Warr, sir Eustace and sir John de Harbeston, sir William Farrington, the lord de Braose, sir William Fabre, sir John and sir Nicholas de Ambreticourt, sir John Macé, sir Thomas Camois, sir Ralph, son to the lord Neville, sir Henry, bastard of Ferrars, sir Hugh Broc, sir Geoffry Worseley, sir Thomas West, the lord de Saincte More, David Holgrave, Huguelin de Calverley, bastard, Bernard de Coderieres, and several more.

These men-at-arms rode in handsome array, but did not march farther the day they left Calais than to Marquise, where they halted, to attend to their affairs, and to hold a council which road they should take to accomplish their expedition; for there were several among them who had never been in France before: in particular, the king's son, and many barons and knights. It was therefore but reasonable, that those who were acquainted with the kingdom of France, and having formerly passed through, and had several engagements in it, should have such weight given to their advice and opinions as redounded to their honor. True it is, that in former times, when the English invaded France, they made a regulation, for the leaders to swear, in the presence of the king and his council, to observe two things; that to no one, except to themselves, would they reveal the secrets of their councils, their intended march, nor what might be their intentions; and secondly, that they would never agree to any treaty with the enemy without the knowledge and consent of the king and his council.

When these barons, knights, and squires, with their men, had remained for three days at Marquise, and their whole force had joined them from Calais, the captains, having well considered their line of march, departed, and took the road to Ardres. They halted before the castle of Ardres, to show themselves to the garrison within; when the earl of Buckingham having created the earl of Devonshire and the lord Morley knights, these two lords first displayed their banners. The earl of Buckingham created also the following knights: the son of the lord Fitzwalter, sir Roger Strange, sir John d'Ypre, sir John Cole, sir James Tyrrel, sir Thomas Ramestone, sir John Neville, sir Thomas Roselie. The whole army took up their quarters at Hosquet† when the above knights were made. The vanguard then marched to a strong house called Folant,‡ situated upon a river. There was a squire within it of the name of Robert, to whom the house belonged. He was a good man-at-arms, and had well garrisoned it with stores and hardy soldiers, whom he had picked up in the neighborhood, to the amount of forty, who showed every intention to defend themselves well.

These barons and knights, eager to do honor to their new knighthood, surrounded the tower of Folant, and immediately began the attack; but it was well defended by those within. Many a gallant deed was performed; and those in the fort shot well and continually, by which many of the assailants were killed and wounded who ventured too near. There were in the fort some good cross-bowmen, whom the governor of St. Omer had sent thither at the squire's request; for he had imagined the English would pass near his house, and was resolved to defend it to the utmost of his power, which he did, for he behaved gallantly. The earl of Devonshire, while he was on the ditch, his banner displayed before him, spoke out bravely, which greatly encouraged his men, saying, "What, my lords! shall we so much disgrace our new honors as to remain all the day before this pigeon-house? The strong places and castles in France may well hold out against us, when such a place as this stops us. Advance, advance! let us prove our knighthoods." Those who heard him took proper notice of what he said, and, sparing themselves less than before, leaped into the ditches, and made for the walls, the archers shooting so briskly that scarcely any dared show themselves on the parapets.

Several were killed and wounded, and the lower court taken and

* "Marquignes"—I suppose must be Marquise, a town in the Boulonnois, between Calais and Boulogne, five leagues from Calais.

* Q. "De la Sente" † Q. "Hosque." ‡ Q. "Folant."

burnt. At length, the whole garrison were made prisoners; but, though they had defended themselves well, none were mortally wounded. Thus was the house of Folant gained, and Robert Folant with his garrison made prisoners, by the earl of Devonshire and his men. The whole division took up their quarters on the banks of the river of Hosque, to wait for sir William Windsor, who commanded the rear-guard. He came thither in the evening. On the morrow, they marched off together, and advanced as far as Esperleck, where they lodged themselves.

The governor of St. Omer, finding the enemy so near, doubled his guards, and ordered two thousand men to be in readiness the whole night, that the enemy might not surprise the town. The next day, the English decamped, about six o'clock, and advanced in battle-array before St. Omer. The inhabitants, hearing of their march, armed themselves, according to the orders they had received, and drew up in the market-place, from whence they went to the gates, towers, and battlements, with a determined resolution to resist, for they had heard that the English would attack the town; but they had no such intentions, for, as it was very strong, they might lose more than they could gain.

The earl of Buckingham, however, who had never before been in France, wished to see St. Omer, because it appeared from its gates, walls, towers, and steeples, to be a handsome place. He drew up and halted his army on a hill about a half a league from it, where he remained for three hours. While there, some of the young knights and squires, mounting their coursers, spurred them up to the barriers, and demanded to tilt with the knights in the town; but, no answers being made to them, they returned back to the army. The day the earl came before St. Omer, he made more knights; among whom were sir Ralph Neville, sir Bartholomew Bourchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Corbet, sir Thomas d'Angleere, sir Ralph Patipas, sir Lewis St. Aubin, and sir John Paulet. These new knights, in the first vigor of chivalry, mounted their horses, and galloped up to the gates, calling on the knights within to tilt with them; but they experienced the same neglect as the others had done.

When the army saw that the French lords in St. Omer made not any attempt to come out to meet them, they continued their march, and came that day to Esquilles, between St. Omer and Terouenne, where they took up their quarters for the night. On the morrow, they departed, and made for Terouenne. The French garrisons in the counties of Boulogne, Artois, and Guines, having observed the dispositions of the English, that they continued their march without stopping at any place, mutually informed each other of their intentions to follow them, since much might be gained by it: they therefore assembled, under the pennons of the lord de Fransures and the lord de Saimpi, to the number of more than two hundred lances. They pursued the English army; but, though they kept close to them, the English marched in such compact order, they were not put into the least disorder, and their enemies could not attack them, without the risk of suffering a total defeat. These French knights and squires, however, at times fell upon the English foragers, so that they dared not forage but in large companies.

The English passed Terouenne without attempting anything, for the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures were within it. They marched on toward Bethune, where they halted for a day; and I will tell you the reason. You have before heard how king Richard, by the advice of his uncles and council, had sent into Germany sir Simon Burley, to the emperor,* to demand his sister in marriage. This knight so well managed the business, that the emperor, by advice of his council and the great lords of his court, complied with the request, but he had sent, with sir Simon Burley, the duke of Saxony, first to Luxembourg and then to England, to observe that kingdom, in order that his sister might have a just account of it, so that if agreeable, the marriage might be concluded.

The cardinal of Ravenna was at that time in England, and, being an Urbanist, was converting the English to the same way of thinking: he was waiting also the arrival of the above-mentioned duke. At the entreaties of the emperor and the duke of Brabant, he and all his company obtained liberty to pass through France to Calais. They therefore travelled by way of Tournay, Lille, and Bethune, from whence they came to visit the earl of Buckingham and his barons, who received the duke of Saxony and his suit most honorably. The Germans continued their journey through Aire and St. Omer, and from thence to Calais.

The earl of Buckingham marched his army before Liques, and encamped that same day at Bouhain les Bouissieres; but they were constantly followed by the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures with their forces. In the morning, they advanced nearer to Bethune. There were in that town a numerous garrison of men-at-arms, knights and squires, whom the lord de Coucy had sent thither; such as the lord de Hangest, sir John and sir Tristan de Roye, sir Geoffry de Charny, sir Guy de Harcourt, and many more. The army passed by Bethune without making any attempt to attack it, and lay at Doncheres.†

In the evening the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures entered Bethune, and the next day went to Arras, where they met the lord de Coucy, who received them very politely, inquiring news from them, and which road the English had taken. They replied, they had lodged the preceding night at Doncheres; that they marched with very great prudence, for they constantly kept in close order. "It is then clear," answered the lord de Coucy, "that they wish for battle; which they shall have, if the king our lord will trust us, before they have finished their march." The earl marched by Arras, in order of battle, continuing his route without doing anything: he took up his quarters at Anet,* on the morrow at Miraumont,† and the next day at Clery-on-the-Somme.

The lord de Coucy, who resided at Arras, on hearing that they had gone this road, sent the lord Hangest to Braye-sur-Somme,† and with him thirty lances, knights and squires: he ordered to Peronne sir James de Verchin, sénéschal of Hainault, the lord de Hamireth, sir John de Roye, and several others: he himself went to St. Quentin. He sent the lord de Clery, with others, into the Vermandois; for he was anxious that no loss should be suffered through any negligence on his part.

CHAPTER LI.

THE LORD DE BRIMEU, HIS SONS AND HIS MEN, ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH. THE GARRISON OF PERONNE ARE DRIVEN BACK INTO THAT TOWN.

The night the English had quartered themselves at Clery-on-the-Somme, some knights of the army, such as sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Clinton, sir Evan Fitzwarren, at the instigation of lord Delawarr, who was well acquainted with the whole country, and knew that the lord de Coucy was with a large body of men-at-arms in the town of Arras, resolved to march from the army, at early dawn, with the foragers, to see if they should meet with any adventure worth attending to; for they wished to perform some deed of arms. As they had planned, so did they execute; and about thirty lances set out after the foragers, in search of adventures.

This same day the lord de Coucy left Arras with a large body of men, and had taken the road to St. Quentin. When they were on their march, the lord de Brimeu, his sons, with about thirty spears, quitted the army of the lord de Coucy, anxious to perform some gallant act. These two bodies of English and French, meeting in the plains, saw a combat was inevitable: they therefore struck spurs into their horses, and galloped toward each other, shouting their cries of war. On the first shock, several were unhorsed, killed and wounded on both sides. Many handsome deeds were done: they dismounted, and began to thrust with their spears, each party behaving bravely. This mode of combat continued about an hour, and no one could say to whom would be the victory, but in the end the English won the field. Sir Thomas Trivet made prisoners the lord de Brimeu, and his two sons, John and Lewis, and sixteen men-at-arms: the rest saved themselves: and the English returned to their army with their prisoners. They remained some little time in the neighborhood of Peronne, having heard from their prisoners, that the lord de Coucy was in that town with upward of a thousand lances, and they knew not if he wished to offer them battle.

This day the lord Delawarr, with Fierabras his bastard-brother, sir Evan Fitzwarren and several others, quitting the army, hastened to Mont St. Quentin, where they posted themselves in ambuscade; for they had learnt that the sénéschal of Hainault was with a strong body of men-at-arms in Peronne, and they knew him to be so self-sufficient that he would not fail to sally out, which in truth he did. The vanguard ordered ten men-at-arms to march to Peronne; among whom were Thierry de Soumain, Fierabras, sir Hugh Calverley and Hopoquin Hay, mounted on their chargers. They galloped up to the barriers, where there were at least fifty spears with the sénéschal of Hainault; who, thinking to catch these gallopers, ordered the barriers to be thrown open, and immediately commenced a pursuit after them, as they retreated toward their ambuscade.

When those who had placed themselves in ambush saw the French pursuing their men, they discovered themselves; but it was somewhat too soon, for when the sénéschal perceived this large body so well mounted, he sounded a retreat, and the horses then knew the effect of spurs: very opportunely did these lords find the barriers open. They were, however, so closely followed, that sir Richard de Marqueillies, sir Louis de Vertaing, Honard de la Honarderie, Vital de St. Hilaire, with ten other men-at-arms, remained prisoners to the English: the others escaped. When the English learnt that the sénéschal of Hainault, the lord de Hamireth, the lord de Clery, with twenty other knights, had escaped, they cried out, "God! what a fortunate event it would have been, if we had taken them, for they would have paid us forty thousand francs." They returned to the army, and nothing more was done that day.

The army remained for three days at Clery-sur-Somme, and in that neighborhood. On the fourth, they marched away, and came to the abbey Vaucelle,§ three leagues from Cambray, and the next day nearer St. Quentin. This day, about thirty spears attached to the duke of Burgundy, had set out from Arras for St. Quentin. Sir Thomas Trivet, sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Delawarr, and several others who had been from the vanguard with the foragers, as they

* Wenceslaus VI. emperor. † Q. if not Doncby, a village near Arras.

* Q. "Anet."

† "Miraumont"—"Braye-sur-Somme"—villages in Picardy, election of Peronne.

§ "Vaucelle"—on the Scheld, near to Crèvecœur.

were about to fix on their quarters, fell in with these Burgundians, when a battle ensued: but it did not last long, for the Burgundians were soon dispersed, one here, another there, and all tried to save themselves as well as they could. Sir John de Mornay, however, stood his ground in good order, with his pennon before him, and fought valiantly, but at last was taken, and ten men of his company. The English then marched to Foursons, two leagues from Amiens, where the vanguard quartered itself.

CHAPTER LII.

THE ENGLISH BURN AND DESPOIL CHAMPAGNE. THEY MEET WITH VARIOUS ADVENTURES ON THEIR MARCH, AND MAKE MANY PRISONERS.

On the ensuing morning, when the earl of Buckingham and his army had heard mass, they began their march toward St. Quentin; in which town there were numbers of men-at-arms, but they did not sally forth. Some of the light troops galloped up to the barriers, and soon returned; for the army continued its march without halting until it arrived at Origny St. Benoiste,* and the adjacent villages. In the town of Origny, there was a handsome nunnery, the abbess of which at that time happened to be aunt-in-law to the lord Delawarr, at whose entreaty the nunnery and the whole town were respited from being burnt and pillaged: the earl was lodged in the abbey. That evening and the following morning, there were many skimishes at Ribemont, which was hard by, when several were slain and wounded on each side. In the morning, the army dislodged from Origny, came to Crecy, and passed Vaux below Laon, fixing their quarters at Sissonne.† The next day, they crossed the river Aisne, at Pont à Vaire, and came to Hermonville and Coumissy, four leagues from Rheims, without meeting with any forage on their march.

Everything had been driven or carried into the towns and strong places, the king of France having abandoned to his own men-at-arms whatever they could find in the open country: the English, therefore, suffered great distress for want of food. They determined to send a herald to Rheims, to open a treaty with the inhabitants, for them to send provisions to the army, such as cattle, bread and wine. The inhabitants refused to enter into any negotiation, and, in their reply, said, they must make the best of it. This answer so much enraged them that, in one week, the light troops burnt upward of 60 villages dependent on Rheims. The English heard that the people of Rheims had secured six thousand sheep in the ditches of the town, thinking them safe there: the vanguard advanced thither, and made their men descend into the ditches and drive out the sheep, without any one daring to issue from the town to prevent them, or even appearing on the bulwarks; for the archers, being posted on the banks of the ditch, shot so sharply that no one ventured to show himself: the English gained several thousand head of sheep. They sent to inform the townsmen, they would burn all the corn in the fields, unless they ransomed it by sending them bread and wine. The inhabitants were frightened by this threat, and sent the army from ten to fifteen loads of bread and wine: by this means, the corn and oats were saved from being burnt. The English marched by Rheims in order of battle to Beaumont-sur-Vesle,‡ for they had crossed the river below Rheims. On their departure from Beaumont, the English rode along the river Marne, to seek a passage, and came to Conde-sur-Marne, where they found the bridge broken down; but, as the supporters still remained, they sought for planks and beams, with which they rebuilt the bridge, crossed the river, and quartered themselves in the villages above Marne; and on the ensuing day, they came before the town of Vertus,§ when there was a grand skirmish in front of the castle, in which many were wounded.

The earl of Buckingham was lodged in the abbey. During the night, the town was burnt, except the abbey, which, from the earl lodging in it, was saved; otherwise it would infallibly have suffered the same fate, for the townsmen had retreated into the castle, and would not ransom it. The army marched off the following day, and passed by the castle of Moymer, which is the inheritance of the lord de Chastillon. The skirmishers advanced to the barriers, and then passed on and took up their quarters for the night at Pelange, making for the city of Troyes, and the next day at Plancy-sur-Aube.‖ The lord de Chateauneuf and John de Chateauneuf his brother, with Remond St. Marsin, Gascons, and some English, about forty spears in the whole, rode from the army to seek adventures, but met with none, which vexed them much. On their return they saw in the plain a body of men-at-arms riding toward Troyes: it was the lord de Hangest and his men: the English and Gascons immediately spurred their horses to come up with them. The lord de Hangest had well observed them, and, doubting they were in greater numbers than they appeared, said to his men, "Make for Plancy and save yourselves; for these English have discovered us, and their main army is not far off; let us put ourselves in safety in the castle of Plancy." They rode in that direction, and the English after them.

There was a valiant man-at-arms from Hainault in the troop of the lord Delawarr, called Peter Berton, who fixing his lance in its rest, and being well mounted, came up with the lord de Hangest, who was flying before him, and gave him such a blow on the back with his lance that he almost drove him out of the saddle; but the lord de Hangest neither lost his seat nor his stirrups, though Peter Berton kept the iron hard at his back; and in this manner did they arrive at Plancy. Straight at the entrance of the castle the lord de Hangest leaped from his horse, and got into the ditch. Those within it were anxious to save him, and ran to the barriers, where there was a grand skirmish; for the garrison kept shooting briskly, being very good cross-bowmen; and several valiant deeds were done on each side. With great difficulty the lord de Hangest was saved. He fought gallantly on entering the castle; for reinforcements from the vanguard were continually arriving. The lord Delawarr, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Hugh Calverley, came thither, and the conflict was great: there were upward of thirty of the French killed and wounded, and the lower court of the castle burnt. The castle itself was warmly attacked on all sides, but well defended: the mills of Plancy were burnt and destroyed. The whole army then retired, passed the river Aube at Pont à l'Ange, and marched toward Valant-sur-Seine. The lord de Hangest had a very narrow escape.

This same day the captains of the vanguard, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Hugh Calverley, the lord Delawarr, the bastard his brother, Peter Berton, and many others, made an excursion from the army, and met Sir John de Roye, with about twenty spears of the duke of Burgundy who were going to Troyes. The English, on seeing them, spurred their horses; for the French were making off, as not in sufficient numbers to wait for them. The greater part did escape; and Sir John de Roye, with others, got within the barriers of Troyes, which at the time chanced to be open. On their return, they captured four of his men, who could not save themselves, among whom was a squire to the duke of Burgundy, called Guion Goufer, an expert man-at-arms. His horse was much heated, so that he had dismounted, and, having placed himself against a walnut-tree, fought valiantly two Englishmen, who pressed him hard, crying out to him in English to surrender; but he understood them not. Fierabras, on his return from the pursuit, arriving at the spot, said to the squire in French, "Surrender thyself." On hearing this, he replied, "Art thou a gentleman?" The bastard rejoined, he was. "I then surrender myself to thee," presenting him his sword and gauntlet; for which the English would have killed him when he was in the bastard's hands, and they told him he was not very courteous thus to carry from them their prisoner, but the bastard was stronger than they. Nevertheless this affair was, in the evening, brought before the marshals, who, having well considered it, determined he should remain to the bastard, who that evening ransomed him, taking his word for the payment, and sent him on the morrow to Troyes. The whole army were quartered at Valant-sur-Seine, and the next day crossing the Seine at a ford, came to a village one league from Troyes, called Bernard-Saint-Simple, where the lords and captains held many councils.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE ENGLISH COME BEFORE TROYES. A SKIRMISH AT ONE OF THE GATES. THEY TAKE A FORT WHICH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HAD ERECTED ON THE OUTSIDE. KING CHARLES PRACTICES WITH THE INHABITANTS OF NANTES.

The duke of Burgundy was in the city of Troyes, and had fixed on that place for the rendezvous of his forces. His intentions were to fight the English between the rivers Seine and Yonne; and the barons, knights and squires of France did not wish for anything better; but Charles of France, doubtful of the fortune of the war, would not give his permission so to do. He recollected too well the great losses his nobles had formerly suffered from the victories of the English, and would never allow them to fight unless the advantages were very considerable on their side. There were with the duke of Burgundy, in Troyes, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Bar, the count d'Eu, the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, the lords de Vienne, and de Sainte Croix, sir James de Vienne, sir Walter de Vienne, the lord de la Tremouille, the lord de Vergy, the lord de Rougemont, the lord de Hambue, the séneschal of Hainault, the lord de Saimpi, the baron des Barres, the lord de Roye, the viscount d'Assi, sir William bastard de Langres, with upward of two thousand knights and squires. I was informed, that the lord de la Tremouille was sent by the duke and the other lords to Paris, to entreat the king to allow them to fight; and he was not returned at the time the English came before Troyes. The lords of France, doubting the English would not pass by without coming to look at them, had erected, about a bow-shot from the gates of Troyes, a large redoubt of great beams of timber, which might hold about a thousand men-at-arms: it was made of good strong wood, and well built.

All the captains of the English army were summoned to a council, to consider in what manner they should act the ensuing day. It was resolved, that all the lords and knights should march, fully armed with their banners and pennons displayed, before Troyes: they were

* "Origny St. Benoiste"—a town in Picardy, on the Oise, three leagues from St. Quentin. † "Sissonne"—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon.
‡ "Beaumont-sur-Vesle"—near Rheims.
§ "Vertus"—a town of Champagne, twelve leagues from Rheims.
‖ "Plancy-sur-Aube"—near Troyes.

to draw up in the plain, and to send their heralds to offer battle to those in the town. They armed themselves, therefore, on the morrow, and, being formed in three battalions, advanced into the plain before Troyes, where they halted. The two heralds, Glocester and Aquitaine, were called, when the earl of Buckingham said to them: "You will go to Troyes, and tell the lords within the city that we are come from England in search of deeds of arms: wherever we think they can be found, there we shall demand them: and, because we know that a part of the lilies and chivalry of France repose in the town of Troyes, we have purposely come this road. If they wish to say anything to us, they will find us in the open plain in the form and manner in which you shall leave us, and in suchwise as we ought to meet our enemies." The heralds replied, "My lord, we shall obey your commands."

They then set off, and rode to Troyes. The entrance of the redoubt was opened to them, where they stopped; for they could not get to the gate of the town from the numbers of men-at-arms and cross-bowmen issuing forth, and drawing up before this redoubt. The two heralds wore the emblazoned arms of the earl of Buckingham: they were asked by the lords, what they wanted: they answered, they wished, if it were possible, to speak with the duke of Burgundy.

During the time the heralds were endeavoring to deliver their message to the duke of Burgundy, the English were arranging their battalions; for they looked on a battle as certain. All who were desirous of knighthood were called: first came sir Thomas Trivet, with his banner rolled up, to the earl of Buckingham, and said: "My lord, if you please, I will this day display my banner; for, thanks to God, I have a sufficient revenue to support the state which a banner requires." "It is highly pleasing to us," replied the earl: then, taking the banner by the staff, he gave it back into his hands, saying, "Sir Thomas, God grant you may show your valor here, and everywhere else." Sir Thomas took his banner, and, having displayed it, gave it to one of his squires in whom he had great confidence, and went to the vanguard; for he was there stationed by orders from the lord Latimer and the lord Fitzwalter, captain and constable. The earl then created the following knights: sir Peter Berton, sir John and sir Thomas Paulet, sir John Stingulie, sir Thomas Dortingues, sir John Vassecoq, sir John Braisie, sir John Buraine, sir Henry Vernier, sir John Colville, sir William Everat, sir Nicholas Stingulie and sir Hugh de Lunit. They advanced to the van battalion, in order to have their share of the first blows.

A very gallant squire from the country of Savoy was then called, who had before been requested to be made a knight at St. Omer and at Ardres: his name was Ralph de Gruyeres, son to the count de Gruyeres: when the earl said to him, "We shall to-day, if it please God, have an engagement, and I will make you a knight;" the squire excused himself, saying, "God give you all the good and honor you wish me; but I will never be a knight until my natural lord, the earl of Savoy, shall confer it upon me in battle." He was not pressed further on this subject.

It was a pleasure to observe the order of battle in which the English were drawn up; and the French were busy in strengthening their forts, for they concluded that at least there would be some skirmishes, and that such warriors as the English would not depart without a nearer examination of them. The French formed themselves handsomely: and the duke of Burgundy was abroad, with his battle-axe in his hand, armed from head to foot: he passed in review all the knights and squires as they marched to the fort; and the crowd was so great, there was not any passing, nor could the heralds arrive as far as the duke to deliver the message with which they had been charged.

To the words which the earl of Buckingham had delivered to the heralds, Glocester and Aquitaine, others were added; for, on the evening when the lords had held their council, they told the heralds: "You will carry this message, and tell the duke of Burgundy, that the duke and country of Brittany in conjunction have sent to the king of England, for support and aid against certain knights and barons of Brittany in rebellion against the said duke, whom they refuse to obey as their lord, as the better disposed part of the country do, but carry on war, in which they are supported by the king of France. On this account, the king of England is resolved to assist the duke and the country, and has ordered his fair uncle the earl of Buckingham, with a large body of men-at-arms, to march to Brittany for this purpose. They landed at Calais, and, having marched through the kingdom of France, are now so much in the heart of it as to be arrived before the city of Troyes, wherein they know are great numbers of the nobility: in particular the duke of Burgundy, son of the late king of France and brother to the king now on the throne: therefore, the lord Thomas of Buckingham, son to the late king of England, demands a battle." The heralds requested to have this put down in writing, which they were promised to have on the morrow; but, when they again asked for it, they had changed their opinions, and no letters were given; but they were told to go, and say what they had heard, as they were of sufficient credit; "and, if they choose, they will believe you." The heralds could not approach near enough to the duke to deliver their message, nor obtain any answer.

The young English knights had already begun to skirmish, which had troubled everything, and some French knights and men-at-arms said to the heralds, "Gentlemen, you are in a hazardous situation, for the common people of this town are very wicked." This hint made them return without doing anything. We will now relate the beginning of the skirmish. In the first place, there was an English squire, a native of the bishopric of Lincoln, who was an excellent man-at-arms, and there gave proofs of his courage. I know not if he had made any vow: but with his lance in its rest, his target on his neck, he spurred his horse, and, riding full gallop down the causeway, he made him leap over the bars of the barriers, and came to the gate where the duke was, surrounded by the French nobility, who looked on this enterprise with amazement. The squire intended returning; but he was prevented by his horse receiving a blow from a spear, which felled him and killed the squire. It much angered the duke that he had not been made prisoner.

Instantly the battalions of the earl of Buckingham advanced on foot, to the attack of the men-at-arms in the wooden redoubt, which had been formed of shutters, doors and tables, and was not, to say the truth, fit to hold out against such men-at-arms as the English.* When the duke of Burgundy saw them advance in such numbers, and with so much spirit, that the lords, barons and knights in this fort were not in force to withstand them, he directly ordered them to retreat into the town, excepting the cross-bowmen. They retired, by little and little, to the gate; and, as they were entering it, the Genoese cross-bowmen shot and wounded the English. There was a good and sharp skirmish: the redoubt was soon conquered, but it did not long remain to the English. All sorts of people came in great strength to the gates; and, as they passed, they drew up on the causeways. The duke of Lorraine was there handsomely disposed; as were the lord de Coucy, the duke of Bourbon, and others. Between this gate and the bars, many valorous deeds were done, and of course numbers slain, wounded and taken. The English, seeing the French retreat, retreated also in excellent order, and formed themselves on the plain, in battle-array, for upward of two hours; when, toward evening, they retired to their quarters.

The next day, the army marched to Maillerois-le-Vicomte, near Sens in Burgundy, where they halted for two days, to refresh themselves and to gather provision from the low countries, of which they were in the greatest want.

You have heard how the English marched through France, and thus took the road to Brittany. They publicly declared the duke and country of Brittany had sent for them, and that they had not any pretence for waging war in the name of the king of England their lord, but that they were then in the pay of the duke of Brittany. King Charles was at the time fully informed of all these matters, and, like a wise and prudent man as he was, examined well all the perils and incidents which might arise from them. He considered, that if Brittany joined these English against him, the fortune of war would be more doubtful; and, as he was ill with the duke, if the principal towns were to open their gates to his enemies, it would turn out very much to his prejudice. He therefore sent, secretly, letters sealed, but written in the most gracious manner, to the inhabitants of Nantes (which is the key to all the other towns in Brittany,) to request they would consider that the English, who were marching through his kingdom, boasted they were sent for by them, and declared themselves to be their soldiers; and that in case they had thus engaged them, and would persevere in this evil act, they would incur the malediction of their holy father the pope, according to the sentence he had passed, as well as the penalty of two hundred thousand florins, which he could legally demand from them, and which they had bound themselves to pay, according to treaties sealed which had formerly passed between them, and of which he had copies, as they could not be ignorant: that he had ever been their friend, and had assisted them in all their necessities; and that by persisting in this matter they would be very much to blame, for they had not any well-grounded complaint against him to induce them to enter so warmly into the war as to receive his enemies. He therefore recommended them maturely to reconsider this; and, if they had been wickedly or ill advised, he would frankly forgive it, provided they did not open their gates to his enemies the English, and would maintain them in all just rights and privileges, and even renew them, should there be occasion.

When these letters and offers from the king of France had been read by the men of Nantes and considered, the principal persons among them said, the king of France was in the right, and had cause for remonstrating with them as he had done; that in truth they had sworn and sealed never to be enemies themselves to the kingdom of France, nor to give any assistance to its enemies. They began, therefore, to be on their guard, and sent privately to the king of France not to be uneasy on this head, as they would never aid or succor the English in their attempts to injure the kingdom of France by force, nor would their town afford them any assistance; for they were determined, if there should be any necessity, to claim the help of the king, and that to his army alone would they open their gates, and to none else. The king of France, having received their messenger, put confidence in their declarations, for Nantes was ever attached to the French interest: of all this, however, the duke, who resided at Vannes, was ignorant: he thought, nevertheless, that the

* This contradicts his prior account of the redoubt.

inhabitants of Nantes would remain steady to him, and that they would open their gates to the English when they should come thither.

We will now return to the English who were quartered near to Sens in Burgundy; in which city the duke of Bar, the lord de Coucy, the lord de Saimpi, the lord de Fransures, were in garrison with their troops.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE ENGLISH OVERRUN THE COUNTRIES OF GATINOIS AND BEAUCE. A FRENCH SQUIRE DEMANDS TO TILT WITH AN ENGLISH SQUIRE: THEY BOTH BEHAVE VERY GALLANTLY.

When the earl of Buckingham and his army had reposed themselves at Maillerois-le-Vicomte, they determined to advance into the Gatinois: they crossed, in consequence, the river Yonne, and their light troops went even to the suburbs of Sens. The next day they quartered themselves at St. Jean de Nemours and thereabouts, and afterwards at Beaune in Gatinois, where they remained three days, on account of its fertile and rich country. There they held a council, whether to follow the road into the plains of Beauce, or keep to the course of the river Loire: they resolved on the first, and marched toward Toury in Beauce. In this castle were the lord de Saimpi, sir Oliver de Mauny, sir Guy le Baveux, and numbers of men-at-arms. There were besides, at Geneville in Beauce, the lord de Volainnes, le Barrois des Barres, with others to the amount of three hundred spears; and in all the castles and fortresses of Beauce were posted men-at-arms to defend the country.

Those of the vanguard skirmished with the garrison of Toury, when there were some slain on both sides. The earl of Buckingham and his whole army were quartered at Toury in Beauce, and in the environs, where they found plenty of provisions. During the skirmish at Toury, a squire from Beauce, a gentleman of tried courage, who had advanced himself by his own merit, without any assistance from others, came to the barriers, and cried out to the English, "Is there among you any gentleman who for love of his lady is willing to try with me some feats of arms? If there should be any such, here I am, quite ready to sally forth completely armed and mounted, to tilt three courses with the lance, to give three blows with the battle-axe, and three strokes with the dagger. Now look, you English, if there be none among you in love."

This squire's name was Gauvain Micaille. His proposal and request was soon spread among the English, when a squire, an expert man at tournaments, called Joachim Cator, stepped forth and said, "I will deliver him from his vow: let him make haste and come out of the castle." Upon this, the lord Fitzwalter, marshal of the army, went up to the barriers, and said to sir Guy le Baveux, "Let your squire come forth: he has found one who will cheerfully deliver him; and we will afford him every security."

Gauvain Micaille was much rejoiced on hearing these words. He immediately armed himself, in which the lords assisted, in the putting on the different pieces, and mounted him on a horse, which they gave to him. Attended by two others, he came out of the castle; and his varlets carried three lances, three battle-axes, and three daggers. He was much looked at by the English, for they did not think any Frenchman would have engaged body to body. There were besides, to be three strokes with a sword, and with all other sorts of arms. Gauvain had three brought with him for fear any should break.

The earl of Buckingham, hearing of this combat, said he would see it, and mounted his horse, attended by the earls of Stafford and Devonshire. On this account, the assault on Toury ceased. The Englishman that was to tilt was brought forward, completely armed and mounted on a good horse. When they had taken their stations, they gave to each of them a spear, and the tilt began; but neither of them struck the other, from the mettlesomeness of their horses. They hit the second onset, but it was by darting their spears; on which the earl of Buckingham cried out, "Hold, hold! it is now late." He then said to the constable, "Put an end to it, for they have done enough this day; we will make them finish it when we have more leisure than we have at this moment, and take great care that as much attention is paid to the French squire as to our own; and order some one to tell those in the castle not to be uneasy about him, for we shall carry him with us to complete his enterprise, but not as a prisoner; and that when he shall have been delivered, if he escape with his life, we will send him back in all safety."

These orders of the earl were obeyed by the marshal, who said to the French squire, "You shall accompany us without any danger, and when it shall be agreeable to my lord, you will be delivered." Gauvain replied, "God help me!" A herald was sent to the castle, to repeat to the governor the words you have heard.

The following day, they marched toward Geneville in Beauce, always in expectation of having an engagement with the enemy; for they well knew they were followed and watched by the French, in greater numbers than themselves. True it is, that the French dukes, counts, barons, knights, and squires, eagerly wished for a battle, and said among themselves, that it was very blameable and foolish not to permit them to engage, and suffer the enemy thus to slip through their hands. But, when it was mentioned to the king, he replied, "Let them alone: they will destroy themselves." The English continued their march, with the intent to enter Brittany.

You before heard, that there were three hundred spears in Geneville, so the whole army passed by it. There was indeed at the barriers some little skirmishing, which lasted not long, as it was time thrown away. Without Geneville a handsome mill was destroyed. The earl came to Yterville,* and dismounted at the house of the Templars. The vanguard went forward to Puiset,† where they heard that sixty companions had posted themselves in a large tower: they marched to the attack, for it was situated in the open plain without any bulwarks. The assault was sharp, but did not last long, for the archers shot so briskly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the battlements: the tower was taken, and those within slain or made prisoners. The English then set fire to it, and marched on, for they were in the utmost distress for water. From thence they went to Ermoyon, where they quartered themselves, and then to the forest of Marchenoir. In this forest there is a monastery of monks, of the Cistertian order, which is called the Cistertian Abbey, and has several handsome and noble edifices, where formerly a most renowned and noble knight, the count de Blois, received great edification, and bequeathed to it large revenues; but the wars had greatly diminished them. The earl of Buckingham lodged in this abbey, and heard mass there on the feast of our Lady in September. It was there ordered, that Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator should on the morrow complete their enterprise. That day the English came to Marchenoir:‡ the governor was a knight of that country, called sir William de St. Martin, a prudent and valiant man-at-arms. The English, after having reconnoitered the castle, retired to their quarters. In another part, the lord Fitzwalter came before the castle of Verbi, not to attack it, but to speak with the governor at the barriers, with whom he was well acquainted, having been together formerly in Prussia. The lord Fitzwalter made himself known to the lord de Verbi, and entreated him, out of courtesy, to send him some wine, and in return he would prevent his estate from being burnt or spoiled. The lord de Verbi sent him a large quantity, and thirty great loaves with it; for which the lord Fitzwalter was very thankful, and kept his promise.

On the day of the feast of our Lady, Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator were armed, and mounted to finish their engagement. They met each other roughly with spears, and the French squire tilted much to the satisfaction of the earl: but the Englishman kept his spear too low, and at last struck it into the thigh of the Frenchman.§ The earl of Buckingham as well as the other lords were much enraged at this, and said it was tilting dishonorably; but he excused himself, by declaring it was solely owing to the restiveness of his horse. Then were given the three thrusts with the sword; and the earl declared they had done enough, and would not have it longer continued, for he perceived the French squire bled exceedingly: the other lords were of the same opinion. Gauvain Micaille was therefore disarmed and his wound dressed. The earl sent him one hundred francs by a herald, with leave to return to his own garrison in safety, adding that he had acquitted himself much to his satisfaction. Gauvain Micaille went back to the lords of France: and the English departed from Marchenoir, taking the road to Vendôme; but before they arrived there, they quartered themselves in the forest of Coulombiers.

CHAPTER LV.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE IS TAKEN ILL—HIS LAST WORDS ON HIS DEATH-BED.

You have heard what secret intrigues the king of France was carrying on with the principal towns in Brittany, to prevent them from admitting the English, menacing those who should do so that they should never be forgiven. The inhabitants of Nantes sent him word not to be alarmed; for they would never consent to admit them, whatever treaties had been entered into with their lord: but they were desirous, if the English should approach, that some men-at-arms might be sent, to defend the town and the inhabitants against their enemies.

The king of France was well inclined to this, and charged his council to see it executed. The main-spring of all these treaties was sir John de Bueil, on the part of the duke of Anjou, who resided at Angers. The duke of Burgundy was quartered in the city of Mans, and in that country. Other lords, such as the duke of Bourbon, the count de Bar, the lord de Coucy, the count d'Eu, the duke of Lorraine, were in the neighboring castles and forts, with a force of upward of six thousand men-at-arms: they said among themselves, that whether the king willed it or not, they would combat the English before they crossed the river Sarthe, which divides Maine from Anjou.

The king of France was at this moment seized with an illness, which much disheartened all who loved him; for, as no remedy could be found for it, they foresaw that in a very short time he must

* Probably Interville. † "Puisé"—near Janville in Beauce.

‡ "Marchenoir"—a town in Beauce, election of Chateaudun. Near this town is a forest of 4230 arpents.—*Gazetteer.*

§ It was against the law of arms to strike below the girdle, a rule still observed in the pugilistic combats of the prize-ring.—Ed.

depart this life: indeed, he himself knew this, as well as his surgeons and physicians. The reports were firmly believed, that the king of Navarre, during the time he resided in Normandy, had attempted to poison him, and that the king was so much infected by the venom that the hairs of his head, and the nails of his hands and feet fell off, and he became as dry as a stick, for which they could not discover any remedy. His uncle, the emperor, hearing of his illness, sent to him his own physician, the most able man of that time, and of the greatest learning then known in the world, as his works indeed show: he was called a second Aristotle, but his name was George of Prague. When this great doctor came to visit the king, who at that time was duke of Normandy, he knew his disorder, and declared, that having been poisoned, he was in danger of dying: however, he performed the greatest cure ever known, by so weakening the force of the poison that he caused him to regain his former strength.

This poison oozed out in small quantities from an issue in his arm. On the departure of the doctor, for they could not detain him, he prescribed a medicine which was to be made use of constantly. He told the king and his attendants that whenever the issue dried up, he would infallibly die: but that he would have fifteen days or more to settle his affairs, and attend to his soul.

The king of France well remembered these words, and had this issue for twenty-two years, which at times alarmed him much. Those in whom he put great confidence, in regard to his health, were able physicians, who comforted him, and kept up his spirits, by saying that, with the excellent medicines they had, they would make him live long in joy and happiness, so that he had great faith in them. The king had, besides, other disorders that afflicted him much, as the tooth-ache: from this he suffered the greatest torment; and his majesty knew, from all these symptoms, he could not live very long; but the greatest comfort, toward the end of his days, was in God for having given him three fine children, two sons and a daughter, Charles, Louis, and Catherine.

When this issue began to cease running, the fears of death came upon him; he therefore, like a wise and prudent man, began to look to his affairs. He sent for his three brothers, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, and the duke of Bourbon,* without noticing his next brother, the duke of Anjou, whom he did not send for, because he knew him to be very avaricious. When they were arrived, he said to them: "My dear brothers, I feel I have not long to live: I therefore recommend to your charge my son Charles, to take that care of him that good uncles ought to do of their nephew, by which you will loyally acquit yourselves. Have him crowned king as soon as you possibly can after my decease, and advise him justly in all his affairs. My whole confidence rests in you: the child is young, and, being of an unsteady temper, will want to be well managed and properly instructed in sound learning. Teach him, or have him taught, every point relative to royalty, and the manner in which he should, according to the situation he may be in, conduct himself. Marry him to such a princess of high birth that the kingdom may gain by it. I have had with me for a considerable time a learned astronomer,† who has predicted that in his youth he will have much to do, and escape from great perils and dangers. Having thought much on these expressions, I have considered that the events alluded to must have their origin in Flanders; for, thanks to God, the affairs of my kingdom are in a very good condition. The duke of Brittany is very deceitful and froward, and has always had more of English than French courage; for which reason, you must keep the nobles and principal towns of that country in good affection to you, in order to traverse his designs. I have every cause to praise the Bretons, for they have served me faithfully in the defence of my kingdom against its enemies. You will make the lord de Clisson constable: everything considered, I know no one so proper for that office. Seek out, in Germany, an alliance for my son, that our connections there may be strengthened. You have heard our adversary is about to marry from thence, to increase his allies. The poor people of my realm are much harassed and tormented by taxes and subsidies: take them off as speedily as you can, for they are things which, notwithstanding I proposed them, weigh very heavy on my mind: but the great undertakings we have had to maintain in every part of the kingdom forced me to submit to them." Many more kind words did king Charles utter, but I have not thought it requisite to cite them all. The king explained why the duke of Anjou was absent; for he suspected him much, knowing him to be of an ambitious temper. Notwithstanding the king of France did not permit him to attend his death-bed, nor to have any part in the government of France, this duke did not keep at a very great distance: he had besides messengers continually going between Paris and Angers, who brought him exact accounts of the state of his brother's health. He had some also about the king's person, who informed him secretly what daily passed; and the last day, when the king of France departed this life, he was at Paris, and so near the king's chamber that he heard all the discourse I have just related. But we will now follow the English in their march to Brittany.

* The duke of Bourbon was brother to the late queen

† Thomas de Pisan. For particulars of him and his daughter, see Moreri's Dictionary, and vol. xvii. of the Memoires de l'Academie.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE LORD DE HANGEST IS NEAR TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH. THE LORD DE MAUVOISIN REMAINS THEIR PRISONER. THE ENGLISH CROSS THE RIVER SARTHE IN DISORDER.

When the earl of Buckingham quitted the forest of Marchenoir with his army, he took the road toward Vendôme and the forest of Coulombiers. Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Clinton were somewhat advanced, with forty spears, and by accident met the lord de Hangest, who was returning from Vendôme, accompanied by thirty lances. The English soon saw they were French, and eagerly galloped toward them. The French, who found they were not in equal numbers, had no wish to wait for them, nor to fight, for they were near to Vendôme: they made, therefore, for that place, the English pursuing them. Sir Robert de Hangest, cousin to the lord of that name, was slain, and John de Mondecris, with five or six others, were made prisoners. The lord de Hangest came so opportunely to the barrier that he found it open. Having fixed his lance, he put himself in a gallant posture of defence: the rest of his companions did so as they came up: however, twelve of them remained prisoners.

Sir Robert Knolles had also this day made an excursion from the army: he met the lord de Mauvoisin, who defended himself valiantly, but was in the end made prisoner by sir Robert himself. This day the army marched by Vendôme to Aussie, and on the morrow to St. Calais,* where they halted for two days, and then came to Pontvalin.† The English thus advanced, without meeting any to oppose them: but the whole country was full of men-at-arms, and numbers were in the city of Mans. At this period, the duke of Anjou passed through Tours, Blois, and Orleans, in his way to Paris; for he had heard his brother was in so dangerous a state there were not any hopes of his recovery, and he was anxious to be with him at his decease. Notwithstanding this illness of the king, from which he was never expected to recover, the men-at-arms did not desist from pursuing and watching the English on their march: the commanders ordered their men to harass them as much as they could, and to attempt, if possible, to surround them, which would prevent them from having any provision; and then they would engage with them at their will, whether the king of France gave permission or not. In consequence, the lords of France had brought to that part of the Sarthe which the English were to pass, large beams which they had fixed across the river with sharp stakes, so that they would not be able to cross it. On the banks, they dug very wide and deep ditches, to prevent their descending to the river, or ascending from it.

The earl of Buckingham marched from Pontvalin with his army to the Sarthe, where he halted; for they could not find a ford, as the river was swelled and deep, and difficult to cross, except in certain places. The vanguard marched up and down, but could not discover any other ford but where the beams of timber and stakes had been fixed. The lords dismounted, and, observing the ford, said, "It is here we must pass, if we mean to march further: come let us be active, and drag these beams out of our way." You would have seen, after this speech, knights, barons, and squires enter the river, and labor most heartily before they could succeed: at last, they gained their point, but with much difficulty, and, having cleared away all obstacles, opened a passage. Had the French been watchful enough, they might have done them much harm; for those who crossed first could not assist those that followed, on account of the deep marshes they had to go through. The English took such pains that they did pass them, and arrived at Noyon-sur-Sarthe.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FIFTH, KING OF FRANCE.

That same day on which the English crossed the Sarthe with so much difficulty, Charles, king of France, departed this life, in his hotel at Paris called the hotel de St. Pol.‡ No sooner did his brother, the duke of Anjou, know that the king's eyes were closed, than he seized all the jewels of the king, which were very valuable, and had them secured in a safe place, flattering himself they would be of the utmost use to him in the intended war and journey he was about to make; for he already signed himself king of Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria and Jerusalem.

The king of France was carried through the city of Paris to the abbey of St. Denis, with his face uncovered, followed by his brothers and his two sons, where he was most honorably interred. He had given orders respecting his burial during his lifetime; and his constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, lies at his feet.

Notwithstanding the orders king Charles had given, before his death, respecting the government of the kingdom, they were totally disregarded; for the duke of Anjou immediately took possession,

* "St. Calais"—a town in Maine, six leagues from Vendôme.

† "Pontvalin"—a town in Anjou.

‡ King Charles died Sunday the 16th September, 1380, at his chateau of Beauté sur Marne. On the Monday, his body was carried early to St. Anthony, land by Paris, to wait the arrival of his brothers. It remained there until Monday 14th October, when it was borne to the church of Nôtre Dame in Paris, and on the following day to St. Denis —*Grandes Chroniques de France.*

and overruled all the others. He was willing his nephew should be crowned king, but resolved to have the management of affairs as much, if not more, than any other, on account of his being the eldest uncle; and there were none in the kingdom who dared to dispute it with him. The king of France died on the eve of Michaelmas: soon after his decease, the peers and barons of France recommended that the king should be crowned immediately after All-saints, at Rheims. The three uncles, Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, agreed to this proposal; but they insisted on governing the realm until the child should be of age, that is to say, twenty-one years,* which they made the great barons and prelates of France swear to observe. After this, the coronation of the young king was notified in foreign countries, to the duke of Brabant, duke Albert of Bavaria, the count de Savoye, the count de Blois, the duke de Gueldres, the duke de Juliers, the count d'Armagnac, and to the count de Foix. The duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the lord de Coucy, the count dauphin of Auvergne, were pursuing the English: they were not, therefore, so soon sent to; but the count of Flanders was invited; and the day fixed was All-saints, which fell on a Sunday.

The men of Ghent were very much grieved at the death of the king of France; for he had been very friendly to them during their war, loving but little the earl of Flanders.

We will now speak of the English, and then return to the coronation of the king of France.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE ENGLISH ARRIVE IN BRITTANY. THE DUKE EXCUSES HIMSELF FOR HAVING SO LONG DELAYED COMING TO MEET THEM. THEY UNDERTAKE TOGETHER THE SIEGE OF NANTES.

The English, having crossed the Sarthe in great danger, were not ignorant of the death of the king of France. They were quartered at Noyon-sur-Sarthe: from thence they marched to Poilli, two leagues from Sablé.† The whole strength of France was at that time in the city of Mans, and in that part of the country, but they contented themselves with following the march of the English: some, however, said they would combat them.

When intelligence of the king's death became public, the intentions of the French were frustrated; for many of the barons decamped, and returned to Paris, to learn what was going forward. The English continued for three days in their quarters: on the fourth day they departed, and came to St. Pierre d'Arne, and from thence to Argentie. The next day the army crossed the river Mayenne, and passed a marsh with much difficulty, for only two or three could march in front the whole of this road, which lasted upward of two leagues. Now, consider what danger they were in; for if the French had known this, and attacked the van, the rear could not have assisted them: of this the English were greatly afraid: however, they passed in safety, and arrived at Cossé,‡ where they halted four days in constant expectation of having some intelligence from Brittany.

The duke of Brittany resided at Hennebon, in the district of Vannes: he had heard frequently of the English, and that they were near the frontiers of Brittany, but he did not know how to act. When he learnt the king of France's death, he took little notice of it, for he did not love him, but said to those near him, "The rancor and hatred I bore the kingdom of France, on account of this king Charles, is now one-half diminished; for those who hated the father may love the son, and those who have made war on the father may assist the son. It is necessary, however, for me to acquit myself to the English; for in truth, it has been at my request and solicitation they have marched through the kingdom of France, and I must keep the promises I have made them: but in this there is much difficulty, both in regard to them and me, as I wish our principal towns to shut their gates, and not allow them to enter within them."

The duke then summoned some of his council, such as the lord de Montboursier, sir Stephen Guyon, sir William Tanneguy, sir Eustace de la Houssaye, sir Geoffry de Kerimel and the judge-assessor of Leon, and said to them: "You will ride to my lord of Buckingham, who is approaching Brittany, and whom I believe you will find not far off: recommend me to him, and salute on my part all his barons. You will tell them, that I shall shortly be at Rennes to meet them; to which place I wish they would direct their march; when we will consider together on the best plans for our further proceedings. Tell them also, that I do not find my country in the same dispositions as when I sent to England, which vexes me much; that, in particular, I am hurt with the men of Nantes, who are more rebellious than any of the others." The knights replied, they would cheerfully carry this message. They took leave of the duke, and rode to Nantes: in the whole, they were about sixty spears.

The English having marched from Cossé, and entered the forest of la Gravelle, which they traversed, arrived at Vitré§ in Brittany, where they felt themselves more secure than they had hitherto been, for they knew they should no longer be pursued by the French. From thence they went to Châteaubriant,* where they remained with the knights from the duke of Brittany, who met them at that place. The earl of Buckingham and the barons of England received the knights from the duke of Brittany most honorably, and there were many councils and debates. The English said in plain terms, they were much astonished that neither the duke nor the country were better prepared, and showed not any inclinations to receive them; for it was at their request they were come, and had suffered so many difficulties in their march through France.

The lord de Montboursier then said, in excuse of the duke, "My lords, you have very good cause for having thus spoken, and the duke has a thorough good will to fulfil every article of the engagements which have been entered into between you both, to the utmost of his power; but he cannot act as he wishes: in particular, the inhabitants of Nantes, which is the key to Brittany, are in complete rebellion, and are ready to receive men-at-arms from France. This conduct has very much astonished my lord; for it was that town which first entered into the alliance with the other chief towns in Brittany, and my lord believes that the men of Nantes have entered into a new treaty with the young king of France, who is to be crowned on All-saints day ensuing. My lord, therefore, begs and entreats you will hold him excused: he also desires that you will take the road to Rennes, whither he will come to meet you; for he has a great desire to see you, and will not fail being there." These words much pleased the earl of Buckingham and the English: they declared, he could not say more. The messengers, returning to the duke toward Hennebon, met him at Vannes. The English continued four days at Châteaubriant, when they marched away to the suburbs of Rennes: the gates of the city were shut, and no man-at-arms was suffered to enter: the earl of Buckingham, however, was lodged in the town, as were the lord Latimer, sir Robert Knolles, and five or six other barons of the council to the earl. They remained there upward of fifteen days, waiting in vain for the duke, who never came, which astonished them greatly.

The lord de Monteraulieu, the lord Montfort of Brittany, sir Geoffry de Kerimel, and sir Alain de la Houssaye, the governor of Rennes, were in the city, as also sir Eustace, the governor's brother, who made daily excuses for the duke. I know not if they had a good cause to plead or not, but the English began to be very discontented with the duke for not coming. Those of Nantes kept their gates well guarded; for they did not think themselves secure from the English, whom they knew to be at Rennes: they sent, therefore, to the duke of Anjou, who had been the origin of the late treaties, and by whom the greater part of the kingdom was governed, to remonstrate with him on their incapacity to defend themselves, if they should be besieged, without having a stronger body of men-at-arms: they therefore entreated him to provide them with a reinforcement. The four dukes who governed France, Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, complied with their request, and sent upward of six hundred good and valorous men-at-arms. Thus was Nantes reinforced. Those men-at-arms immediately repaired every part of the walls, and put the town in a proper condition to resist a siege or an attack, if such should happen.

The English, quartered at Rennes and thereabouts, began to despond on account of the duke's not coming to them: they resolved, in a council, to send to know his reasons of delay. Lord Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Trivet were ordered to wait on him, escorted by five hundred lances, to prevent or oppose any ambuscades which might be laid for them. These two barons departed from Rennes, attended by this body of lances, with as many archers, and took the road to Hennebon. They set out on a Thursday: the following Saturday, the earl marched the army to St. Sulpice in Brittany, where he halted three days: on the fourth, he marched to Combront, where he remained four days. The duke of Brittany had left Hennebon, and was at Vannes: he had regular information of all the English were doing, and, after having well considered everything, resolved to go to them: for his own honor, and the alliances he had formed with them, would not suffer him longer to delay it. Having learnt that sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Trivet were coming to him, he began his journey to Rennes; and, the day that he set out from Vannes, he met the English knights. This meeting caused great joy: the duke of Brittany made inquiries after the earl of Buckingham, and the knights told him they had left him very melancholly at Rennes, because he had not any tidings of him. The duke excused himself by saying, that by his faith he could not help it. They then rode all together to Vannes, where they were well received; but they knew that the English army had marched from Combront to la Hedé and la Maisiere, for they had followed that road.

The earl of Buckingham arrived at Vannes the next day, when great affection was shown on both sides. The duke handsomely excused himself to the earl and the English for his delay in coming to them: the reason of it was, that he did not find his country determined to perform what they had promised him at the beginning of the summer.

The earl replied: "Fair brother of Brittany, it shall not be long,

* Froissart must mistake; for Charles V. enacted, the 21st May, 1375, a law, that the heirs apparent should henceforward be of age to govern when fourteen years old. He, at the same time, ordered the duke of Anjou to have the government during the minority, and the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon to have the management of his son until he was 14 years of age.—*Grandes Chroniques.*

† "Sablé"—an ancient town in Maine, on the Sarthe, 29 leagues from Rennes.

‡ "Cossé"—a town of Maine, election of Laval.

§ "Vitre"—a city of Brittany, on the Vilaine, diocese of Rennes.

* "Châteaubriant"—a town of Brittany, on the confines of Anjou, diocese of Nantes.

if you follow my advice, before you punish these rebels; for, with the forces which you have yourself, and those we have brought with the additional reinforcements that may arrive from England every day, we shall bring your subjects into such a state of submission that they will gladly throw themselves on your mercy." With these and such like speeches they conversed for a long time, when each retired to his hotel. On the morrow, they rode out together: it was then settled that the council of the earl should attend the duke to Rennes, and finally make arrangements for their future proceedings. That evening the duke, with the earl's council, remained at la Maisiere, and the earl returned to la Hedé, for they were all quartered in the environs of la Maisiere. The next day, the duke went to Rennes, accompanied by the lord Latimer, sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and others of the council of the earl.

They remained three days in consultation at Rennes: at last, it was determined, and sworn to, on the part of the duke of Brittany, on the holy Evangelists, that he would lay siege to Nantes, in company with the earl of Buckingham, and be there in person fifteen days after the English were arrived. The duke also engaged to send down the river Loire plenty of barges, the more to constrain those of Nantes, and would not himself quit the place, nor suffer his army to do so, before it should be conquered. The earl of Buckingham was sent for to la Hedé, that all his business might be completely settled, and that he might be present at these councils. The army therefore dislodged, and took up their former quarters in the suburbs of Rennes. The earls and barons entered Rennes, when the earl gave them a most magnificent dinner. The duke of Brittany engaged, and swore by his faith solemnly on the holy Evangelists, to come to Nantes with all his forces. After this, he returned to Hennebon. The English remained for upward of fifteen days at Rennes, in making the necessary preparations.

The inhabitants of Nantes, being informed that the siege of their town was intended, took every precaution to defend themselves. One of the principal captains in Nantes was sir John le Barrois des Barres, a valiant and expert knight: there were with him the following captains; John de Clisson, John de Châtelmorant, Morfonace, sir John de Malatrait, the lord de Tournemine and several more, all the flower of the army. These leaders made very prudent and able defences, as well toward the river as at the gates, walls and towers which were opposite to the plain, and at those parts where they thought it probable an attack might be made.

We will now give these affairs a respite, and speak of the ceremonies of the coronation of the young king Charles, who at this period was crowned at Rheims.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE.

As you may well imagine, nothing was spared by the nobility and great lords to add to the magnificence of the coronation of the young king Charles of France, who was crowned at Rheims on a Sunday,* in the twelfth year of his age, in the year 1380. At this solemnity there were many high and mighty lords: his uncles of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, were present; as were also his great uncles, Winceslaus† duke of Brabant, the duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the count de Savoye, the count de la Marche, the count d'Eu and sir William de Namur: but the earl of Flanders and the count de Blois sent excuses. There were several other lords whom I cannot name.

The young king made his entry into the city of Rheims on the Saturday, handsomely attended by the great lords, nobility and minstrels, at vespers. In particular, there were upward of thirty trumpets, which preceded him, and sounded so clear it was quite marvellous to hear them. The young king of France dismounted before the church of our Lady at Rheims, in company with his uncles and brother. There were also his cousins of Navarre, d'Albert, of Bar and of Harcourt,‡ and a great many other young squires, children of the great barons of France, whom the king on the morrow, being the day of his coronation, created knights. This Saturday the king heard vespers in the church of our Lady, and performed his vigils in that church, according to the custom of those times, the greater part of the night. All the youths desirous of knighthood attended him, and did the same.

On the Sunday, which was All-saints day, the church of our Lady was very richly decorated for the coronation; so much so that it could not possibly have been better ordered. The archbishop of Rheims, after having said mass with great solemnity, consecrated the king with the holy ampulla with which St. Remy had anointed Clovis, the first Christian king of the French. This sacred oil was sent from God by a holy angel, with which the kings of France have ever since been anointed, and it never diminishes. Now this must be considered as wonderfully miraculous.

Before the consecration, the king created, in front of the altar, all those young squires, knights: the office of mass was afterwards chanted by the archbishop, the king being clothed in his royal robes, and seated on an elevated throne, adorned with cloth of gold; and all the young knights were placed on low benches, covered also with the same, at his feet. In this state did they remain the whole day. The new constable, sir Oliver de Clisson, was present: he had been named constable a few days prior to this ceremony, and performed well his charge, and everything belonging to it. The

CHARLES SIXTH OF FRANCE. From a Print in Mezeray's History of France.

principal barons of France were also there so richly dressed it would be tedious to relate: the king was seated in royal majesty, with a crown on his head rich and precious beyond measure. The church of our Lady at Rheims was so much crowded during this ceremony that one could not turn one's foot. I have heard also, that at this accession of the young king to the throne, in order to please the people of France, all impositions, aids, taxes, subsidies and other levies, which had displeased and had much oppressed them, were abolished, greatly to the joy of the subjects.

After mass, they went to the palace; but, as the hall was too small for such numbers, they erected in the court of the palace a large covered stage, on which the dinner was served. The king was seated with his five uncles of Brabant, Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon; but, though they were at his table, they were at a distance from him. The archbishop of Rheims and other prelates were on his right hand. He was served by the great barons, the lord de Coucy, the lord de Clisson, sir Guy de la Tremouille, the lord high admiral and several others, on handsome horses, covered and decorated with gold brocade. The whole day passed in ceremonies. On the morrow, many of the great barons took leave of the king and his uncles, and returned to their own country. The king went that day to dinner at the abbey of St. Thierry, two leagues from Rheims; for those monks are bound to give him this entertainment, and the city of Rheims to provide for the coronation of the king. Thus ended this noble feast. He returned to Paris, where he was grandly feasted by the Parisians at his entrance.

After all these ceremonies, entertainments and honors, there were great councils holden on the present and future administration of the kingdom. It was settled that the duke of Berry should have the government of Languedoc; the duke of Burgundy, Picardy and Normandy; and that the duke of Anjou should remain near the king's person, and have, in fact, the whole government of the realm. The count de St. Pol was recalled, who had been banished from the favor of the late king Charles. He was indebted for this grace to Winceslaus duke of Brabant, and to the duke of Anjou, in whose affection the count de St. Pol was. He immediately left Han-sur-Heure, situated in the bishopric of Liege, where he had remained a long time, and returned to France, leaving his lady in the castle of Bouhaing. All the confiscations were taken off his estates, which reverted to his profit.

We will say no more on these subjects, but return to the affairs of Brittany and the earl of Buckingham.

TWO ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS, WHICH ARE ONLY IN ONE OF MY MSS. AND NOT IN ANY PRINTED COPY.

You have heard how Sir Simon Burley, that gallant knight attached to the household of king Richard of England, had been sent with proposals to the emperor in Germany respecting the marriage of the lady Anne, his sister, with the king of England. He had

* The 4th November, 1380. He returned to Paris the 11th.—*Grandes Chroniques.*

† "Winceslaus, &c."—See annotation 9th by D. Sauvage.

‡ D. Sauvage says, the three first were his cousins by his mother's side; but he knows nothing of the fourth

transacted the business with ability, so that the emperor and his council consented; but he had brought with him, on his return, the duke of Saxony, one of the council of the emperor, for him to observe the state of England, and to make inquiries concerning the dower, and how it was to be settled on the queen. It is the custom in England for the queen to have a large estate, independent of the crown, which is always managed by her directions; and it is called the inheritance or dowry lands of the queen. This estate is worth twenty-five thousand nobles a-year; for I, John Froissart, author of this history, during my youth, served that queen of good memory, the lady Philippa of Hainault, to whom I was secretary; and I then heard from many lords, ladies and knights, who had received the rents of these estates, their amount.

The duke of Saxony was much pleased with all he saw and heard, particularly respecting the dower: he was well satisfied with the king, and his two uncles of Lancaster and Cambridge; for the other was in France; and also with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northumberland, and the other lords about the person of the king. When the duke had remained some time in England, and finished the business he had come upon, he took leave of the king, promising to persevere in the marriage to the conclusion. At his departure he received handsome presents of jewels for himself, for those attendant on the person of the emperor, and also for the ladies who had the management of the young lady, Anne of Bohemia, the intended future queen of England. The duke returned, well pleased, to his own country; but this business was not immediately concluded, for the damsel was young, and the councils of each party had many things to arrange: add to this, there shortly afterwards happened in England great misery and tribulation, as you will hear recounted in this history.

[The remaining part of this chapter mentions the death of sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, nearly as it has been before related.]

There fell out about this time, in England, an event that gave great displeasure to the earl of Buckingham when he heard of it. I will explain to you what it was. Humphrey, earl of Hereford and Northampton, and constable of England, was one of the greatest lords and landholders in that country; for it was said, and I, the author of this book, heard it when I resided in England, that his revenue was valued at fifty thousand nobles a-year. From this earl of Hereford there remained only two daughters as his heiresses; Blanche the eldest, and Isabella* her sister. The eldest was married to Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham. The youngest was unmarried, and the early of Buckingham would willingly have had her remain so, for then he would have enjoyed the whole of the earl of Hereford's fortune. Upon his marriage with Eleanor, he went to reside at his handsome castle of Pleshy, in the county of Essex, thirty miles from London, which he possessed in right of his wife. He took on himself the tutelage of his sister-in-law, and had her instructed in doctrine; for it was his intention she should be professed a nun of the order of St. Clare, which had a very rich and large convent in England. In this manner was she educated during the time the earl remained in England, before his expedition into France. She was also constantly attended by nuns from this convent, who tutored her in matters of religion, continually blaming the married state. The young lady seemed to incline to their doctrine, and thought not of marriage.

Duke John of Lancaster, being a prudent and wise man, foresaw the advantage of marrying his only son Henry, by his first wife Blanche, to the lady Mary: he was heir to all the possessions of the house of Lancaster in England, which were very considerable. The duke had for some time considered he could not choose a more desirable wife for his son than the lady who was intended for a nun, as her estates were very large, and her birth suited to any rank; but he did not take any steps in the matter until his brother of Buckingham had set out on his expedition to France. When he had crossed the sea, the duke of Lancaster had the young lady conducted to Arundel castle; for the aunt of the two ladies was the sister of Richard, earl of Arundel, one of the most powerful barons of England. This lady Arundel, out of complaisance to the duke of Lancaster, and for the advancement of the young lady, went to Pleshy, where she remained with the countess of Buckingham and her sister for fifteen days. On her departure from Pleshy, she managed so well that she carried with her the lady Mary to Arundel, when the marriage was instantly consummated between her and Henry of Lancaster. During their union of twelve years, he had by her four handsome sons, Henry, Thomas, John and Humphrey, and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa.

The Earl of Buckingham, as I said, had not any inclination to laugh when he heard these tidings; for it would now be necessary to divide an inheritance which he considered wholly as his own, excepting the constableship which was continued to him. When he learnt that his brothers had all been concerned in this matter, he became melancholly, and never after loved the duke of Lancaster as he had hitherto done.

We will now return to the affairs of Brittany.

* Froissart mistakes: their names were Eleanor and Mary.

CHAPTER LX.

THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM BESIEGES NANTES. SALLIES ARE MADE BY THE GARRISON.

You have heard of the agreement which had been sworn to, between the duke of Brittany and the earl of Buckingham, to besiege Nantes. When the duke had left Rennes, the lord de Montboursier, sir Stephen Guyon, the lord de la Houssaye and their company retired to Vannes and Hennebon; and the earl of Buckingham and his army prepared to march to Nantes: they set out, therefore, from the suburbs of Rennes, and the adjacent villages where they had been quartered, and lodged that day at Chastillon, on the next day at Bain, and the third at Nozay: and on the fourth they quartered themselves in the suburbs of Nantes. The earl was lodged at the gate of Sauvetout: the lord Latimer constable of the army,* lord Fitzwalter and lord Basset were quartered at the gate of St. Nicholas, close to the river side. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley were lodged right honorably among their own men, as was proper for them.

In the town were numbers of knights and squires from Brittany, Beauce, Anjou and Maine, who well understood how to defend the place: they had the whole load and charge, for the inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about it. It happened that on Martinmas eve, sir John le Barrois des Barres collected some of his companions in the town, and said to them; "My good gentlemen, we know that our enemies are close to us, and we have not yet given them an alert: I am of opinion, that this fine night we should look at them, and give them a skirmish." "By my faith," they replied, "you speak loyally: tell us what you wish, and we will do it."

They collected a body of about one hundred and twenty well armed and determined men, and having ordered the gate to be opened where the constable, the lord Basset and the lord Fitzwalter were quartered, placed foot guards at it to secure their retreat. The leaders of this troop were le Barrois des Barres, John Châtelmorant and the captain de Clisson. They came so unexpectedly as to find the English at supper: having shouted their war cry, "Des Barres!" the French began to lay about them, slaying and wounding many. The English were soon prepared and drawn up before their quarters, which when the French saw they very prudently retreated in a compact body toward the town. The English came from all parts to the skirmish: some of each were struck to the ground, and the French driven within their barriers. There were some slain and wounded on both sides; but le Barrois des Barres entered the town with so little loss that this skirmish was held, both at home and abroad, as a gallant action.

On the evening of St. Martin's day, le Barrois des Barres spoke to his companions, saying, "It would be a good thing if, at daybreak to-morrow, we could get six or seven large barges, with two hundred men and the same number of cross-bows, to visit our enemies by water; for they have not the least suspicion of our coming to them down the river. They all assented to this proposal, and assembled that same night the number of men des Barres had fixed on: before daylight they embarked in six large boats, and, floating down the stream, landed below the enemy's quarters. Sir John Harlestone with his men were lodged in a large hotel, not far from where they had landed, and which, at daybreak, they surrounded and attacked. Sir John was soon dressed and armed, as were his men: they defended themselves courageously, the archers shooting at the cross-bows. The skirmish was long and severe: many were killed and wounded, and sir John would have been conquered, if sir Robert Knolles, who was quartered not far distant, had not armed himself and his men, and, with displayed banner, advanced hastily to his assistance. Sir William Windsor did the same, who, having had information of what was going on, hurried thither; besides, the English were now coming from all parts. The French retreated to their boats, as they saw the necessity of it, or else of risking the event of a battle. There was much skirmishing on the shore, as they reëmbarked, but they departed very gallantly. The captains performed many valorous deeds; but, on their return to Nantes, several of the French were taken, slain or drowned. All who heard of this enterprise considered it as one of great courage and ability.

The English, finding themselves thus constantly attacked by the garrison of Nantes, resolved to be more on their guard, and to keep a stricter watch. The seventh night, however, after the attack which le Barrois had led down the river, he made another sally from the gate where the earl of Buckingham was quartered; le Barrois had with him about two hundred men-at-arms and one hundred cross-bows. The Germans were on guard this night, under the command of sir Algars and sir Thomas de Roddes. Le Barrois, John de Châtelmorant and de Clisson, with their men, immediately attacked this guard of Germans, when a sharp contest began, and many were struck to the earth. Those quartered near to the earl arose, armed themselves, and hastened to this skirmish; but, when le Barrois saw the numbers increasing, he retreated to the gate, fighting all his way. Several were killed by the arrows, and many

* Lord Despencer was constable in the preceding chapter. D. Sauvage supposes Froissart had forgotten it. But Dugdale says, in his Baronage, "he was constable of the host at the siege of Nantes."

wounded on both sides. Sir Thomas de Roddes, a knight from Germany, was struck by an arrow, which pierced quite through his helmet to his head; of which wound he died three days after: it was a pity, for he was a very able knight. The French and Bretons reëntered Nantes with scarcely any loss, carrying with them six prisoners.

Things remained in this state, and the English much on their guard, for they expected an alert every night.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY EXPLAINS HIS REASONS FOR NOT COMING TO THE SIEGE OF NANTES. THE GARRISON CONTINUE MOST VALIANTLY TO MAKE SALLIES.

The earl of Buckingham remained in this situation before Nantes, daily expecting the arrival of the duke of Brittany, who never came, nor kept any of the promises he had engaged to perform, which quite discouraged the English, who knew not what to think of it. They sent repeatedly messengers with letters, to remonstrate with him how ill he was conducting himself, by not keeping those promises and agreements he had sworn to so solemnly when in the city of Rennes. To all these letters the earl did not receive one answer: the English supposed the messengers to have been slain, for none returned; and in truth there was great danger to all who travelled between Nantes and Hennebon, unless they were strongly escorted. The roads were so strictly guarded by men-at-arms, no one could pass without being taken, or his business known; and, if there were found upon him letters from the English to the duke, or from the duke to them, the bearer was sure to be put to death. In addition to this, the foragers of the army dared not venture abroad but in large companies; for the knights and squires of the country had assembled, and would not suffer their lands to be overrun and pillaged, so that, whenever they fell in with bodies of twenty or thirty, they took all they had and their horses from them, besides wounding or killing them. This much enraged the army, but they knew not on whom to revenge themselves.

To say the truth, the duke of Brittany did everything he could to make his people consent to follow him to the siege of Nantes, according to the agreement he had entered into with the earl of Buckingham at Rennes: but he could not succeed. Even the barons, knights, and squires, told him plainly they would not assist in the destruction of their country for the sake of England, and would never arm themselves in his behalf so long as the English remained in Brittany. The duke, upon this, remonstrated with them, and asked why they had desired him to send for the aid of the English. They told him, in answer, that it was more to give alarm to the king of France and his council, that they might not be deprived of their ancient privileges, than for anything else; and, in case the king of France wished them no ill will, they would not make war against him. The duke could not obtain any other answer.

On the other hand, the lord de Clisson, constable of France, the lord de Dinant, the lord de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Rochefort, and all the great barons of Brittany, had their castles well fortified and guarded. They told the duke, or sent word to him by messengers, that he had best consider well what he was about; for he had been ill advised in sending for the English, and bringing them over to destroy and carry war into his country: that he must not expect any aid from them: therefore, if he should go to Nantes, to assist in the siege, as they had heard it to be his intention, and which he ought not to have promised, they would attack his country on all sides, and would give him so much employment that he should not know what he ought to attend to first: but, if he were willing to acknowledge the king of France, and place himself under his obedience, as he was bounden to do, they engaged to make his peace with the young king. They added, that those who had had the courage to oppose king Charles deceased might be beloved by the king his son. Such was the treatment the duke met with from the great lords of Brittany, so that, in fact, he did not know what to do; for he found he could not place any security on his barons or subjects: it therefore behooved him to dissemble.

The siege of Nantes still continued; and on the day of our Lady, in Advent, the French garrison resolved to make another attack on the besiegers, for they had left them quiet for some time. Sir Amaury de Clisson, cousin-german to the lord de Clisson, and the lord d'Amboise, made an assault, with about two hundred spears, on the quarters of sir William Windsor. They sallied out at the gate of Richebourg, on the river side, where sir Hugh Calverley's men were that night on guard. The lord d'Amboise was made a knight by sir Amaury de Clisson. These men-at-arms, French and Bretons, advanced in high spirits to the ford, which having gained, though guarded by sir William Cossington, a sharp contest ensued, in which many a man was overthrown. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley were in their quarters, and, hearing the noise, armed themselves and issued forth to the midst of the tumult, where the conflict mightily increased: both parties behaved valiantly. The French and Bretons made good their retreat, fighting all the way, and reentered the gate of Richebourg with little loss: they had made a knight with ten men-at-arms prisoners, and had only three of their men taken.

On Thursday, before the eve of Christmas-day, Barrois des Barres, with the lord de Solete and six score men-at-arms, made another sally from the gate of Sauvetout, to beat up the quarters of the earl of Buckingham: the earl of Devonshire had that night the command of the guard. The engagement was very severe, and many were thrown down and wounded by spears; but the English, being in greater force than their enemies, drove them back to their barriers: they lost, in killed and prisoners, sixteen. In this attack, an English knight, called sir Hugh Kitiel, received a blow on his helmet, with a bolt, that caused his death.

Every man then retired to his quarters, and nothing more was done that night: but the captains in Nantes held a council, and resolved on Christmas-eve to make a sally with the whole garrison. The earl of Buckingham and the other English were kept in constant alarm by the garrison, and the foragers had many difficulties in providing provender for the horses, for they dared not forage but in large companies. The earl and his council were much astonished that the duke of Brittany came not, nor sent them any intelligence, so that they began to be very discontented. Upon considering everything, they found but a very weak support in him on all occasions, which they could not account for, nor did they know how to seek redress for it. They therefore determined to send once more sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy, and sir Thomas Trivet, to Vannes or Hennebon, to remonstrate with him on the part of the earl, how very ill he had conducted himself in not having fulfilled his engagements with greater honor. This resolution was afterwards broken; for, when they more maturely weighed it, they found they could not send off this detachment without weakening too much their army, and that they could not go to the duke but with the whole army; for, if they should march only five or six hundred lances, and meet with a thousand or fifteen hundred, the odds would be too great, and they would be slain: they therefore did not detach any part of their army.

When the eve of Christmas was come, le Barrois des Barres, sir Amaury de Clisson, the lord d'Amboise, the lord de Solete, the châtelain de Clisson, John de Châtelmorant, and all the captains in Nantes, sallied forth in the evening through St. Peter's gate, with a determination to act well, accompanied by six hundred men-at-arms. On passing the gate, they formed themselves into two divisions; one of which marched down the street, and the other through the fields, toward the quarters of the lord Latimer and the lord Fitzwalter. Sir Evan Fitzwarren and sir William Renton commanded the guard. On the first attack, they gained the barriers of the guard, and, killing many, they drove them as far as the quarters of the constable, lord Latimer. They halted before the hotel of the lord Delawarr, where there was a grand engagement; for the French had an intention of conquering this hotel, which they were on the point of taking and the lord Delawarr in it. The guard suffered much before any succors arrived. Sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Delawarr, and sir William Drayton, did many gallant deeds. These assaults caused the battalions of the constable and marshal to exert themselves: they sounded their trumpets, and directly armed. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley, hearing the trumpets, knew the vanguard was engaged: they ordered their trumpets to sound also, and a number of torches to be lighted and their banners displayed, with which they marched to the place where the combat was, attended by one hundred men-at-arms and as many archers. In another part, sir Thomas Trivet, lord Thomas Percy, and lord Basset, each with their banners before them, advanced to the skirmish. Good need had the vanguard of the haste they made to their relief, for they were on the point of losing their quarters: but when these barons and their men were arrived, they drove back the French and Bretons, who, forming together in a handsome body, retreated toward the town, skirmishing all the way. Many valiant deeds were done; and some young French knights and squires, in order to gain honors, ventured too far, so that sir Tristran de la Jaille was taken, in his foolish attempt, by a squire from Hainault called Thierry de Sommain.

Thus was this attack made. All those, or at least a part, who had come from Nantes, reëntered it; for, in these cases, there must be wounded and slain; and, when the heat of an engagement animates, such accidents are to be expected. They returned, however, without much loss; for they had full as many prisoners from the English as they had taken from them. When the gates were closed, they attended to their wounded. The army returned to their quarters, but did not dismiss the guard: on the contrary, additions were made to it.

No sally was attempted on Christmas-day, nor on the succeeding feasts. The English expected to be attacked every night; but what troubled them the most was their not receiving any intelligence from the duke of Brittany. Their provisions were become very short, for it was with difficulty they could forage. The garrison was well supplied, by means of the river Loire, from the rich counties of Poitou, Saintonge, and La Rochelle.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE ENGLISH BREAK UP THE SIEGE OF NANTES. THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SENDS HANDSOME EXCUSES TO THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM.

After the earl of Buckingham and the English had been before Nantes two months and four days, they found they could gain nothing, and that the duke of Brittany would not keep any of his engagements, for he neither came nor sent to them. They thought it best to decamp from thence (since they could not succeed,) and march toward Vannes, to have some conversation with the duke, and know from himself the reasons of his conduct. Orders were issued for the army to pack up and dislodge: they decamped, the last day of the year, in the same order of battle with which they had marched through France, and halted, the day they left Nantes, at Nort, where they remained for three days, on account of the bridge being broken down. They had much trouble in repairing this bridge, that the carriages might pass over: however, it was made good and strong, and the army, having also crossed the river Vilaine on a Saturday, took up their quarters at Lohéac, where they staid two days. When the army left Lohéac, they quartered themselves at Gosselin, where they also halted for two days, and then came to la Trinité. They crossed the river Aust at the Pont de Boquinio, when the whole army stopped on that side of the water on the plains.

The inhabitants of Vannes received exact information of the day on which the army decamped, and when they crossed the river, from the country people, and that the earl of Buckingham was marching his army thither, intending to fix his quarters in their city. They knew not how to act, whether to permit them to come into their town or not: they therefore went to the duke at Hennebon; but the day they set out they met him, two leagues from Vannes, on his road thither. The duke, perceiving his good subjects advancing toward him, asked them what was the news, and whither they were going. "My lord," they replied, "as for news, we can tell you enough: the earl of Buckingham and the English are marching hitherward; and it is their intention, as we have been informed, to quarter themselves in your good town of Vannes. Now, you must consider how you would have us act; for without your order we will not do anything. In truth, they have repaired the Pont de Boquinio, which was broken down."

The duke, on hearing these words, paused a little, and then answered, "God help us! do not you be uneasy nor alarmed at trifles, for everything will turn out well. These English will not do you any harm. I have entered into certain engagements which I must perform, and acquit myself to them. I am now going to Vannes; and to-morrow, as I verily believe, they will arrive there. I will advance to meet my brother, the earl, and will pay him every honor and respect in my power, for truly I am bounden so to do. As for the rest, you will act according to my advice, which is, that you meet him, and present him the keys of your town, saying, that you and all the town are ready to receive him and to obey his orders, on condition that he swear, fifteen days after he shall be requested to depart, he will march out of the town, and will deliver back to you the keys of it. This is the best advice I can give you." The citizens of Vannes replied, "My lord, we will obey your directions." They then rode on together to Vannes, where the duke lodged that night; and the English fixed their quarters at St. Jean, a small village, situated two leagues from Vannes.

The earl of Buckingham received that evening letters from the duke, written with great affection, welcoming him to the neighborhood of Vannes. On the morrow, when the earl had heard mass, and drank a cup, he mounted his horse, and with his whole army marched in great order toward Vannes; first the vanguard, then the earl in the centre battalion, the rearguard following close upon him. In this order they met the duke of Brittany, who had come out a long league from Vannes to meet them. Great affection was shown to each other by the duke and earl. After this reception, which was very honorable, they rode together, the earl on the right and the duke on the left, and entered into conversation: the earl said, "By holy Mary, fair brother of Brittany, we waited most impatiently for your arrival at Nantes, during the siege, according to the treaty entered into between you and me, and yet you never came." "By my faith, my lord," answered the duke, "I could not any way accomplish it; and I must own to you that I have been exceedingly enraged thereat, but it was not possible for me to act otherwise; for my subjects, notwithstanding every argument I could use, in remonstrating with them on the treaties I had made with you at their own requests, would never agree to march to assist you in the siege of Nantes. The principal barons kept themselves ready prepared on the borders, such as the lord de Clisson, the lord de Dinant, the lord d'Orval, the viscount de Rohan, and the lord de Rochefort, to guard the entrances of Brittany. All those my adherents and friends, as well knights and prelates as principal towns, are this moment in a state of rebellion; at which I am very much mortified, for by their misconduct you have reason to find fault with me. I will tell you, therefore, my lord, what you shall do: being now in the depth of winter, it is cold and uncomfortable to keep an army in the field: you shall come to Vannes, where you will remain until April or May, to recover yourselves from your fatigues, and I will give orders that your men are taken care of. You will pass your time as well as you can, and in the summer we will revenge ourselves for all these contempts."

The earl replied, "May God assist us:" for he saw plainly there was nothing better to be expected. The duke conducted him toward Vannes, when the inhabitants of the town came out in their robes, and, addressing the earl, said to him in an amicable manner, "My lord, out of respect to your lordship, and in reverence to your great honor, we have not any objections to your entering our town; but we wish, in order to satisfy the people (otherwise you will not be very secure,) you would swear to us, on the holy Evangelists, that fifteen days after we have requested you to depart, you will march away with your whole army, without doing or suffering to be done to us the least molestation." "By my troth, none shall be done to you," answered the earl of Buckingham: "and I will swear and keep it." They afterwards made the other lords swear on their faith, and on the holy Evangelists, to keep the same engagement as the earl had done, to which they readily assented. It behooved them so to do, unless they had wished to sleep in the fields. The division of the army of the earl of Buckingham was quartered in the town of Vannes, and himself lodged in the hotel of the duke, a well-built and pleasantly situated castle, called la Motte.

The duke of Brittany entertained the English knights handsomely at dinner in his castle of la Motte, and then retired to Sucinio,* where he resided; but sometimes he came to Vannes to visit the earl and hold conferences with him, and then returned to the place whence he had come. Lord Latimer, lord Fitzwalter, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and the whole of the van of the army, were to have been quartered at Hennebon; but the inhabitants would not open their gates to them, so that they were forced to lodge themselves in the suburbs and in the fields.

Sir Robert Knolles and lord Fitzwarren, with many more, were to have been quartered in Quimpercorentin; but the inhabitants treated them as those of Hennebon had done, and they were obliged to make the same shifts with the van. Sir William Windsor and the rearward were, by orders of the duke, to lodge at Quimperlé; but they could not, by entreaties nor threats, prevail upon the inhabitants to open their gates. In consequence, they suffered much from the inclemency of the weather and the ill usage they met with: what was not worth three farthings was sold to them for twelve, and hardly could they get any provision at such prices. Their horses perished through cold and famine, for they knew not where to collect forage; and, when they went out to seek it, they were in great peril, as the adjacent countries were all inimical to them.

The viscount de Rohan possessed at that time two strong castles in the neighborhood of Vannes; one was called Caire, and the other Linguighant. In these two castles the viscount had strong garrisons, which, aided by other garrisons of the lord de Clisson situated on this frontier, such as château Josselin, Montagu, and Moncontour, did much mischief to the English foragers, killing many. The duke of Brittany could not prevent this; for the lord de Clisson, constable of France, carried on the war in the name of the king of France, and had in the country numerous bodies of men-at-arms, so that the English dared not stir abroad in small parties. When it is considered that they were encamped in the fields, without any intrenchments, it is marvellous they did not suffer great losses; for those quartered in Vannes could not easily help those near Quimperlé, Hennebon, or Quimpercorentin. To say the truth, the duke stood boldly forward, and guarded them to the best of his abilities, to prevent their destruction. He fairly told his council, that he had but poorly acquitted himself toward the earl and his army of all the promises he had made them.

At this time, there were four great barons at Paris, whom the duke had sent to the king of France to make his peace; the viscount de Rohan, sir Charles de Dinan, sir Guy lord de Laval, and sir Guy lord de Rochefort. These four barons of Brittany had remonstrated with him in council, during the time the earl of Buckingham was before Nantes, several times, and with much wisdom, in such terms as these: "My lord, you show to all the world, that your heart is entirely given to the English: you have brought into this country Englishmen who, if they gain the upper hand, will diminish your inheritance. What profit or pleasure can you have in this great affection for them? Look to the situation of the king of Navarre, who put his confidence in them: after having given them possession of his town and castle of Cherbourg, they have never quitted it, nor ever will, but keep it as their own property. Therefore, if you put them into any of your fortified towns in Brittany, they will not leave them, for daily reinforcements will arrive. See how they keep Brest: nor have they any thoughts of surrendering it, although it is your inheritance. Be satisfied, my lord, with the love of the people of this country, who will never give up the king of France to serve and belong to the king of England. If your duchess is from England, would you, for that, run the risk of losing your whole dukedom, which has cost you so much to gain, and always continue in a state of warfare? In case the country should be against you, you will be but as one man. Quit your present advisers: for the king of France whom you did not love is dead, and at present there is a young and amiable monarch on the throne, who has good abilities; and those who have hated the father may serve the son. We undertake to make your

* "Sucinio"—a castle near Vannes.—*Gazetteer*

peace with him, and bring you to a proper understanding with each other. You will continue lord and duke of Brittany with great power, and the English return to their own country." In such words as the above, and others well glossed over, had these barons remonstrated several times with the duke; they had succeeded so far as to have half gained his consent to their purpose: but he still dissembled with the king of France and the English, as well as with his own council, until he should more plainly see what would be the event.

The earl of Buckingham and his barons were ignorant of all these secret intrigues which the four barons above mentioned were carrying on at Paris with the king and his uncles, until the matter was arranged. Prior to their knowledge of it, and before they left Brittany, there were tilts and tournaments held at Vannes, in the presence of the earl of Buckingham and the lords who were there, of which I shall speak; for it is not a thing that I ought to be silent about, nor should it be forgotten.

CHAPTER LXIII.

TILTS AND TOURNAMENTS ARE PERFORMED BEFORE THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM BETWEEN CERTAIN FRENCH AND ENGLISH KNIGHTS.

At the time when Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator performed their combat before the earl of Buckingham and the English lords, certain knights and squires from France had come as spectators to Marchenoir, near Blois, when sir Reginald de Touars, lord de Pousanges, a baron of Poitou, had some words with the lord de Vertain, and said he would like to tilt with him three courses with the lance and three strokes with the battle-axe. The lord de Vertain wishing not to refuse, was eager to accommodate him immediately, whatever might be the event: but the earl of Buckingham would not consent, and forbade the knight at that time to think of it.

What had been said relative to this feat of arms was not forgotten by the two knights. Similar words had passed that same day between a squire from Savoye, called the bastard Clarius, and Edward Beauchamp, son of sir Robert Beauchamp; and also between sir Tristan de la Jaille and sir John d'Ambreticourt; sir John de Châtelmorant, and Jannequin Clinton; and le Gallois d'Aunay and sir William Clinton; between sir Hoyau d'Araines and sir William France: but these were all set aside like the first.

During the time the English were quartered in the suburbs of Nantes, these French knights and squires were within the town. The lord de Vertain and the others were requested to deliver them from their engagements while they were before Nantes; but the governors in Nantes would not consent, and excused their friends by saying, they were in Nantes, as soldiers, intrusted with the guard and defence of the town. Nothing more passed until the earl of Buckingham's army were fixed in their quarters at Vannes, Hennebon, Quimperlé, and Quimpercorentin, when Sir Barrois des Barres, sir Hoyau d'Araines, and many other knights and squires, came to château Josselin, seven leagues from Vannes, where the constable of France resided. The count de la Marche, with several knights, were also there, who were very glad to see them, and received them handsomely. They informed the constable of all that had passed, and that such and such persons had undertaken deeds of prowess against others of the English. The constable heard this with pleasure, and said, "Send to them: we will grant them passports, to perform these deeds of arms, if they be willing to come."

Le Gallois d'Aunay and sir Hoyau d'Araines were the first to say they were ready to perform their engagement of three courses with the spear, on horseback. When sir William Clinton and sir William France heard they were called upon by the French to perform their challenges, they were much rejoiced, and took leave of the earl and barons of England to go thither. They were accompanied by many knights and squires. The English and French tilted very handsomely, and performed their deeds of arms as the rules required. Then sir Reginald de Touars, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir John de Châtelmorant, and the bastard Clarius, summoned each of them his knight or squire; that is to say the lord de Vertain, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Edward Beauchamp, and Jannequin Clinton. These four were so eager for the combat, that they wished to go to château Josselin on the passports of the constable; but the earl of Buckingham, hearing at Vannes the summons from the French, said aloud to the heralds, "You will tell the constable, from the earl of Buckingham, that he is equally powerful to grant passports to the French as he may be to grant them to the English; and to all those who may wish to perform any deeds of arms with his knights, on their arrival at Vannes, he will, out of his affection to them, give passports, and to all who may choose to accompany them, both for their stay and for their return."

When the constable heard this, he instantly perceived the earl was in the right, and that he wanted to see those deeds of arms: it was but reasonable there should be as many performed at Vannes as had been before him at château Josselin. The constable therefore said, "The earl of Buckingham speaks like a valiant man and a king's son, and I will that what he says shall be believed: let me know those who may be desirous of accompanying the challengers and we will send for a proper passport." Thirty knights and squires immediately stepped forth: a herald came to Vannes for the passport, which was given to him, sealed by the earl of Buckingham. The three knights who were to perform their deeds of arms set out from château Josselin, attended by the others, and came to Vannes, where they were lodged in the suburbs, and the English entertained them well. On the morrow, they made preparations for the combat, as it behooved them to do, and advanced to a handsome space, which was large and even, on the outside of the town. Afterwards came the earl of Buckingham, the earl of Stafford, the earl of Devonshire, and other barons, with those who were to engage in this deed of arms: the lord de Vertain against sir Reginald de Touars, lord de Pousanges; sir John d'Ambreticourt against Tristan de la Jaille; Edward Beauchamp against the bastard Clarius de Savoye.

The French took their places at one end of the lists,* and the English at the other. Those who were to tilt were on foot completely armed, with helmets, vizors, and provided with lances of good steel from Bordeaux, with which they performed as follows:

First, the lord de Pousanges and the lord de Vertain, two barons of high renown and great courage, advanced toward each other on foot, holding their sharp spears in their hands, with a good pace: they did not spare themselves, but struck their lances lustily against each other in pushing. The lord de Vertain was hit, without being wounded; but the lord de Pousanges received such a stroke that it pierced through the mail and steel breastplate, and everything underneath, so that the blood gushed out, and it was a great wonder he was not more seriously wounded. They finished their three courses and the other deeds of arms without further mischief, when they retired to repose themselves, and to be spectators of the actions of the others. Sir John d'Ambreticourt, who was from Hainault, and sir Tristan de la Jaille, from Poitou, next advanced, and performed their courses very valiantly, without hurt to either, when they also retired.

Then came the last, Edward Beauchamp and Clarius de Savoye. This bastard was a hardy and strong squire, and much better formed in all his limbs than the Englishman. They ran at each other with a hearty good will: both struck their spears on their adversary's breast; but Edward was knocked down on the ground, which much vexed his countrymen. When he was raised up, he took his spear, and they advanced again to the attack; but the Savoyard drove him backward to the earth, which more enraged the English: they said, Edward's strength was not a match for this Savoyard, and the devil was in him to make him think of tilting against one of such superior force. He was carried off among them, and declared he would not engage further. When Clarius saw this, wishing to finish his course of arms, he said, "Gentlemen, you do not use me well: since Edward wishes not to go on, send me some one with whom I may complete my courses."

The earl of Buckingham would know what Clarius had said, and, when it was told him, replied, that the Frenchman had spoken well and valiantly. An English squire then stepped forth, who was since knighted, and called Jannequin Finchley, and, coming before the earl, kneeled down and entreated his permisson to tilt with Clarius, to which the earl assented. Jannequin very completely armed himself on the spot: then each, seizing his spear, made thrusts at the other, and with such violence that their spears were shivered, and the stumps of them flew over their heads. They began their second attack, and their lances were again broken: so were they in the third. All their lances were broken, which was considered by the lords and spectators as a decisive proof of their gallantry. They then drew their swords, which were strong; and, in six strokes, four of them were broken. They were desirous of fighting with battle axes, but the earl would not consent to more being done, saying they had sufficiently shown their courage and abilities. Upon this, they both retired; when sir John de Châtelmorant and Jannequin Clinton advanced. This Jannequin was squire of honor to the earl of Buckingham, and the nearest about his person; but he was lightly made and delicate in his form. The earl was uneasy that he should have been matched with one so stout and renowned in arms as John de Châtelmorant: notwithstanding, they were put to the trial, and attacked each other most vigorously; but the Englishman could not withstand his opponent, for, in pushing, he was very roughly struck to the ground: on which, the earl said, they were not fairly matched. Some of the earl's people came to Jannequin, and said, "Jannequin, you are not sufficiently strong to continue this combat; and my lord of Buckingham is angry with you for having undertaken it: retire and repose yourself." The Englishman having retired, John de Châtelmorant said, "Gentlemen, it seems your squire is too weak:

* In the histoire de la vie de Louis III. duc de Bourbon, xliv. p. 160, five combatants are mentioned: sir John de Châtelmorant, sir Barrois des Barres, the bastard of Clarans (probably the same as the bastard of Savoy,) the viscount d'Aunay, and sir Tristan de la Jaille. The English were, sir Walter Clopton, Edward Beauchamp, Thomas de Hennefort, Crosby, and sir John de Tracio, probably Tracy.

Sir John de Châtelmorant tilted with sir Walter Clopton, and wounded him so badly as to prevent the completing his engagement. Sir Barrois was opposed by Thomas de Hennefort, and these finished their career with lances unhurt; but sir Thomas was wounded too badly with the sword to continue it.

The bastard de Clairains vanquished Edward Beauchamp: he reeled so much, the English said he was drunk. Sir Tristan de la Jaille conquered his adversary. The viscount d'Aulnay had similar success.

Sir William Farrington challenged sir John de Châtelmorant to complete the engagement which his relation, sir Walter, had been obliged to relinquish, and wounded sir John, as mentioned in the text, to the great scandal of the English.

choose another, I beg of you, more to your liking, that I may accomplish the deeds of arms I have engaged to perform; for I shall be very disgracefully treated if I depart hence without having completed them."

The constable and marshal of the army replied, "You speak well, and you shall be gratified." It was then told to the surrounding knights and squires that one of them must deliver the lord de Châtelmorant. On these words, sir William Farrington immediately replied: "Tell him, he shall not depart without combating: let him go and repose himself a little in his chair, and he shall soon be delivered; for I will arm myself against him." This answer was very pleasing to John de Châtelmorant, who went to his seat to rest himself. The English knight was soon ready and in the field. They placed themselves opposite to each other, when taking their lances, they began their course on foot to tilt with their spears within the four members; for it was esteemed disgraceful to hit any part but the body.

They advanced to each other with great courage, completely armed, the vizor down and helmet tightly fixed on. John de Châtelmorant gave the knight such a blow on the helmet that sir William Farrington staggered some little, on account of his foot slipping: he kept his spear stiffly with both hands, and, lowering it by the stumble he made, struck John de Châtelmorant on the thighs; he could not avoid it; and the spear-head passed through, and came out the length of one's hand on the other side. John de Châtelmorant reeled with the blow, but did not fall.

The English knights were much enraged at this, and said, it was infamously done. The Englishman excused himself by saying, "he was extremely sorry for it; and if he had thought it would have so happened at the commencement of the combat, he would never have undertaken it; but that he could not help it, for his foot slipped from the violence of the blow he had received." Thus the matter was passed over. The French, after taking leave of the earl and other lords, departed, carrying with them John de Châtelmorant in a litter, to château Josselin, whence they had come, and where he was in great danger of his life from the effects of this wound.

These deeds of arms being finished, each retired to his home; the English to Vannes, the French to château Josselin.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MAKES HIS PEACE WITH THE KING OF FRANCE. THE ENGLISH RETURN HOME. A COMBAT BETWEEN AN ENGLISH AND A FRENCH SQUIRE.

After these deeds of arms were performed, during the residence of the earl of Buckingham at Vannes, nothing happened worth mentioning. The English, as I have before said, were quartered at Vannes, Hennebon, Quimperlé and Quimpercorentin: they passed the whole winter in Brittany as well as they could. Very many of them were ill, and suffered much from the badness and scarcity of provision; as also did their horses, for their foragers could not find anything in the open country, which at that season is always bare. The French had taken every precaution that the enemy should not be very comfortable. The English were in this perilous state for some time; for the French were so strong in the surrounding garrisons, they dared not make any excursions. Some provisions came to them by sea from Cornwall, Guernsey and the Isle of Wight, which were of great succor to them; otherwise they and their cavalry would have perished through famine.

During this time, the four Breton barons remained at Paris on the part of the duke, negotiating a peace between him and the king. He did not oppose it; for he saw clearly that he could not keep the promises he had made the English, unless he would lose his dukedom. It was the intention of the earl of Buckingham and his barons to pass the winter in the town of Vannes as well as they could, and in the summer to return to France to continue the war: he had written a full account of his situation and intentions to the king of England and to the duke of Lancaster. The king and his council, having approved of this plan, ordered him to carry it into execution, adding, that at the proper season, a reinforcement of English should be sent to Normandy and land at Cherbourg; and those two armies, being united in Normandy, might be able to perform some decisive actions in France.

The king of France, his uncles and council, foresaw all that might happen, having been duly informed of the intended plans: they said, in their secret councils, that if the duke of Brittany, or any of his principal towns, were at enmity with the realm, and united with the English force, France would have, for a time, too heavy a burden to bear. For this reason, the four barons from Brittany, who represented the duke and managed his affairs very well, had thrown out these doubts: in particular, they had opened themselves to the duke of Anjou, at that time regent of France, who having a grand expedition in his head, and intending within two years at the farthest to march to la Puglia and Calabria, would not have chosen that the kingdom of France should be shaken, nor his expedition put off. He was therefore strongly inclined to make peace with the duke of Brittany, that he might become a good Frenchman, loyal in faith and homage to the king of France. The articles of peace were now discussed by the four barons: it was settled that the duke might, without blame, assist the English with vessels to return to their own country. The duke was permitted to add to his ordinances; that if those who had come from the garrison of Cherbourg to serve under the earl of Buckingham wished to return thither by land, they should have passports from the king and constable to march through France, but unarmed, and any knights or squires from England who might be desirous of accompanying them: that, when the English had quitted Brittany, the duke was to come to the king and his uncles at Paris, and acknowledge himself vassal by faith and homage to the king, in such a way as a duke of Brittany owes to his lord, the king of France. All these articles were properly drawn out and sealed, and carried to the duke of Brittany, who at that time was resident at Sucinio, near to Vannes. He agreed to what his embassadors had done, but sore against his inclination: for he knew he could not do it, without incurring the greatest ill-will from the English.

When the earl of Buckingham and his knights heard that the duke of Brittany had made peace with France, they were greatly enraged and very indignant, saying, he had sent for them and made them come to Brittany, where he had never performed any one of the promises he had sworn to; for which reason they pronounced him void of loyalty. Shortly after, the duke visited the earl of Buckingham and his barons at Vannes, when he openly explained to them the treaty his people had made for him, and which it behooved him to agree to, for otherwise he should lose his whole duchy. Upon this, high words passed between the earl and his barons with the duke; but the duke humbled and excused himself as much as possible, for he was conscious that he had been in some sort to blame. It was, however, necessary to come to terms, in order that the English might quit Brittany. The earl then gave notice to the city of Vannes, that if any of his men were indebted to the inhabitants, they should come forward, when they would be paid. He gave back to the magistrates the keys of the town, and thanked them for their attentions to him.

The earl was supplied with vessels at Vannes, Hennebon and Quimperlé, and wherever else they had been quartered, on paying for them: he left Vannes on the eleventh day of April, in battle-array, with banners displayed, and thus marched to the haven. The duke of Brittany, sir Alain de la Houssaye, the lord de Montboursier, sir Stephen Guyon, sir William de Tresiquidi, sir Geoffry de Kerimel and others of his council, came thither; they sent to inform the earl, who was in his vessel, that the duke wanted to speak with him; but the earl refused to come, and sent the lord Latimer and lord Thomas Percy. These two had a conference with the duke for three hours, and, after long debates, consented to request the earl, that before he set sail, he would on another day have a conversation with the duke: they then went to his ship, and related to the earl all that had passed.

About midnight, on the return of the tide, the wind became favorable; and the mariners asked the earl what were his intentions. The earl, who wished not for any further conferences, said, "Weigh your anchor and set your sails, and let us be gone." This was soon done; and thus did the English set sail from the harbor of Vannes for England. All the others did the same in their different ports, and collected together at sea.

We will now speak of certain knights and squires who returned to Cherbourg by land, and relate what befel them on the road. The constable of France, who at that time resided at château Josselin, seven leagues from Vannes, had granted passports to some English and Navarre knights of the garrison of Cherbourg, who had served under the earl of Buckingham. Among others, were sir John Harlestone, governor of Cherbourg, sir Evan Fitzwarren, sir William Clinton and sir John Burley. They set out from Vannes following the road to château Josselin, for it was in their route. On their arrival, they took up their quarters in the town below the castle, not intending more than to dine and continue their journey. When they had dismounted at the inn, like travellers who wished to repose themselves, the knights and squires of the castle came to visit them as brother-soldiers, who always see each other with pleasure; particularly the French and English. Among the French, there was a squire of great renown in arms, who belonged to John de Bourbon, count de la Marche, the nearest to his person of all his squires, and whom he loved the most: his name was John Boucmel. He had formerly been in garrison in Valogne with sir William des Bordes, and in his expedition against Cherbourg. During that time, he had often had words with an English squire, called Nicholas Clifford, who was then present, respecting a tilting match. In the course of the conversation which these French knights and squires held at the inn with the English, John Boucmel, recollecting Clifford, cried out, "Nicholas Clifford! Ah! Nicholas, Nicholas, we have often wished and sought to perform a tilting match; but we never could find fit opportunity or place for it. Now, as we are here before my lord constable and those gentlemen, let us perform it: I therefore demand from you three courses with a lance." "John," replied Nicholas, "you know that we are here but as travellers on our road, under the passport of my lord constable: what you ask from me cannot now be complied with, for I am not the principal in the passport, but under the command of these

knights whom you see: if I were to stay behind, they would set out without me." "Ha, Nicholas, do not make such excuses as these: let your friends depart, if they please, for I give you my promise, that as soon as our tilt shall be over, I will conduct you myself within the gates of Cherbourg without loss or peril, as I can depend on my lord constable's good-will.

Nicholas said: "Now, suppose it to be as you say, and that I place my confidence in being safely conducted by you, yet you see we are travelling through the country without arms of any sort: therefore, if I were willing to arm myself, I have not wherewithal to do so." John replied: "You shall not excuse yourself that way, for I will tell you what I will do: I have plenty of arms at my command, and will order different sorts to be brought to the place where we shall tilt; and, when all are laid out, you shall examine them, and consider which will suit you best: for I will leave the choice to you, and, when you shall have chosen, I will then arm myself."

When Nicholas saw himself so earnestly pressed, he was ashamed that those present should have heard it, and thought, that since John made such handsome offers, he could not in honor refuse them; for John still added, "Make whatever arrangements you please, I will agree to them sooner than we should not have a tilting match." Nicholas then said, he would consider of it; and, before his departure he would make him acquainted with his resolution; adding, "if it will not be possible for me to comply with your request at this place, and if my lords, under whom I am, should be unwilling to assent to it, on my return to Cherbourg, if you will come to Valogne, and signify to me your arrival, I will immediately hasten thither, and deliver you from your engagement." "No, no," said John, "seek not for excuses: I have offered you such handsome proposals, that you cannot in honor depart without running a tilt with me, according to the demand I make." Nicholas was more enraged than before; for he thought, and true it was, that he, by such a speech, greatly outraged his honor. Upon this, the French returned to the castle, and the English to their inn, where they dined

When these knights had got to the castle, you may suppose they were not silent on the words which had passed between John Boucmel and Nicholas Clifford, insomuch that the constable heard of them. He considered a short time; and, when the knights and squires of the country who were with him entreated him to interest himself that this combat might be fought, he willingly promised it. The English knights and squires, wishing to pursue their journey after dinner, went to the castle to wait on the constable; for he was to give them seven knights to escort them the whole road, through Brittany and Normandy, as far as Cherbourg.

When they were arrived at the castle, the constable received them very amicably, and then said, "I put you all under arrest, and forbid you to depart hence this day: to-morrow morning, after mass, you shall witness the combat between your squire and ours, and then you shall dine with me. Dinner over, you shall set out, and I will give you good guides to conduct you to Cherbourg." They complied with his requests, and, having drank of his wine, returned to their inn. Now the two squires consulted together, for it was fixed they should on the morrow morning engage without fail. When morning came, they both heard mass, confessed themselves, and mounted their horses; the French being on one side, and the English on the other: they rode together to a smooth plain on the outside of the castle, where they dismounted. John Boucmel had provided there two suits of armor, according to his promise, which were good and strong, as the occasion demanded: having had them displayed, he told the English squire to make the first choice. "No," said the Englishman, "I will not choose: you shall have the choice." John was therefore forced to choose first, which he did, and armed himself completely (in doing which he was assisted,) as a good man-at-arms should be. Nicholas did the same. When they were both armed, they grasped their spears, well made with Bordeaux steel and of the same length; and each took the position proper for him to run his course, with their helmets and vizors closed. They then advanced, and, when they approached pretty near, they lowered their spears, aiming them to hit each other. At the first onset, Nicholas Clifford struck with his spear John Boucmel on the upper part of his breast; but the point slipped off the steel breast-plate, and pierced the hood, which was of good mail, and, entering his neck, cut the jugular vein, and passed quite through, breaking off at the shaft with the head; so that the truncheon remained in the neck of the squire, who was killed, as you may suppose. The English squire passed on to his chair, where he seated himself. The French lords, who had seen the stroke and the broken spear in his neck, hastened to him: they immediately took off his helmet, and drew out the spear. On its being extracted, he turned himself about without uttering a word, and fell down dead. The English squire hurried to his relief, crying out to have the blood stanched, but could not arrive before he expired. Nicholas Clifford was then exceedingly vexed, for having by ill-fortune slain a valiant and good man-at-arms. All who at that time could have seen the despair of the count de la Marche, who had such an affection for his deceased squire, would surely have much pitied him; he was in the greatest distress, for he esteemed him above all others.

The constable was present, and endeavored to comfort him, saying, "that such things were to be expected in similar combats. It has turned out unfortunate for our squire, but the Englishman could not help it." He then addressed himself to the English: "Come, come to dinner, for it is ready." The constable led them, as I may say, against their wills to the castle to dinner, for they wished not to go there on account of the death of the Frenchman.

The count de la Marche most tenderly bewailed his squire, as he viewed his corpse. Nicholas Clifford directly retired to his lodgings, and would not by any means dine at the castle, as well for the great vexation he was in for this death as on account of his relations and friends; but the constable sent to seek for him, and it was necessary he should comply. On his arrival, the constable said: "In truth, Nicholas, I can very well believe, and I see by your looks, that you are much concerned for the death of John Boucmel; but I acquit you of it, for it was no fault of yours, and, as God is my judge, if I had been in the situation you were in, you have done nothing more than I would have done, as it is better to hurt one's enemy than to be hurt by him. Such is the fate of war."

They then seated themselves at the table, and these lords dined at their ease. After they had finished their repast, and drank their wine, the constable called the lord le Barrois des Barres, and said to him, "Barrois, prepare yourself: I will that you conduct these Englishmen as far as Cherbourg, and that you have opened to them every town and castle, and have given to them whatever they shall be in need of." Le Barrois replied, "My lord, I shall cheerfully obey your orders."

The English then, taking leave of the constable and the knights with him, came to their lodgings, where everything was packed up and ready. They mounted their horses, departed from château Josselin, and rode straight to Pontorson and Mont St. Michel. They were under the escort of that gallant knight le Barrois des Barres, who never quitted them in Brittany or Normandy, until they had arrived in Cherbourg. In this manner did the army of the earl of Buckingham quit France by sea and by land. We will now return to the affairs of Flanders during that period, and say how the men of Ghent behaved themselves, and how the earl of Flanders, their lord, persisted in continuing an oppressive and heavy war.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT. THE MEN OF GHENT AND OF YPRES ARE DISCOMFITED BY THE AMBUSCADES OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS.

TRUE it is, that the earl of Flanders at the beginning had very little dread of the Flemings and men of Ghent, imagining he could conquer them by little and little, both by reason and arms, since John Lyon and John Pruniaux were dead: but the men of Ghent had still able captains in whom wholly they trusted, and by whom they were governed; such as Rasse de Harzelle, captain of the castlewick of Ghent, and John de Launoy, captain of the men of Courtray. There were other captains; John Boule, Peter du Bois, Arnoul le Clerc and Peter la Nuitée. At this period, there arose a contest between the grandees and populace of Bruges; the small handicraft trades there wished to act according to their own inclinations, which the richer sort would not suffer. This caused a rebellion, and great numbers of fullers and weavers lost their lives before the rest were appeased. The inhabitants sent information of all this to the earl, who resided at Lille, entreating of him, for the love of God, to come to them; for they acknowledged him as their lord, and were at that moment masters of the populace.

The earl of Flanders was pleased on hearing this intelligence: he set out from Lille, in company with sir William de Namur and a great number of knights and squires of Flanders, and came to Bruges, where he was received with great joy by the council. On the arrival of the earl at Bruges, all the leaders and those who were even suspected to have similar intentions with the men of Ghent, were arrested and sent to prison, to the amount of five hundred, who in a short time were beheaded.

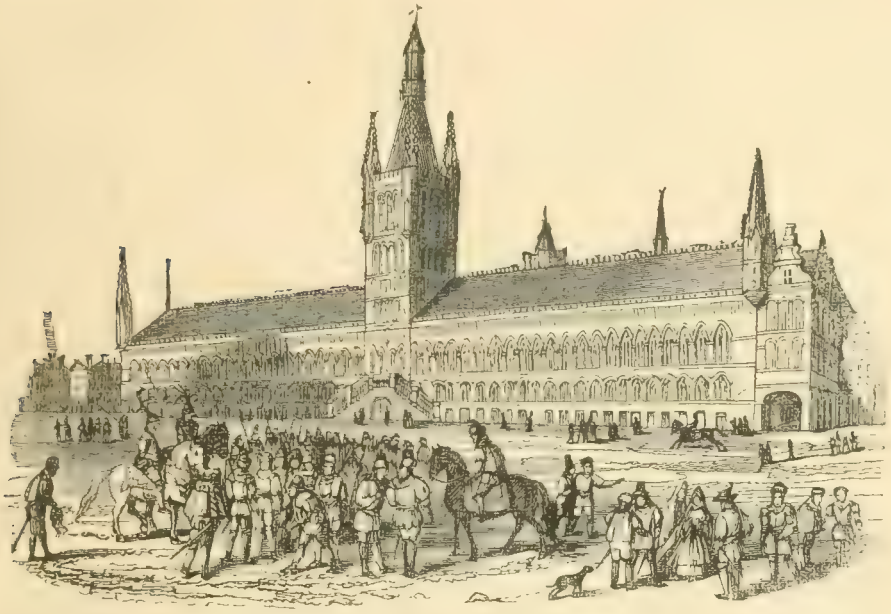
When those of the Franconate* learnt that the earl was quiet in Bruges, they began to be alarmed, and immediately threw themselves on the mercy of the earl, who pardoned them, to their great joy; for his power was daily increasing, and the inhabitants of the Franconate have been always more attached to their earl than all the rest of Flanders. The earl, seeing himself master of Bruges and of the Franc, and that he had at his orders knights and squires from Hainault and Artois, thought he had now a good opportunity to recover his country and to punish the rebels: he therefore declared he would first pay a visit to Ypres. He hated them much for having so easily opened their gates to those of Ghent, and said that those who by treaties had admitted his enemies within the town, and slain his knights, should pay dearly for it, if he should gain the upper hand of them. He then issued his summons to the Franc and Bruges, for he was resolved to march to Ypres.

News was carried to Ypres, that the earl was preparing to attack them: they determined, in consequence, to send to Ghent to ask assistance: for they were not in sufficient strength to hold out with-

* Du Franc. That part of Flanders, in which the towns of Dunkirk, Bergues, Gravelines, Bonbourg and Furnes are situated, is called the Franc, or the Franconate.—*Note in Memoires de l'Academie*, vol. xx. p. 419

out succors from that party, who had always promised to help them in their need. They sent secretly letters and messages to the captains in Ghent, to inform them of the situation of the earl, and his menaces of coming to attack them.

The men of Ghent considered themselves as bound by their faith and oaths to grant their request, and having called two captains, John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc, said to them, "You will take three thousand of our men, and march in haste to Ypres, to succor our



Hôtel de Ville, Ypres. From an Original Drawing.

good friends." Soon after this order was given, the detachment marched from Ghent, and three thousand men arrived at Ypres, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

The earl of Flanders set out from Bruges with a large force, and came to Thorout: on the morrow to Poperingue, where they halted for three days, until his whole army was come up, which amounted to twenty thousand men. The men of Ghent being informed of all these preparations, and that the earl was to march against Ypres with a powerful army, resolved to assemble their whole force, and take the road by Courtray to Ypres, when, by uniting with those of the last town, they might engage the earl's army; and, if they should once completely defeat him, he would never be able to recover the blow. In consequence of this determination, the following captains marched from Ghent: Rasse de Harzelle, Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée, John de Launoy, with others, who were captains of hundreds or of fifties in the different parishes; and, when drawn out in the plain, they amounted to upward of nine thousand men.

They marched for Courtray, where they were received with great joy, for John de Launoy was governor. The earl of Flanders, whose quarters were at Poperingue, heard how those of Ghent intended marching to Ypres, and that they were already at Courtray. Upon this, he called a council, and kept his army in a compact body. The Ghent men who had come to Courtray marched from thence to Rousselaer, where they halted, and sent to inform those of Ypres of their arrival; and, if they would come forth with the troops they had sent to them, they should be in sufficient force to combat the earl. The men of Ypres were delighted at this intelligence; and, having every inclination to do what had been requested, they sallied out in the morning, to the amount of eight thousand, under the command of John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc.

The earl, who was with his army in that district, got information, I know not by what means or by what accident, that the men of Ypres had marched to join those from Ghent: he therefore ordered two large ambuscades on a pass through which those from Ypres must march, under the command of his son, le Haze, bastard of Flanders, and the lord d'Anghien: there were knights and squires from Hainault, Artois, Bruges, and the Franconate, and in each ambuscade were ten thousand men.

When those of Ypres and the Ghent men who had been sent thither under the command of John Boule were in the plains, and had marched about a league, they came to two roads; one of which led to Rousselaer, and the other to Thorout: they halted, and asked which road they should take. Arnoul le Clerc, answering, said, "I would advise you to go and see our men who are at Rousselaer." "By my troth," replied John Boule, "I think we shall be better lodged on Mont d'Or than anywhere else; for be assured I know so well Peter du Bois and Rasse de Harzelle, that, since they have sent to us to say they intend to offer the earl battle, they will get as near to him as they can: I therefore think you should follow this road." Arnoul le Clerc disputed, but John Boule insisted upon it, and made them follow his road. When they had advanced about two leagues, and were almost tired, they fell into the midst of these two ambuscades, which when they perceived, they cried out, "We are betrayed!" No people ever made so poor a defence as they did: they saved themselves as fast as they could, some returning to Ypres, others flying over the fields, without any sort of order.

The earl's army had surrounded a great number, whom they slew without mercy: however, John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc saved themselves. The runaways who made for Courtray met their allies, who had set out from Rousselaer, and were marching toward Rosebecque. When Peter du Bois and the other officers saw them in such a state, they demanded the reason of it, and what had happened: they replied, "they could not tell; they had not had time to see what was the matter; but that they were flying, having been betrayed, and that the whole plain was covered with them."

Peter du Bois was doubtful, whether to march back to cover the runaways, and to combat those who were thus chasing them, or to retreat with them to Courtray. All things considered, he was advised this time to retreat, as being the most advantageous; he therefore began his return in regular order, without quitting the road, and the same day came back to Courtray. The runaways took shelter there: the men of Ghent were quartered in the town, and placed strong guards at the gates to prevent any surprise. When John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc were returned, and had counted their men, they found there had been slain of the men of Ghent, including those in the detachment sent to Ypres, twelve hundred; and of those of Ypres as many, if not more. If the ambuscade had pursued those flying toward Ypres and Courtray, they must have been overtaken, and scarcely one would have escaped: but the giving up the pursuit, to slay those who had fallen into their hands, was the saving of many.

The inhabitants of Ypres were much cast down on seeing their men return defeated the very day they had marched, and asked how it could have happened. Some said, that John Boule had betrayed them, and led them thus to be slaughtered. You have often heard how difficult it is to appease the populace when once they are stirred up: I shall instance it by those of Ghent, for when they had returned thus defeated to Courtray, and heard that John Boule was in the town, they collected upward of a thousand, bawling out, "Let us go seek that arch traitor John Boule, who has betrayed us! for it was he and no other who would have us follow that road which led to the ambuscade. If we had believed Arnoul le Clerc, we should have escaped it; for he wanted to conduct us straight to our men, and John Boule, who had sold and betrayed us, would march us where we have been tricked and defeated." Now, observe how unjustly they accuse him of treason, when I do not see that there was the least cause for it. Had it been, as they said, that he had sold and betrayed them, he would never have returned, but would have staid with the earl and his army. This, however, could not save him from being killed: the men of Ghent sought for him in his house, and, having found him, dragged him into the street, when he was torn in pieces, and as many as could, carried off a morsel. Such was the end of John Boule.

The next day, the men of Ghent departed from Courtray, and returned home. They sent John de Launoy to Gavre, a castle belonging to the earl, and situated on the Scheld, of which he took possession, and placed a garrison in it.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE TOWNS OF YPRES AND COURTRAY TURN TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS. GHENT IS BESIEGED.

We will now return to the earl of Flanders and his army. When they had thus, by their ambuscades, defeated the men of Ghent, and had slain three thousand or thereabouts, including those of Ypres, the earl was advised to advance and lay siege to Ypres. This counsel he followed, and marched thither with a fine army of knights and squires from Hainault, Artois, and Flanders, who had come to serve under him. As soon as the citizens of Ypres learnt that the earl was on his march thither with such a force, they were greatly alarmed; and the principal and richest inhabitants held a council, in which they resolved to open their gates, and go out to meet him, with offers to replace themselves under his obedience, trusting to his mercy. It was well known to him that they had allied themselves with Ghent through fear of the lower ranks, such as weavers, fullers, and other ill-intentioned people of the town: they besides depended on his kind and merciful character for their pardon. As they had resolved, so did they execute; and upward of three hundred in a company went out of the town, carrying the keys of the gates with them. On meeting the earl of Flanders, they fell on their knees, and begged for mercy, saying, that they personally, and the whole town, resigned themselves to his will.

The earl took pity on them, made them rise, and granted them his pardon. He entered the town of Ypres with his whole army, and there remained for three weeks, sending back those of the Franc of Bruges to their several towns. During his residence in Ypres, he had upward of seven hundred weaves and fullers beheaded, and all those who had been any way concerned in admitting John Lyon and the Ghent men into the town, who had slain the knights and men-at-arms whom he had sent thither, and which had enraged him so much. To prevent them from again rebelling against him, he sent three hundred of the principal inhabitants to prison in Bruges, escorted by a handsome body of men-at-arms. He then marched toward Courtray, in order to bring that town under his obedience. When the inhabitants heard this was his intention, and that he was on his way, having subjugated those of Ypres, they were much afraid, for they saw no appearance of any aid coming to them from Ghent: they therefore determined to surrender themselves amicably to their lord; for it was better to depend on the earl, to whom they owed fidelity, homage, and loyalty, than on Ghent. Upon this, three hundred of the principal citizens assembled, and went out of the town on foot, to meet the earl, taking the keys with them. When the earl was near to pass them, they flung themselves on their knees, crying out to him for mercy. The earl, taking compassion on them, pardoned them, and made a joyful entry into the town, where every one paid him honor and reverence. He arrested about two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he sent to Lille and to Douay, as hostages for the town.

When he had continued at Courtray six days, he returned to Bruges; where, having reposed himself for a fortnight, he issued a grand summons for his vassals to attend him at the siege of Ghent, for at this time all Flanders was dependent on him. He left Bruges with a numerous army to lay siege to Ghent, and fixed his quarters at a place called La Briete. Sir Robert de Namur came thither to serve him, with a large body of men-at-arms, according to his letters and orders: but sir William de Namur could not come, for he was at the time in France with the king and duke of Burgundy.

It was about the feast of the decollation of St. John that the siege of Ghent was commenced. Sir Walter, lord of Anghien, was marshal of the army of Flanders: he was young, bold, enterprising, and fearless of whatever dangers or perils might befal him. Notwithstanding the earl of Flanders was before Ghent with so numerous an army, he could not prevent the town from having two or three gates open, by which means all sorts of provision entered without danger. The Brabanters and Liegeois were very favorable to them, more particularly the citizens of Brussels. The Liegeois wrote to them, to keep up their spirits: "Good men of Ghent, we are well aware that at this present you have enough to do; that you are hard pushed by the earl your lord, and by the gentry and the rest of the country, which we are extremely sorry for: know, that if you were only five or six leagues from our frontiers, we would send that succor which ought to be given to our brothers, friends, and neighbors; but you are too far from us, and the country of Brabant lies between, which is the cause that prevents us. Now, if you should be besieged at this moment, do not be cast down; for God knows, and all the principal towns, that you have justice on your side in this war, which must make your labors more effective." Thus did the citizens of Liege write to those of Ghent, in order to comfort them.

The earl of Flanders had invested Ghent on the sides toward Bruges and Courtray; but on those toward Brussels and les Quatre Mestiers,* he could not, on account of the Scheld and Lys. I may therefore say, everything considered, that Ghent is one of the strongest places in the world: it would be necessary to have two hundred thousand men, if any one wishes to block up all the passes. besides, the armies ought to be near the rivers, or, in time of need, they would not be able to coöperate with each other; for Ghent is very populous, and full of determined men. They found, on numbering the inhabitants at this time, they had eighty thousand men, all fit for bearing arms, under sixty and above fifteen years.

When the earl had been before Ghent about a month, and his men under the lord d'Anghien, le Haze his son, with the young séneschal of Hainault, had had various skirmishes with those of Ghent, in which sometimes they won, and at others lost, as in such cases will happen, he was advised to send the men from Bruges, Ypres, and Poperingue, on an expedition to a place called Longpont, the conquest of which would be highly advantageous; for by this they could enter the Quatre Mestiers, and then approach Ghent as near as they pleased. Those who had been ordered on this expedition were drawn up, and a very valiant and prudent knight, called sir Josse de Haluin, was nominated commander: with him were very many knights and squires, but sir Josse was the chief. When they arrived at Longpont, they did not find it defenceless, but garrisoned with a great number of men-at-arms: Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée, and Rasse de Harzelle, were there in front. The skirmish was severe; for, on the arrival of the detachment from the earl, they began on both sides to shoot from cannons and cross-bows, which slew and wounded many. The men of Ghent behaved too well, for they drove back their enemies, and took by force the banner of the goldsmith's company of Bruges, which they flung into the river and besmeared with filth. There were, of this goldsmith's company and of many others, numbers slain and wounded: in particular sir Josse de Haluin was killed, which was a great pity. So valiantly did the Ghent men behave, that those who had been sent to Longpont returned discomfited.

* The territory comprehended under the name of Les Quatre Mestiers, was formerly subject to the bishop of Utrecht, and contained forty villages. Hulse, Axele, Bocholle, and Assenede are the four principal towns, the two first are not inclosed with walls.—Blaeu's *Atlas*.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS RAISES THE SIEGE OF GHENT. HE DEFEATS A GREAT PART OF THE ARMY OF GHENT, THROUGH THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF RASSE DE HARZELLE, NEAR TO NEVELE.

During the siege of Ghent by the earl of Flanders, there were numerous skirmishes before the city. The lord d'Anghien, the séneschal of Hainault and le Haze de Flanders, never ransomed those whom they fell in with unprotected in the plains; and sometimes they were forced to retreat in such a hurry as not to have time to look behind them. Six thousand well-appointed men were drawn up in the city, and put under the command of Rasse de Harzelle, Arnoul le Clerc and John de Launoy: they marched from Ghent without any fear of the army, and took the road to Alost, which was then a good town and well inclosed, in which the earl had placed a garrison of several knights. They, on hearing of this intended attack, made off, through the gate leading to Brussels, in haste, otherwise they would have been slain. The Ghent men burnt everything, even the gates, and gained great pillage.

They then marched to Dendremonde, which is a strong town, but they took it by storm. Sir Philip de Namur was there killed. The men of Ghent were masters of the town, but not of the castle; for the lord de Widescot and his companions held it out valiantly against them. The Ghent army went next to Gramont, which had lately turned to the earl, through the entreaty and negotiation of the lord d'Anghien. I know not whether by treachery or not, but the Ghent men entered it, and very many of the inhabitants were slain. After these exploits, they returned to Ghent with a great booty.

When the earl of Flanders considered that, besides losing his time, he was at a vast expense in the siege, and that he and his army were suffering greatly, and also that he could not prevent the Ghent men from sallying forth and burning the country; that lately they had conquered Dendremonde and Gramont; he resolved to break up the siege and depart, for winter was approaching. He marched away, and sent his men to their different homes to recruit themselves. He ordered the lord d'Anghien and the lord de Montigny to garrison Oudenarde: they had, besides men-at-arms, two hundred English archers, on whom they placed great dependence. With regard to the earl, he went to Bruges. The lords who were in Oudenarde made several sallies against those of Ghent; and there were frequent skirmishes, for they were almost constantly in the field, so that none could carry provision or merchandise to Ghent without risk of being taken.

When the winter was over, and the month of April arrived, the earl assembled his army, having sent for those of Ypres, Courtray, Poperingue, Damme, Sluys, and the Franconate: he marched from Bruges and came to Nevele, where he remained some time. While there, he appointed the lord d'Anghien commander-in-chief of all the men-at-arms, comprehending those of Lille, Douay and Oudenarde. The earl's army was fully twenty thousand men: they were prepared to march to Gavre, where John de Launoy resided, who, on receiving intelligence of this, sent off directly to Ghent, to inform Rasse de Harzelle that he must send him immediate reinforcements, for the army of the earl had taken the field. Rasse de Harzelle instantly collected six thousand men, and marched to Gavre: he did

not find John de Launoy, but overtook him at Deynse, where he was pillaging the country on the other side of the river. They then, having united their forces, marched that day together, and fell in with those from Oudenarde and Deynse, who were going to join the earl, whom they immediately attacked, and slew at least six hundred of them. The lord d'Anghien was not present: he had gone before to the earl, who was with his army between Deynse and Bruges.

When news was brought to the earl, and the lord d'Anghien, that the men of Oudenarde had been so roughly treated, they were much vexed: the lord d'Anghien was ordered to march with four thousand men toward Gavre, where they expected to find John de Launoy; but he had retreated to Ghent with his pillage and prisoners, of whom, indeed, he had no great number. On the morrow, he and Rasse de Harzelle marched out with ten thousand men; and, though the earl was not come to Gavre, they were anxious to surround him. The same day that Rasse de Harzelle had marched from Ghent, Peter du Bois made a sally also with six thousand men, accompanied by Arnoul le Clerc: they burnt the suburbs of Courtray, and then retreated toward Deynse, in order to fall in with their townsmen; but it was too late, for, when Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy were come to Nevele, they perceived the earl with his whole army in the plain: thus did these two armies find themselves in sight of each other, without either of them suspecting it in the morning. When Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy saw a battle was inevitable, they were not cast down, but drew up their men in three battalions; in each battalion were two thousand men, all bold and hardy, and the best soldiers in Ghent.

Peter du Bois and Arnoul le Clerc had an equal number of men, who, though in the country, were ignorant of this meeting, or that their friends were about to engage. When they left Ghent, they had entered into an agreement, that if either party should meet the earl, they were not to fight without the other; for they were not separately of sufficient strength, but, when united, they were able to engage with three times their number: this they had sworn to Peter du Bois they would adhere to; and to say the truth, if Rasse had wished it, he might easily have delayed the combat, for he had only to keep himself in the town of Nevele to wait for Peter du Bois, and the earl would never there have fought him: but the moment Rasse de Harzelle saw the army of the earl, through pride and self-sufficiency, he took the field, saying to himself that he would offer battle to his enemies, and reap all the honor, without waiting for Peter du Bois or the others. He had great confidence in his men, and such hopes in the good fortune of Ghent that he thought he could not be defeated; and manifested his willingness to engage, as I shall presently relate to you.

Greatly was the earl rejoiced when he saw Rasse de Harzelle march out of Nevele to the plain to fight. He immediately ordered his men to be drawn up in proper order: his infantry were about twenty thousand, able men, and about fifteen hundred lances, knights and squires, from Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and Artois. Among those from Hainault were the lord d'Anghien, marshal of the army, and, in his company, the lord de Montigny, the bastard of Anghien, Giles de Riscon, Hutin de Lay, the lord of Lens, sir John de Berlammont and several more. From Flanders were, the lord de Guistelles, sir Guy de Guistelles, the lord des Cornets, the lord de Hallue, the lord de Haluin, sir Daniel de Haluin, sir Thierry de Disquetane, sir John d Escoumbouc, the lord de Gentus, sir John de Vilain, sir Gerard de Marquellies, and many others. Several new knights were also made. The young séneschal of Hainault had died in his bed some time before, from the bruise he had received at Aubiez, near Mortaigne, for he had been in that affair.

The earl formed his army in five battalions, and in each there were about five thousand men, eager for the attack: the lord de Lieureghien bore that day the earl's banner. In this manner they advanced on the enemy, five battalions to three; but at the commencement only three battalions of the earl's army engaged, the other two were on the wings to support those who might be broken. The earl was present, exhorting his men to behave well, and to revenge themselves on the madmen of Ghent who had given them so much trouble: he said to the citizens from the chief towns, "Be assured, should you fly, you would more certainly be put to death than if you stood your ground; for I will have you all beheaded without mercy." The earl posted the men of Bruges in the first battalion, those of the Franc in the second, those of Ypres and Courtray in the third, and those of Poperingue, Cassel, Bergues and Bourbourg in the fourth battalion: he had retained those of Oudenarde, Lille and Douay near his person.

The armies kept advancing toward each other. Rasse de Harzelle led the first battalion, for it was composed of the most determined men of the three, and because he was anxious to be the first to begin the combat, and to gain honor if it were possible: he attacked that of Bruges, which the lord de Guistelles and his brothers commanded. There was great pushing and fighting at the commencement. In another part, the other battalions engaged, when many were beat down at the onset. The Ghent men behaved very gallantly; but the army of the earl was too numerous for them.

The battle was sharp, and lasted some time, so that it was long before it was seen which had the advantage. All the battalions were intermixed; and on one side they shouted out, "Flanders for the Lion!" to cheer their men: on the other, they cried as loudly, "Ghent, Ghent!" There was a moment when the earl was in danger of losing all; and, if he had then given way, they would all have been slain and defeated beyond a remedy: for Peter du Bois, with full six thousand men, was in the plain, and clearly saw the combat, but he could not give any assistance to his townsmen for the extensive marshes that were between him and the armies: but, had the earl lost the day, or his men fled through panic, he knew well that Peter du Bois would have fallen upon them, and none would have escaped death, not even himself; which would have been such a loss as Flanders never would have recovered.

Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy had not long the advantage in this combat, for the earl had a number of valiant knights, besides the men from Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde, Damme, Sluys, the Franc and Bruges, who, when assembled together, amounted to near twenty thousand men, being four times the number of their enemies. The Ghent men, unable to withstand them, were thrown into disorder, and retreated into the town. Upon this, the knights and squires advanced, and, breaking their ranks, put them in confusion, and killed them in heaps. The men of Ghent retired toward the church of Nevele, which was strong; and, having collected themselves there, a hard battle ensued, and great slaughter was made of them. John de Launoy, like one distracted, rushed into the church, and posted himself, and as many men as he could, in the large tower of the steeple. Rasse de Harzelle remained behind, and, with his men, performed many valorous deeds at the door of the church; but at last he was overpowered, and pierced with a spear, which instantly killed him. Thus ended Rasse de Harzelle, who had been a great commander of the Ghent men against the earl: he was much beloved by his townsmen for his good sense and prowess; but this was his recompense at last for all his valor.

When the earl of Flanders arrived at the square before the church, and saw that the Ghent men had retreated into it, he ordered the church to be set on fire: his order was obeyed, and a fire was kindled with great quantities of straw and faggots, which they placed all round the church. The flames soon ascended to the roof, when the Ghent men perished miserably; for they were sure of being burnt if they staid in the church, and if they sallied out they were slain and cast back into the fire. John de Launoy, who was in the steeple, perceiving himself at the point of death, and that he must soon be burnt, for the steeple was beginning to take fire, cried out to those below, "Ransom, ransom!" and offered his coat, which was full of florins; but they laughed at and mocked him, saying, "John, come and speak to us through these windows, and we will receive you. Make a handsome leap, John, such as you have forced our friends to take this year: you must make this leap." John de Launoy, finding his situation desperate, and the fire so fast approaching that he must be burnt, grew enraged, and preferred being slain to being thus burnt. Both happened to him; for he leaped out of the windows in the midst of his enemies, who received him on their spears; and, after hacking him to pieces, he was flung into the flames. Thus finished John de Launoy.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

PETER DU BOIS WITH THE REMAINDER OF HIS ARMY RETIRES TO GHENT. AFTER HAVING BEEN IN DANGER OF HIS LIFE, HE BESIEGES COURTRAY.

Of the six thousand men, of which the army at least consisted, that Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy had brought from Ghent or that neighborhood, or who were serving the men of Ghent for pay and had been marched thither, there did not escape more than three hundred: the rest were slain in the field or in the town, or had been burnt in the church. Peter du Bois, notwithstanding he had a fine army, could not give them the smallest assistance, on account of the marshes and stagnant waters which were between him and the earl's army. He marched away with his men drawn up in order of battle, saying to them, "Come, let us proceed slowly toward Ghent. Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy have had very bad success: they are defeated. I know not what may happen to us, if we should be pursued and attacked by the earl's army: let us keep in a body and combat boldly, as good men should do when they fight for their rights." Those who heard him answered, "We will do so." They then departed, taking the road toward Ghent, in a close well-formed battalion.

Some of the runaways who had escaped from the battle of Nevele returned to Ghent, which they entered quite frightened, like defeated men, and related how Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy had been slain and their army lost. The citizens were much dejected at this ill news, and sorry for the loss of Rasse, for they had found him a good captain and true to their interests: he was much beloved, and great confidence was placed in him, because he was of a noble family, and had served them faithfully for their money. They asked the runaways, "Tell us where was Peter du Bois all the time of the combat?" They, who had neither seen nor heard any intelligence of him replied, "We have not seen him, nor do we know anything about him." Upon this, several began to murmur, saying, that Peter du Bois had behaved very ill, for not having been present at this

battle, he who had six thousand men under his command completely armed.

Those who governed Ghent therefore resolved, as soon as Peter du Bois should return, to kill him, and then make peace with the earl their lord, throwing themselves on his mercy. I believe that, if they had done so, they would have acted well, and peace would easily have been made. But they changed their resolution, for which afterwards they paid severely, as did the whole country of Flanders. Affairs at that time were not so bad as they afterwards became, nor the great distress of Flanders at its height, as I shall hereafter relate.

After the defeat of Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy, the earl of Flanders was informed that Peter du Bois with an army of Ghent men were in the field, and on their march to that city. The earl halted, and called a council, in which he demanded from his knights whether he should not pursue them and offer battle: they replied, that he had done enough that day; that his men were tired, and that it was proper they should have some rest; but that he would do well to send off five or six hundred men-at-arms, to observe their motions, for they might perhaps fix their quarters in such a situation that they could come up with them at their dislodging. The earl approved of this advice, and followed it: those who were to be of this detachment were directly ordered out, and the lord d'Anghien was appointed to the command. About five hundred lances being mounted, they marched off from Nevele, and followed by-roads, in order to come up with the Ghent men: they proceeded so far that they at last saw them descend a small hill; they were in a compact body, and in good order, marching at a good pace toward Ghent.

The lord d'Anghien and his detachment followed them some time on their flank. Peter du Bois and his men saw them plainly, though they made not any appearance of being discomposed by it. Peter du Bois said, "Let us continue our road with a good step, without breaking our ranks; if they attack us, we will receive them, but I do not believe they have any such intentions." Thus each party marched on, without doing anything, as far as Ghent, when the lord d'Anghien returned to the earl, and Peter du Bois with his men entered the town. Peter du Bois was very badly received, and on the point of being killed, for not having exerted himself to assist Rasse de Harzelle. Peter exculpated himself, saying truly, "that he had sent orders to Rasse not to engage with the earl on any account, without being joined by him, for that the earl was in too great force; but that Rasse had done quite the contrary: that if bad success had attended him, he could not by any means be blamed: that he was as much grieved for the death of Rasse as any one, for the town of Ghent had lost a valiant man and good captain. It will therefore be necessary for you to choose another, one who has a good reputation and will be feared; who is bold, wise, and prudent: or otherwise put yourselves under the obedience of the earl, who will destroy us all, by wickedly and cruelly putting us to a shameful death. Now, consider what you will do: either persevere in what you have begun and carried on for so long a time, or throw yourselves on the mercy of my lord the earl of Flanders."

None made any answer to this speech of Peter du Bois; but, with regard to the event of the battle of Nevele and the death of Rasse, he was acquitted. He was, however, much dissatisfied that no one replied to his speech; particularly with some of the principal and richest citizens of Ghent then present, such as sir Guisebert Grote and sir Simon Bete. He at the time did not show his resentment; but in the course of the year, they severely experienced its effects, as you will hear related. The lord d'Anghien, the lord de Montigny, and the Haze de Flanders, returned with their men to the earl, and related all they had seen. The earl set off from Nevele, and went to Bruges: he dismissed his army to their different towns, and sent those of the Franc, with the lord d'Anghien and the banners, to Oudenarde.

The men of Ghent, on hearing that the earl had disbanded his army and retired to Bruges, began to be in motion, by the instigation of Peter du Bois, who said to them, "Come, let us take the field, and not be cool in carrying on this war, but show we are men of courage and enterprise." Upward of fifteen thousand marched out of Ghent, and came before Courtray, to which they laid siege during the time of the feast and procession at Bruges in the year 1381. They remained there for ten days, and burnt the suburbs of Courtray, with all the surrounding country. When the earl heard of this he remanded all his gentlemen, and the garrisons and commonalty of Ypres and the Franc, and marched from Bruges with upward of twenty-five thousand men, taking the road to Courtray, with intentions of combating the Ghent army and raising the siege. Peter du Bois, on receiving intelligence of the earl's march and strength, thought it best not to continue the siege: he decamped, and went to Deynse and Nevele, where his army quartered themselves, giving out they would there wait for the earl: at the same time, they signified their situation to their townsmen, who ordered out the reserve, that they might have a superior force of men-at-arms. Fifteen thousand more men therefore marched from Ghent to their army quartered at Deynse and Nevele, where they encamped in the plain.

When the earl arrived at Harlebecque, near Courtray, he heard the Ghent men had retreated toward Ghent, and were quartered at Deynse and Nevele. He did not think proper to pursue them at that time, but dismissed great part of his army at Courtray, and sent the lord d'Anghien and the Hainaulters, with his bastard son the Haze, to Oudenarde in garrison.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ARNOUL LE CLERC, CAPTAIN OF SOME TROOPS OF WHITE HOODS, DEFEATS SEVERAL OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS' NOBILITY. HE HIMSELF IS AFTERWARDS DEFEATED AND SLAIN.

When Peter du Bois and the Ghent army found that it was not the earl's intention to advance against them, they departed from Deynse and Nevele, and took a roundabout road toward Oudenarde, on their return to Ghent. The day they passed Oudenarde, they detached a body from the army, under the command of Arnoul le Clerc, who advanced as far as the barriers of the town to skirmish. The knights and squires within could not resist combating with them, so that many were slain and wounded on both sides. But those from Ghent did not continue the skirmish long: they returned to Ghent with their men, when each retired to his own house.

Three days after, Arnoul le Clerc marched to Gavre with about twelve hundred white hoods; and the castle and castlewick were garrisoned, to keep in check those in Oudenarde. Arnoul le Clerc had not been there long before he was informed that some knights and squires had sallied out of Oudenarde in search of adventures, namely, the lord de Cornais, the lord de Remselles, sir John de Villaines, the lord d'Anghien, le Gallois de Mamines, the bastard de Cornais, and sir Blanchard de Calemie. He therefore formed an ambuscade, and as these knights were on their return to Oudenarde, he fell upon them, when several were slain, for mercy was shown to none. The horses of the knights were brought very opportunely, when they made the best of their way to Oudenarde: on their arrival at the barriers, they dismounted and put themselves in a posture of defence, waiting for their men and servants; but, before they could reënter the town, they had left upward of sixty dead on the field.

Arnoul le Clerc, having performed this enterprise, marched that day to a monastery near Berchem: he found that Pierre d'Estonnehoux and Gallois de Mamines, with about a hundred of their companions, had retreated into the town of Berchem: he therefore immediately attacked the monastery whither they had retired. Gallois de Mamines with difficulty escaped from the back part of it, and having entered a boat, came by night to Oudenarde, when he related to the lord d'Anghien, the lord de Montigny, sir Daniel de Halluyn, and the other nights who were there, how Arnoul le Clerc, with the white hoods, had forced the monastery of Berchem, and slain their companions: that he thought Pierre d'Estonnehoux was killed; as indeed he was, for Arnoul le Clerc and his men had made him leap out of a window, when he was received on the points of their spears and slain, which was a great loss.

The knights in Oudenarde, on hearing that Arnoul le Clerc with about twelve hundred white hoods were quartered in Berchem; that their companions were slain and the monastery taken; were very indignant, and determined to send off in the night spies to observe whither they would march on the morrow. The spies reported, that the white hoods had fixed on Berchem for their quarters, which much pleased these noblemen. The lords d'Anghien de Montigny, de Bresueil, sir Michael de la Hamarde, with upward of six hundred knights and squires from Hainault, immediately armed themselves; as did a like number from Flanders. Three hundred spears were in Oudenarde, with upward of one thousand cross-bows and stout varlets. They marched to Berchem, and, when near that place, they sent forward sir Oliver de Chem, with full one hundred lances, to begin the attack, and to draw Arnoul le Clerc out of the monastery, as well as to give time for the cross-bows and stout varlets, who were on foot, to come up and be properly arranged.

Sir Daniel and sir Peter de Disquemac and the Haze de Flanders, spurring their horses, entered the space before the monastery at full gallop, crying out, "Flanders for the Lion! Flanders for the Bastard!" The Ghent men, not expecting an ambuscade, for it was early morn, were not dressed, so that before Arnoul le Clerc could collect his men, the lord d'Anghien, the lord Lens, the lord de Bresueil, the lord de Cornais, the lord de Montigny, entered the back part of the town, with the army, crying out, "D'Anghien for the lord!" and attacked the Ghent white hoods with so much vigor, that they could not withstand them, but, breaking their ranks, were thrown into disorder; and, of the twelve hundred, eleven hundred were slain in the monastery, in the town and fields. Arnoul le Clerc was also killed, as he was running away, by two pikes being thrust through him, which fastened him to a hedge. After this defeat, the lord d'Anghien, with the other knights, returned to Oudenarde, esteeming this enterprise a deed of great prowess. The news of it greatly pleased the earl of Flanders, who told the lord d'Anghien that he was a handsome and good child, and in time would be a most valiant man. To say the truth, the lord d'Anghien was the glory of the earl of Flanders, who at that time resided at Bruges, and who did not call him cousin, but fair son.

CHAPTER LXX.

DURING THIS WAR, THE RICH CITIZENS OF GHENT ARE SUBJUGATED BY THEIR SOLDIERS. PHILIP VON ARTAVELD IS MADE GOVERNOR OF GHENT.

When the news was carried to Ghent that Arnoul le Clerc was slain, and his men defeated, many began to take alarm, and to say among themselves, "Our affairs go on very badly: by degrees, they will kill our captains and men: we have done ill to make this war upon the earl our lord, for by little and little he will destroy us. The hatreds of Gilbert Matthew and John Lyon are now falling upon us, and we have too long followed the opinions of John Lyon and Peter du Bois; they have driven us into this war, and brought on us the hatred of our lord to such a degree that we shall never be admitted to mercy, nor obtain a peace. It will be better that twenty or thirty should suffer than a whole city."

This was the conversation of several when together in private, from the dread of the ill-intentioned who were of another way of thinking, and were daily adding to their power, though at the beginning they were but poor workmen scarcely worth a groat. They had now plenty of gold and silver; for, when in want, they complained to their leaders, who willingly listened to them, and gave them advice by pointing out to them the richest men in the town, and saying, "Go to such and such persons, and tell them we want to speak to them." They directly went, and those they sought were afraid to refuse following them. On their arrival, they were told the good town of Ghent was in want of money to pay their soldiers, who were aiding to guard and preserve their rights and franchises, and that it was necessary the workmen should live. They raised instantly among themselves the sum demanded; for, had they refused, they would have been put to death, on pretence of being traitors to the good town of Ghent, and indifferent to its honor or profit.

Thus did these wicked people become masters of the town, and continued so as long as the war lasted against their lord. In truth, if the rich men and nobility of the town were beaten by such rods, one cannot pity, nor any way excuse them, for they were the primary cause of all this mischief. When the earl of Flanders sent thither his bailiff to do justice on some wicked persons, could they not have remained steady and have assisted him in this act, seeing the rebels were then in very small numbers? But it appeared they were quite indifferent whether the affair turned out well or ill, or if they had war or peace. They must have been sensible, that if they made war on their lord, the ill-intentioned would be their masters and lords of the town, and that they could not turn them out when they pleased. It would happen to them as to John de la Faucille, who, by dissembling and quitting the town of Ghent to live in Hainault, imagined he should be clear of all the wars in Flanders, as well as of those against his lord by the town of Ghent, of which he was a native, and that nothing would be required from him: but in this he was mistaken, so that it caused his death; which was a pity, for John de la Faucille was in his time a wise and able man. But in those days none could trim between the lords and the townsmen, for they were too clear-sighted; and though he knew how to advise others very well, yet in regard to himself he managed things badly. I do not know, for a truth, if he were guilty of all the charges on which he was examined by sir Simon Rain in the castle of Lille, but his judges, with his adverse fortune, turned against him, so that he died: and thus it happened to all the leaders in Ghent, and those who encouraged them in their rebellion against their lord. Many others of Ghent perished, who I hope were blameless.

When Peter du Bois saw Ghent thus weakened in her captains and soldiers, and deserted by her allies; that the principal inhabitants began to tire; he suspected they would readily give up the war, but that, whatever peace or treaty they should enter into with the earl, there would not be any possibility for him to save his life. He therefore called to his recollection John Lyon, who had been his master, and with what art he had worked; he saw plainly he could not do everything himself, not having sufficient weight nor knowledge to govern the town; neither did he wish for the principal command, being solely desirous of leading every mad enterprise: he, in consequence, turned his thoughts to a man, of whom the city of Ghent had not any suspicions, one of sufficient prudence, though his abilities were unknown, for until that day they had not paid any attention to him: his name was Philip von Artaveld, son of Jacob von Artaveld, who had ruled over all Flanders for seven years. Peter du Bois had heard it related by his master, John Lyon, and the old people of Ghent, that the whole country was never so well governed, feared, loved and honored as during the time of Jacob von Artaveld's reign, which lasted for seven years: the inhabitants added, that if Jacob von Artaveld were alive, things would not be in the state they are now in: they should have a peace according to their wishes, and the earl would be too happy to forgive them.

These words made an impression on Peter du Bois: he recollected that Jacob von Artaveld had left a son called Philip, a handsome and agreeable man, to whom the queen of England, when she was at Ghent and during the time of the siege of Tournay, had stood godmother, and who, from respect to her, had been christened Philip. Peter du Bois came one evening to Philip's house, who resided with his mother, maintaining themselves honorably on their rents. Peter, having arranged in his own mind what he should say, thus opened the matter and the cause of his coming: "If you will listen to me, and follow my advice, I will make you the greatest man in Flanders." "How will you do this?" replied Philip. "I will tell you how," said Peter: "you shall have the sole government of Ghent: for we are at this moment in the utmost want of a leader of a good name and fair character: by this means we shall rouse the men of Ghent, through remembrance of your father's fame; for every one says that Flanders was never so flourishing, nor so much feared, as during his lifetime. I will easily place you, if you be willing, in his situation; and, when there, you will govern according to my advice until you shall find yourself master of the business, which you will soon acquire." Philip, who was arrived at manhood, and naturally wished to advance himself in honor and wealth more than he then possessed, replied, "Peter, you offer me great things; and, if I be placed in the situation you say, I swear on my faith, that I will never act without your advice."

Peter asked, "Can you be cruel and proud? For a great man among the commonalty, and in particular among such as we shall have to do with, will not be thought anything worth if he be not feared and dreaded, and at times renowned for his cruelty. It is thus that the Flemings wish to be governed; and, among them, men's lives should be no more valued, nor should they have more pity shown to them, than swallows or larks, which are caught in the proper season for the table." "By my troth," answered Philip, "I know well how to act this part." "All then goes well," said Peter. "You are just such a one as I want, and the chief I look for." On saying this, he took leave and departed to his own house. Night passed, and day returned, when Peter du Bois went to a square where there were upward of four thousand of his followers and others, assembled to hear the news, to discuss how matters ought to be carried on, and who should be governor of the town.

The lord de Harzelle was there, who chiefly conducted the affairs of Ghent, but he would not undertake to do anything out of the town: some named him for governor: others were also nominated. Peter, who was listening attentively, having heard many names, raised his voice and said, "Gentlemen, I have paid every attention to all you have said, and firmly believe that you have been induced, through your love and affection for the honor and wealth of the town of Ghent, to propose such who are worthy to have a share in the government of this city; but I know one who in no way is thinking of it, and if he would undertake the government, there could not be any one found of greater abilities, nor of a more propitious name." Peter du Bois was called upon to name him, which he did by saying, "It was Philip von Artaveld, who was christened at the font of St. Peter's in Ghent by that noble queen of England, Philippa, who was his godmother at the time when his father, Jacob von Artaveld, was at the siege of Tournay with the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the duke of Gueldres and the earl of Hainault; which Jacob von Artaveld, his father, governed the town of Ghent and the country of Flanders better than has ever been done since, from all I hear from those inhabitants who have it strong in their memories: Flanders had been for some time lost, if through his sense and good fortune he had not regained it. Now, it behooves us to love the branches from such a valiant man, in preference to any other person." No sooner had Peter du Bois done speaking than the idea of Philip von Artaveld filled every one's mind, and encouraged them so much that they unanimously cried out, "Let him be sought for: we will not have any one but him for our governor." "No, no," said Peter du Bois: "we will not send for him: it will be much better we go to his house, for we do not at present know how he will take it. We ought not by any means to suffer him to excuse himself from accepting it."

At these words, those present took the road to Philip's house, followed by many others who had been informed of their intentions. When they arrived there, the lord de Harzelle, Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée, and about ten or twelve of the principal tradesmen, addressed him, saying, "That the good town of Ghent was in the greatest danger for want of a chief, with whom alliances might be formed both at home and abroad, and that all ranks of people in Ghent had given him their voices and chosen him to be their sovereign; for the good remembrance of his name, and the love they had borne to his father, made him more agreeable to them than any one else. For which reasons they entreated him affectionately to take on him the government of the town, with the management of their affairs both within and without, and they would swear to him obedience and loyalty as completely as to their lord. They likewise engaged to bring every one, how great soever he might be, under his obedience."

Philip, after hearing everything they had to say, made the following prudent reply: "Gentlemen, you require great things from me; and I should imagine you have not weighed the matter so maturely as it ought to have been, when you offer me the government of Ghent. You say, the affection your ancestors had for my father has been your great inducement: when he had performed for them every service in his power, they murdered him. If I should accept the government in the manner you request, and be afterwards murdered, I shall gain but a miserable recompense." "Philip," said Peter du Bois, who caught at these words which seemed to make his choice doubtful, "what has passed cannot now be amended:

you will act from the advice of your council, and by thus continuing you will ever be so well advised that all mankind shall praise you." Philip answered, "I should never wish to act otherwise." They then elected him; and, conducting him to the market-place, he was there sworn into office; the mayors, sheriffs and rulers of companies were also sworn to obey him.

In this manner was Philip von Artaveld made sovereign of Ghent. He acquired great popularity at the commencement; for he spoke to every one who had any business with him politely and prudently, so that he was beloved by all. He gave a part of the revenues which the earl of Flanders had in Ghent as his inheritance to the lord de Harzelle, out of affection to him, and to enable him the better to support his rank; for he had lost everything he possessed without the walls of the town.

We will now for a time leave these affairs of Flanders, and speak of those of England and Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXI.

A WAR BETWEEN THE KINGS OF CASTILLE AND PORTUGAL.

You have before heard related the death of king Henry of Castille, and that his eldest son, don John, was crowned in his stead. His queen also, who was daughter to king Peter of Arragon, was crowned with him. A war broke out between king Ferdinand of Portugal and the king of Castille on certain disputes between them; but principally on account of the two daughters of Peter king of Castille, who were married in England; the eldest, Constance, to the duke of Lancaster, and Isabella to the earl of Cambridge. The king of Portugal declared, that it was unjust and illegal in the king of Castille to disinherit, without cause, his two cousins; and that it was not becoming that two noble ladies of such high birth should be disinherited from their rights: it was also improper that this affair should become old and forgotten, so that these ladies would never be able to regain their possessions: that for him, who was one of the nearest relations they had, he would never consent to it, both for the love of God and his desire to maintain justice, to which every good Christian should incline. He sent therefore his defiance to the king of Castille, whom all Spain had crowned; and the king of Portugal made war upon him for the reasons above mentioned. Don John defended himself valiantly, and ordered to the frontiers and to his garrisons numbers of men-at-arms, to oppose his enemies, so that he lost nothing at the breaking out of hostilities. He had with him some of the ablest and most prudent of French chivalry, who assisted him greatly by their arms and advice; such as the bègue de Villaines, sir Peter his son, sir John de Bergettes, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Puissac, the lord de la Tande, sir John and sir Tristram de Roye, and many more, who had gone to Spain on the departure of the earl of Buckingham from Brittany; for the king of France, who had great connections and of a long standing with the king of Castille, had sent them thither.

The king of Portugal, on finding this, thought it advisable to send embassadors to England to the king and his uncles, to request succors from them, that he might be able to carry on a successful war against the king of Castille. He called to him one of his knights, a valiant and prudent man, as well as a great lord, called John Ferrande, and told him his intentions in these words: "John, you will carry these credential letters to England. I cannot send thither a more able embassador than yourself, nor one who is better informed of all my affairs: you will therefore commend me to the king, on presenting these letters, and let him know that I am supporting the rights of my cousins, his aunts, for their inheritance of Castille and Spain; and that I have already waged war against him, who, through the influence of France, has taken possession of it; but that I am not sufficiently strong in myself, nor have I resources to oppose him, nor to conquer such heritages as Castille, Gallicia and Seville. For which reason, I entreat him to send me his fair uncle the duke of Lancaster, with his wife and daughter, my cousins, and a number of men-at-arms and archers. On their arrival hither, we will carry on such a war, if it should please God, that we will recover their inheritances." "My lord," replied the knight, "with pleasure will I carry your message." He was not long before he embarked on board a strong vessel fit for the voyage, and sailed from the harbor of Lisbon; when, having favorable winds, he arrived at Plymouth the same day and same tide that the earl of Buckingham returned thither, with part of his fleet, from Brittany.

The English had unfortunately lost at sea three of their ships, full of men and stores, and had been so much separated by contrary winds, that they arrived, not without great danger, in three different ports of England. The earl of Buckingham was rejoiced at the arrival of the Portuguese knight, whom he most graciously received. On his inquiring after news, he told him enough, as well of Spain as of Portugal. They continued their journey together until they came to the good city of London, where the king was. On the earl of Buckingham's arrival, the city of London entertained him magnificently. He went to Westminster to wait on the king, who was there with his two uncles, the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, and took the knight from Portugal with him, whom he presented to the king and to his brothers.

When the king and the above-named lords were made acquainted with the subject of his coming, they seemed to be much pleased, and paid him great respect. He delivered his letters to the king, who read them in the presence of his uncles; for you must know the king did nothing without the advice of these uncles, being at that time very young. The knight was questioned, notwithstanding the letters he had brought with him, on the subject of his coming from Portugal: his answers were prudent and proper, according to the propositions which have been mentioned before. When the lords had fully heard all he had to say, they said, "Many thanks to our fair cousin of Portugal, who, to serve us, has made war on our adversary. What he requires is but reasonable, and he shall be speedily succored. The king will consider in what manner he shall arrange this business." No further conversation passed. The foreign knight, having brought such agreeable tidings to the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge, was much feasted, and dined with the king. He remained about fifteen days, and until a week before the feast of St. George, with the king and his uncles. Sir Robert de Namur was also there, who had come to do homage to the king for what he possessed in England. The parliament was also summoned to meet at Westminster, as well on account of this embassy from Portugal as upon the affairs of Scotland, the truce between the two countries ending the first of June.

The prelates and barons of England held many councils to consider this business: they were not for sending the duke of Lancaster to Portugal, some saying it was a long sea voyage for him, and that they might repent of his going, for the Scots were making great preparations to invade England. It was at last determined that the duke of Lancaster, who was well acquainted with Scotland and its inhabitants, should go to the borders, and learn what were the intentions of the Scots; for of all the barons of England he knew best how to conduct a treaty, and the Scots would do more for him than for any other person. They likewise resolved that the earl of Cambridge should embark for Portugal with five hundred spears and as many archers; and if the duke of Lancaster could manage the Scots, and, without dishonoring England, conclude a truce for three years, he might go likewise, if the king approved of it in council, about August or September, to Portugal to reinforce the army of his brother. There was another reason why the duke of Lancaster ought to remain in England: the king had sent embassadors, with the duke of Saxony and the archbishop of Ravenna, to the emperor of Germany, to demand his sister in marriage and to obtain his answer; for there had been great negotiations on the subject for upward of a year. The bishop of St. David's and sir Simon Burley were the embassadors, on the part of England, to assist and bring it to a conclusion.

The king and his lords agreed to this determination, when the parliament broke up. Lists were made out of those barons and knights who were to accompany the earl of Cambridge to Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE SAILS FOR PORTUGAL. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER GOES TO THE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND, TO MAKE A TRUCE WITH THE SCOTS.

The duke of Lancaster, having made his preparations, left the king and his brothers. On taking leave of the earl of Cambridge, he swore to him, by his faith, that on his return from Scotland, he would speedily follow him to Portugal, if no hindrance which he could not then foresee happened in England to prevent him. On this, the duke departed, taking the road to Scotland, and attended only by those of his household. In this parliament, the earl of Northumberland was appointed lieutenant of all Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, and as much of Wales as to the banks of the Severn: he therefore left London for those parts, but it was about fifteen days after the departure of the duke of Lancaster.

The earl of Cambridge took leave of the king and his brother the earl of Buckingham, to complete the forces for the expedition he had undertaken to command. He made his rendezvous at Plymouth, where he was the first who arrived, bringing with him his lady Isabella and his son John, whom he intended carrying with him to Portugal. The earl of Cambridge was accompanied by many noblemen, such as sir Matthew Gournay constable of the army, the canon de Robesart, sir John Newcastle, sir William Beauchamp marshal of the army, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord Botreaux, the lord de Charlton, sir William Helmon, sir Thomas Symon, sir Nicholas Windsor, sir John Carteret and several others. There were also men-at-arms to the amount of five hundred, and as many archers. These lords and their men came to Plymouth, where they quartered themselves and in the adjoining villages. They loaded their vessels by little and little; but no horses were to be embarked, as the voyage was too long from England to Lisbon. The Portuguese knight was with them, intending to accompany them to his country. They remained upward of three weeks on the coast, getting ready their provision and stores, and waiting for favorable weather.

The duke of Lancaster continued his journey toward Scotland until he came to Berwick, which is the last town in that part of England. When he arrived there, he halted, and sent a message to

Scotland to acquaint the barons he was come thither to ride the borders, as had always been customary; and, if they were desirous of doing the same first, they had best inform him of it, otherwise he well knew what he was to do. The duke's herald rode to Edinburgh, where king Robert of Scotland, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Mar, the earl of Moray and all the principal barons of Scotland were assembled. They had heard the duke of Lancaster was come to treat with them, and had thus assembled in the chief town of Scotland, where the herald met them.

JOHN BALL PREACHING TO THE PEOPLE.—From a MS. of the 15th century.

The herald punctually executed his message. He was favorably listened to, and had a friendly answer from the Scots barons, who said, they would willingly hear what the duke had to propose. The herald brought back with him passports for the duke and his people, to last as long as they should remain on the borders and during the parleys. The herald, having received these assurances, came back to Berwick and related what he had done. Upon this, the duke departed from Berwick, leaving all his stores in that town, and took the road to Roxburgh, where he lay. On the morrow, he was lodged in the abbey of Melrose on the Tweed, which divides the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. The duke and his attendants remained there until the Scots were come to Lambir-law, three short leagues off. On their arrival, they signified it to the duke, when immediately negotiations were begun between the Scots and English, and which lasted for upward of fifteen days.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE POPULACE OF ENGLAND REBEL AGAINST THE NOBILITY.

WHILE these conferences were going forward, there happened in England great commotions among the lower ranks of the people, by which England was near ruined without resource. Never was a country in such jeopardy as this was at that period, and all through the too great comfort of the commonalty. Rebellion was stirred up, as it was formerly done in France by the Jacques Bons-hommes, who did much evil, and sore troubled the kingdom of France. It is marvellous from what a trifle this pestilence raged in England. In order that it may serve as an example to mankind, I will speak of all that was done, from the information I had at the time on the subject.

It is customary in England, as well as in several other countries, for the nobility to have great privileges over the commonalty, whom they keep in bondage; that is to say, they are bound by law and custom to plough the lands of gentlemen, to harvest the grain, to carry it home to the barn, to thrash and winnow it: they are also bound to harvest the hay and carry it home.* All these services they are obliged to perform for their lords, and many more in England than in other countries. The prelates and gentlemen are thus served. In the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, these services are more oppressive than in all the rest of the kingdom.

The evil-disposed in these districts began to rise, saying, they were too severely oppressed; that at the beginning of the world there were no slaves, and no one ought to be treated as such, unless he had committed treason against his lord, as Lucifer had done against God: but they had done no such thing, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed after the same likeness with their lords, who treated them as beasts. This they would not longer bear, but had determined to be free, and if they labored or did any other works for their lords, they would be paid for it.

A crazy priest in the county of Kent, called John Ball, who, for his absurd preaching, had been thrice confined in the prison of the archbishop of Canterbury, was greatly instrumental in inflaming them with those ideas. He was accustomed, every Sunday after mass, as the people were coming out of the church, to preach to them in the market place and assemble a crowd around him; to whom he would say: "My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until everything shall be in common; when there shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill they have used us! and for what reason do they thus hold us in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they show, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than ourselves? except, perhaps, in making us labor and work for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs,* ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices, and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw; and, if we drink, it must be water. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labors in the field; but it is from our labor they have wherewith to support their pomp. We are called slaves; and, if we do not perform our services, we are beaten, and we have not any sovereign to whom we can complain, or who wishes to hear us and do us justice. Let us go to the king, who is young, and remonstrate with him on our servitude, telling him we must have it otherwise, or that we shall find a remedy for it ourselves. If we wait on him in a body, all those who come under the appellation of slaves, or are held in bondage, will follow us, in the hopes of being free. When the king shall see us, we shall obtain a favorable answer, or we must then seek ourselves to amend our condition."

With such words as these did John Ball harangue the people, at his village, every Sunday after mass, for which he was much beloved by them. Some who wished no good declared it was very true, and murmuring to each other, as they were going to the fields, on the road from one village to another, or at their different houses, said, "John Ball preaches such and such things, and he speaks truth."

The archbishop of Canterbury, on being informed of this, had John Ball arrested, and imprisoned for two or three months by way of punishment; but it would have been better if he had been confined during his life, or had been put to death, than to have been suffered thus to act. The archbishop set him at liberty, for he could not for conscience sake have put him to death. The moment John Ball was out of prison, he returned to his former errors. Numbers in the city of London having heard of his preaching, being envious of the rich men and nobility, began to say among themselves, that the kingdom was badly governed, and the nobility had seized on all the gold and silver coin. These wicked Londoners, therefore, began to assemble and to rebel: they sent to tell those in the adjoining counties, they might come boldly to London, and bring their companions with them, for they would find the town open to them, and the commonalty in the same way of thinking; that they would press the king so much, there should no longer be a slave in England.

These promises stirred up those in the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, and the adjoining country, so that they marched toward London; and, when they arrived near, they were upward

* And to hew their wood and bring it home.—LORD BERNERS.

* Lord Berners says "*chamlet* furred with *grise*," the skin of the weazle or martin. The word in Froissart is *camocas*, which D. Sauvage is at a loss to understand, and proposes to alter to *camelos*, camlet; thus confirming Lord Berners' translation.—ED

of sixty thousand. They had a leader called Wat Tyler, and with him were Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were their commanders, but the principal was Wat Tyler. This Wat had been a tiler of houses, a bad man, and a great enemy to the nobility. When these wicked people first began to rise, all London, except their friends, were very much frightened. The mayor and rich citizens assembled in council, on hearing they were coming to London, and debated whether they should shut the gates and refuse to admit them; but having well considered, they determined not to do so, as they should run the risk of having the suburbs burnt.*

The gates were therefore thrown open, when they entered in troops of one or two hundred, by twenties or thirties, according to the populousness of the towns they came from; and as they came into London they lodged themselves. But it is a truth, that full two-thirds of these people knew not what they wanted, nor what they sought for: they followed one another like sheep, or like the shepherds of old, who said they were going to conquer the Holy Land, and afterwards accomplished nothing. In such manner did these poor fellows and vassals come to London from distances of a hundred and sixty leagues,† but the greater part from those counties I have mentioned, and on their arrival they demanded to see the king. The gentlemen of the country, the knights and the squires, began to be alarmed when they saw the people thus rise; and, if they were frightened, they had sufficient reason, for less causes create fear. They began to collect together as well as they could.

The same day that these wicked men of Kent were on their road toward London, the princess of Wales, mother to the king, was returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury. She ran great risks from them; for these scoundrels attacked her car, and caused much confusion, which greatly frightened the good lady, lest they should do some violence to her or to her ladies. God, however, preserved her from this, and she came in one day from Canterbury to London, without venturing to make any stop by the way. Her son Richard was this day in the Tower of London: thither the princess came, and found the king attended by the earl of Salisbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, sir Robert de Namur, the lord de Gommegines, and several more, who had kept near his person from suspicions of his subjects who were thus assembling, without knowing what they wanted. This rebellion was well known to be in agitation in the king's palace, before it broke out and the country people had left their homes; to which the king applied no remedy, to the great astonishment of every one. In order that gentlemen and others may take example, and correct wicked rebels, I will most amply detail how this business was conducted.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE POPULACE OF ENGLAND COMMIT MANY CRUELTIES ON THOSE IN OFFICIAL SITUATIONS. THEY SEND A KNIGHT AS EMBASSADOR TO THE KING.

On Monday preceding the feast of the Holy Sacrament, in the year 1381, did these people sally forth from their homes, to come to London to remonstrate with the king, that all might be made free, for they would not there should be any slaves in England. At Canterbury, they met John Ball (who thought he should find there the archbishop, but he was at London,) Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. On their entrance into Canterbury, they were much feasted by every one, for the inhabitants were of their way of thinking; and, having held a council, they resolved to march to London, and also to send emissaries across the Thames to Essex, Suffolk, Bedford, and other counties, to press the people to march to London on that side, and thus, as it were, to surround it, which the king would not be able to prevent. It was their intention that all the different parties should be collected together on the feast of the Holy Sacrament, or on the following day.

Those who had come to Canterbury entered the church of St. Thomas, and did much damage: they pillaged the apartments of the archbishop, saying as they were carrying off different articles; "This chancellor of England has had this piece of furniture very cheap: he must now give us an account of the revenues of England, and of the large sums he has levied since the coronation of the king." After they had defrauded the abbey of St. Vincent, they set off in the morning, and all the populace of Canterbury with them, taking the road toward Rochester. They collected the people from the villages to the right and left, and marched along like a tempest, destroying every house of an attorney or king's proctor, or that belonged to the archbishop, sparing none.

On their arrival at Rochester, they were much feasted, for the people were waiting for them, being of their party. They advanced to the castle, and seizing a knight called sir John de Newtoun, who was constable of it and captain of the town,† they told him that he must accompany them as their commander in chief, and do whatever they should wish. The knight endeavored to excuse himself, and offered good reasons for it, if they had been listened to; but they said to him, "Sir John, if you will not act as we shall order, you are a dead man." The knight seeing this outrageous mob ready to kill him complied with their request, and very unwillingly put himself at their head. They had acted in a similar manner in the other counties of England, in Sussex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Stafford, Warwick and Lincoln, where they forced great lords and knights, such as the lord Manley, a great baron, sir Stephen Hales, and sir Thomas Cossington, to lead and march with them. Now, observe how fortunately matters turned out, for had they succeeded in their intentions they would have destroyed the whole nobility of England: after this success, the people of other nations would have rebelled, taking example from those of Ghent and Flanders, who were in actual rebellion against their lord. In this same year the Parisians acted a similar part, arming themselves with leaden maces.* They were upward of twenty thousand, as I shall relate when I come to that part of my history; but I will first go on with this rebellion in England.

When those who had lodged at Rochester had done all they wanted, they departed, and crossing the river, came to Dartford, but always following their plan of destroying the houses of lawyers or proctors on the right and left of their road. In their way, they cut off several men's heads, and continued their march to Blackheath, where they fixed their quarters: they said they were armed for the king and commons of England. When the citizens of London found they were quartered so near them, they closed the gates of London-bridge: guards were placed there by orders of sir William Walworth, mayor of London, and several rich citizens who were not of their party; but there were in the city more than thirty thousand who favored them.

Those who were at Blackheath had information of this; they sent, therefore, their knight to speak with the king, and to tell him, that what they were doing was for his service, for the kingdom had been for several years wretchedly governed, to the great dishonor of the realm and to the oppression of the lower ranks of the people, by his uncles, by the clergy, and in particular by the archbishop of Canterbury, his chancellor, from whom they would have an account of his ministry. The knight dared not say nor do anything to the contrary, but advancing to the Thames opposite the Tower, he took boat and crossed over. While the king and those with him in the Tower were in great suspense, and anxious to receive some intelligence, the knight came on shore: way was made for him, and he was conducted to the king, who was in an apartment with the princess his mother. There were also with the king his two maternal brothers, the earl of Kent and sir John Holland, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, the great prior of the Templars in England, sir Robert de Namur, the lord de Vertain, the lord de Gommegines, sir Henry de Sausselles, the mayor of London and several of the principal citizens.

Sir John Newtoun, who was well known to them all, for he was one of the king's officers, cast himself on his knees and said: "My much redoubted lord, do not be displeased with me for the message I am about to deliver to you; for, my dear lord, through force I am come hither." "By no means, sir John, tell us what you are charged with: we hold you excused." "My very redoubted lord, the commons of your realm send me to you to entreat you would come and speak with them on Blackheath. They wish to have no one but yourself; and you need not fear for your person, for they will not do you the least harm: they always have respected and will respect you as their king; but they will tell you many things, which, they say, it is necessary you should hear; with which, however, they have not empowered me to acquaint you. But, dear lord, have the goodness to give me such an answer as may satisfy them, and that they may be convinced I have really been in your presence; for they have my children as hostages for my return, whom they will assuredly put to death, if I do not go back."

The king replied, "You shall speedily have an answer." Upon this he called a council to consider what was to be done. The king was advised to say, that if on Thursday they would come down to the river Thames, he would without fail speak with them. Sir John Newtoun, on receiving this answer, was well satisfied therewith, and, taking leave of the king and barons, departed: having entered his boat, he recrossed the Thames, and returned to Blackheath, where he had left upward of sixty thousand men. He told them from the king, that if they would send on the morrow morning their leaders to the Thames, the king would come and hear what they had to say. This answer gave great pleasure, and they were contented with it: they passed the night as well as they could; but you must know that one-fourth of them fasted for want of provision, as they had not brought any with them, at which they were much vexed, as may be supposed.

At this time, the earl of Buckingham was in Wales, where he possessed great estates in right of his wife, who was daughter of the earl of Hereford and Northampton; but the common report about London was, that he favored these people: some assured it for a

* According to Lord Berners and D. Sauvage they did at first shut the gates, but afterwards being in fear for the suburbs they caused them to be reopened.—Ed.

† Lord Berners exactly agrees with D. Sauvage, and differs materially in the relation of the distance the rebels travelled. Lord Berners translates lieues *miles*, I apprehend correctly. "In lykewise these villains and poor people came to London a hundred myle off, lx myle, l myle, xl myle, and xx myle off, and fro' all countries about London, but the moost part came fro' the countries before-named." —Ed.

‡ "John de Newtoun was constable of this castle (Rochester) anno 2 king Richard." —Hasted's *Kent*, vol. u. p. 13.

* Lord Berners and D. Sauvage read *iron*, though the latter in a note says that the Chronicles and Annals of France say *lead*.—Ed.

truth, as having seen him among them, because there was one Thomas very much resembling him, from the county of Cambridge. As for the English barons who were at Plymouth making preparations for their voyage, they had heard of this rebellion, and that the people were rising in all parts of the kingdom. Fearful lest their voyage should be prevented, or that the populace, as they had done at Southampton, Winchelsea and Arundel, should attack them, they heaved their anchors, and with some difficulty left the harbor, for the wind was against them, and put to sea, where they cast anchor to wait for a wind.

RICHARD THE SECOND AND THE REBELS.—From a MS. of the 15th Century.

The duke of Lancaster was on the borders, between la Morlane,* Roxburgh and Melrose, holding conferences with the Scots: he had also received intelligence of this rebellion, and the danger his person was in, for he well knew he was unpopular with the common people of England. Notwithstanding this, he managed his treaty very prudently with the Scotch commissioners, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Mar and Thomas de Vesey. The Scotsmen who were conducting the treaty on the part of the king and the country knew also of the rebellion in England, and how the populace were rising everywhere against the nobility. They said, that England was shaken and in great danger of being ruined, for which in their treaties they bore the harder on the duke of Lancaster and his council.

We will now return to the commonalty of England, and say how they continued in their rebellion.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE COMMONALTY OF ENGLAND ENTER LONDON, WHERE THEY COMMIT MANY CRUELTIES AND OUTRAGES. THEY PUT TO DEATH THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND SEVERAL OTHERS.

On Corpus Christi day king Richard heard mass, in the tower of London, with all his lords, and afterwards entered his barge, attended by the earls of Salisbury, Warwick and Suffolk, with other knights. He rowed down the Thames toward Rotherhithe, a manor belonging to the crown, where were upward of ten thousand men, who had come from Blackheath to see the king and to speak to him: when they perceived his barge approach, they set up such shouts and cries as if all the devils in hell had been in their company. They had their knight, sir John Newtoun, with them; for, in case the king had not come and they found he had made a jest of them, they would, as they had threatened, have cut him to pieces.

When the king and his lords saw this crowd of people, and the wildness of their manner, there was not one among them so bold and determined but felt alarmed: the king was advised by his barons not to land, but to have his barge rowed up and down the river. "What do ye wish for?" demanded the king: "I am come hither to hear what you have to say." Those near him cried out with one voice, "We wish thee to land, when we will remonstrate with thee, and tell thee more at our ease what our wants are." The earl of Salisbury then replied for the king, and said, "Gentlemen, you are not properly dressed, nor in a fit condition for the king to talk with you."

Nothing more was said; for the king was desired to return to the Tower of London, from whence he had set out. When the people saw they could obtain nothing more, they were inflamed with passion, and went back to Blackheath, where the main body was, to relate the answer they had received, and how the king was returned to the Tower. They all then cried out, "Let us march instantly to London." They immediately set off, and, in their road thither, they destroyed the houses of lawyers, courtiers, and monasteries. Advancing into the suburbs of London, which were very handsome and extensive, they pulled down many fine houses: in particular, they demolished the prison of the king called the Marshalsea, and set at liberty all those confined within it. They did much damage to the suburbs, and menaced the Londoners at the entrance of the bridge for having shut the gates of it, saying, they would set fire to the suburbs, take the city by storm, and afterwards burn and destroy it.

With respect to the common people of London, numbers were of their opinions, and, on assembling together, said, "Why will you refuse admittance to these honest men? They are our friends, and what they are doing is for our good." It was then found necessary to open the gates, when crowds rushed in, and ran to those shops which seemed well stored with provision: if they sought for meat or drink, it was placed before them, and nothing refused, but all manner of good cheer offered, in hopes of appeasing them.

Their leaders, John Ball, Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, then marched through London, attended by more than twenty thousand men, to the palace of the Savoy, which is a handsome building on the road to Westminster, situated on the banks of the Thames, belonging to the duke of Lancaster; they immediately killed the porters, pressed into the house and set it on fire. Not content with committing this outrage, they went to the house of the knights-hospitalers of Rhodes, dedicated to St. John of Mount Carmel, which they burnt, together with their hospital and church. They afterwards paraded the streets, and killed every Fleming they could find, whether in house, church or hospital: not one escaped death. They broke open several houses of the Lombards, taking whatever money they could lay their hands on, none daring to oppose them. They murdered a rich citizen called Richard Lyon, to whom Wat Tyler had been formerly servant in France; but, having once beaten this varlet, he had not forgotten it, and, having carried his men to his house, ordered his head to be cut off, placed upon a pike, and carried through the streets of London. Thus did these wicked people act like madmen; and, on this Thursday, they did much mischief to the city of London.

Toward evening, they fixed their quarters in a square called St. Catherine's, before the Tower, declaring they would not depart thence until they should obtain from the king everything they wanted, and have all their desires satisfied; and the chancellor of England made to account with them, and show how the great sums which had been raised were expended; menacing, that if he did not render such an account as was agreeable to them, it would be the worse for him. Considering the various ills they had done to foreigners, they lodged themselves before the Tower. You may easily suppose what

* "La-Morlane." Lambir-law.—MACPHERSON'S *Geog. Illust. of Scotland.*

a miserable situation the king was in, and those with him; for at times these rebellious fellows hooted as loud as if the devils were in them.

About evening, a council was held in the presence of the king, the barons who were in the Tower with him, sir William Walworth the mayor, and some of the principal citizens, when it was proposed to arm themselves, and during the night to fall upon these wretches who were in the streets and amounted to sixty thousand, while they were asleep and drunk, for then they might be killed like flies, and not one in twenty among them had arms. The citizens were very capable of doing this, for they had secretly received into their houses their friends and servants, properly prepared to act. Sir Robert Knolles remained in his house, guarding his property, with more than six score companions completely armed, and would have instantly sallied forth. Sir Perducas d'Albreth was also in London at that period, and would have been of great service; so that they could have mustered upward of eight thousand men, well armed. But nothing was done; for they were too much afraid of the commonalty of London; and the advisers of the king, the earl of Salisbury and others, said to him, "Sir, if you can appease them by fair words, it will be so much the better, and good-humoredly grant them what they ask; for, should we begin what we cannot go through, we shall never be able to recover it: it will be all over with us and our heirs, and England will be a desert." This council was followed, and the mayor ordered to make no movement. He obeyed, as in reason he ought. In the city of London, with the mayor, there are twelve sheriffs,* of whom nine were for the king and three for these wicked people, as it was afterwards discovered, and for which they then paid dearly.

On Friday morning, those lodged in the square before St. Catherine's, near the Tower, began to make themselves ready; they shouted much, and said, that if the king would not come out to them, they would attack the Tower, storm it, and slay all in it. The king was alarmed at these menaces, and resolved to speak with them; he therefore sent orders for them to retire to a handsome meadow at Mile-end, where, in the summer, people go to amuse themselves, and that there the king would grant them their demands. Proclamation was made in the king's name for all those who wished to speak with him to go to the above-mentioned place, where he would not fail to meet them.

The commonalty of the different villages began to march thither; but all did not go, nor had they the same objects in view, for the greater part only wished for the riches and destruction of the nobles, and the plunder of London. This was the principal cause of their rebellion, as they very clearly showed; for when the gates of the Tower were thrown open, and the king, attended by his two brothers, the earls of Salisbury, of Warwick, of Suffolk, sir Robert de Namur, the lords de Vertain and de Gommegines, with several others, had passed through them, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball, with upward of four hundred, rushed in by force, and, running from chamber to chamber, found the archbishop of Canterbury, whose name was Simon,† a valiant and wise man, and chancellor of England, who had but just celebrated mass before the king: he was seized by these rascals, and beheaded. The prior of St. John's suffered the same fate, and likewise a Franciscan friar, a doctor of physic, who was attached to the duke of Lancaster, out of spite to his master, and also a serjeant-at-arms of the name of John Laige.‡ They fixed these four heads on long pikes, and had them carried before them through the streets of London: when they had sufficiently played with them, they placed them on London Bridge, as if they had been traitors to their king and country.

These scoundrels entered the apartment of the princess, and cut her bed, which so much terrified her that she fainted, and in this condition was by her servants and ladies carried to the river-side, when she was put into a covered boat, and conveyed to the house called The Wardrobe,§ where she continued that day and night like to a woman half dead, until she was comforted by the king her son, as you shall presently hear.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THE NOBLES OF ENGLAND ARE IN GREAT DANGER OF BEING DESTROYED. THREE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE REBELS ARE PUNISHED, AND THE REST SENT BACK TO THEIR HOMES.

When the king was on his way to the place called Mile-end, without London, his two brothers, the earl of Kent and sir John Holland, stole off and galloped from his company, as did also the lord de Gommegines, not daring to show themselves to the populace at Mile-end for fear of their lives.‖

On the king's arrival, attended by the barons, he found upward of sixty thousand men assembled from different villages and counties of England: he instantly advanced into the midst of them, saying in a pleasant manner, "My good people, I am your king and your lord: what is it you want? and what do you wish to say to me?" Those who heard him answered, "We wish thou wouldst make us free for ever, us, our heirs and our lands, and that we should no longer be called slaves, nor held in bondage." The king replied, "I grant your wish: now, therefore, return to your homes and the places whence you came, leaving two or three men from each village, to whom I will order letters to be given sealed with my seal, which they shall carry back with every demand you have made fully granted: and, in order that you may be the more satisfied, I will direct that my banners shall be sent to every stewardship, castlewick and corporation." These words greatly pleased the novices and well-meaning ones who were there, and knew not what they wanted, saying, "It is well said: we do not wish for more." The people were thus quieted, and began to return toward London.

The king added a few words, which pleased them much: "You, my good people of Kent, shall have one of my banners; and you also of Essex, Sussex, Bedford, Suffolk, Cambridge, Stafford, and Lincoln, shall each of you have one; and I pardon you all for what you have hitherto done; but you must follow my banners, and now return home on the terms I have mentioned." They unanimously replied they would. Thus did this great assembly break up, and set out for London. The king instantly employed upward of thirty secretaries, who drew up the letters as fast as they could; and, having sealed and delivered them to these people, they departed, and returned to their own counties.

The principal mischief remained behind: I mean Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, who declared, that though the people were satisfied, they would not thus depart; and they had more than thirty thousand who were of their mind. They continued in the city, without any wish to have their letters, or the king's seal; but did all they could to throw the town into such confusion that the lords and rich citizens might be murdered, and their houses pillaged and destroyed. The Londoners suspected this, and kept themselves at home, with their friends and servants, well armed and prepared, every one according to his abilities.

When the people had been appeased at Mile-end Green, and were setting off for their different towns as speedily as they could receive the king's letters, king Richard went to the Wardrobe, where the princess was in the greatest fear: he comforted her, as he was very able to do, and passed there the night.

I must relate an adventure which happened to these clowns near Norwich, and to their leader, called William Lister, who was from the county of Stafford. On the same day, these wicked people burnt the palace of the Savoy, the church and house of St. John, the hospital of the Templars, pulled down the prison of Newgate, and set at liberty all the prisoners. There were collected numerous bodies from Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, who proceeded on their march toward London, according to the orders they had received, under the direction of Lister.

In their road they stopped near Norwich, and forced every one to join them, so that none of the commonalty remained behind. The reason why they stopped near Norwich was, that the governor of the town was a knight called sir Robert Salle: he was not by birth a gentleman, but, having acquired great renown for his ability and courage, king Edward had created him a knight: he was the handsomest and strongest man in England. Lister and his companions took it into their heads they would make this knight their commander, and carry him with them, in order to be the more feared. They sent orders to him to come out into the fields to speak with them, or they would attack and burn the city. The knight, considering it was much better for him to go to them than that they should commit such outrages, mounted his horse, and went out of the town alone, to hear what they had to say. When they perceived him coming, they showed him every mark of respect, and courteously entreated him to dismount and talk with them. He did dismount, and committed a great folly: for, when he had so done, having surrounded him, they at first conversed in a friendly way, saying, "Robert, you are a knight, and a man of great weight in this country, renowned for your valor: yet, notwithstanding all this, we know who you are: you are not a gentleman, but the son of a poor mason, just such as ourselves. Do you come with us, as our commander, and we will make so great a lord of you that one quarter of England shall be under your command."

The knight, on hearing them thus speak, was exceedingly angry; he would never have consented to such a proposal; and, eyeing them with inflamed looks, answered, "Begone, wicked scoundrels and false traitors as you are: would you have me desert my natural lord for such a company of knaves as you? would you have me dishonor myself? I would much rather you were all hanged, for that must be your end." On saying this, he attempted to mount his horse; but, his foot slipping from the stirrup, his horse took fright. They then shouted out, and cried, "Put him to death." When he heard this, he let his horse go; and, drawing a handsome Bordeaux sword, he began to skirmish, and soon cleared the crowd from about him, that it was a pleasure to see. Some attempted to close with

* "Twelve sheriffs."—Froissart is mistaken, as there are only two sheriffs and twenty-six aldermen, including the mayor.

The aldermen were originally chosen for one year: but, in 1354, "it was ordained that they should not be removed without some special cause."—Stowe's *History of London*.

† "Simon de Sudbury."—His name was Tibold: but he took the name de Sudbury from the place of his birth.

‡ "Laige."—Leg.—Hollingshed.

§ The King's Wardrobe was at this time in Carter-lane, Barnard's Castle-ward. For further particulars, see Stowe's History of London.

‖ Lord Berners, who in this agrees with D. Sauvage, says the king sent them away—("put them out of his company.") I do not understand why Mr. Johnes has represented them as running away privily.—Ed.

him; but with each stroke he gave, he cut off heads, arms, feet, or legs. There were none so bold but were afraid; and sir Robert performed that day marvellous feats of arms. These wretches were upward of forty thousand; they shot and flung at him such things, that had he been clothed in steel instead of being unarmed, he must have been overpowered: however, he killed twelve of them, besides many whom he wounded. At last, he was overthrown, when they cut off his legs and arms, and rent his body in piecemeal. Thus ended sir Robert Salle, which was a great pity; and, when the knights and squires in England heard of it, they were much enraged.

Death of Wat Tyler.—From a MS. of the Fifteenth Century.

On the Saturday morning, the king left the Wardrobe, and went to Westminster, where he and all the lords heard mass in the abbey. In this church, there is a statue of our Lady in a small chapel, that has many virtues and performs great miracles, in which the kings of England have much faith. The king, having paid his devotions and made his offerings to this shrine, mounted his horse about nine o'clock, as did the barons who were with him. They rode along the causeway to return to London; but, when they had gone a little way, he turned to a road on the left to go from London.

This day, all the rabble were again assembled, under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, to parley at a place called Smithfield, where, every Friday, the horse-market is kept. They amounted to upward of twenty thousand, all of the same sort. Many more were in the city, breakfasting and drinking Rhenish, Malmsey and Madeira wines, in taverns and at the houses of the Lombards, without paying for anything; and happy was he who could give them good cheer. Those who were collected in Smithfield had king's banners, which had been given to them the preceding evening; and these reprobates wanted to pillage the city the same day, their leaders saying, "that hitherto they had done nothing. The pardons which the king has granted will not be of much use to us: but, if we be of the same mind, we shall pillage this large, rich, and powerful town of London, before those from Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Warwick, Reading, Lancashire, Arundel, Guilford, Coventry, Lynne, Lincoln, York, and Durham shall arrive; for they are on the road, and we know for certain that Vaquier* and Lister will conduct them hither. If we now plunder the city of the wealth that is in it, we shall have been beforehand, and shall not repent of so doing; but, if we wait for their arrival, they will wrest it from us." To this opinion all had agreed, when the king appeared in sight, attended by sixty horse. He was not thinking of them, but intended to have continued his ride without coming into London: however, when he came before the abbey of St. Bartholomew, which is in Smithfield, and saw the crowd of people, he stopped, and said he would not proceed until he knew what they wanted; and, if they were troubled, he would appease them.

The lords who accompanied him stopped also, as was but right, since the king had stopped; when Wat Tyler, seeing the king, said to his men, "Here is the king: I will go and speak with him: do not you stir from hence until I give you a signal." He made a motion with his hand, and added, "When you shall see me make this sign, then step forward, and kill every one except the king; but hurt him not, for he is young, and we can do what we please with him; for, by carrying him with us through England, we shall be lords of it without any opposition." There was a doublet-maker of London, called John Ticle, who had brought sixty doublets, with which some of the clowns had dressed themselves; and on his asking who was to pay, for he must have for them thirty good marks, Tyler replied, "Make thyself easy man; thou shalt be well paid this day: look to me for it: thou hast sufficient security for them." On saying this, he spurred the horse on which he rode, and, leaving his men, galloped up to the king, and came so near that his horse's head touched the crupper of that of the king. The first words he said, when he addressed the king, were, "King, dost thou see all those men there?" "Yes," replied the king: "why dost thou ask?" "Because they are all under my command, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatever I shall order. "Very well," said the king: "I have no objections to it." Tyler, who was only desirous of a riot, answered, "And thinkest thou, king, that those people and as many more who are in the city, also under my command, ought to depart without having had thy letters? Oh no, we will carry them with us." "Why," replied the king, "so it has been ordered, and they will be delivered out one after the other: but, friend, return to thy companions, and tell them to depart from London: be peaceable and careful of yourselves, for it is our determination that you shall all of you have your letters by villages and towns, as it had been agreed on."

As the king finished speaking, Wat Tyler, casting his eyes around him, spied a squire attached to the king's person bearing his sword. Tyler mortally hated this squire; formerly they had had words together, when the squire ill-treated him. "What, art thou here?" cried Tyler; "give me thy dagger." "I will not," said the squire: "why should I give it thee?" The king, turning to him, said, "Give it him, give it him;" which he did, though much against his will. When Tyler took it, he began to play with it and turn it about in his hand, and, again addressing the squire, said, "Give me that sword." "I will not," replied the squire; "for it is the king's sword, and thou art not worthy to bear it, who art but a mechanic; and, if only thou and I were together, thou wouldst not have dared to say what thou hast for as large a heap of gold as this church." "By my troth," answered Tyler, "I will not eat this day before I have thy head." At these words, the mayor of London, with about twelve more, rode forward, armed under their robes, and, pushing through the crowd, saw Tyler's manner of behaving: upon which, he said, "Scoundrel, how dare you thus behave in the presence of the king, and utter such words? It is too impudent for such as thou." The king then began to be enraged, and said to the mayor, "Lay hands on him."

While the king was giving this order, Tyler had addressed the mayor, saying, "Hey, in God's name, what I have said, does it concern thee? what dost thou mean?" "Truly," replied the mayor, who found himself supported by the king, "does it become such a stinking rascal as thou art to use such speech in the presence of the king, thy natural lord? I will not live a day, if thou pay not for it." Upon this, he drew a kind of cimeter* he wore, and struck Tyler such a blow on the head as felled him to his horse's feet. When he was down, he was surrounded on all sides, so that his men could not see him; and one of the king's squires, called John Standwich,† immediately leaped from his horse, and, drawing a handsome sword which he bore, thrust it into his belly, and thus killed him.

His men advancing, saw their leader dead, when they cried out, "They have killed our captain: let us march to them, and slay the whole." On these words, they drew up in a sort of battle-array, each man having his bent bow before him. The king certainly

* "Valquier"—probably Walker.

* "*Badelaire*"—a short and broad backsword, being toward the point like a Turkish cimeter.—Cosgrave.

† "Standwich." Lord Berners calls him Standyshe; Stow, Cavendish.

hazarded much by this action, but it turned out fortunate: for, when Tyler was on the ground, he left his attendants, ordering not one to follow him. He rode up to these rebellious fellows, who were advancing to revenge their leader's death, and said to them, "Gentlemen, what are you about? you shall have no other captain but me: I am your king: remain peaceable." When the greater part of them heard these words, they were quite ashamed, and those inclined to peace began to slip away." The riotous ones kept their ground, and showed symptoms of mischief, and as if they were resolved to do something.

The king returned to his lords, and asked them what should next be done. He was advised to make for the fields; for the mayor said, "that to retreat or fly would be of no avail. It is proper we should act thus, for I reckon that we shall very soon receive assistance from London, that is, from our good friends who are prepared and armed, with all their servants in their houses." While things remained in this state, several ran to London, and cried out, "They are killing the king! they are killing the king and our mayor." Upon this alarm, every man of the king's party sallied out toward Smithfield, and to the fields whither the king had retreated; and there were instantly collected from seven to eight thousand men in arms.

Among the first, came sir Robert Knolles and sir Perducas d'Albreth, well attended;* and several of the aldermen, with upward of six hundred men-at-arms, and a powerful man of the city called Nicholas Bramber, the king's draper, bringing with him a large force, who, as they came up, ranged themselves in order, on foot, on each side of him. The rebels were drawn up opposite them: they had the king's banners, and showed as if they intended to maintain their ground by offering combat. The king created three knights; sir William Walworth, mayor of London, sir John Standwich, and sir Nicholas Bramber. The lords began to converse among themselves, saying, "What shall we do? We see our enemies, who would willingly have murdered us if they had gained the upper hand." Sir Robert Knolles advised immediately to fall on them, and slay them; but the king would not consent, saying, "I will not have you act thus: you shall go and demand from them my banners: we shall see how they will behave when you make this demand; for I will have them by fair or foul means." "It is a good thought," replied the earl of Salisbury.

The new knights were therefore sent, who, on approaching, made signs for them not to shoot, as they wished to speak with them. When they had come near enough to be heard, they said, "Now attend: the king orders you to send back his banners, and we hope he will have mercy on you." The banners were directly given up, and brought to the king. It was then ordered, under pain of death, that all those who had obtained the king's letters should deliver them up. Some did so; but not all. The king, on receiving them, had them torn in their presence. You must know, that from the instant when the king's banners were surrendered, these fellows kept no order; but the greater part, throwing their bows to the ground, took to their heels and returned to London.

Sir Robert Knolles was in a violent rage that they were not attacked, and the whole of them slain; but the king would not consent to it, saying, he would have ample revenge on them, which in truth he afterwards had.

Thus did these people disperse, and run away on all sides. The king, the lords, and the army returned in good array to London, to their great joy. The king immediately took the road to the Wardrobe, to visit the princess his mother, who had remained there two days and two nights under the greatest fears, as indeed she had cause. On seeing the king her son, she was mightily rejoiced, and said, "Ha, ha, fair son, what pain and anguish have I not suffered for you this day!" "Certainly, madam," replied the king, "I am well assured of that; but now rejoice and thank God, for it behooves us to praise him, as I have this day regained my inheritance, and the kingdom of England, which I had lost."

The king remained the whole day with his mother. The lords retired to their own houses. A proclamation was made through all the streets, that every person who was not an inhabitant of London, and who had not resided there for a whole year, should instantly depart; for that, if there were any found of a contrary description on Sunday morning at sunrise, they would be arrested as traitors to the king, and have their heads cut off. After this proclamation had been heard, no one dared to infringe it; but all departed instantly to their former homes, quite discomfited. John Ball and Jack Straw were found hidden in an old ruin, thinking to steal away; but this they could not do, for they were betrayed by their own men. The king and the lords were well pleased with their seizure: their heads were cut off, as was that of Tyler, and fixed on London bridge, in the place of those gallant men whom they beheaded on the Thursday.* The news of this was sent through the neighboring counties, that those might hear of it who were on their way to London, according to the orders these rebels had sent them: upon which they instantly returned to their homes, without daring to advance farther.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

A TRUCE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTS. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER REMAINS IN SCOTLAND DURING THE REBELLION IN ENGLAND.

We will now speak of the truce which the duke of Lancaster, who had remained on the borders of Scotland during the time of this rebellion in England, was negotiating with the earl of Douglas and other barons on the part of Scotland. The Scots were as well informed as the duke of the situation of England, though he did not take any notice of it to them, but went on with the treaty as if England were in perfect peace. The business was so ably conducted by the commissioners on each side that a truce was made, for three years, between the two kingdoms.

When this treaty was concluded, the lords of the two countries visited each other with much respect. The earl of Douglas said to the duke of Lancaster, "My lord, we were well informed of the rebellion of the populace in England, and what peril the kingdom was in from that event: we therefore look on you as a valiant and prudent man, for having so frankly continued your negotiations without ever taking the least notice of it; and we offer you, should you think them necessary, five or six hundred spears, which you will find ready and at your service." "By my faith," replied the duke, "fair gentlemen, I thank you much for your gallant offer, which I do not refuse; but I imagine his majesty must have been so advised that all will turn out well. However, I wish to have passports from you, for myself and people, to go to your country, and reside there, should there be occasion, until all these troubles be appeased." The earls of Douglas and Moray, who had full powers from the king, immediately complied with his request. They then took their leave, and each party separated: the Scots returned to Edinburgh, and the duke, with his attendants, to Berwick, thinking to enter the town, where he had left all his baggage; but sir Matthew Redmayne, the governor, refused him entrance, and closed the gates against him. He told him he acted by orders from the earl of Northumberland, at that time lord warden of the county of Northumberland and of all those parts, who had forbidden him to open the gates, and that he could do no otherwise.

The duke was much vexed on hearing these words, and thus answered, "How, Matthew Redmayne, is there any one in Northumberland greater than I? Who has thus denied my entrance where I have left my baggage? from whence come such orders?" "By my faith, my lord, my orders are from the king, and what I do is very much against my will; but do it I must; and I entreat of you, for God's sake, to excuse me, for I am strictly enjoined, on my honor and life, not to suffer you, or any of your people, to enter this town." You may suppose the duke of Lancaster was much astonished and enraged at these orders; not so much with the knight, but with those who had given them; for when he had been laboring for the good of England, they were so suspicious of him that they had refused him admittance into the first town of England, on his return from Scotland. He supposed that great fault had been found with him: however, he did not open his thoughts or intentions further, and no longer pressed the knight. He saw no success could come from it, for the knight would never have acted as he had done if he had not had express commands: he therefore changed the subject of conversation, and asked sir Matthew if he had heard any news from England. He answered, "None, except that the country was in confusion, and that the king had written to the principal towns, barons and knights of this country to be ready to come to him the moment he should send for them, strictly forbidding, under pain of losing their heads, all governors and captains of towns and castles in Northumberland to suffer any one whatever to enter their places; and be assured they will punctually obey. But, with regard to the common people who are in rebellion about London, I know nothing I can depend on to relate to you, except that the officers in Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Stafford, Bedford and Norfolk have sent information that the commonalty under their command are very eager affairs should turn out ill, and that there should be confusion in the king-

* In one of my MSS there is the following addition.

"Sir Robert de Namur, sir Robert Knolles, and sir Perducas d'Albreth were very angry that these wicked people so easily escaped, for they had put the town into great alarm for three days. Sir Henry de Sausselles, a young knight from Hainault who had accompanied sir Robert de Namur, asked why some revenge was not had for having kept the town in such alarm. Sir Robert, upon this, asked him if he had been frightened: 'Yes, by God, was I, very much, why should I conceal it? And was not you?' 'No, by my troth, I was not; but if the king had not been here with us, we should have run great risk.'"

* From the forementioned MS.

"This same week was James Lister taken, who had murdered sir Robert Salle. He and twelve others were executed with him. Thus were these traitors punished. There are some who say, that John Ball and his accomplices were strictly examined before they were put to death, and then owned that persons of the highest rank and power had incited them to act as they had done. The king kept this confession secret in his own mind, and returned thanks to God for his happy issue out of this danger. Very many were astonished that the duke of Lancaster, during all this rebellion, remained out of the kingdom, settling general matters on the borders of Scotland.

"The king sent orders to the earl of Northumberland, that if the duke of Lancaster should attempt to enter any fortified town or castle, the gates should be shut against him. The king made the earl his lieutenant of all the borders toward Scotland. Many noblemen and others were surprised at this, for it would seem as if the king suspected the duke of being implicated with the rebels. But it was admitted, on all sides, that he was inculpated without any grounds; for the first thing the rebels did, on entering London, was to march to the palace of the Savoy, and totally destroy and burn it. Now this did not show that he was friendly to their cause. They also put to death several who were attached to him."

dom." "And in our counties," said the duke, "of Derby and Leicester, there is not any commotion?" "My lord," replied the knight, "I have not heard they have behaved so outrageously as those of Lincoln and others."

The duke, having mused a little, took leave of the knight, and returned by the road he had come to Roxburgh Castle, where he was gladly received by the governor, whom he had placed there. The duke now weighed all matters, not knowing how affairs were going on in England, nor by whom he was beloved or hated, and whether he should signify his situation to the barons of Scotland, and entreat of them to send him an escort of men-at-arms, according to the passport they had given. He followed this last plan, and sent to the earl of Douglas at Dalkeith. The earl was greatly rejoiced at receiving the duke's letter, and much feasted the messenger. He instantly informed the earl of Moray and his brother the earl of Mar, of the business, and directed that without fail they and their men should be ready and mounted within three days at Lambir-law. These lords, on receiving this intimation, summoned their people and nearest friends, and came to Lambir-law, where they found the earl of Douglas. They then rode on together, amounting, in the whole, to full five hundred spears, to the abbey of Melrose, nine small leagues from Roxburgh. The barons of Scotland met the duke of Lancaster on their road, when they embraced each other, and showed every token of being glad at meeting. They continued their journey to Edinburgh in company, conversing all the way. This was the capital of the kingdom, and where usually the king resided: it has a strong castle and fair harbor; but the king was at that time absent, being in the Highlands on a hunting party. To pay greater honor to the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Douglas and the Scots barons delivered up to him the castle of Edinburgh, for which he was very thankful: and he resided there until he had received intelligence from England, which, however, was not so soon as he wished.

Now see how evil-minded persons and deceivers take on them to prate without any knowledge of facts. It was commonly reported through England, during the time of the rebellion, that the duke of Lancaster had become a traitor to his lord and king, and had turned to the Scots party. But this was soon known to be contrary to the truth: however, these wicked people, in order to stir up the commonalty, and to create confusion in the realm, had spread abroad such reports, which were acknowledged at their executions, by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball, Walker and Lister, who had been the chief leaders of the rebels in England, and who had intended to have had five parts of the kingdom under their command. They had a particular hatred to the duke of Lancaster, as they showed on their entrance into London; for they instantly went and burnt the fine palace of the Savoy, not leaving an utensil nor beam unburnt. In addition to this, they had published all over England that he had turned to the side of Scotland; for which, in several parts, they had reversed his arms, as if he had been a traitor. This was so severely punished that those who had done such things lost their heads.

We will now relate what vengeance the king of England took on his rebellious subjects during the time the duke of Lancaster was in Scotland.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

KING RICHARD JOURNEYS THROUGH ENGLAND FROM TOWN TO TOWN, PUNISHING THOSE WHO HAD BEEN PRINCIPALS OR ACTIVE IN THE LATE REBELLION. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER RETURNS FROM SCOTLAND TO ENGLAND.

After the executions of Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball, William Lister, Walker and several others at London, the people being appeased, the king resolved to visit his bailiwicks, castlewicks and stewardships, in order to punish the wicked and to recover the letters of pardon which had been forced from him, as well as to place the realm in its proper situation. The king issued a secret summons for a certain number of men-at-arms to assemble at a fixed place, on a particular day, which was done. They amounted to five hundred spears and as many archers. When they were thus assembled, the king set out from London, attended only by his household, and took the road to Kent, for in that quarter the rebellion had first broken out.

These men-at-arms followed the king, but did not accompany him. The king entered the county of Kent, and came to a village called Comprinke,* when he had the mayor and all the men of the village called before him. On their being assembled in an open space, the king ordered one of his council to remonstrate with them, how much they had erred against him, and that they had nearly thrown England into desolation and ruin; and because this mischief must have had some advisers who had encouraged them in their wickedness, and it must be supposed that all were not equally guilty, it was better that the ringleaders should suffer than the whole: his majesty demanded that those should be pointed out who had been so culpable, under pain of incurring his indignation for ever, and being considered as traitors.

When those present heard this harangue, and saw the innocent might escape by pointing out the guilty, they looked at each other, and then said: "My lord, here is one by whom this town was first put into confusion and excited to rise." He was immediately seized, and hanged; as were seven others. The letters patent which had been granted were demanded back: when they were given up, the king's officers tore them in pieces before their eyes, and cast them away, and then said, "We command all ye who are here assembled, in the king's name, and under pain of death, to depart, every one peaceably to his own home; and that you never rebel more against the king, nor against his ministers. By the punishment which has been inflicted, your former evil deeds are pardoned." The people cried out with one voice, "God bless the king and his good council." They acted in the same manner at Propinke,* Canterbury, Sandwich, Germanie,† Conculle,‡ and in the different parts of England where the people had rebelled; so that upward of fifteen hundred were beheaded or hanged.

The king was advised to send for his uncle the duke of Lancaster, then in Scotland, as everything was now quieted. He sent thither a knight of his household, called sir Nicholas Carnefelle. The knight set off, and continued his journey until he came to Edinburgh, where he found the duke and his attendants, who were very happy to see him, and entertained him handsomely. He delivered his credential letters from the king; and the duke made preparations to obey them, as was right, for he was very desirous to return to England and to his estates. On setting out for Roxburgh, he took his leave of the barons of Scotland, and thanked them for the honor and comfort they had given him, by maintaining him in their country the time he had wished to stay there. The earls of Douglas and Moray, with all the Scottish knights, escorted him as far as the abbey of Melrose, but did not cross the Tweed. The duke went to Roxburgh, from thence to Newcastle on Tyne, then to Durham and York; and, in all the towns and cities through which he passed, the inhabitants were drawn up to receive him.

At this period a gallant knight of England departed this life, sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon and tutor to the king. He was buried with great pomp in the church of the Augustin friars. His funeral was attended by the king, the princess his mother, his two brothers, and by great numbers of prelates, barons and ladies of England. In truth, the gallant knight was very deserving of it, for he possessed all the virtues which a knight at that time ought to have: he was gay, loyal, gallant, prudent, secret, generous, bold, determined and enterprising. Thus died sir Guiscard d'Angle.

* "Comprinke." It is so in lord Berners. Q. if not Ospringe. See additions at the end of this chapter.

ADDITIONS, FROM A MS. IN THE HAFORD LIBRARY.

When these first examples had been made on the leaders of the rebellion in London, St. Alban's, Norwich, Suffolk and Gloucester, the king determined to visit the whole of his kingdom, which he had not done since his coronation. His officers of justice had collected a body of evidence respecting the late rebellion from the confessions of those who had been beheaded. The king, when he set out, took the road toward Canterbury, under a pretext of a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Becket: he was attended by the earls of Salisbury, Suffolk and Devonshire, and travelled in grand array. He remained two days at Rochester; for Sir John Newtoun, whom these wicked people had forced to be their captain, had, by the king's command, made exact researches after the first instigators of this mischief. He had found out some of the most culpable, who, without form of law, had their heads cut off and placed on the gates and bridge, and their quarters hung on the gibbet. The king departed from Rochester and came to Ospringe, where four were executed. He came thence to Canterbury; but why should I make a long story of it? There were put to death, in the different towns and bailiwicks, upward of five hundred rebels; for they were eager in accusing each other.

During this progress of the king, which he continued far into his realm, several of the great barons, such as the earls of Warwick and Kent, sir John Holland, sir John Beauchamp, spoke to the king and to the earl of Salisbury, in favor of the duke of Lancaster; as did also the Londoners. The king readily consented that two knights should be sent to the duke, for him to return into England and to his presence; for that he would not listen to any complaints against him or his other uncles. The earl of Northumberland was commanded to go himself in search of him.

The two knights journeyed on until they arrived at Newcastle on Tyne, where they found the earl of Northumberland. He had been informed of their coming, and received them handsomely. They produced their letters, when he took from the packet what was addressed to him; and, having read it through, was much pleased with the commission to seek the duke of Lancaster; for he had heard the duke was very angry with him. He therefore wrote letters of excuse; and, when these two barons met, peace was made between them. They returned together to England, and found the king arrived at his manor of Eltham, a few miles from London. At this time also, the earl of Buckingham came back from Wales, and went to Pleshy, where he resided as formerly. The king and his uncles dissembled their sentiments of each other for some time; but at last it broke out, as you will hear in the continuance of this history.

* Q. If not Rochester. † "Germanie." Q. ‡ "Conculle." Q.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER CONCEIVES ANGER AGAINST THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, FOR THE REFUSAL OF ADMITTANCE INTO BERWICK.

When the duke of Lancaster was returned from Scotland, and had explained to the council the truce he had negotiated between the two kingdoms, he did not forget to mention how sir Matthew Redmayne, governor of Berwick (though he blamed not that knight,) had shut the gates of Berwick against him, by orders from the earl of Northumberland. It was such an act, he said, as he never could forgive; and thus spoke of it, with the intent to see if the king his nephew would own it. This the king did, but it seemed to the duke as if it were faintly. The duke was appeased for that time; but he waited for the feast of our lady at mid-August, when the king was to hold a solemn court at Westminster. There were at this court great numbers of the nobles and barons of England; the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, with many barons from the north. The king created, this day, the young earl of Pembroke, sir Robert Mowbray, sir Nicholas Twiford and sir Adam François, knights. He did so because he intended, after the feast, to march toward Reading, Oxford, and through those parts of the country, to punish the rebels in the same manner as he had done in Kent and the other counties.

During this feast, and after the dinner, high words passed between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland. The duke said, "Harry Percy, I did not think you was so great a man in England, that you would dare to order any cities, towns or castles, to be shut against the duke of Lancaster." The earl respectfully answered, "My lord, I do not deny the knight's act at Berwick: but I was ordered by strict commands of my lord the king, who sits there, on my honor and under pain of death, not to suffer any one, lord or otherwise, to enter the cities, towns or castles of Northumberland, if he were not an inhabitant of those places; and the king, if he please, or the lords of his council, may make my excuses: for they well knew you were in Scotland, and you ought to have been excepted out of these orders."

"How, earl of Northumberland," replied the duke, "do you think it was necessary there should have been a reservation in regard to me? who am uncle to the king, and who have my inheritance to guard, which, next to the king's, is the greatest, and who for the good of the realm have made this journey into Scotland? Your answer does not excuse you from having much wronged my honor, in thus giving credit to the reports in circulation that I wished to commit treason with the Scots, by shutting against me the king my lord's towns, and in particular that in which my provision and stores were. For which reasons I tell you, you have ill behaved; and for the blame you have thus cast on me, and to clear myself in the presence of my lord the king, I throw down my glove: take it up if you dare." Upon this, the king stepped forth and said, "Fair uncle of Lancaster, whatever has been done I avow as my orders. Take up your glove, and recal your words. I must excuse the earl of Northumberland; for strictly, and on his life, did we order him to keep every town close shut that was on the borders of Scotland: and know, that our kingdom was in such confusion and peril, when you were in those parts, that it could not support itself. It must, therefore, have been through the fault of the secretary, or the neglect of our council; for, in truth, you ought to have been excepted. I therefore beg of you, and will, that you lay aside your ill-humor: I take all on myself, and clear the earl of Northumberland."

The earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Suffolk, Stafford and Devonshire, cast themselves on their knees to the duke, and said, "My lord, you hear how amicably the king speaks to you: you ought to condescend to what he requests." The duke, who was much inflamed, said, "I will not say more about it." He was silent a short space, when, raising the barons, and thanking them, he said: "Fair gentlemen, there is not one of you, if such an affront had happened to him, who would not have been as much angered as I am; but since the king wishes otherwise, it is but right that I should comply."

Peace was made between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland by means of the king and the barons, who interceded for it. On the second day, the king began to journey, as before mentioned, attended by five hundred spears, and as many archers, through different counties, where he executed justice on the ill-intentioned and on those who had rebelled against him.

We will now leave the king of England, and speak of his uncle, the earl of Cambridge, and of his voyage to Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE AND HIS ARMY ARRIVE AT LISBON.

You have before heard how the earl of Cambridge, with five hundred men-at-arms and as many archers, were lying in the harbor of Plymouth, waiting for a wind to carry them to Portugal. At last, a favorable wind came, when they heaved their anchors, and the whole fleet made sail as straight as they could for Lisbon. They coasted, the first two days, the shores of England: on the third, they entered the Spanish main, when they had a very severe gale; insomuch that the fleet was in great danger from the tempest, more especially those vessels in which the Gascons were, such as sir John de Chateauneuf, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord de la Barde, with about forty men-at-arms, knights and squires, who were driven out of sight of the English fleet.

The earl of Cambridge, sir William Beauchamp, marshal of the army, sir Matthew Gournay, constable, and the canon de Robesart, with others, escaped through good fortune, the bad effects of the storm, and, sailing by the stars, arrived in the harbor of Lisbon. News of this was instantly carried to the king, who was daily expecting the English: he immediately sent his knights and ministers to welcome them, by whom they were most respectfully received, and the earl of Cambridge, with the English and foreign knights, conducted to the king. The king advanced out of his palace to meet the earl, and received them all most honorably, one after the other: he led them to the palace, where wine and spices were set before them. John of Cambridge, the earl's son, was with him, which much pleased the king, who said, "He is my son, and shall have my daughter." This was very proper, for they were of the same age. The children were much pleased, and conversed with each other arm in arm.

While the king of Portugal and his knights paid every attention to the earl and his companions, and lodged them in the town, the others, on disembarking, were also well-quartered; for the city of Lisbon is large, handsomely built, and well-furnished with everything: the stewards of the household of the king had also been careful to provide it with all things necessary against the arrival of the English. They found it, therefore, amply stored; and the lords were comfortable and in high spirits, though at times they were very uneasy about the lord de Chateauneuf, the souldich de l'Estrade and the lord de la Barde, and their men, whom they looked upon as lost, or that the tempest had driven them among the Moors in the kingdoms of Granada or Benmarine: if it should have so happened, they might as well have perished at sea. All this gave them great concern, and they bitterly lamented them. In truth they were to be pitied; for they suffered so much in the tempest none ever endured the like and survived it. They were driven through the straits of the Moors, near to the kingdoms of Benmarine and Tremeçen, and were in great danger of being taken by the Saracens; so that they considered themselves as dead men, never expecting to land nor to get into any safe harbor, and they were forty days in this extreme peril.

At last, they had a wind which drove them back again into the Spanish main, whether they would or not. When the wind became calm, they anchored, and, by good fortune, fell in with two large ships, going, as the crews said, to Lisbon, from Flanders, laden with merchandise and wines. These knights tacked about, and, having hoisted their pennons, followed the Lisbon ships, who having only merchants on board, were not perfectly easy on seeing this armed vessel approach, with the banners of St. George displayed in various parts of it. However, when they came nearer, finding who they were, they rejoiced to see them. These merchants put the knights once more in great peril, and I will tell you how.

The knights inquired if they could give them any intelligence; and they, in answer, said, that the king of Portugal and the English were in Spain, and had besieged the king of Castille. They were delighted with this news, and declared they would go thither, as they were now near the shores of Seville. They then left the wine-merchants, and ordered their mariners to make sail for Seville, as their friends were there at the siege. They answered, "In God's name, will we obey you;" and, having steered for Seville, came very near the harbor. The sailors, who were prudent and wished not to run their masters into any danger, ordered a boy to climb the mast, and see if there was any appearance of a siege, either by land or water, before Seville. The boy, who had a good sight, answered he saw nothing like it. The sailors then, addressing their lords, said, "Listen, fair gentlemen: you have had false information, for certainly there is not any siege before Seville, either by land or water: had there been any appearance of it the harbor would have shown it. We have no occasion to go thither, unless we wish to be made prisoners; for the king of Castille is surely there, as it is a city in which he delights to dwell preferably to any other." The sailors were with difficulty believed: however, they were so at last, when, quitting the coast of Seville, they entered the sea of Portugal, and arrived in the port of Lisbon precisely at the very hour when their obsequies were performing in the church of St. Catherine at Lisbon. The barons and knights were all clothed in black, for they considered them as having perished at sea. You may suppose the joy was great when they learned their safe arrival, and that they had escaped shipwreck. They enjoyed themselves much together, and the Gascon knights soon forgot their misfortunes.

We will leave the affairs of Portugal, as no deeds of arms were done, and return to Flanders, and say what happened there at this period.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS AGAIN LAYS SIEGE TO GHENT.

While the affairs you have heard were passing in England, there was no intermission in the wars which the earl of Flanders was carrying on against Ghent, and which those citizens waged against

him. You know that Philip von Artaveld was chosen commander in Ghent, through the recommendation of Peter du Bois, who advised him, when in office, to become cruel and wicked to be the more feared. Philip did not forget this doctrine, for he had not long been governor of Ghent before he had twelve persons beheaded in his presence: some said, they were those who had been principally concerned in the murder of his father, and thus he revenged himself on them.

Philip von Artaveld began his reign with great power, and made himself beloved and feared by many, more especially by those who followed the profession of arms: for, to gain their favor, he refused them nothing; everything was abandoned to them. I may be asked how the Ghent men were able to carry on this war; and I will answer to the best of my ability, according to the information I received. They were firmly united among themselves, and maintained the poor, each according to his means: thus, by being so firmly united, they were of great force: besides, Ghent, taken all together, is one of the strongest towns in the world, provided Brabant, Zealand, and Holland, be not against it; but, in case these countries were leagued with Flanders, they would be shut up, surrounded and starved. These three countries, however, were never their enemies; so that their warfare with the earl of Flanders was more strenuously carried on, and longer continued. At the commencement of Philip von Artaveld's government, the deacon of the weavers was accused of treason. He was arrested and committed to prison. In order to know the truth of the accusation, his house was searched, wherein was found some saltpetre in powder.* The deacon was beheaded, and dragged through the town by the shoulders, for a traitor, and to serve as an example to others.

The earl of Flanders resolved to lay siege again to Ghent: he therefore issued his summons to a number of knights and squires, and to the inhabitants of the principal towns. He sent to Mechlin, from whence he had many men. He wrote to his cousins, sir Robert, and sir William de Namur, at that time count d'Artois, the countess, his mother, being lately dead, who brought a number of knights from Artois. In this summons, the lord de Dampierre was not forgotten: he came to offer his services, with as many as he could collect, and was handsomely attended by knights and squires from Hainault. The earl advanced to invest Ghent, on the side toward Bruges and Hainault. During the time it lasted, there were many skirmishes; and the Ghent men made frequent sallies in search of adventures, in which sometimes they were repulsed, at others they conquered. But the person who gained the greatest renown was the young lord d'Anghien: all the young knights desirous of glory cheerfully followed his banners.

The lord d'Anghien marched with full four thousand men, well mounted, without counting those on foot, to besiege Grammont, which was attached to Ghent: he had before harassed them much, but could not win it. This time, however, he came in greater force, and, on a Sunday, had it stormed at upward of forty places: he did not spare himself, but was one of the most active, and the first who placed his banner on the walls. This attack was so sharp and well fought that, about four in the afternoon, the town was taken, and the troops of the lord d'Anghien entered it through the gates, which had been destroyed. When the inhabitants saw their town was lost without hope of recovery, all that could escape did so through those gates where there were no enemies; but few were so fortunate. The slaughter was very great of men, women and children, for to none was shown mercy. There were upward of five hundred of the inhabitants killed, and numbers of old people and women burnt in their beds, which was much to be lamented. The town was set on fire at more than two hundred places, which reduced the whole to ashes, churches and all: nothing remained entire.

Thus did Grammont suffer, by fire and flame; and the lord d'Anghien, after this exploit, returned to the army before Ghent. The earl of Flanders was much pleased when he heard it, and said, "Fair son, you are a valiant man, and, if it please God, will be a gallant knight, for you have made a handsome commencement." During this destruction of Grammont, which happened on a Sunday in the month of June, the siege of Ghent still continued. The lord d'Anghien, whose name was Walter, was there, but never rested long in his quarters: he was every day out in search of adventures, at times well accompanied, at others so thinly that he was unable to prosecute his plans. Some adventures, however, daily befel him or the Haze of Flanders.

One Thursday morning the lord d'Anghien left his quarters, in company with the lord de Montigny, sir Michael de la Hameide his cousin, his brother the bastard d'Anghien, Julien de Toisson, Hutin Donay, and several more of his household, in order to skirmish before Ghent as they had formerly done: they this time advanced so far that they suffered for it, for those of Ghent had placed in ambuscade more than two hundred men beyond the walls of the town. They were armed with long pikes. Some said, this ambuscade was formed of the greater part of those who had fled from Grammont, in the hope of surrounding and making prisoner the lord d'Anghien, in revenge for the mischief he had done them. They knew him to be young, courageous and apt to venture himself foolishly, which gave them hopes of the success they had. It was unfortunate for him, as well as for those who accompanied him. The lord d'Anghien and his company were quite off their guard, when they found themselves surrounded by the Ghent men, who advanced boldly up, crying out, "Surrender, or you are all dead men:" the lord d'Anghien, perceiving his situation, asked advice from the lord de Montigny, who was beside him: he replied, "Sir, it is too late: let us defend ourselves, and sell our lives as dearly as we can: there is nothing else to do, and we have not a moment for delay."

The knights then made the sign of the cross, and recommending themselves to God and St. George, dashed among their enemies; for they could noways retreat, being in the midst of their ambuscade. They behaved very gallantly, and did everything that could be done in arms; but they were out-numbered by their opponents, who, having long pikes, gave such strokes as were but too mortal, as the event showed. The lord d'Anghien was slain; as were the bastard d'Anghien his brother, and Julien de Toisson by his side. Other valiant knights from Hainault, such as the lords de Montigny and de St. Christopher, suffered similar fates. Sir Michael de la Hameide was severely wounded, and would certainly have lost his life, if Hutin Donay had not saved him by dint of arms and prudence: he had great difficulty in doing it.

While the Flemings were employed in pillaging and disarming these knights, to convey them into Ghent, where it was known they had slain the lord d'Anghien, which gave them great joy, Hutin Donay, seeing no hopes of succor, carried sir Michael de la Hameide out of the crowd and danger. Such was the end of this unfortunate day to the lord d'Anghien. You may well suppose the earl of Flanders was much grieved at it: indeed, he showed it plainly; for, out of his affection to him, he raised the siege of Ghent. The earl could not forget him, but regretted his loss; saying, "Ah, Walter, Walter, my fair son, how unfortunate hast thou been, to be thus cut off in thy youth. I wish every one to know, that the Ghent men shall never have peace with me until I have greatly revenged myself." Things remained in this situation, when he sent to demand the body of the lord d'Anghien, which they had carried into Ghent to please the town; but they refused to deliver it up until they should be paid a thousand francs in hard cash. They divided this booty between them, when the body was conveyed to the army, and from thence to Anghien, of which town he was the lord.

* Lord Berners, who agrees with D. Sauvage, here adds, "*whereunto he had done no help to the town at siege nor otherwise of all the holl more parte.*" This explains his crime, for the mere possession of saltpetre could not be treason. It is probable that this *powder of saltpetre*, as Lord Berners has it, (not saltpetre *in powder* was gun powder, which the cunning deacon had concealed to make the greater profit when the supply of that scarce commodity should run short.—Ed.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS RAISES THE SIEGE OF GHENT. TWO RICH CITIZENS, DESIROUS OF NEGOTIATING A PEACE BETWEEN THE EARL AND THE TOWN, ARE PUT TO DEATH BY PETER DU BOIS AND PHILIP VON ARTAVELD.

Out of affection to the lord d'Anghien, the siege of Ghent was raised, and the earl returned to Bruges. He then dismissed his army, ordering it to the different garrisons in Flanders, and to the castles of Gavre, Oudenarde, Dendremonde, Courtray, and every place near to Ghent. The earl requested the Liegeois not to continue sending stores and provision to Ghent as they had done. The men of Liege returned a haughty answer to the messengers, saying they would consult with those of St. Tron, Huy, and Dinant, how to act. The earl sent to his cousins the duke of Brabant and duke Albert, and to the bailiffs of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, special embassadors, chosen from among his principal counsellors, to remonstrate with them touching the conduct of the town of Ghent, which still continued in its rebellion, chiefly owing to the provision and stores which it received from their countries, and to request that a stop might be put to it.

These two lords would have been very sorry to do anything which might displease the earl: they excused themselves handsomely, saying, that until that moment they were ignorant of it, but that henceforward they would issue such orders that it should be discontinued. This answer was agreeable to the earl of Flanders. Duke Albert, who at that time resided in Holland, wrote to his bailiff in Hainault, sir Simon de Lalain, inclosing him a copy of the letter from the earl of Flanders, adding his positive commands against any provision or stores being furnished Ghent from Hainault, or any other thing to be done which might displease his cousin the earl, under pain of his highest displeasure. The bailiff issued a proclamation through Hainault, forbidding any provisions to be carried to Ghent. A similar proclamation was made in Brabant: so that none dared to go to Ghent but privately, which much surprised the inhabitants; for provision began to be very scarce, and there would have been a famine, if the Hollanders had not assisted them: an act of friendship which they would not be restrained from doing by any injunctions that duke Albert could lay on them.

About this period, through the means of the counsels of Brabant, Hainault, and Liege, there was a great assembly appointed to be

holden at Harlebecque, near Courtray: the men of Ghent sent thither twelve of their principal inhabitants, who had in general shown themselves desirous of peace, whatever it might cost them from the populace that sought only confusion. All the magistrates of the chief towns in Flanders were at Harlebecque, even the earl himself; and there were some also from Liege, Hainault, and Brabant. Matters were so ably conducted, that the deputies from Ghent returned home with propositions for a peace. It happened that those inhabitants who wished for an end of the war, namely, the prudent and quiet ones, went to the houses of the deputies who had been at this conference, and who were two of the richest and most peaceable citizens, such as sir Guisebert Gente and sir Symon Bete, and asked them what news they had brought. They discovered themselves too soon; for they replied, "Good people, we shall have, if it please God, an excellent peace for those who are well inclined and wish for quiet; and some of the wicked ones in the town will be punished."

It is commonly said, if there be those who talk, there are those who act. Peter du Bois, not thinking his life in safety, had spies everywhere to give him intelligence. Some of them brought him the reports of the town, respecting a peace, and assured him the words came from sir Guisebert Gente and sir Symon Bete. Peter, on hearing this, was like a madman, and, applying them to himself, said, "If any are to be punished for this war, I shall not be one of the last; but it shall not go thus. Our gentlemen who have been at the conference may think what they will, but I have no desire to die yet. The war has not lasted half so long as I intend it shall; and my good masters John Lyon and William Craffart, have not hitherto been sufficiently avenged. If the affairs be now in confusion, I will trouble them still more."

Peter du Bois was as good as his word, and I will show how. That same evening, the morrow of which the council were to meet in the council chamber, to hear the report of the deputies, he came to the house of Philip von Artaveld, and found him musing and thoughtful, leaning against a window of his apartment. The first word he uttered was, "Philip, have you heard any news?" "None," replied Philip, "except that our deputies are returned from the conference at Harlebecque, and that to-morrow we are to hear in the council-chamber what they have done." "That is true," answered Peter; "but I know what they have done, and the terms of the treaty; for they have opened themselves to some of my friends. Be assured, Philip, that our heads will pay for all the treaties they make, or have made; for there will not be any peace between my lord and the town, but that you, the lord de Harzelles, myself, and all the captains our allies in this war, will be first put to death, and the rich citizens pardoned. They wish to free themselves by delivering us up; and this was the opinion of John Lyon, my master. Besides, the earl, our lord, has his base flatterers always with him; such as Gilbert Matthew and his brothers, the provost of Harlebecque, who is their relation, and the deacon of the small crafts who fled away with them. It therefore behooves us to consider awhile on this business."

"How shall we act?" asked Philip. "I will tell you," replied Peter: "we must send orders to all our leaders and captains, to be ready armed, and in the market-place to-morrow, and to keep near us: when we will enter the council-chamber, with a hundred of our men, to hear the treaty read. Leave me to manage the rest; but only avow what I shall say; for whoever wishes to preserve his life and power with the commonalty, if he do not make himself feared, does nothing." Philip willingly assented; and then Peter du Bois, taking his leave, departed. He instantly sent his servants and scouts to the different captains under him, to order them and their men to be in the market-place on the next day, well armed, to hear the news. They all obeyed, for none dared to refuse, and were ready for any mischief.*

CITIZENS OF GHENT begging a Peace of the Earl of Flanders. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

The ensuing morning, at nine o'clock, the mayor, sheriffs, and rich men of the city, came to the market-place and entered the town-hall: then came those who had been at the conferences at Harlebecque; and last came Peter du Bois and Philip von Artaveld, well attended by those of their party. When they were all assembled and seated, for every one who chose it sat down, they found the lord de Harzelles was not present: they sent to him, but he excused himself by saying he could not come, for he was unwell: "Proceed," cried out Peter du Bois; "I will answer for him, and we are full enough: let us hear what these gentlemen have brought from the conferences at Harlebecque."

Upon this, Guisebert Gente and Simon Bete rose up, as being the principal deputies; when one of them spoke thus: "Gentlemen of Ghent, we have attended the conferences at Harlebecque; and we have had much labor and difficulty, in conjunction with the good men of Brabant, Liege, and Hainault, in making up our disputes with the earl our lord. However, at the entreaty of the duke and duchess of Brabant, who had sent thither their council, as well as duke Albert, the good town of Ghent is at peace with the earl, on condition that two hundred men-at-arms, whose names he will send within fifteen days in writing, shall surrender themselves to his prison in the castle of Lille, to his pure will: he is so noble and generous that he will show them mercy and pardon." At these words, Peter du Bois advanced, and said, "Guisebert, how have you dared to enter into any treaty that should put two hundred men-at-arms into any of the enemy's prisons? Ghent would be indeed disgraced, and better would it be for it, if completely overturned, than to be reproached for having so scandalously concluded the war. We know well among ourselves, and understand that neither you nor Simon Bete will be of the two hundred. You have made your own choice; but we shall carve and cut out for ourselves. Advance, Philip, on these traitors, who want to betray and dishonor the town of Ghent."

* Lord Berners relates the story a little differently. According to his version, the plan of action was arranged by Philip von Artaveld, not by Peter du Bois. "The same proper evening that the counsayle shulde haue ben the next day to the counsayle hall, there to hear reported the treatie that was taken at Harlebeque, Peter de Bovse came the same euenyng to Philippe Dartuel's house, at Ghent, name, his chamber lyenge in a wyndowe nowynge and redyers. And the first words he spake, he sayd, 'Philyppe Dartuel, here you any tidynges?' 'Nay, trulye,' quoth he, 'but that I here say our men are returned from the counsayle at Harlequebeque, and to morrow we shall here in the hall what tidynges they haue brought.' 'That is true,' quoth Peter, 'but I [illegible] purpose to take. For suche as haue [illegible] Philippe, me thynke that [illegible] and vs make, by the [illegible] of our heds, for if there be peace taken [illegible] and this wyse, knowe for trouthe that you and I, and the lord [illegible], and all suche captaynes as haue auaded vs in this warre, shall be the first that shall dye, and the rich men shall goe quite. They will bring vs into daunger and goe [illegible] and this was euyll [illegible] Gilbert Lyon my master. Alwayes the [illegible] hath these *marmosettes* about him, as Gylbert Mayhew and his bretherne, and the [illegible] of Harlequebeque, *who is of the lignage of the mean estate*, who fled away with them. We ought wysely to loke on this mater and to see what were best to do.' *Philyppe*, answered and sayd, 'Peter, I shall shewe you my [illegible] I [illegible] acknowledged [illegible] you [illegible] they be to-morowe all redy apparelled in the market-place; and then let us two entre into the hall with a hundred with us to here the content of the treatie, and then let me alone, so ye wyll auowe my dede and abyde puissantly by me, for without we be feared among the commons it is nothing.' And [illegible] Then Peter de Bovse departed and sende to all the rulers and captaynes under hym, commaunding them and all their men to be redy in the mornynge in the market-place to here tidynges. They all obeyed, they durste do none otherwise: and also they were euer ready to do yuell."—ED

On saying this, Peter du Bois drew his dagger, and, coming up to Guisebert, struck him into the belly, so that he fell down dead. Philip drew also his dagger, and with it struck Symon Bete and slew him. They then began to cry out "Treason, treason!" They had their partisans all round about them, so that many of the richest and greatest men in the town dissembled, to save their lives. At that time only those two were killed; but to satisfy the people, and to turn the affair to their advantage, they sent their scouts to cry through the town, that Guisebert and sir Symon Bete, like false traitors, wanted to betray the good town of Ghent. Thus the matter ended: the dead were dead; and no one was called to any account for it, nor any penalty exacted. When the earl of Flanders, who was at Bruges, heard of this, he was sorely enraged, and said, "At the entreaties of my cousins of Brabant and Hainault, I too easily acceded to their wishes of making peace with Ghent, and more than once have they, in return, thus acted: but I will have them know, they shall never have peace, until I have had given up to me such a number of the inhabitants as will satisfy me."

In this manner were slain two valiant and rich men in the town of Ghent, for having acted according to the intentions of many of their fellow-citizens. Each of them had for his patrimony two thousand francs of yearly revenue. They were much pitied in secret; but no one dared to do so publicly, unless he wished to lose his life. Things remained in this state, and the war was more bitter than before. The garrisons round Ghent were night and day in the field, so that no provision could enter the town. The Brabanters and Hainaulters were afraid of venturing themselves; for, whenever they were met by the earl's men, the best that could befal them was the slaughter of their horses, sending them prisoners to Dendremonde or to Oudenarde, or making them pay ransom. By these means, the victuallers were afraid to risk bringing supplies to the town.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

AN INSURRECTION IN PARIS, ON ACCOUNT OF THE INTENDED TAXES. THE LORD DE COUCY APPEASES IT. THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR HIS JOURNEY TO NAPLES.

At this period, the Parisians rose up in rebellion against the king and his council, because they wanted to introduce generally through the kingdom those taxes, impositions, and excises which had been raised during the reign of king Charles, father of the present king. The Parisians opposed them, by saying, the king of happy memory had acquitted them from these payments during his lifetime, and that the present king had confirmed this grant at his coronation at Rheims. The young king and his council quitted Paris, and went to reside at Meaux in Brie. No sooner had the king left Paris than the inhabitants rose, and, having armed themselves, slew all who had been assisting in proposing or collecting these taxes. They broke into the prisons and different houses in the town, taking whatever they could find. They went to the palace of the bishop of Paris, and, having broken open his prisons, set at liberty Hugh Aubriot,* who had been governor-general of the police during king Charles's reign, and had been condemned to the dungeons for several bad actions which he had done or consented to, many of which were deserving the stake: to this man the mob gave liberty, which he owed solely to their insurrection. He immediately set out from Paris, for fear of being retaken, and went into Burgundy, whence he came, and related to his friends his adventures.

The Parisians, during their rebellion, committed many outrages; but fortunately it was not general: had it been so, affairs would have been bad indeed. The king resided all this time at Meaux, attended by his uncles of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, who were much alarmed and vexed at this rebellion. They resolved to send the lord de Coucy, who was a prudent knight, to treat with and endeavor to appease them; for he knew better how to manage them than any other. The lord de Coucy, whose name was Enguerrand, came to Paris simply attended by his household. He dismounted at his hôtel, and sent for those who had been the most active, and remonstrated with them wisely and prudently on the wickedness of their conduct in killing the officers and ministers of the king, in breaking open his prisons, and setting those who were confined in them at liberty; for all which, if the king willed it, they would dearly pay. But this he was not desirous of doing; for the king much loved the town of Paris, because he had been born in it, and also from its being the capital of his kingdom: he was therefore unwilling to destroy its well-intentioned inhabitants.

He told them, his reasons for coming to Paris were to endeavor to make up matters between them, and that he would entreat the king and his uncles mercifully to pardon them their evil deeds. They answered, that they wished not any harm to the king their lord, nor to make war against him, but that these taxes should be repealed as far as related to Paris: and that, when exempted from such, they would assist the king in any other manner. "In what manner?" demanded the lord de Coucy. "We will pay certain sums into the hands of a proper receiver every week, to assist with the other cities and towns in France in the payment of the soldiers and men-at-arms." "And what sum are you willing to pay weekly?" "Such a sum," replied the Parisians, "as we shall agree upon." The lord de Coucy managed them so well, by handsome speeches, that they consented to tax themselves, and pay weekly into the hands of a receiver whom they would appoint ten thousand florins. Upon this, the lord de Coucy left them and returned to Meaux in Brie, to lay before the king and his uncles the propositions they had made.

The king was advised to accept this offer of the Parisians, as the best thing he could do; for from this beginning, though small, all the other towns would follow the example, and when times should alter they might then change their measures. The lord de Coucy returned to Paris, and brought with him the king's pardon to the Parisians, on condition of their observing the propositions they had made. This they promised, and appointed a receiver, to whom was paid, every week, the fixed sum in florins; but it was not to be carried from Paris, except for the payment of those men-at-arms who should be in actual service, and neither the king nor his uncles were to have any concern with it, nor was it to be otherwise employed. Affairs remained thus for some little time, and the Parisians were quiet: but the king did not return to Paris, which much displeased the inhabitants.

Rouen likewise was in a state of rebellion, and from the same cause: the populace rose, killed the king's governor and all those who had any concern in the collecting or valuing these taxes. The king, on hearing this, during his residence at Meaux, was much angered, and his council were doubtful if all the other towns would not follow this example. The king was advised to march to Rouen, which he did, and appeased the commonalty, who were very riotous. He also pardoned the death of the governor, and whatever else they had done. They appointed a receiver from among themselves, to whom they were to pay a certain sum in florins, every week; and, on this being settled, they continued quiet. Now remark the great evils that were beginning to disturb France: all took rise from the conduct of the men of Ghent; for the common people said everywhere publicly, they were good men, who so valiantly maintained their liberties, and for which they ought to be loved and honored by the whole world.

We will return to the duke of Anjou, who had a great desire to visit the kingdom of Naples, of which he signed himself king, as well as of Sicily, and duke of la Puglia and Calabria; for pope Clement had invested him with them, by virtue of the deed which the queen of Naples had given to him. The duke of Anjou was prudent, of a warm imagination, bold and enterprising: he plainly perceived, that according to the establishment he had supported hitherto, and which he would have been sorry to have lessened, he would be a poor lord in France, unless he should conquer such rich and noble heritages as the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the duchies of la Puglia, and Calabria, as well as the county of Provence. They would come to him very opportunely; for those countries of which he called himself lord, by virtue of the gift made him, abounded in all sorts of wealth. He was therefore occupied day and night in devising means to perform this journey; he well knew he could never accomplish it without a large sum of money, and a numerous body of men-at-arms to resist those who might wish to oppose him. The duke, in consequence, amassed so great a quantity of money, under pretence of this journey, that it was marvellous to behold; and he kept the Parisians in as good humor as he could, for he knew there were in Paris large deposits of cash, of which he got the greater part, and sent it to the earl of Savoy, in whom he had great confidence; adding, that on his arrival in Savoy, he would make arrangements by which there should be regular payment for a thousand spears or more, for one whole year. The earl of Savoy was much pleased at this intelligence, for he greatly loved arms: he therefore replied to the messengers, that he would willingly serve the duke on the terms proposed. This answer was highly agreeable to the duke, as he had an affection for the company of the earl of Savoy.

The duke retained men in all parts, so that he had collected full nine thousand men-at-arms, ready prepared and under his obedience. He ordered the most sumptuous equipages to be made for him and his household at Paris that any lord had ever commanded, such as tents, pavilions and other things suitable for a king when about to make a long journey. We will now leave the duke of Anjou, and speak of the earl of Cambridge and his men, who were in Portugal near the king's person.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE ENGLISH MAKE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SPANIARDS, CONTRARY TO THE ORDERS OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL. THE CASTLE OF FIGHIERE* IS TAKEN.

The earl of Cambridge and his army remained for a considerable time with the king of Portugal at Lisbon; during which the Eng-

* "Hugh Aubriot" had the management of the finances under Charles V. He built the Bastille, as a fort against the English. He owed his disgrace and imprisonment to the clergy, who accused him of heresy, &c. He was shut up between four walls but the Orleans party hated him, because, being a Burgundian, he was attached to the duke of Burgundy.

* This must probably mean Figueiro dos Vinhes, a town in Estremadura, for Figuera is in Catalonia.

lish and Gascons reconnoitered the country, for they had never before been there. It seems to me, that about this time a marriage was agreed on between the daughter of the king of Portugal who was ten years old, and the son of the earl of Cambridge of the same age. He was a fine child, and his name was John; and the lady's name Beatrice. There were great feasts at the betrothing of these two children, and much joy; all the barons and prelates of the realm were present; and, young as the married couple were, they were both laid in the same bed. This marriage and the consequent feasts being over, which lasted for eight days, the council of Portugal ordered the men-at-arms who were in Lisbon to march to other quarters on the frontiers. The earl of Cambridge and a part of his army were sent into quarters at a very handsome town in Portugal, called Estremoure,* and the remainder of the English and Gascons to Besiouse.† John of Cambridge remained with the king.

When the canon de Robersac, and the English and Gascon knights, took leave of the king, he said to them, "My friends, I order you not to make any attacks on the enemy without my knowledge; for, if you do, I shall be much angered." They swore, "they would not, by God, and, whenever they had such an inclination, would send to inform him, and have his permission." They then departed and marched toward Besiouse, which is situated in the upper part of the country, two days' journey from Lisbon and as many from Seville, where the king of Spain resided.

The king of Spain had been early informed of the arrival of the English under the command of the earl of Cambridge, and had sent intelligence of it to those knights in France on whose services he depended. On hearing this, and that there were expectations of war in Spain, they were much rejoiced: many who wished to advance their fame made ready, and took the road thither. The canon de Robersac,‡ who was with his English and Gascon companions in Besouise, one day said: "My dear gentlemen, I think we remain here not much to our honor, when we have never as yet made any attempt on our enemies; they will not think the better of us for it. If you will take my advice, let us send to entreat the king to allow us to attack them." They all replied, "We are perfectly willing to do so." Sir John Canbouich§ was ordered to carry this message, which he cheerfully undertook. He came to the king at Lisbon, where he punctually delivered his message. The king replied, he was unwilling for them to undertake any expedition; and whatever the knight might urge he could never make him change his opinion. He returned, therefore, to his friends, telling them the king would not comply with their request. They were much enraged at it, and said among themselves, that it was not becoming men-at-arms to continue so long in garrison without attempting some feats of arms: they mutually agreed to make an excursion. In consequence, they took the field with full four hundred men-at-arms and as many archers. They resolved to attack a large town which belonged to the commander of St. James; but, on their march they found a nearer way to arrive at the castle of Fighiere, in which were about sixty Spanish men-at-arms in garrison, under the command of Peter Gousses and his brother.

The canon de Robersac, being very proud of this expedition, as it had been by his means undertaken, rode forward in front. There were sir Oliver Beauchamp, sir Matthew Gournay, Miles Windsor, the lord Talbot, sir Adam Symon, sir John Sounder, bastard brother to the king of England, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord de Châteauneuf, the lord de la Barde, Raymond de Masson, and several more. They arrived at the castle of Fighiere, which they surrounded, and drew up in order of assault, making all preparations necessary for it. When the garrison saw they were to be attacked, they also made ready for their defence. About four o'clock in the morning, a very vigorous attack commenced, and the English entered the ditch, which being dry, they advanced close to the walls, bracing their targets over their heads, to guard themselves from the stones which might be thrown on them from the walls, and there made good use of their pick-axes and iron crows; while thus employed, the garrison threw on them beams and bars of iron, that wounded many.

The canon de Robersac was present: he had the courage of a knight, and performed that day many gallant deeds; as did also Esperons his valet. The archers of England, who were drawn up on the ditches, shot so well and rapidly that scarcely any dared to show themselves on the battlements; and one half of the garrison were either slain or wounded. The brother of Peter Gousses, the governor of the castle, was there slain by an arrow; he was called Bartholomew, and was an able and expert man-at-arms; but, through his own imprudence and rashness, he lost his life. The assault continued from four o'clock until high noon; and I must say that the English and Gascon knights did not spare themselves, but fought with courage and a thorough good will, because they had undertaken this expedition without the consent of the king of Portugal: they were, therefore, determined to conquer this castle, that the fame of it might reach Lisbon, and show what success they had met with on their first attempt.

The canon de Robersac said; "Ha, ha, my gentlemen, we shall this day win the castle; but if so many gallant men-at-arms as we are, take as much time to conquer all the other towns in Spain and in Gallicia, we shall never be masters of them." The knights and squires, on hearing this speech, began to exert themselves the more: the canon de Robersac, although covered by his shield, received such a blow that he was much wounded. There was present a young knight from Hainault called Froissart Meulier, who very gallantly behaved himself at this assault, as indeed did the others.

The garrison artillery, as well as the machines for casting of stones and iron bars, began to tire and grow weaker in the castle. Considering that of twenty-five men* (the force within the place,) there were not three unhurt, and some dangerously wounded, they could not prevent it from being taken by storm. The brother of their captain lay dead, from whom no further help could come. They resolved to give themselves a little respite, and during that time treat for a peace. They made a signal to parley with the English. The assault was stopped, and those who were in the ditches employed against the walls were ordered out: it was high time, for there were many who had been wounded, and others much fatigued. Sir Matthew Gournay, constable, and sir William Windsor, marshal of the army, advanced, and demanded what they wanted. The governor, Peter Gousses, addressed them in these words; "You are resolved not to leave this place without conquering it: you wound our men, and we do the same to yours. We have therefore consulted together; and I, as governor, speak their sentiments, which are, that we will surrender to you the fort, our lives and fortunes being spared. Accept, therefore, these terms, which are just: you are at present the strongest, so that we must submit."

The English knights replied, they would advise upon it, which they did. When they had held a council, they sent for answer to the garrison, that those within the castle might retire whither they pleased; but the stores must be left behind, and they were not to carry away anything with them. When Peter Gousses saw he could not obtain better terms, he consented, but it was much against his will. Thus was the castle of Fighiere surrendered to the English. The Spaniards marched away, under a safe-conduct,† to Esteris, where the commander of St. James usually resided. They, however, did not find him there; for, having learnt that the enemy had taken the field, he had done the same with full four hundred men-at-arms, Spaniards and Castillians, in hopes, if he could meet with the English in a favorable situation, to combat them to his honor.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

AFTER THE CONQUEST OF THE CASTLE OF FIGHIERE, THE CANON DE ROBERSAC, RETURNING TO HIS GARRISON, IS IN GREAT DANGER. SUCCORS COME FROM FRANCE TO CASTILLE.

When the knights of England and the canon had got possession of the castle of Fighiere, they were much rejoiced. They had it repaired in every part; and leaving forty men-at-arms as a garrison, they stored it well with provisions and other necessaries, and also with a sufficient body of archers. Having placed a good captain as governor, they held a council, when they resolved to return to their quarters. The English and Gascons, on their departure, divided themselves into three bodies; the last of which remained in the plain, under the command of the canon. Some English, Gascons, and Germans, desirous of feats of arms, had continued with him: in all about sixty spears and as many archers: they marched one whole day with the canon's company on their return to Besiouse.

On the second day, early in the morning, they discovered some ambuscades,‡ and marched on in good array. They were then between a large town in Portugal, Huenca§ and the castle of Concrelet.‖ On the outskirts of a wood nearer to the castle of Concrelet than to Huenca, was the grand-master of St. James¶ posted, with full four hundred men-at-arms. The English no sooner perceived them than they closed their ranks, showed no signs of fear, and marched on at a good pace. The Spaniards, notwithstanding their numbers, made not any appearance of quitting their ambuscade; for they imagined the English had near at hand their large battalion, and for that reason were afraid to attack them; had they been better informed, there would have been a combat. They thus separated from each other without anything being done.

The Spaniards returned that evening to Esteris, and the canon to

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* "Estremoure," Q. if not Estremoz.

† "Besouse." Q. if not Villa Viciosa, a town near Estremoz, for D. Savage, in a marginal note, says la Salle calls it Viesouse, which seems a corruption of Viciosa, and confirms me it must be Villa Viciosa.

‡ The canon de Robersac's name was Theodore. He was governor of Ardres in the 45th of Edward III. and, in the 3rd of Richard II. was employed by the king to treat with the duke of Juliers concerning his homage.—*Cartes Rolles François.*

§ "Canbouich." Q. Lord Berners spells the name *Chandouich.*

* In the preceding column, it is said the garrison consisted of about *sixty* men-at-arms.

† Lord Berners says *without* any safe-conduct.—Ed.

‡ "*A heure de prime que les embusches se decouvrent*" the last, according to D. Sauvage, should rather be translated "*at the hour of prime, as soon as ambuscades can be discovered,*" that is to say, at early dawn, than, as Mr. Johnes has rendered it, "*they discovered some ambuscades and marched on in good array,*" which appears absurd. He probably understood it as referring to the adventure about to be related, but on that occasion only *one* ambuscade was discovered.—Ed.

§ Q. "Huenca."

‖ Q. "Concrelet."

¶ I suspect it must have been the grand-master of the order of Alcantra, and not of St. James, and that there must have been a castle of Fighiere in the province of Estremadura; for it is not possible, from the shortness of their march, they could have gone to Catalonia. See Note, p. 25.

Besiouse, when he related to his companions how he had seen the Spaniards in ambuscade between Hiroca and Conerdet, adding, "If we had been all together, we could have fought with them." The knights, therefore, much repented that they had not kept all in one body. Thus ended this excursion of the English and Gascons; and when news was brought of it to the king of Portugal, he pretended to be much enraged, because they had done it without his consent. The English and Gascons remained the whole winter in their garrisons, without performing anything worth mentioning, which wearied them much: it was not their fault no deeds of arms were done.

Don John of Castille, however, was not idle in making his preparations. He had sent to the king of France, and to his uncles for succor, and had informed them of the arrival of the earl of Cambridge in Portugal. He also said, that it was universally reported throughout Castille and Portugal that the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of Buckingham, with a powerful force, were to reinforce them the ensuing summer. For which reasons, he required from the king, in conformity with the treaties between France and Spain, and their mutual affection, that sufficient forces should be sent to him in the course of the spring and summer, to enable him to oppose his enemies with effect. The king's council assented to this, for they clearly saw the king of Spain had a right to demand it. Permission was granted to all knights and squires desirous of advancing themselves to join don John: and the king of France lent them wherewith to perform their journey. It seems to me, that sir Oliver du Guesclin, brother to the late constable of France, made preparations to go thither in the spring. Many knights and squires from Brittany, Beauce, Picardy, Anjou, Berry, Blois and Maine did so likewise, and went thither in companies to perform the journey more comfortably. A passage was open to them through Arragon, and all kinds of provision were prepared for them, for ready money. But you must know they did not pay for all they took in the low countries, which made the poor inhabitants suffer great losses.

Good Queen Anne.—Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE EMPEROR WINCESLAUS SENDS HIS SISTER ANNE TO KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND, WHO MAKES HER HIS QUEEN.

You have heard how king Richard of England had for upward of a year been in treaty with Winceslaus king of Bohemia, who at this period had taken the title of emperor of Rome, to obtain his sister the lady Anne in marriage; and how one of his knights, sir Simon Burley, had much labored in this business; and also that the duke of Saxony had been in England to confirm the marriage. This affair had been so well conducted that the emperor sent his sister to England, attended by the duke of Saxony and great numbers of knights and damsels, with a suitable state becoming such a lady. They came through Brabant to Brussels, where the duke and duchess received the young queen and her company very grandly; for the duke was her uncle, she being the daughter of the emperor Charles his brother. The lady Anne of Bohemia remained with her uncle and aunt at Brussels upward of a month. She was afraid of moving, for she had been informed there were twelve large armed vessels, full of Normans, on the sea between Calais and Holland, that seized and pillaged all that fell into their hands, and it was indifferent to them who they were. The report was current, that they cruised in those seas waiting for the coming of this lady; and that the king of France and his council were desirous of carrying her off, in order to break the match, for they were very uneasy at this alliance of the Germans with the English. When it was said to be dishonorable to carry off ladies in the wars of men, they replied: "How, have you not seen the prince of Wales, father to the present king of England, consent to a similar action in the person of the duchess of Bourbon, mother to the queen of France, when she was made prisoner by the soldiers of the prince, shut up in the castle of Belleperche, and afterwards conducted into Guyenne and ransomed? If, therefore, to revenge themselves, the French should commit such an act on the intended queen of England, they ought not to be blamed for it." On account of these suspicions and fears, the young lady remained in Brussels one whole month. The duke of Brabant, by advice of his council, sent to France the lords de Rousselans and de Bousquehoir, to remonstrate on this subject with the king and his uncles, who were also his nephews, being his sister's sons.

The knights of Brabant managed so well with the king and his council that their request was complied with, and passports granted for the lady and her attendants to travel through any parts of France she might choose, as far as Calais. The Normans were remanded into port. This answer the knights carried to Brabant to the duke and duchess. The king and his uncles wrote to say, they had granted this favor to their cousin the lady Anne, at their solicitation alone, and for no other reason whatever. Such information was very pleasing to the duke and duchess of Brabant, as well as to those who were to cross the sea. Preparations were immediately made for their departure from Brussels; and the young lady took leave of her uncle, her aunt, and the ladies and damsels of the country who had accompanied her.

The duke had her escorted with one hundred spears. She passed through Ghent, where she reposed herself for a day, and the citizens did everything in their power to show her honor. She then came to Bruges, where the earl of Flanders received her very magnificently, and stopped for three days. She continued her journey until she came to Gravelines, where the earls of Salisbury and Devonshire were waiting for her, with five hundred spears and as many archers. They conducted her to Calais, when the Brabanters returned, after they had delivered her to the barons of England. The young lady made no stay at Calais but until the wind became favorable. She embarked on a Wednesday morning when the vessels were manned, and the same day arrived at Dover, where she halted to repose herself two days: on the third, she set out for Canterbury, where the earl of Buckingham received her very grandly. The lady pursued her journey unto London, and was most honorably received by the citizens, the ladies and damsels of the town and country, who were all assembled to meet her. She was married to the king, in the chapel of the palace of Westminster, the twentieth day after Christmas. On the wedding-day, there were great feastings. That gallant and noble knight sir Robert de Namur had always accompanied her, from the time she quitted Germany until she was married, for which the emperor and king of England held themselves much obliged.

The king carried his queen to Windsor, where he kept an open and noble house. They were very happy together. She was accompanied by the princess of Wales and the duchess of Brittany, aunt to the king, who at that time was separated from the duke her husband; for the barons and council of England would not consent to her return into Brittany, because he had changed to the French interest. The barons and knights were accustomed to say, "Since the duke of Brittany has so ill and so treacherously acquitted himself to the earl of Buckingham, and to our men, the last time they were in France, whenever he shall demand back his duchess, let us not consent to it, but send him two enemies, John and Guy of Brittany, children to St. Charles de Blois, and who have a better right to the duchy than himself: he is duke through our power, and an ungrateful return does he make for what he has had from us: we ought therefore to act in like manner to him, for his disgraceful conduct." True it is, that these two lords, John and Guy de Bretaigne, sons of St. Charles of Blois, who were prisoners in England, and confined in a strong castle, under the guard of sir Peter d'Ambreticourt, were sent for, and brought before the council of the king of England; when they were informed, that if they would hold the

duchy of Brittany from England, and acknowledge it by doing homage to the king, their inheritance should be recovered for them, and John should have the lady Philippa of Lancaster to wife. But they replied, they would not have anything to do with it, and would prefer remaining in prison until death to acting otherwise than as good Frenchmen. Affairs continued on this footing, and they were never afterwards in any way spoken to on the subject, since they had shown the firmness of their intentions.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE CANNOT OBTAIN MONEY FROM THE RECEIVER AT PARIS. THE DUKE OF ANJOU MARCHES INTO ITALY WITH A NOBLE ATTENDANCE OF KNIGHTS.

You have before heard how Paris had made its peace with the king, on its agreement of paying a certain sum of florins. The florins were paid weekly to a receiver whom they had appointed, but none came to the coffers of the king, nor were any of them sent out of Paris. It happened that the king was in great want of money to pay the men-at-arms he was sending to Castille, which by treaty he was bound to do. He ordered the receiver at Paris to prepare a sum of one hundred thousand francs; for he was anxious to assist, in his necessity, don John of Castille, and clearly showed for what use he intended this money. The receiver replied to the letters from the king, and to those who had brought them, in a very civil manner, saying, that in truth he had money sufficient, but that he could not pay any of it without the consent and permission of the town of Paris. These words did not please the king, who declared he would remedy this as soon as he should be able. He found the money elsewhere, through the assistance of the principal towns in Picardy. This caused a great coolness between the king and the Parisians. He never came to Paris, but resided at Meaux, Senlis, Compiegne, and in those parts, to the great displeasure of the Parisians. The greatest resource they had was in the duke of Anjou for their safety: he had already signed himself king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and had borne the arms.

The duke commonly resided at Paris, because there was much money kept there; and to prevent the king from receiving any of it, that he might be the better supplied for his projected enterprise in Italy, he was collecting money from all parts, and it was said the sum he had at Roquemaur,* near Avignon, was not less than two millions of florins. He treated with the Parisians, and used such fine language, having words at command, and besides being from his birth the regent of the kingdom, as the eldest of the king's uncles, that he obtained one hundred thousand florins, when the king and his two uncles of Berry and Burgundy could not procure one penny from them. The duke of Anjou, having now finished his preparations and collected all his stores, began his march early in spring, and the magnitude of his array surprised every one. He passed through France to Avignon, where he was much feasted by the pope and cardinals. The barons and principal lords of Provence came thither to wait on him as their lord, did him homage, and put themselves under his obedience.

The gallant earl of Savoy, his cousin, came to meet him, attended by barons and knights, who were also well received by the pope and cardinals. During his stay at Avignon, he arranged and settled the pay and stores for the Savoyards, who were in considerable numbers, and delivered the money to the earl of Savoy. This being done, the duke of Anjou and the earl of Savoy took their leave of the pope, and set off from Avignon, following the road to Savoy and Piedmont. The earl was the duke's conductor, and paid him the utmost respect in all the great towns through which they passed. Men-at-arms were continually advancing, or followed in their rear, so that Lombardy was quite open and ready to receive them. On the duke's entrance into Lombardy, he was most honorably received in all the principal towns, more especially in Milan, where sir Galeas and sir Bernabo Visconti loaded him with honors: he received from them such rich presents and jewels as would astonish, if related. The duke of Anjou kept a kingly state: he had his mint with him, where he coined florins and white money, with which he made his payments all through Lombardy and Tuscany.

When they began to approach Rome, they marched in a more compact body than they had hitherto done; for the Romans, being informed of the duke's march, had thrown up strong fortifications to oppose him. They had for commander a valiant English knight, called sir John Hawkwood,* who had resided a long time in that part of Italy: he was well acquainted with the frontiers, and had under him a large body of men-at-arms, of Germans, English, and other nations in the pay of the Romans, for the defence of Urban, at that time called pope, and who resided at Rome. This pope was not alarmed at the arrival of the duke of Anjou. When they told him he was on his march, attended by the earl of Savoy and count of Geneva, with full nine thousand lances of good men-at-arms, and that it was uncertain if he would not come to Rome to dethrone him, for they were all Clementines, he replied by saying, "CHRISTUS protegat nos." That was all the alarm they gave him, and the only answer he made to those who spoke to him on the subject.

CASTLE DEL OVO, NAPLES.—From an Old Print in the King's Library, B. Museum.

The duke of Anjou, who styled himself king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, duke of Calabria and la Puglia, accompanied by the earl of Savoy, continued the march of his army through Tuscany, the territory of Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter, but did not enter Rome; for the duke wished not to make war on Rome, nor on the Romans, but solely aimed to accomplish his enterprise on the terms according to which he had left France. He kept up kingly state wherever he passed, and all men-at-arms praised him for the punctuality of his payments.

At this period his adversary, the lord Charles de Durazzo, resided in the city of Naples. He also signed himself king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, duke of la Puglia and Calabria, and considered himself as the lawful king, since the queen of Naples was dead without leaving any heirs by marriage. He looked on the gift which the queen had made to the pope as null, and maintained this opinion by two arguments: the first was, that besides being supported and obeyed by the Neapolitans and Sicilians, the queen of Naples could not resign the inheritance of another: secondly, that supposing this resignation to have been good and the gift in force to the court of Rome, and that the popes were entitled to it, she had not legally done it, for those kingdoms considered Urban as the true pope, and not Clement.

This is the question which they disputed, and the defence Charles

* "Roquemaur," two leagues from Avignon.

* "Sir John Hawkwood." See his life in Nicholl's Bio. Top. Brit.

de Durazzo made. He also at the beginning took very wise precautions, for he amply provided with stores the castel del Ovo, which is one of the strongest castles in the world, and stands by enchantment in the sea, so that it is impossible to take it but by necromancy or by the help of the devil.*

When he had provided this castle a sufficiency to last three or four years, he collected a body of men-at-arms and threw himself into it, having made all the entrances very secure, leaving the duke of Anjou to act as he pleased. He well knew the Neapolitans would never desert him, and that, if la Puglia and Calabria should be lost for two or three years, they could easily regain it. He expected the duke of Anjou would soon find himself at the end of his resources in maintaining such a large army as he had brought, and which it was impossible for him to continue to support. They would be in want of provision or pay, which would tire them out in the course of two or three years; and, when they should be well worn down, he might combat them to his advantage. Charles de Durazzo was full of these ideas, some of which were afterwards realized. In truth, no prince in Christendom, except the kings of France or England, would have kept up such an immense force as the duke of Anjou did, without hurting his finances; for they reported he had brought over the mountains thirty thousand combatants: and the undertaking such an enterprise required much thought and consideration.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE EARL OF SAVOY, WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED THE DUKE OF ANJOU TO NAPLES, ORDERS A MAN TO BE BEHEADED, WHO HAD BOASTED THAT HE WOULD GIVE THEM POSSESSION OF THE CASTEL DEL OVO BY ENCHANTMENT.

When the duke of Anjou and his army entered la Puglia and Calabria, the whole country was their own, and the people testified that they wished not for any other lord than him: in a short time, all the barons, principal towns and others, put themselves under his obedience. Those who have been in these countries, which are the richest in the world, report, that from the great abundance of everything, the people are perfectly indolent, and do no manner of labor. The men-at-arms, on entering so rich a country, felt themselves very comfortable; but the duke of Anjou, the earl of Savoy, the count of Vendôme, the count of Geneva,† and all the knighthood of France, Savoy, and Brittany, marched on into the territories of Naples.

The citizens of Naples, not fearing these men-at-arms, deigned not to shut their gates, but kept them always open, as they never imagined the duke of Anjou could reside there longer than it was agreeable to them; for the moment they should be inclosed in the town, whatever numbers they might be, they would be lost, as the houses were not easy to be taken, having before their doors planks which may be removed, and the sea underneath, on which they would not perhaps like to adventure themselves.

An enchanter, master of necromancy, who had resided for some time in the Neapolitan territory, came to the duke of Anjou, and said, "My lord, if you will, I can cause the castel del Ovo and its garrison to surrender to you." "How can that be?" replied the duke. "My lord, I will tell you," answered the enchanter: "I can by enchantment, make the air so thick over the sea, that those in the castle shall think it a large bridge, on which ten men may march in front: and, when they shall see this bridge, they will be so frightened they will surrender themselves to you, lest, if you attack them, they may be taken by storm." The duke, much astonished at what he had heard, called his knights, the count de Vendôme, the count de Genéve, sir John and sir Peter de Beuil, sir Morice de Maumi, and others, to whom he related what the enchanter had just told him. They were very much surprised, but seemed willing to give him faith for it. The duke then asked, "Fair master, can our people march on this bridge of which you speak, as far as the castle, and attack it?" "My lord," replied the magician, "of this I dare not assure you; for if any one of them, while on this bridge, should make the sign of the cross, all would disappear, and those on it would fall into the sea." The duke, upon this, began to laugh, and some of the young knights present said, "Ha, my lord, for God's sake, let him do it; we will not make any sign of the cross, and by this means we shall easily capture our enemies." The duke said he would consider of it.

The earl of Savoy was not present at this conversation, but came soon afterwards. When the earl entered the duke's tent, the magician had just left it; but the duke told him all that had passed, and what offers he had made. The earl, having mused a while, said, "Send him to my quarters, and I will examine him. He is that master magician by whose means the queen of Naples and sir Otho de Brunswick were taken in the castel del Ovo, for he caused the sea to swell so high that it seemed as if it would swallow the castle: those within it were so much frightened they looked on themselves as dead. One ought never to put too great confidence in such people; for you see the wickedness of the wretches in this country: in order to please you, and to obtain your benefactions, he will betray Charles de Durazzo, to whom he formerly gave up the queen of Naples and her husband." "Well," replied the duke, "I will send him to you." The conversation took another turn, and, after they had well considered their situation, the earl returned to his quarters.

On the morrow morning, when the lords were risen, the magician waited on the duke, bowing most lowly. As soon as the duke perceived him, he ordered a valet to conduct him to the earl of Savoy. The valet, taking his hand, said, "Master, my lord's will is, that you go to the earl of Savoy." He answered, "God's will be done." When arrived at the tent of the earl, the valet said, "My lord, here is the doctor whom my lord sends to you." The earl was much pleased on seeing him, and said, "Doctor, do you assure us for a certainty, that you will gain us the castel del Ovo at so cheap a rate?" "Yes, by my troth, my lord," replied the enchanter, "for by a similar trick I got it for him who is now within it, namely, the lord Charles de Durazzo, from the queen of Naples, her daughter and husband, sir Robert d'Artois* and sir Otho de Brunswick. I am the man in the world of whom the lord Charles has the greatest dread."

"By my faith," replied the earl, "you speak well; but I wish the lord Charles to know, that he is in the wrong to fear you so much, for I will make him easy on that head: you shall not henceforward perform an enchantment to deceive him or any one else. I will not have it reproached to us in times to come, that such knights and squires and valiant men-at-arms here assembled should have been obliged for our success to magic, nor do we desire to conquer our enemies by such means." He then ordered a servant to call the headsman, and have his head struck off. The earl's commands were instantly obeyed, and his head was cut off on the outside of the tent. Such was the end of this enchanter, and such his recompense.

We will now leave the duke of Anjou, his army, and his marches, and return to the affairs of Portugal, and relate how the English and Gascons prospered.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

THE CANON DE ROBERSAC MAKES ANOTHER EXCURSION CONTRARY TO THE WILL OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL, AND TAKES SEVERAL PLACES ADJOINING TO SEVILLE.

The knights in garrison at Besiouse, and who had been there for so considerable a time, having made but one excursion, when they took the castle of Fighiere, resolved, about the middle of April, to make another: for they were very much surprised at the conduct of the king of Portugal and earl of Cambridge, who had let them remain idle the nine months they had now been in Portugal, without having formed any expedition but the one for which they had been blamed. They determined to send to and remonstrate with the earl of Cambridge on this subject: I believe the envoy was the souldich de la Trane. He came to Estremoz, where the earl was quartered, and said to him, "My lord, my companions send me to you, to know what you would wish them to do; for they much wonder why they have been brought to this country, to remain so long in indolence, which displeases them much. You will let me know what you would have them do, for they are very desirous of making an excursion."

"Souldich," replied the earl, "you know, that when I left England, my lord and brother the duke of Lancaster promised me, on his faith, that on his return from Scotland, whither he was then going, he would join us with men-at-arms, to the amount of three thousand, and as many archers. Upon this engagement, I came merely to reconnoitre the country. In a short time we shall have intelligence from him; for it is equally unpleasant to me to have remained so long in this country. You will therefore salute your companions in my name, and tell them what I have just said to you. I cannot wish to prevent them from making an excursion, since they have such an inclination for it; but you know the king of Portugal gives us our pay, and therefore we ought to conform to his orders."

"By my faith, my lord," answered the souldich, "he pays badly, and our companions complain much of it; he owes us now six months' pay." "He will pay you well," replied the earl: "money never comes disagreeably." On this, the souldich left the earl, and returned to his companions, to whom he related what you have heard. "Gentlemen," said the canon, "I will not desist from making an excursion, notwithstanding what has been said, for I see clearly they wish to put off all such attempts. They do not desire we should commit hostilities, that we may not have cause to demand our pay: but my opinion is, that we take the field." They selected those who should form this expedition, and resolved to undertake it on the morrow, having their arms quite ready.

The lord John de Ferrande, one of the knights of the king of Portugal, who had learnt they were desirous of performing some enterprise, came to them, and brought letters to the canon de Robersac. He read them, and found that the king of Portugal forbid him to quit his quarters; adding, that he was well informed it was through his means all these expeditions were thought of. The canon was much enraged at this order, and said to the knight,

* Denys Sauvage adds a marginal note, that "if the good man Froissart believes this, his mind must be very simple."

† "Count of Geneva." Giannone says he was brother to pope Clement.

* "Robert d'Artois." Denys Sauvage, in his 24th annotation, says, "The history of Naples often speaks of this Robert d'Artois, making him the husband of Mary, daughter of Joan queen of Naples; but no mention is made of these enchantments. They seem to come from the romances of Morgante and Urganda; so that I am surprised Froissart could suffer himself to be thus deceived, and wish to deceive posterity."

"John, I see plainly the king will not permit me to make any excursion. Now, suppose I remain in my house, do you think that the others, who are better knights and more valiant than I, will also stay at home and give up their enterprise? Oh no, by my troth, as you will see to-morrow; for they are determined and prepared to take the field." "My lord," replied Ferrande, "command them, in the king's name, not to do so." "By my faith," said the canon, "I will do no such thing: do you, who belong to the king, order them yourself."

Things remained in this state all night. In the morning, the trumpets sounded, when the knights and squires, being armed and mounted, came before the canon's house, who had not put on his armor. On the English and Gascon knights drawing up, he came to the window, and told them the king of Portugal would not allow him, nor any of his party, to make an excursion. "By my faith," answered they, "we will have a ride, since we are so well inclined to it: and so shall you too, for it shall never be reproached you, that when we had taken the field, you staid at home." The canon was then obliged to arm himself, and mount his horse. The Portuguese knight, the lord Ferrande, was obliged to do the same; so much was he pressed by the others, but it occasioned him to stand in the ill graces of the king, and he was very near being hanged. They marched out of Besiouse to the amount of about four hundred spears and as many archers; and, taking the Seville road toward a castle and town called Ban,* continued their march until they arrived, and surrounded the part which seemed most easy to be taken. They dismounted, formed themselves in order of attack, entered the ditches, which were dry, and began the assault vigorously.

At this time, there were no men-at-arms in the town of Ban. The inhabitants, though badly armed, mounted the walls and defended themselves as well as they were able with lances and javelins, but this could not last long. They therefore began to treat with the assailants, and at length surrendered, on having their lives and fortunes spared, declaring they would put themselves under the obedience of don Fernando, king of Portugal. They were well received in the town, which they entered to refresh themselves; when they began to examine by what means they could gain the castle. They saw it might be taken; and that same evening, some of the army began to skirmish. On the morrow, a more regular attack commenced.

The governor of the castle was a gentleman of the country, called Peter Jagouses, but he was not an able man-at-arms, as he showed; for as soon as he saw himself thus attacked, and so many men-at-arms advancing, he took fright, entered into terms, and surrendered the castle on his and the garrison's lives being spared. They strengthened it with good men-at-arms and archers, and then departed toward another castle, seven leagues distant, called la Courtisse.† On their arrival, they instantly began the attack very sharply; but those within defended themselves to the utmost of their power, and disdained to surrender. At the first attack, which was severe, the governor of the castle, called Radulph, was slain. He was an expert and valiant man-at-arms, but, having adventured himself too rashly on the bulwarks, was killed by an arrow. On his death the others lost courage; the castle was taken, and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword. Thus did the canon and his companions gain the castle of la Courtisse. They strengthened it with a new garrison; and, having well supplied it with everything, they marched toward the city of Seville the grand.

CHAPTER XC.

THE CANON AND HIS COMPANIONS GAIN MUCH BOOTY FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE. THEY MUTINY AGAINST THE KING OF PORTUGAL, WHO ORDERS THEIR PAY TO BE INSTANTLY DELIVERED TO THEM.

These English and Gascon men-at-arms continued marching until they came to Jaffre, ten leagues from Seville. It is a badly inclosed town; but there is a very strong monastery which those of the town and country had fortified, and they had retreated thither trusting to its strength. On their arrival, the town of Jaffre was immediately taken and burnt. They soon attacked the monastery; but it was an hour before it was taken, when those who first entered it gained great pillage: many were there slain. Having received intelligence that there were in some marshy grounds, in an adjoining valley, upward of twenty thousand head of cattle, pigs, cows, and sheep, they pushed forward; and, having entered the marsh, ordered their infantry to drive out the cattle. They then resolved to return to their quarters in Besiouse, and set out accordingly. They arrived there on the evening of the ensuing day with all their booty; by which they had provisions in abundance, and for a long time.

Thus ended this expedition. When the lord Ferrande returned to Lisbon to the king, and reported to him what they had done against their enemies, and the great booty they had made, he imagined the king would have been well pleased; but no, for he said to him, "How, thou stinking rascal, hast thou dared, after the positive denial I sent them, to consent to their making an excursion, and to accompany them thyself? By St. Jacob, I will have thee hanged." The knight, on this, cast himself on his knees, and said, "My lord, their captain acquitted himself dutifully and loyally; but the others by force made him go with them, as well as myself, to show them the country. When the expedition has so well succeeded, you ought to pardon it." Notwithstanding this speech, the king ordered him to prison, where he remained until the earl of Cambridge delivered him when he came to Lisbon on the business of which you shall hear.

After the English and Gascons were returned to the town of Besiouse, and had remained there some time, they resolved to send to the king of Portugal to demand their pay. They chose unanimously the lord Talbot, a baron from Wales, as their embassador. When the lord Talbot was come to Lisbon, and had remonstrated with the king on the subject of his mission, the king only made for answer, "that they had twice made excursions contrary to his orders, which had much displeased him, and had been the cause of the delay in their payment." As he could not obtain any other answer, lord Talbot returned to his companions, and related what the king had said, which much angered them.

This same week, the earl of Cambridge quitted Estremoz and came to Besiouse, where he took up his lodgings, in a monastery of monks on the outside of the town. The knights in garrison were rejoiced on hearing this; for there were among them some who were unable to wait so long for their pay from the king, and said among themselves, "We are marvellously well taken care of: we have been in this country almost a year, and have never received any money. It is impossible but our commander must have had some, for he would never have borne it for so great a length of time." These murmurings increased so much that they declared they would not longer suffer such treatment, and fixed a day to debate the matter among themselves. The place of conference was appointed in a handsome church situated without the town of Besiouse, and opposite to the Cordeliers, where the earl of Cambridge had his residence. The canon of Robersac promised to attend: indeed, it was well he did, for otherwise it would have turned out badly.

About eight o'clock, they were all assembled, except the canon, such as sir William Beauchamp, sir Matthew Gournay his uncle, the lord Talbot, sir William Hermon;* and, of Gascons, the souldich de la Trane, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Châteauneuf, and several more, who began to speak and make their complaints known to each other. There was among them a knight, bastard brother to the king of England, called sir John Sounder,† who was louder than all the rest, and said, "The earl of Cambridge has brought us hither: every day we venture our lives, and are willing so to do, for his service, and yet he keeps our pay. I therefore advise, that we form a strict union among ourselves, and unanimously agree to display the pennon of St. George, declaring ourselves friends to God, and enemies to all the world; for if we do not make ourselves feared, we shall not have anything." "By my faith," replied William Helmon, "you say well, and we will do it." All agreed to the proposal, and considered whom they should choose for their leader: they thought they could not have a better than Sounder, for he would have more leisure to do mischief, and had greater courage for it than the others. They hoisted the pennon of St. George, and cried out, "A Sounder, a Sounder, that valiant bastard! Friends to God, and enemies to all mankind." They were then well inclined to attack the town of Besiouse, and declare war against the king of Portugal.

Sir Matthew Gournay and sir William Beauchamp had long argued against attacking Besiouse, but had been little attended to. At the moment they had displayed the pennon of St. George, and were quitting the church, the canon arrived, and, pushing through the crowd, got up to the head altar, when he cried aloud, "My fair sirs, what are you going to do? Be orderly and temperate, I conjure you; for I see you are much disturbed." Sir John Sounder and sir William Helmon then advanced to him, and related what they had done and what were their intentions. The canon, by fair language, restrained them: "Consider, gentlemen, what you are about: that which you intend is folly and madness. We cannot destroy ourselves more effectually. If we make war on this country, our enemies will hear of it, and will gain courage when they see we cannot oppose them. We shall thus ruin ourselves two ways; for our enemies will be rejoiced and assured of what at present they may only suspect, and we shall forfeit our loyalty to the earl of Cambridge."

"And what would you have us do, canon?" said Sounder: "we have expended much more than our pay, and since our arrival in Portugal we have not had any loan or any payment whatever. If you have been paid, we have not, and your complaints will be vain." "By my faith, Sounder," replied the canon, "I have not received more than you have, nor will I receive anything without your knowledge."

Some of the knights present answered, "We firmly believe you: but all things must have an end. Show us how we may get clear of this business with honor, and that as speedily as may be; for if we be not well paid, and in a short time, matters will go ill." The canon de Robersac then replied, "Fair sirs, I would advise first of all, in the situation we are in, that we wait on the earl of Cambridge,

* "Ban." Q.

† "Courtisse." Q.

* "Hermon." Q. Froissart calls him afterwards Helmon.

† In chap. 85, this knight is called by Froissart Messire Jehan Fondree, and here Messire Jehan Soultier.—Ed

and remonstrate with him on these matters of which he ought to be informed." "And who is there among us," said one, "who will remonstrate with him?" "I will," replied Sounder; "but you must all avow what I shall say." The whole company promised to do so. They then departed with the pennon of St. George, which they had that day displayed, carried before them, and came to the Cordeliers, where the earl of Cambridge was lodged.

Just as he was going to dinner, these companions, to the amount of about seven hundred, entered the court, and demanded the earl, who, having quitted his chamber, came into the hall to speak with them. The knights had advanced with Sounder at their head, and remonstrated in an agreeable manner and speech, saying, "My lord, it was you who assembled us in England; and we came hither according to your entreaties, as well as others who are now without; we have left our country to oblige you. You are their [illegible] and we must look to you for our pay, of which hitherto we have not received anything: for, as to the king of Portugal, we should never have come to his country nor entered his service, if you had not been our paymaster. However, if you say the war concerns only the king of Portugal, and that you are not interested in it, we will soon pay ourselves our subsidy, for we will overrun the country, let the consequences be what they may." "Sounder," replied the earl, "I do not say that you ought not to be paid; but, that if you overrun this country, you will throw great blame on me, as well as on the king of England, who is so strictly allied to the king of Portugal."

"And what would you have us do?" asked Sounder. "I will," replied the earl, "that you choose three of our knights, an Englishman, a Gascon, and a German, and that these three set out for Lisbon, to explain to the king this business, and the length of time he has delayed payment to our companions. When you shall thus have summoned him, you will have a better right to follow your own inclinations." "By my faith," said the canon de Robersac, "my lord of Cambridge says well, and speaks wisely and boldly." They all agreed to this last proposal; but, notwithstanding, they would not take down the pennon of St. George, saying, that since they had unanimously raised it in Portugal, they would not lower it so long as they should remain there. They then selected those who were to wait on the king of Portugal: sir William Helmon was chosen by the English, sir Thomas Simon by the Germans, the lord de Chatcauneuf by the Gascons.

These three knights set out, and continued their journey until they came to Lisbon, where they found the king, who received them handsomely, asked from them the news, and what their companions were doing? "My lord," they replied, "they are all in very good health, and would willingly make some excursions, and employ this season otherwise than they do; for long idleness is not agreeable to them." "Well," said the king, "they shall very shortly make an excursion, and I will accompany them, and you will let them know this from me." "My lord," answered sir William, "we are sent hither by their orders, to tell you, that since their arrival in this country, they have neither had loan nor payment from you, and that they are not satisfied; for whoever wishes to obtain the love and service of men-at-arms must pay them better than you have hitherto done, the neglect of which they have for some time taken to heart; for they know not on whom they depend, and have thrown the blame on our captains, so that the affair was on the point of taking a very disagreeable turn. Our chiefs excused themselves, as it was known they had not received anything. Now, know for a truth, they will be paid their full pay, if you wish their services; and if you will not pay them, they assure you by us, that they will pay themselves from your country. Therefore consider well this business, and give us such an answer as we may carry back; for they are only waiting our return." The king mused a little, and then said, "Sir William, it is but just they should be paid: but they have much vexed me, by disobeying my orders, in making two excursions, which if they had not done, they should long ago have been fully satisfied in every respect." "Sire," replied sir William, "if they have made any excursions, they have turned out to your advantage: they have taken towns, castles, and overrun the territories of your enemy, even as far as Seville: all this has been gallantly performed. They ought not to lose this season, which, indeed, they are determined not to do; for they declare, on our return, they will pay themselves, unless they shall receive by us a more gracious answer, than as yet they have obtained from you." "Well," said the king, "inform them, that within fifteen days at the latest, I will give orders for their pay to be delivered to them, to the utmost farthing; but tell the earl of Cambridge that I wish to speak with him." "Sire," replied sir William, "I will do so, and you say well."

As he finished these words, dinner was served, when they dined together, and the king made the three sit at his table, and feasted them much. Thus passed the day, and on the morrow they returned to their friends. As soon as their arrival was known, the knights crowded about them, to learn what they had done: they related to them the answer, and the king's promise, with which they were all well satisfied. "Now see," said Sounder, "if riot be not sometimes of use: we have advanced the delivery of our pay, by having been a little riotous: he fares well who is feared."

The three knights waited on the earl of Cambridge, and reported to him what they had done, and that the king wanted to speak with him. He set out from the town in the morning, and rode to Lisbon, where he was joyfully received by his son and daughter-in-law. The king had a long conference with him, when they determined on certain expeditions. The king, in consequence, issued his summons throughout the realm, for every one to be prepared for the field by the seventh of June, and to assemble between the towns of Badajos and Clemence. This summons was published throughout the kingdom of Portugal, when all descriptions of men armed themselves in the best manner they were able, to be at the rendezvous on foot, by the appointed day.

On the arrival of the earl of Cambridge at Lisbon, don Ferrande obtained his liberty, with whom the king had been much angered, on account of those before-mentioned excursions. The earl took his leave, returned to his companions in high spirits, and ordered them to be in readiness by the day which had been fixed on. Soon after money arrived for the pay of the troops, the captains first, so that every one was contented; but the pennon of St. George was still displayed.

CHAPTER XCI.

THE KINGS OF CASTILLE AND PORTUGAL ASSEMBLE THEIR FORCES. TRUCE MADE BETWEEN THEM AGAINST THE WILL OF THE ENGLISH.

Don John of Castille was not idle in collecting numbers of men-at-arms. Two thousand spears, knights and squires, and four thousand infantry, had come to him from France: he had, besides, in his own country, ten thousand horse, and as many foot. As he resided at Seville, he was not ignorant of the summons which the king of Portugal had issued: he therefore, finding himself the strongest, thought he should act more honorably in this war, if he sent to the king of Portugal, to ask him to fix on any spot in his dominions, where the two armies could meet, and fight it out; and that, if he would not, he would offer a place in Spain for the combat. He therefore sent a herald with this message, who rode on until he came to Lisbon, where he delivered it to the king, word for word. The king replied to the herald, that he would maturely consider the option given to him, and would send to the king of Spain his final answer. The herald, having executed his commission, took leave of the king, and returned to Seville.

He found there the king and his barons, as well as those who had come from France, Arragon and Galicia, to whom he reported all he had heard or seen. No long time passed, before the king of Portugal was advised by the councils of the English to offer a place in his own country, for the two armies to combat. Sir Thomas Simon and the souldich de la Trane were ordered, on the part of the king, to seek for a proper situation: they chose a spot between Elvas and Badajos, where there was room sufficient for the battle. As they were going to execute this order, the two knights and their men skirmished with some advanced forces of the king of Castille: the engagement was severe, and several were slain and wounded on both sides. They, however, returned to the king of Portugal, and related where they had chosen a fit situation, and also the name of the place.

A German knight, called sir John Coustedor, was ordered to carry this intimation, attended by a herald, to the king of Spain. The knight set out, and rode to Seville, where he found the king, and related what the king of Portugal had instructed him to say, that he accepted his offer of combat, and had fixed on a place for the field of battle, between Elvas and Badajos; and that within five days after his return from Seville, he would there find the king of Portugal with his whole army, who desired nothing better than to give him battle. The Spaniards were much pleased with this news, as were also the French. Sir Tristan de Roye, sir John de Vernettes, sir Peter de Villames, and others, taking with them the knight from Portugal, entertained him magnificently for one whole day in Seville, and showed him as much respect as possible. They escorted him as far as Jaffre, when they returned; and the knight continued his journey to the king of Portugal and his knights, and told them how he had delivered his message, and the answer he had received, which gave them great satisfaction.

It was not long before the king of Portugal came and encamped where his army was, between Elvas and Badajos. It was a handsome plain below some olive trees; and he had brought thither the greater part of his subjects from whom he could expect assistance: they might amount to about fifteen thousand men. On the fourth day afterwards, the earl of Cambridge arrived with the English, in handsome array: they were about six hundred men-at-arms and as many archers: they encamped themselves together, separate from the king's army.

When the king of Spain heard that the king of Portugal was encamped on the field where the battle was to be fought, he seemed delighted, and said: "Come, let us make haste: our enemies are waiting: it is time for us to set out. We have offered them battle, which they have accepted, and are ready by the day appointed, so that an engagement must ensue: let us therefore march thither." The men-at-arms were then ordered to advance with their men, for the king was setting out. All the knights, squires and men-at-arms, in consequence, broke up their quarters, both Spaniards and French, and followed the banners of don John of Castille, who encamped

two short leagues from Badajos, in the plains of Elvas. The king of Spain had in his army upward of thirty thousand fighting men, including those mounted on genets: they were in the whole sixty thousand. In this situation, the two armies remained opposite to each other. There was only between them the mountain of Badajos, which is a large town belonging to the king of Spain, and where his men went whenever they were in want of provision. The city of Elvas was on the opposite side, and belonged to the king of Portugal.

On the plain there were daily skirmishes; for the young bachelors who were desirous to advance themselves went thither, when some gallant feats were continually performed: they then returned to their quarters. Things remained in this state for upward of fifteen days; and it was not any fault in the king of Spain that the combat did not take place, for it depended solely on the king of Portugal, who, not being in sufficient force to meet the Spaniards, was afraid of the event. He well knew, that if he were defeated, his kingdom would be lost, and that whole season he had been expecting the duke of Lancaster, with the great aid he was to bring him from England, of four thousand men-at-arms and the same number of archers. The earl of Cambridge had assured the king of Portugal, that he might depend on this, and thought nothing could prevent it; for the duke of Lancaster, when he was setting out for Scotland, had sworn to him by his faith, that on his return, he would think of nothing else, and would instantly come to Portugal with such an army as should enable him to engage with the king of Castille. True it is, that the duke of Lancaster did everything in his power to prevail on the king and his council to listen to this business: but on account of the internal troubles which had happened this year, and some events which had fallen out in Flanders, the king and his council would not consent to this expedition to Portugal, so that all the men-at-arms were detained in England.

When the king of Portugal heard this, and found that he must not expect any succors from England, he began to open a treaty: the grand-master of Calatrava, don Pedro de Modesque, the bishop of Burgos and the bishop of Lisbon, entered into negotiations for peace between Portugal and Spain. These were carried on so successfully, that peace was made, without any notice being taken of the English. The earl of Cambridge was very melancholy on learning this news, and would willingly have made war on the king of Portugal, if he had been strong enough in the country; but he was not: he was therefore obliged to endure this peace whether he would or not. The English complained that the king of Portugal had behaved ill to them, from the beginning to the end, and that he had always dissembled with the Spaniards, for he had never had any inclination to fight with them. The king excused himself, by throwing all the blame on the duke of Lancaster, and the English, for not coming according to their promises, and assured them that at that moment he could not act otherwise.

CHAPTER XCII.

A JOUST BETWEEN A FRENCH KNIGHT AND AN ENGLISH SQUIRE. THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE LEADS BACK HIS ARMY TO ENGLAND, WITH HIS SON, WHOSE BETROTHED WIFE, THE INFANTA OF PORTUGAL, IS AFTERWARDS MARRIED TO THE KING OF CASTILLE.

In the army of the king of Castille was a young knight from France, called sir Tristan de Roye, who was desirous of displaying his courage. When he saw, that as peace was concluded, there would not be any engagement, he determined not to quit Spain, without doing something to be talked of. He sent a herald to the English army, requesting, that since peace had put an end to the combat, some one would have the kindness to tilt with him three courses with the lance before the city of Badajos. When this request was brought to the army, they consulted together, and said it ought not to be refused. A young English squire then stepped forth, called Miles Windsor, who wished honorably to be created knight, and said to the herald, "Friend, return to thy masters and tell sir Tristan de Roye, that to-morrow he shall be delivered from his vow, by Miles Windsor, before the city of Badajos, according to his request."

The herald returned, and related the answer to his masters, and sir Tristan de Roye, who was highly pleased. On the morrow morning, Miles Windsor left the army of the earl of Cambridge and went toward Badajos, which was hard by, as there was only the mountain to cross, well accompanied by his friends; such as sir Matthew Gournay, sir William Beauchamp, sir Thomas Simon, the souldich de la Trane, the lord de Châteauneuf, the lord de la Barde, and several more; there were upward of one hundred knights on the spot, where the tournament was to be performed. Sir Tristan de Roye was already there, accompanied by French and Bretons.

Miles was created a knight by the souldich de la Trane, as being the most accomplished knight there, and the person who had been in the greatest number of brilliant actions. When the combatants were completely armed, with lances in their rests, and mounted, they spurred their horses, and, lowering their spears, met each other with such force that their lances were twice broken against their breast-plates, but no other hurt ensued. They then took their third lance, and the shock was so great that the heads of Bordeaux steel pierced their shields, and through all their other armor even to the skin, but did not wound them: the spears were shattered, and the broken pieces flew over their helmets. This combat was much praised by all the knights of each side who were present. They then took leave of each other with much respect, and returned to their different quarters, for no other deeds of arms were performed.

Peace being now restored, both Spaniards and Portuguese returned to their own homes. In such manner was this great assembly of Spaniards, English and Portuguese broken up.

At this time, news was brought to the army of the king of Spain, that the king of Granada had declared war against the kings of Barbary and Tremeçen, and that all men-at-arms who might wish to go thither would be received into pay. The king of Granada had sent passports, and ordered his messengers to say, that to those who arrived in Granada, he would advance a quarter's pay. Several French knights who wished to advance themselves, as sir Tristan de Roye, sir Geoffry de Chargny, sir Peter de Clermont, took leave of don John of Castille, and went to those parts in search of deeds of arms. Some English went thither also, but they were few in number; for the earl of Cambridge conducted them to England, carrying his son with him. He showed how much dissatisfied he was with the king by not leaving his son behind, who had been betrothed to the infanta of Portugal. The earl said the air of Portugal did not agree with his son's health; and in spite of everything the king could urge, he would not permit him to stay, adding that he was too young to remain in Portugal, from which the following consequences ensued.

About a year after the conclusion of this peace, when the English were returned home with the earl of Cambridge, the queen of don John of Castille died: she was daughter to the king of Arragon. The king being thus a widower, it was considered by the barons and prelates of Spain and Portugal, that the properest alliance which could be made with the lady Beatrice of Portugal was the king of Spain, who could not more nobly connect himself than with the infanta. In order to confirm the peace between the two kingdoms, the king of Portugal consented, and broke off the match with the son of the earl of Cambridge, by a dispensation from the pope, who confirmed this new alliance. Thus became the infanta of Portugal queen of Spain, Gallicia, and Castile; and she brought the king a son the first year of her marriage, to his great joy.

The king of Portugal died soon after this event: but the Portuguese were unwilling to submit themselves to the dominion of the Spaniards, and gave the crown to a bastard brother of the king, who was grand-master of the order of Avis,* and called the bastard of Portugal. He was a valiant man, had always borne arms, and much beloved by the Portuguese, as they showed; for they crowned him king, and chose him lord for his valor. This transaction was the cause of great war between the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, as you shall hear related in the course of this history.

When the earl of Cambridge, the canon de Robersac, and the English knights were returned from Portugal, and had waited on the king and duke of Lancaster, they were very graciously entertained, as was right, and then they were asked for news: they told them a sufficiency, and the history of their whole campaign. The duke of Lancaster, whom this business touched more essentially than any other, on account of the claim he had made to Castille, in right of his wife, the lady Constance, eldest daughter to don Pedro, inquired of his brother every particular, and how they had conducted themselves in Portugal. The earl told him, that the armies remained upward of fifteen days opposite to each other: "and because, my fair brother, there came no intelligence of you, the king of Portugal hastily made peace, and, in spite of everything we could say, he would not consent to a battle: our men were much concerned thereat, for they would willingly have hazarded it. Seeing, therefore, that affairs were not on a very sure foundation, I have brought home my son, although he has been betrothed to the infanta." "I believe you were in the right," replied the duke; "but perhaps they may break this marriage, if they shall find a more agreeable alliance." "By my faith," said the earl, "happen what may, I have done nothing that I repent of." Thus ended this conversation between the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge, when they entered on other matters.

We will now leave them, and the wars of Spain and Portugal, to return to those of Ghent, the earl and country of Flanders, which were very destructive.

CHAPTER XCIII.

GHENT IS IN GREAT DISTRESS FOR PROVISIONS; THEY ARE SUCCORED BY THE INHABITANTS OF LIEGE.

Ever since the burning of Grammont, and the breaking up the siege of Ghent, through the grief of the earl of Flanders for the death of his cousin, the young lord d'Anghien, as you have before heard, the war was carried on solely by the garrisons in the different towns. The whole country was for the earl, except the Quatre Metiers, whence provisions were sent into Ghent, as well as from the country of Alost. But the earl of Flanders, on hearing that cheese, butter and other things were sent to Ghent from Alost and the adjacent villages, soon put a stop to it, by ordering the garrison of Dendremond

* "Avis." Froissart calls him master Denys. For particulars of the order of the Bird, see the Histoire des Ordres de Chevalerie.

to burn and destroy the whole of that flat country: which orders being obeyed, the poor people who lived on the produce of their cattle were forced to fly into Brabant and Hainault, and the greater part to beg their bread. There still, however, remained a country dependent on the Quatre Metiers, whence Ghent drew all its provisions, which their enemies could not prevent.

This whole winter of 1382, the earl and country of Flanders had so much constrained Ghent that nothing could enter the place by land or water: he had persuaded the duke Brabant and duke Albert to shut up their countries so effectually, that no provisions could be exported thence, but secretly, and with a great risk to those who attempted it. It was thought by the most intelligent, that it could not be long before they perished through famine, for all the store-houses of corn were empty, and the people could not obtain bread for money: when the bakers had baked any, it was necessary to guard their shops, for the populace who were starving would have broken them open. It was melancholy to hear these poor people (for men women and children, of good substance were in this miserable plight) make their daily complaints and cries to Philip von Artaveld, their commander-in-chief. He took great compassion on them, and made several very good regulations, for which he was much praised. He ordered the granaries of the monasteries and rich men to be opened, and divided the corn among the poor at a fixed price. By such means he gave comfort to the town of Ghent, and governed it well. Sometimes they came to them in casks the best baked bread from Holland and Zealand, which were of great assistance; for, had they not been thus succored by those countries, they would have been much sooner defeated.

The duke of Brabant had forbidden any of his subjects to carry provisions to the inhabitants of Ghent, under pain of death; but, if they would run the risk of coming to seek them, they might sell or give. When Lent came, they were in the greatest distress; for they had not any provisions suitable to that time: insomuch that a body of soldiers and other persons, to the amount of twelve thousand, driven desperate by famine, left the town and went to Brussels. On their arrival, the gates were closed, for they were doubtful of their intentions, not knowing what to think of them. When they were near to Brussels, they sent a party unarmed to the gates, in search of provision, begging, for the love of God, they would have pity on them, and let them have victuals for their money, as they were dying of hunger, and would not do any harm to the country. The good people of Brussels had compassion on them, and carried them food sufficient to satisfy their hunger. They remained there to recruit themselves about three weeks, but did not enter any of the principal towns: they advanced as far as Louvain, the people of which place also took pity on them, and gave them many things. The leader and conductor of these men of Ghent was Francis Atremen, who advised them how to act, and also made for them their agreements with the different towns. During the time they were refreshing themselves in the country round Louvain, he went to Liege, accompanied by twelve others, where he remonstrated so effectually with the magistrates that they consented, with the approbation of their bishop, the lord Arnold d'Erele, to send to the earl of Flanders, and use their utmost endeavors to make a peace between them: adding, that if Liege had been as near to them as Brabant and Hainault, they would have more effectually assisted them in their rights, and in defending their privileges. However, they said, "We will now do everything we can for you, and, as you are merchants, and merchandise ought to pass freely everywhere, we have determined that you may contract at this moment for five or six hundred cart loads of corn and flour, which we will allow you to have, provided the good people from whom this provision comes can be satisfied. Our commerce will be suffered to pass through Brabant, for that country is in friendship with us; and, notwithstanding Brussels is shut against you, we know it is more through fear than inclination. The Brusselers have great compassion on your sufferings; but the duke and duchess of Brabant, at the solicitations of the earl of Flanders, are more his friends than yours, as it is natural that great lords should support each other."

The men of Ghent were much pleased with the affectionate offers the Liegeois made them; they warmly thanked them, and said, that with such allies and friends, the town of Ghent might do much. Francis and the citizens of Ghent who had accompanied him into Liege, having finished their business, took leave of the magistrates, who ordered certain persons to attend them through the country to collect carts and horses. In two days they had six hundred loaded with corn and flour, for such stores were then more necessary to them than any others. They set out on their return, passing between Louvain and Brussels. When Francis Atremen was returned to his men whom he had left in the neighborhood of Louvain, he related to them the love and courtesy which those of Liege had shown, and the offer they had made of their friendship. He added, that they would go to Brussels to speak with the duchess of Brabant, and beg and entreat of her, on the part of the good town of Ghent, to condescend to mediate between them and the earl their lord, so that they might obtain peace. They replied, "God's will be done," and marched to Brussels.

The duke of Brabant, at this time, was at Luxembourg on his affairs; and Francis, by permission of the duchess, who was desirous to see him, entered the town, attended only by two other persons. They waited on her at her hôtel at Colleberge, where the duchess had assembled part of her council; and, throwing themselves on their knees, Francis, who spoke for all, said, "Much honored and dear lady, may it please you, out of your great humility, to have compassion on the inhabitants of Ghent, who are not able, by any means hitherto employed, to obtain the pardon of their lord; but if you, very dear lady, would mediate between our lord and us, so that he would hear but reason and have mercy on his vassals, you would do a most charitable act, and our good friends and neighbors of Liege would unite to assist you at any time and in any manner you shall please."

The duchess replied with much gentleness, "that she had long been sorry for the dissensions which had arisen between her brother* the earl and them, and would willingly have put an end to them for some time past, had she been able or had she known how to do it: but you so often oppose him, and are so obstinate in your opinions, that it keeps up his anger and hatred against you. Notwithstanding all this, for love of God and through compassion, I will cheerfully undertake this business, and send to request he will have the goodness to come to Tournay, where I will order my privy council. You will also exert yourselves to gain the council of Hainault, to accompany that of Liege, which you say is ready to serve you." "Yes, madam, for they have so promised us." "Well," said the duchess, "I will do something that you shall hear of." They replied, "God preserve, madam, your soul and body." At these words they took leave of the duchess and her council, departed from Brussels, and returned to their men and carriages, which were waiting for them, and then continued their road to Ghent.

When the news arrived that their people were returning, and bringing with them six hundred cart-loads of provision, of which they were in such great want, they were highly delighted: these provisions, however, from Liege were not sufficient to maintain the town fifteen days; but to those who are comfortless a little thing gives hope. They made a numerous procession to meet this convoy, and, by way of humbling themselves, they fell on their knees when they met it, and with uplifted hands, said to the merchants and drivers, "Ah, good people, you do an act of great charity: you bring comfort to the lower classes in Ghent, who would not have had wherewithal to eat, if you had not come. Let us first give our thanks and praises to God, and then to you." In this manner were the provisions attended to the market-place, and there unloaded: they were then delivered out in small proportions to those who were in the greatest want; and five thousand men were ordered to arm themselves, and to escort back these carts as far as Brabant, and out of all danger.

The earl of Flanders, who resided at Bruges, had information of all this, and how Ghent was so much straitened that it could not hold out for any length of time. You may imagine he was not very much vexed at their poverty, any more than those of his council, who would, with pleasure, have seen the town of Ghent destroyed. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers, the deacon of small trades of Ghent, and the provost of Harlebecque, were in high spirits at what they heard. All these events happened in Lent, during the months of March and April 1382.† The earl of Flanders determined to lay siege to Ghent once more, but with a much superior army to what he had hitherto brought against it; for he declared he would invade the Quatre Metiers, and burn and destroy them, as they had been too active in assisting Ghent. The earl therefore signified his intentions to all the principal towns in Flanders, that they might be ready in time. Immediately after the procession at Bruges, he was to march from hence, to lay siege to Ghent and destroy it. He wrote also to those knights and squires who were dependent on him in Hainault, to meet him at Bruges at the appointed day, or even eight days before.

CHAPTER XCIV.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS SENDS A HARSH ANSWER TO THOSE WHO WISHED TO MEDIATE A PEACE BETWEEN HIM AND GHENT. THE POPULACE, UNDER THE NAME OF MAILLOTINS, RISE AGAIN AT PARIS.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these summons, levies and orders, which the earl of Flanders was issuing, the duchess of Brabant, duke Albert and the bishop of Liege, exerted themselves so much, that a meeting of their councils, to consider of the means of establishing a peace, was ordered to be held in the city of Tournay. The earl of Flanders, at the request of these lords, and the duchess of Brabant, although he intended to act contrary, gave his terms of accommodation; and these conferences were fixed for the end of Easter, at Tournay, in the year 1382.

Twelve deputies came from the bishopric of Liege and the chief towns, with sir Lambert de Perney, a very discreet knight. The duchess of Brabant sent her council thither, and some of the principal inhabitants from the great towns. Duke Albert met likewise his council from Hainault, his bailiff, sir Simon de Lalain, with others. All these came to Tournay in Easter-week; and Ghent sent also twelve deputies, of whom Philip von Artaveld was the head. The inhabitants of Ghent had resolved to accede to what-

* *Her brother.* He had married one of her sisters.

† "1382." That is, beginning the year at January, otherwise 1381.

ever terms their deputies should agree on, with the exception that no one was to be put to death; but that if it pleased the earl, their lord, he might banish from Ghent, and the country of Flanders, all those who were disagreeable to him, and whom he might wish to punish, without any possibility of their return. This resolution they had determined to abide by; and Philip von Artaveld was willing, if he should have angered the earl ever so little, during the time he was governor of Ghent, to be one of the banished men, for life, out of the regard he had for the lower ranks of people. Certain it is, that when he set out from Ghent for Tournay, men, women and children cast themselves before him on their knees, and with uplifted hands, besought him, that at whatever cost it might be, he would bring them back peace; and, from the pity he felt for them, he had agreed to act as I have just related.

When the deputies from Liege, Brabant and Hainault, who had been sent to Tournay as mediators, had resided there three days expecting the earl, who neither came nor sent; they were much surprised, and, consulting together, resolved to send to him at Bruges. In consequence, they dispatched thither sir Lambert de Perney, the lord de Compellant from Brabant, sir William de Hermen* from Hainault, and six citizens from the three countries. The earl of Flanders entertained them handsomely, as was right, but told them, "that at that moment, it was not agreeable to him to come to Tournay; yet, in consideration for the cause which had brought them thither, and the trouble they had taken to come to Bruges, as well as out of respect to their lords, the duchess of Brabant his sister, duke Albert his cousin and the bishop of Liege, he would instantly send his council to Tournay with his final declaration, and what were his future intentions." They therefore returned to Tournay, and related what the earl had said.

Six days afterwards, arrived at Tournay, by orders of the earl, the lord de Raseflez, the lord de Gontris, sir John Villame and the provost of Harlebecque, who made excuses from the earl why he came not in person. They then delivered the earl's determination, that the inhabitants of Ghent were not to expect peace from him, unless all persons, from the age of fifteen to sixty, submitted to come out of that city, bare-headed in their shirts, with halters about their necks, on the road between Ghent and Bruges, where the earl would wait for them, and grant them pardon or put them to death, according to his pleasure. When this answer was carried by the deputies of the three countries to those of Ghent, they were more confounded than ever. The bailiff of Hainault, then addressing them, said: "My good gentlemen, you are in great peril, as you may each of you judge, and we can assure you of it: now, if you accept these terms, he will not put all to death that shall present themselves before him, but only some who have angered him more than the rest; and means may be found to mollify him, and excite his compassion; so that those who may think themselves certain of death will be pardoned: accept, therefore, these offers, or at least consider well before you refuse them; for I believe you will never have such made to you again."

Philip von Artaveld replied: "We are not commissioned to treat on such terms by our townsmen, nor will they ever accept them; but if the citizens in Ghent, upon our return, after having informed them of the answer from the earl, shall be willing to submit themselves, it shall not be our fault that peace is not made. We give you our best and warmest thanks for the great trouble and pains you have taken in this business." They then took leave of those well-intentioned persons, and the other deputies from the principal towns of the three countries, and showed plainly that they would not accept of the offered terms for peace. Philip von Artaveld and his companions went to their hotels, discharged their bills, and returned through Brabant to Ghent.

Thus was this conference broken up, which had been assembled with the best intentions, in the town of Tournay, and each man returned to his home. The earl of Flanders never made an inquiry what was the answer of the Ghent deputies, so very cheap did he hold them. He wished not for any treaty of peace, for he well knew he had punished them so hard they could not hold out against him much longer, and that the end must be honorable to him: he was also desirous to reduce Ghent to such a situation that all other towns might take warning from it.

About this period the Parisians again rose, because the king did not reside among them. They were afraid lest he should order his men-at-arms to force the gates of the city in the night-time, overrun it, and put to death whomsoever he pleased. To avoid this danger, which they dreaded, they kept guards in all the streets and squares every night, and barricaded the streets with chains, to prevent any cavalry from passing; nor would they suffer any one on foot to pass: and those found in the streets after nine o'clock, who were not acknowledged by them or their partisans, were put to death. There were in the city of Paris upward of thirty thousand rich and powerful men, armed from head to foot, and so handsomely arrayed that few knights could afford to rival them. They had, in like manner, armed their servants, who had mallets of iron and lead for the bruising of helmets. They said in Paris, when they were mustering their men, that they were sufficient in number and strength to fight their own battles, without the aid of the greatest lord on earth. These people were called the army of mallets.

* "Hermen." Q. Helmon, see p. 298.—Ed.

CHAPTER XCV.

THE CITIZENS OF GHENT, AFTER HAVING HEARD FROM PHILIP VON ARTAVELD THE TERMS OF PEACE WHICH HE HAD BROUGHT FROM THE CONFERENCES AT TOURNAY, MARCH OUT, TO THE NUMBER OF FIVE THOUSAND, TO ATTACK THE EARL OF FLANDERS IN BRUGES.

When Philip Von Artaveld and his companions returned to Ghent, great crowds of the common people, who only wished for peace, were much rejoiced on his arrival, and hoped to hear from him good news. They went out to meet him, saying, "Ah, dear Philip von Artaveld, make us happy: tell us what you have done, and how you have succeeded." Philip made no answer to these questions, but rode on, holding down his head: the more silent he was, the more they followed him, and were the more clamorous. Once or twice, as he was advancing to his house, he said, "Get you to your homes, and may God preserve you from harm; to-morrow morning be in the market-place by nine o'clock, and there you shall hear everything." As they could not obtain any other answer, the people were exceedingly alarmed.

When Philip Von Artaveld had dismounted at his door, and his companions were returned to their homes, Peter du Bois, anxious to learn what had been done, came in the evening to Philip, and, having shut himself in a chamber with him, asked what success he had met with. Philip, who wished to hide nothing from him, replied: "By my faith, Peter, from the answer which my lord of Flanders has given by those of his council whom he sent to Tournay, he will not pardon a soul in Ghent; no not one." "By my troth," said Peter du Bois, "he is in the right, and has been wisely advised to send such an answer; for we are all equally implicated one as much as another. I have succeeded in my expectation; for the town of Ghent is in such confusion that it cannot well be appeased. We must become desperate, and it shall be seen if there be not prudent and valiant men in Ghent. In a few days, the town of Ghent will be the most respected in Christendom, or the most humbled. However, if we do perish in this quarrel, we shall not die alone. You must now, Philip, consider how you will relate the conferences of Tournay to-morrow, so that every one may be satisfied with your conduct. You are at this moment in high favor with the people, for two reasons; one, on account of the name you bear, for Jacob von Artaveld, your father, was formerly much beloved in this town; the other, from the gentle and friendly manner with which you address them, which they publicly praise: they will therefore firmly believe everything you shall tell them; and, toward the end, you shall add, 'If I were to advise, I would do so and so:' but it is necessary you consider this well, so that you stand on sure grounds and gain honor by it." "Peter," said Philip von Artaveld, "you speak truth; and I think I shall be able to explain and harangue in such a manner on the affairs of Ghent that, between ourselves, we who are the governors and leaders in Ghent shall live and die with honor." Nothing more was said or done at that time, for they separated: Peter du Bois returned to his house, and Philip remained where he was.

You may easily imagine, when the day so eagerly expected was come, in which Philip was to report what had passed in the conferences at Tournay, that all the inhabitants of Ghent were early in the market-place. It was on a Wednesday morning, and the time of meeting nine o'clock. Philip von Artaveld, Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre, Francis Atremen, and the other chiefs came there; and, having entered the town-hall, they ascended the staircase, when Philip, showing himself from the windows, thus spoke: "My good friends, it is true, that through the entreaties of the very noble lady the duchess of Brabant, the most puissant and noble prince duke Albert, regent of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, and of my lord the bishop of Liege, a conference was appointed to be holden at Tournay these last days, which the earl of Flanders was personally to attend, and which he had promised to the noble persons just mentioned, who have indeed most handsomely acquitted themselves. They sent thither their most able counsellors, and the principal inhabitants from the greatest towns, who waited several days in expectation of the earl of Flanders; but he came not, nor indeed sent any excuses. When they perceived this, they resolved to choose three knights from the three countries, and six citizens, and send them to him. Out of affection to us they undertook the business, and went to Bruges, where they found my lord of Flanders, who entertained them well, as they said, and willingly listened to them: he then declared, that out of respect to their lord, and to his sister-in-law, madame de Brabant, he would send his council to Tournay in the course of five or six days, so well instructed, that they would clearly explain his determined intention, which when they should hear, they would know how to act: not obtaining any other answer, they returned on the day appointed. In consequence of this, the lord de Raseflez, the lord de Gontris, sir John Villames, and the provost of Harlebecque, came to Tournay, where they very graciously informed us of the will of the earl, and the only means of putting an end to this war. They declared his final terms for peace between him and the inhabitants of Ghent were, that every

male inhabitant, excepting priests and monks, from the age of sixteen to that of sixty, should march out of the town in their shirts, with bare heads and feet, and halters about their necks, and should thus go two leagues or more to the plains of Burlesquans, where they would meet the earl of Flanders, attended by such whom he may choose to bring with him; and that, when he should see us in this situation, with joined hands, crying out for mercy, he would, if he pleased, take compassion on us. But I could not learn from his council, that there was the least plea of justice to put to death such numbers of people as would be there that day.* Now, consider if you will have peace on these terms ?"

When Philip had done speaking, it was a melancholy sight to behold men, women, and children, bewailing, with tears, their husbands, fathers, brothers, and neighbors. After this tumult and noise had lasted some time, Philip again addressed them, and cried out, "Silence, silence!" when, on his beginning to speak, they ceased lamenting, "Worthy inhabitants of Ghent, you who are here assembled, are the majority of its citizens, and you have heard all I had to report to you: I see no means of remedy but a determined conduct. You know how very much we are straitened for all sorts of provision, and that there are thirty thousand persons in this town, who have not eaten bread for fifteen days. In my opinion, we have but the choice of three things; the first, that we close all our gates, and then, after having confessed ourselves, most fully, retire into the churches and monasteries, and there die confessed and repentant, like martyrs, to whom no mercy has been shown. In this state God will have pity on us, and on our souls; and wherever this shall be told or heard, they will say that we died nobly, like loyal men-at-arms. Or, let us resolve to march out, men, women, and children, with halters about our necks, bareheaded, and with naked feet, and implore the mercy of my lord the earl: he is not so hard-hearted, nor so obstinate, but when he shall see us in such a humiliating condition, he will be softened, and take pity on his subjects; and I will be the first to offer him my head, in order to assuage his hatred, and sacrifice myself for the city of Ghent. Or, let us choose from five to six thousand of the most determined men in the town, and instantly march to attack the earl in Bruges; we will give him combat; and if we should be slain in the attempt, at least we shall die with honor, and God will have mercy upon us; and the world will say, that we have gallantly and valorously maintained our quarrel. If however, in this battle we be victorious, and our Lord God, who in ancient times delegated his power into the hands of Judas Maccabeus, the chief of his Jewish people, so that the Syrians were defeated and slain, would be indulgent enough to grant us this kindness, we should be everwhere the most honored people since the time of the Romans. Now consider which of these three propositions you will make choice of, for one of them must be adopted."

Those who were near him, and had most distinctly heard what he had said, replied, "Ah, dear lord, we put our whole confidence in you: what would you advise us ? for we will do whatever you think will be most for our advantage." "By my faith, then," said Philip, "I would advise that we all march in arms against my lord. We shall find him at Bruges; and, when he hears of our coming, he will sally forth and fight with us; for the pride of those in Bruges and about his person, who excite him day and night against us, will urge him to the combat. If God shall, through his mercy, grant that we gain the field, and defeat our enemies, our affairs will be instantly retrieved, and we shall be the most respected people in the universe. If we be defeated, we shall die honorably, and God will have pity on us; and thus the remainder of the inhabitants of Ghent will escape and be pardoned by the earl our lord."

At these words, they all shouted out, "We will follow this plan, and no other!" Philip then said, "My good gentlemen, since you are thus resolved, return home and get ready your arms; for in the course of to-morrow, I am determined to march for Bruges: the remaining longer here will not be to our advantage. Within five days we shall know if we be to die, or to live with honor. I will order the constables of the different parishes to go from house to house, and choose the best armed and those most fit for the service."

Immediately after the meeting broke up, and every one returned home to make ready, each according to his abilities; they kept the gates of the town so closely shut that no person whatever was suffered to come in or go out before Thursday afternoon, when those who were to march on the expedition were prepared: in all about five thousand men, and not more. They loaded about two hundred carts with cannon and artillery, and only seven with provisions; that is, five with bread and two with wine, for there were but two tuns of wine in the town. You may judge from this to what straits they had been reduced.

It was a miserable spectacle to see those who went and those who remained. These last said to them, "Good friends, you see what you leave behind; but never think of returning unless you can do so with honor, for you will not find anything here. The moment we hear of your defeat or death, we will set fire to the town, and perish in the flames, like men in despair." Those who were marching out, replied, by way of comforting them, "What you say is very just. Pray God for us; for we place our hopes in him, and trust he will assist you, as well as us, before our return."

Thus did these five thousand men of Ghent march off with their slender stores, and encamped about a league from Ghent, but touched not their provision, taking up with what they could find in the country. On Friday, they marched the whole day, and then meddled not with their stores: but their scouts picked up some few things in the country, with which they made shift, and fixed their quarters that evening a long league from Bruges. They halted there, considering it a proper place to wait for their enemies, for there were in front two extensive marshes, which were a good defence on one side; and they fortified themselves on the others with the carriages, and thus passed the night.

* "Mais je ne puis veoir, n'entendre, par la relation de son conseil, qu'il ne convienne mourir honteusement par punition de justice et de prison, la greigneur partie du peuple qui là sera en ce jour," are the words of Froissart, according to D. Sauvage, which are well rendered by Lord Berners: "But, sirs, I cannat knowe by the relacion of any of his counsayle, but that by shamefull punycion of justyce, and by imprisonment, there shall suffre dethe the moost part of the people that appere there that day." Mr. Johnes appears to have followed another copy, but the version which he has adopted does not appear very intelligible.—Ed

CHAPTER XCVI.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE GHENT MEN. THEY DEFEAT THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE MEN OF BRUGES. THE MEANS BY WHICH THIS WAS BROUGHT ABOUT.

The Saturday* was a fine bright day, and, being the feast of the Holy Cross, the inhabitants of Bruges, according to custom, made their usual processions. News was soon brought to Bruges, that the Ghent army was near at hand; so that every one began to murmur until the earl heard it, as well as those about his person. He was much surprised, and said, "See how the wickedness of these mad and foolish people of Ghent leads them to their destruction: indeed it is time this war should be put an end to." His knights, and others, instantly waited on him, whom he very graciously received, and said, "We will go and fight these wicked people; however, they show courage in preferring death by the sword rather than famine." They determined to send out three men-at-arms to examine the force and situation of the enemy. The marshal of Flanders ordered three valiant squires on this service, whose names were Lambert de Lambres, Damas de Buffy, and John de Béart: they set out, mounted on the finest horses in the town, and advanced toward the Ghent army. While this was going forward, every person in Bruges made himself ready, and showed the most eager desire to sally forth and combat the men of Ghent; of whom I will now say a word, and of the manner in which they had drawn themselves up.

On the Saturday morning, Philip von Artaveld ordered his whole army to pay their devotions to God, and masses to be said in different places; (for there were with them several monks) that every man should confess himself, and make other becoming preparations, and that they should pray to God with that truth, as people looking to him alone for mercy. All this was done, and mass celebrated in seven different places. After each mass was a sermon, which lasted an hour and a half: the monks and priests endeavored, by their discourses, to show the great similitude between them and the people of Israel, whom Pharaoh king of Egypt detained so long in slavery, and who, through God's grace, were delivered, and conducted by Moses and Aaron into the land of promise, while Pharaoh and the Egyptians were drowned. "In like manner, my good people," preached the monks, "have you been kept in bondage by your lord, the earl of Flanders, and by your neighbors of Bruges, whom you are now to meet, and by whom you will, without doubt, be combated, for your enemies are in great numbers, and have little fear of your force; but do not you mind this; for God, who can do all things and is acquainted with your situation, will have mercy on you: therefore, think of nothing but what you have left behind; for you well know, that everything is lost, if you be defeated. Sell yourselves well and valiantly; and if you must die, die with honor. Do not be alarmed if great numbers issue forth from Bruges against you, for victory is not to the multitude, but whither God shall please to send it; and, by his grace, it has been often seen, as well by the Maccabees as the Romans, that those who fought manfully, and confided in God, discomfited the greater number. Besides, you have justice and reason on your side in this quarrel, which ought to make you feel yourselves bold and better comforted." In such words as these the priests had been ordered to preach to the army, and with these discourses they were well pleased. Three parts of them communicated, and all showed great devotion and much fear in God.

After the sermons, the whole army assembled round a small hill, on which Philip von Artaveld placed himself, in order to be the better heard, and harangued them very ably, explaining to them every point in which they were justified in this war; and how Ghent had frequently sought pardon from the earl, and never could obtain it, without submitting to conditions too hard for the town and its inhabitants: that now they had advanced so far they could not retreat; and that, if they would consider, they would see nothing could be gained were they to return, for all they had left behind were in sorrow and misery. They ought not, therefore, to think of Ghent, their wives and children who were in it, but to act in such manner

* "The 3rd of May."—See *L'Art de Verifier les Dates.*

as was becoming their honor. Philip von Artaveld addressed many more fine speeches to them: for he was very eloquent, and had words at command, which was fortunate for him, and toward the end he added, "My good friends, you see here all your provision: divide it among you fairly, like brethren, without any disturbance; for when it is gone, you must conquer more, if you wish to live."

At these words they drew up very regularly, and unloaded the carts, when the bags of bread were given out, to be divided by constablewicks, and the two tuns of wine placed on their bottoms; and there they moderately breakfasted, each man having a sufficiency at that time; after which breakfast they found themselves more determined and active on their feet than if they had eaten more. This repast being over, they put themselves in order, and retired within their ribaudeaus. These ribaudeaus are tall stakes, with points shod with iron, which they were always accustomed to carry with them. They fixed them in front of their army, and inclosed themselves within.

The three knights who had been sent by the earl to reconnoitre, found them in this situation: they approached the entrances of these ribaudeaus; but the Ghent men never moved, and rather seemed rejoiced to see them. They returned to Bruges, where they found the earl in his palace, surrounded by many knights, waiting for them, to hear what intelligence they had brought back. They pushed through the crowd, and came near the earl, when they spoke aloud, for the earl wished all present to hear, and said, "they had advanced so close to the Ghent army, that they might have shot at them, if they had so chosen, but they left them in peace; and that they had seen their banners, and the army inclosed within their ribaudeaus." "And what are their numbers, think ye?" said the earl. They answered, "that as near as they could guess, they might be from five to six thousand." "Well," said the earl, "now let every one instantly get ready; for I will give them battle, and this day shall not pass without a combat." At these words the trumpet sounded in Bruges, when every one armed himself, and made for the market-place. As they came, they drew up under their proper banners, as they had usually done, in bands and constablewicks.

Many barons, knights, and men-at-arms, drew up before the palace of the earl. When all was ready, and the earl armed, he came to the market-place, and was much pleased to see such numbers in battle-array. They then marched off, for none dared disobey his commands; and, in order of battle, made for the plain: the men-at-arms afterwards issued forth from Bruges. It was a handsome sight, for there were upward of forty thousand armed heads; and thus horse and foot advanced in proper order, near to the place where the Ghent men were, and then halted. It was late in the afternoon when the earl and his army arrived, and the sun going down. One of the knights said to the earl, "My lord, you now see your enemies: they are but a handful of men in comparison with your army, and as they cannot escape, do not engage them this day; but wait for to-morrow, when you will have the day before you: you will, besides, have more light to see what you are about, and they will be weaker, for they have not anything to eat."

The earl approved much this advice, and would willingly have followed it; but the men of Bruges, impatient to begin the fight, would not wait, saying, they would soon defeat them and return back to their town. Notwithstanding the orders of the men-at-arms, for the earl had not less than eight hundred lances, knights, and squires, the Bruges men began to shoot and to fire cannons.

The Ghent men, being collected in a body on an eminence, fired at once three hundred cannon; after which they turned the marsh, and placed the Bruges men with the sun in their eyes, which much distressed them, and then fell upon them, shouting out, "Ghent!" The moment the men of Bruges heard the cannon and the cry of Ghent, and saw them marching to attack them in front, they, like cowards, opened their ranks, and letting the Ghent men pass without making any defence, flung down their staves and ran away. The Ghent men were in close order, and, perceiving their enemies were defeated, began to knock down and kill on all sides. They advanced with a quick step, shouting, "Ghent!" and saying, "Let us pursue briskly our enemies, who are defeated, and enter the town with them: God eyes us this day with looks of pity."

They followed those of Bruges with so much courage, that whenever they knocked down or killed any one, they marched on without halting or quitting the pursuit, while the men of Bruges fled with the haste of a defeated army. I must say, that at this place there were multitudes of slain, wounded, and thrown down; for they made no defence, and never were such cowardly wretches as those of Bruges, or who more weakly or recreantly behaved themselves, after their insolence when they first took the field. Some may wish to excuse them by supposing there might have been treason, which caused this defeat. This was not so; but such poor and weak conduct fell on their own heads.

CHAPTER XCVII.

BRUGES IS TAKEN BY THE GHENT ARMY. THE EARL OF FLANDERS SAVES HIMSELF IN THE HOUSE OF A POOR WOMAN.

When the earl of Flanders and the men-at-arms saw that, by the miserable defence of the men of Bruges, they had caused their own defeat, and that there was not any remedy for it, for every man was running away as fast as he could, they were much surprised, and began to be alarmed for themselves, and to make off in different directions. It is true, that had they seen any probability of recovering the loss which the Bruges men were suffering, they would have done some deeds of arms, by which they might have rallied them a little: but they saw it was hopeless, for they were flying to Bruges in all directions, and neither the son waited for the father nor the father for his child.

The men-at-arms, therefore, began to break their ranks. Few had any desire to return to Bruges, for the crowd was so great on the road thither, that it was painful to see and hear the complaints of the wounded and hurt. The men of Ghent were close at their heels, shouting out, "Ghent, Ghent!" knocking down all that obstructed them. The greater part of the men-at-arms had never before been in such peril: even the earl was advised to make for Bruges, and to have the gates closed and guarded, so that the Ghent men should not be able to force them and become masters of the town. The earl of Flanders saw no help for his men, who were flying on all sides, and, as it was now dark night, followed this advice and took the road to Bruges, his banner displayed before him. He entered the gates one of the first, with about forty others, for no more had followed him. He ordered the guards to defend the gates if the Ghent men should come hither, and then rode to his palace, from whence he issued a proclamation, that every person, under pain of death, should assemble in the market-place. The intention of the earl was to save the town by this means: but it did not succeed, as you shall hear.

While the earl was in his palace, and had sent the clerks of the different trades from street to street, to hasten the inhabitants to the market-place, in order to preserve the city, the men of Ghent, having closely pursued their enemies, entered the town with them, and instantly made for the market-place, without turning to the right or left, where they drew themselves up in array. Sir Robert Mareschaut, one of the earl's knights, had been sent to the gates to see they were guarded: but, while the earl was planning means for defending the town, sir Robert found a gate flung off its hinges, and the Ghent men masters of it. Some of the citizens said to him, "Robert, Robert, return and save yourself, if you can, for the Ghent men have taken the town." The knight returned as speedily as he could to the earl, whom he met coming out of his palace on horseback, with a number of torches. The knight told him what he had heard; but, notwithstanding this, the earl, anxious to defend the town, advanced toward the market-place, and, as he was entering it with a number of torches, shouting, "Flanders for the Lyon! Flanders for the Earl!" those near his horse and about his person, seeing the place full of Ghent men, said, "My lord, return; for if you advance further you will be slain, or at the best made prisoner by your enemies, as they are drawn up in the square and are waiting for you."

They told him truth; for the Ghent men, seeing the great blaze of torches in the street, said, "Here comes my lord, here comes the earl: how he falls into our hands!" Philip von Artaveld had given orders to his men, that if the earl should come, every care was to be taken to preserve him from harm, in order that he might be carried alive and in good health to Ghent, when they should be able to obtain what peace they chose. The earl had entered the square, near where the Ghent men were drawn up, when several people came to him and said, "My lord, do not come further; for the Ghent men are masters of the market-place and of the town, and if you advance, you will run a risk of being taken. Numbers of them are now searching for their enemies from street to street, and many of the men of Bruges have joined them, who conduct them from hôtel to hôtel to seek those whom they want. You cannot pass any of the gates without danger of being killed, for they are in their possession; nor can you return to your palace, for a large rout of Ghent men have marched thither."

When the earl heard this speech, which was heart-breaking as you may guess, he began to be much alarmed, and to see the peril he was in. He resolved to follow the advice of not going further, and to save himself if he could, which was confirmed by his own judgment. He ordered the torches to be extinguished, and said to those about him, "I see clearly that affairs are without remedy: I therefore give permission for every one to depart and save himself in the best manner he can." His orders were obeyed. The torches were put out and thrown in the streets; and all who were in company with the earl separated and went away. He himself went to a by-street, where he was disarmed by his servant, and, throwing down his clothes, put on his servant's, saying, "Go about thy business, and save thyself if thou canst; but be silent if thou fall into the hands of my enemies; and if they ask anything about me, do not give them any information." "My lord," replied the valet, "I will sooner die."

The earl of Flanders thus remained alone, and it may be truly said he was in the greatest danger; for it was over with him if he had at that hour, by any accident, fallen into the hands of the mob, who were going up and down the streets, searching every house for the friends of the earl; and whomsoever they found they carried before Philip von Artaveld and the other captains in the market-place, when they were instantly put to death. It was God alone

who watched over him, and delivered him from this peril: for no one had ever before been in such imminent danger, as I shall presently relate. The earl inwardly bewailed his situation from street to street at this late hour, for it was a little past midnight, and he dared not enter any house, lest he should be seized by the mobs of Ghent and Bruges. Thus, as he was rambling through the streets, he at last entered the house of a poor woman, a very unfit habitation for such a lord, as there were neither halls nor apartments, but a small house, dirty and smoky, and as black as jet; there was only in this place one poor chamber, over which was a sort of garret that was entered by means of a ladder of seven steps, where, on a miserable bed, the children of this woman lay.

The earl entered this house with fear and trembling, and said to the woman, who was also much frightened, "Woman, save me: I am thy lord, the earl of Flanders; but at this moment I must hide myself, for my enemies are in pursuit of me; and I will handsomely reward thee for the favor thou showest me." The poor woman knew him well, for she had frequently received alms at his door; and had often seen him pass and repass, when he was going to some amusement, or hunting. She was ready with her answers, in which God assisted the earl: for had she delayed it ever so little, they would have found him in conversation with her by the fireside. "My lord, mount this ladder, and get under the bed in which my children sleep." This he did, while she employed herself by the fireside, with another child in a cradle.

The earl of Flanders mounted the ladder as quickly as he could, and, getting between the straw and the coverlid, hid himself, and contracted his body into as little space as possible. He had scarcely done so, when some of the mob of Ghent entered the house; for one of them had said, he had seen a man go in there. They found this woman sitting by the fire, nursing her child, of whom they demanded, "Woman, where is the man we saw enter this house, and shut the door after him?" "By my troth," replied she, "I have not seen any one enter here this night; but I have just been at the door to throw out some water, which I then shut after me; besides, I have not any place to hide him in, for you see the whole of this house; here is my bed, and my children sleep overhead." Upon this one of them took a candle, and mounted the ladder, and, thrusting his head into the place, saw nothing but the wretched bed in which the children were asleep. He looked all about him, above and below, and then said to his companions, "Come, come, let us go: we only lose our time here: the poor woman speaks truth: there is not a soul but herself and her children." On saying this, they left the house and went into another quarter; and no one afterwards entered it, who had bad intentions.

The earl of Flanders, hearing all this conversation as he lay hid, you may easily imagine, was in the greatest fear of his life. In the morning he could have said he was one of the most powerful princes in Christendom, and that same night he felt himself one of the smallest. One may truly say, that the fortunes of this world are not stable. It was fortunate for him to save his life; and this miraculous escape ought to be to him a remembrance his whole lifetime.

We will now leave the earl of Flanders, and speak of Bruges, and how the Ghent men prospered.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

THE GHENT MEN SPARE THE FOREIGN MERCHANTS AT BRUGES. THE EARL OF FLANDERS QUITS BRUGES, AND RETURNS TO LILLE, WHITHER SOME OF HIS PEOPLE HAD ALREADY RETREATED.

Francis Atremen was one of the principal leaders of the mob. He was ordered by Philip von Artaveld and Peter du Bois, to search the town of Bruges, and guard the market-place, until they should find themselves complete masters of the town. He was particularly commanded to suffer no harm to be done to foreign merchants, or other strangers then at Bruges, for they had nothing to do with their quarrels. This order was very well observed, and neither Francis nor any of his company did the smallest hurt to a foreigner. The search of the Ghent men was especially directed to the four trades, of jerkin-makers, glassmen, butchers, and fishermen; for they had resolved to put to death all whom they should find of these different trades, because they had been partisans of the earl of Flanders at Oudenarde, and other places. They sought for them everywhere, and when they found any, they were killed without mercy. There were upward of twelve hundred, one with the other, slain this night; and many murders and robberies committed, which were never known: several houses robbed, and women and girls violated; coffers broken open, and a variety of wicked deeds done; insomuch, that the poorest of the Ghent army became very rich.

On the Monday morning, the happy news of the defeat of the earl and his army, was brought to Ghent; that their men had not only conquered them, but also the town of Bruges, of which they were now masters. You may guess the joy the people felt, who had been so lately in the greatest tribulation: they made many processions to the church to return thanksgivings to God for the mercy he had shown them, and for the victory he had given to their army. Every day there came good news, which so much delighted them, they hardly knew what they were about. I mention this; for had the lord de Harzelles, who had remained in Ghent, marched that Sunday, or the Monday morning, with three or four thousand men to Oudenarde, he would instantly have conquered it: they were in such consternation at the success of the Ghent men, that they were on the point of quitting the town, to save themselves in Hainault, or elsewhere, and had made preparations for so doing. But when they perceived the Ghent people did not come, nor had any intelligence respecting them, they recovered their courage. The knights who were there, such as sir John Bernage, sir Thierry du Ban, and sir Fleuriant de Heurlée, guarded and comforted them until the arrival of sir Damos de Haluin, who was sent thither by the earl, as I shall relate when I come to that period.

No people ever behaved themselves better toward their enemies than the men of Ghent did to those of Bruges, nor conducted themselves more graciously to a conquered town: they did no harm to any of the small tradesmen unless there were very strong accusations against them. When Philip von Artaveld, Peter du Bois and the other captains saw they were completely masters of the place, they issued out a proclamation in their name for all persons to retire to their houses, and that no one should break open or pillage any house, nor be any way instrumental in raising of riots, under pain of death.

They then inquired what had become of the earl: some said, he had left the town on Saturday night: others that he was yet at Bruges, but so closely hid that he could not be found. The captains of the Ghent army paid no great attention to him; for they were so rejoiced at their victory that they thought nothing of any earl, baron or knight in Flanders, and looked on themselves as so mighty that all the world must obey them. Philip von Artaveld and Peter du Bois considered, that when they had quitted Ghent they had left it destitute of all provision, for there was neither corn nor wine in the town: they instantly detached a large party to Damme and Sluys to gain those towns, and the provisions which were in them, in order to supply their fellow-citizens in Ghent. On the detachment arriving at Damme, the gates were thrown open, and the town with all in it surrendered. They ordered out of the fine cellars the wines of Poitou, Gascony, and la Rochelle, and from other distant countries, to the amount of six thousand tuns, which they loaded on carriages and sent by land to Ghent, and also by boats on the river Lis.

They then marched on to Sluys, which instantly submitted to them and opened its gates. They found there great quantities of casks of corn and flour, in ships and in the storehouses of foreign merchants, and having paid for the whole, sent it by land and water to Ghent. Thus was Ghent delivered from famine, through the mercy of God. It could not have happened otherwise, and well ought the Ghent men to remember it; for that God assisted them is very clear, when five thousand famished men defeated forty thousand, even before their own doors. They and their leaders ought to have humbled themselves; however they did not, but rather increased their pride, insomuch that God was angered with them, and punished their folly before the year was expired, as shall be related in the course of this history, for an example to the rest of the world.

I was informed, and believe my authority good, that on the Sunday evening, when it was dark, the earl of Flanders escaped from Bruges. I am ignorant how he accomplished it, or if he had any assistance, but some I believe he must have had. He got out of the town on foot, clad in a miserable jerkin, and when in the fields was quite joyous, as he might then say he had escaped from the utmost peril. He wandered about at first, and came to a thorn bush, to consider whither he should go: for he was unacquainted with the roads or country, having never before travelled on foot. As he lay thus hid under the bush, he heard some one talk, who by accident was one of his knights, that had married a bastard daughter of his: his name was sir Robert Mareschaut. The earl, hearing him talk as he was passing, said to him, "Robert, art thou there?" The knight, who well knew his voice, replied, "My lord, you have this day given me great uneasiness in seeking for you all round Bruges: how were you able to escape?" "Come, come, Robert," said the earl: "this is not a time to tell one's adventures: endeavor to get me a horse, for I am tired with walking, and take the road to Lille, if thou knowest it." "My lord," answered the knight, "I know it well." They then travelled all night and the morrow till early morn, before they could procure a horse. The first beast they could find was a mare, belonging to a poor man in a village. The earl mounted the mare, without saddle or bridle, and travelling all Monday, came, toward evening, to the castle of Lille, whither a great part of his knights who had escaped from the battle of Bruges had retired. They had got off as well as they could; some on foot, others on horseback, but all did not follow this road: some went by water to Holland and Zealand, where they remained until they received better news.

Sir Guy de Guistelles was fortunate in getting into a good situation; for he found the count Guy de Blois in one of his towns in Zealand, who handsomely entertained him, and gave him wherewithal to remount and equip himself again, retaining him with him as long as he chose to stay. In a similar manner were the discomfited knights remounted by those lords to whom they had fled; they took great compassion on them, which was but justice, for nobles and gentlemen ought to be assisted and comforted by each other.

CHAPTER XCIX.

THE CONDUCT OF THE GHENT MEN AT BRUGES. ALL THE TOWNS IN FLANDERS SURRENDER TO THEM EXCEPT OUDENARDE.

News was spread through all countries of the defeat which the earl of Flanders and the city of Bruges had suffered from Ghent. Many were rejoiced at it, more particularly the common people. Those in the principal towns of Brabant and the bishopric of Liege were so much connected with them that they were the more pleased, as it was partly their own concern. Those of Paris and Rouen were equally delighted, though they dared not show it openly. When pope Clement heard the news, he mused awhile and then said, that this was a rod from God, to make the earl take warning, and that he had sent him this affliction, because he had rebelled against him. Several great lords in France and other countries said, the earl was not much to be pitied if he suffered a little; for his presumption was such, that he never valued nor loved any neighboring lord, however great, neither king of France nor other, if not agreeable to him; on which account they felt the less for his distresses. Thus it falls out; and as the proverb says, "On him to whom misfortune happens, every one turns his back."

The town of Louvain, in particular, showed great joy at the victory of Ghent, and the misfortunes of the earl; for they were quarrelling with the duke of Brabant, their lord, who was inclined to make war on them, and pull down their gates; but they thought he would do better to remain quiet. They publicly said in the town of Louvain, that if Ghent were as near to them as Brussels, they would be closely united. All these speeches were carried to the duke and duchess of Brabant; but it behooved them to shut their eyes and ears, for it was not the moment to notice them.

The Ghent men, during their residence at Bruges, made many innovations. They resolved to level two gates and the walls, and to fill up the ditches with them, that the inhabitants might be disabled from rebelling. They also determined, when they marched away, to take with them five hundred of the principal citizens to Ghent, to keep the town in greater fear and subjection. While the leaders were thus employed in destroying the gates and walls, and filling up the ditches, they sent detachments to Ypres, Courtray, Bergues, Cassel, Poperingue, Bourbourg, and to all the towns and castles in Flanders, on the sea-coast, and dependent on Bruges, to place them under their obedience, and to bring or send the keys of the castles and towns, as a token of their submission. All obeyed; for none dared to oppose them: and, according to the summons, they waited on Philip von Artaveld and Peter du Bois at Bruges. These two styled themselves commanders-in-chief in their proclamations; but particularly Philip von Artaveld, who took the lead in the government of Flanders, and, during his residence at Bruges, kept the state of a prince. He had his minstrels daily to play before him at his dinners and suppers; and was served on plate, as if he had been earl of Flanders. Indeed, he might well live in this magnificent manner, for he had possessed himself of all the plate, both gold and silver, that belonged to the earl, as well as the jewels and furniture of his apartments, found in his palace at Bruges, whence nothing had been saved.

A detachment of the Ghent men was sent to Marle, a handsome house belonging to the earl, situated half a league from Bruges, where they committed all sorts of outrages. They destroyed the house, and broke the font at which the earl had been baptized; and, having laden on carts everything that was precious, of gold, silver or jewels, sent them to Ghent. During a whole fortnight, there were upward of two hundred carts daily going and returning from Bruges to Ghent with the immense pillage which Philip von Artaveld and the Ghent men had made by this conquest of Bruges; the value of which was so great, that it was difficult to estimate its worth.

When the Ghent men had done everything they willed to the city of Bruges, they sent to Ghent five hundred of its principal citizens, to remain there as hostages. Francis Atremen and Peter le Nuitre escorted them with a thousand of their men. Peter du Bois remained governor of Bruges, until the walls, gates and ditches were completely levelled. Then Philip von Artaveld departed, taking the road toward Ypres; where, on his arrival, he was met by all manner of persons, and received as much honor as if he were their natural lord, who had come, for the first time, to view his inheritance. All submitted to his obedience. He renewed the powers of the mayor and sheriffs, and established new laws. Then came those of the castlewicks, beyond Ypres, Cassel, Bergues, Bourbourg, Furnes, Poperingue, who submitted to him, and swore allegiance and homage, as to their lord the earl of Flanders.

When he had fully assured himself of their submission, and had remained eight days at Ypres, he departed, and went to Courtray, where he was received with great joy. He continued there five days, and sent his summons to the town of Oudenarde, ordering the citizens to come and submit themselves to him; for they risked much, seeing the whole country had turned to Ghent, while they alone remained behind. The messengers also told them plainly, that if they did not do as the others had done, they might depend on having the town instantly besieged; and that the siege would not be broken up until it were conquered, and all put to the sword. When this summons was brought to Oudenarde, the governor, sir Damos de Haluin, was absent, and only the three knights before mentioned in the place. They replied, with warmth, "That they were not to be frightened by the menaces of the son of a brewer of metheglin; and that they would not, and could not, surrender, or any way diminish, the inheritance of their lord, the earl of Flanders, but would guard and defend it with their lives." This was the answer the messengers carried back to Courtray.

CHAPTER C.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD, ON HIS RETURN TO GHENT, LIVES IN GREAT POMP. THE EARL OF FLANDERS RESIDES AT LILLE.

When Philip heard from the garrison of Oudenarde, that they neither cared for him nor his menaces, he swore, that whatever it might cost the country of Flanders, he would not attend to anything until he had taken and razed to the ground the town of Oudenarde. He was greatly enraged, and thought he might easily accomplish his threats; for all Flanders was inclined to serve him. After a residence of six days at Courtray, where he renewed the laws, and received the homage and allegiance of every one, just as if he had been earl of Flanders, he returned to Ghent. There came out a grand procession to meet him, and with such joy, that the earl, their lord, was never received so honorably. The people adored him as if he had been their god, because, through his advice, their town enjoyed such power and wealth. It is impossible to tell the vast quantities of valuables which came hither by land and water from Bruges, Damme and Sluys. The bread, which three weeks before was sold for an old groat, was now not worth more than four farthings. The wine which was at twenty-four groats, was now sold for two. All things were much cheaper at Ghent than at Tournay or Valenciennes.

Philip von Artaveld, like a great prince, kept a magnificent establishment of horses, and was as grand in his hôtel as the earl of Flanders was at Lille. He had his officers throughout Flanders, such as bailiffs, governors, receivers and serjeants, who every week brought considerable sums to Ghent, where he kept his state, and was clothed in scarlet robes lined with furs, like the duke of Brabant or earl of Hainault. He had also his exchequer-chamber, where the money was paid, like to the earl; and he gave dinners and suppers to the ladies and damsels of Ghent, as the earl used to do; and, like him, was not more sparing of his money where his pleasures were concerned. When he wrote, he signed himself Philip von Artaveld, regent of Flanders.*

During this time, the earl of Flanders, who resided at Lille, had reason to be thoughtful, seeing that his country was more than ever in rebellion against him, and that from himself alone he had not any hopes of recovering it; for all the towns were so much connected with each other that they could never be separated but by a very superior force. The whole country no more spoke of him, nor acknowledged him for their lord, than if he had never existed. He now remembered his connection with the duke of Burgundy, who had married the lady Margaret his daughter, by whom he had two fine children. He said he was happy king Charles was dead, and that there was a young king in France under the guardianship of his uncle the duke of Burgundy, who would manage and govern him according to his inclinations. "It will be therefore natural for the king of France, as I should suppose, to be enraged against my rebellious subjects; for he has good inclinations, and is desirous of signalizing himself in arms. The duke of Burgundy will easily induce him to do so, when he explains to him their insolent pride, and that he is bound to assist his vassals when their subjects rebel."

But some imagine the king would not have interfered in the matter, if it had not been for the intrigues of the duke of Burgundy; for, if nothing had been done, he would have annexed Flanders to the crown of France by some means or other; for the earl of Flanders was not enough in his favor to induce him to exert himself in his aid. We will, however, drop at present this subject until the proper time come, and speak of the earl of Flanders' conduct in Lille.

After his late great discomfiture before Bruges, he learnt that sir Thierri du Ban, sir Fleuriant de Heurlée and sir John Bernage, had entered Oudenarde, and kept possession of it during all the events which had followed the defeat at Bruges. He well knew that these knights were not in sufficient strength to oppose the force of Flanders, if they should lay siege to it, as it was expected they would instantly do. In order to reinforce and victual it, he called to him a knight, named sir Daniel de Haluyn,† and said to him, "Daniel, you will go to the town of Oudenarde: I appoint you its governor, and you shall take with you one hundred and fifty lances, good men-at-arms, one hundred cross-bows, and two hundred lusty varlets with pikes and shields. You will be careful of the garrison, for I give it loyally into your charge; and hasten to victual it with corn, oats,

* "Regent of Flanders." In the original this stands, "*Regard* de Flandres," which D. Sauvage, on the authority of the fragment he distinguishes by the name of *Sala*, proposes to alter to Regent. Lord Berners' translation, "the *overlooker* of Flanders," is probably a more correct interpretation of the title than regent, which is only applicable to a governor acting as a deputy, reigning for another, whereas Von Artaveld now admitted no superior.—Ed.

† "Daniel de Haluyn." This must be the person whom he before calls Damos, and Damaux de Haluin.

salted meats, and wines from our good friends and neighbors in the town of Tournay, who I trust will not fail us in this urgent necessity." "My lord," replied the knight, "your orders shall be obeyed; and I accept the guard of the town of Oudenarde, since it pleases you to command me. No accident shall happen to it through any fault of mine." "Daniel," said the earl, "you comfort me much by what you say."

Upon this, sir Daniel de Haluyn took leave of the earl and went to Oudenarde, which he reinforced with good men-at-arms, victualed it again, and made every other necessary preparation.

CHAPTER CI.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD AND THE GHENT MEN LAY SIEGE TO OUDENARDE.

PHILIP, who resided in Ghent, hearing that the garrison of Oudenarde had been reinforced with men-at-arms, said he would provide a remedy, for such things were not to be suffered: it was a disgrace to all Flanders that the town should continue thus disobedient. He declared he would lay siege to it, and never march away until he had destroyed it, and put to death all who should be found within, knights and others. He issued his summons through Flanders, for every one to be ready prepared before Oudenarde on the 9th day of June. None dared disobey this summons: those in the principal towns of Flanders, of the Franconate and of Bruges, made themselves ready, and came before Oudenarde, where they extended themselves in the fields, meadows and marshes thereabouts. Philip, by whose orders everything was done, lived in great state before Oudenarde. During this time, he laid a tax throughout Flanders of four groats on every fire, which were to be paid weekly, by all persons indiscriminately. Philip gained large sums by this tax, for no one was exempted. He had his sergeants in all parts of the country, who made both rich and poor pay it, whether they would or not.

It was said there were upward of a hundred thousand men at this siege of Oudenarde. The Flemings drove into the river Scheld large stakes, so that no vessels could come from Tournay to Oudenarde, while they had in their army plenty of everything necessary. They had halls for cloth, furs and merceries: every Saturday was the market, to which were brought from the adjacent villages all sorts of groceries, fruits, butter, milk, cheese, poultry, and other things. In their army there were taverns as plenty as at Brussels, where Rhenish wines, and those of France, Galrigaches,* Malmseys and other foreign wines were sold cheap. Every one might go thither, and pass and repass, without peril; that is to say, those of Brabant, Hainault, Germany and of Liege, but not those of France.

When sir Daniel de Haluyn entered Oudenarde, he laid in all his preparations of stores and provision, which were equally divided among the garrison, each according to a fixed ration. All the horses were sent away, and the houses near the walls pulled down, and covered with earth, to guard against the cannon, of which the enemy had abundance. The women and children who remained (for many were sent away) were lodged in the churches and monasteries. No dog was left in the town, but all were killed and thrown into the river. The garrison made many gallant sallies, both mornings and evenings, doing great execution to the army. There were among others two squires from Artois, brothers, called Lambert and Tristan de Lambres, who frequently performed very gallant deeds of arms, bringing back with them provisions from the enemy, whether they would or not, and even prisoners.

Thus they remained the whole summer. It was the intention of Philip and his council to continue until they should starve them out; for it would cost them too many men were they to attempt to carry it by storm. They with much labor placed on the hill of Oudenarde a prodigiously great engine, twenty feet wide and forty long, which they called a Mutton, to cast heavy stones and beams of timber into the town, and crush everything they should fall on. They had also, the more to alarm the garrison, fired a bombard of a very great size, which was fifty feet in length, and shot stones of an immense weight. When they fired off this bombard, it might be heard five leagues off in the day-time, and ten at night. The report of it was so loud, that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had broken loose.

The Ghent men made likewise another engine, which they pointed against the town, to cast large bars of hot copper. With such machines, as cannons, bombards, sows and muttons, did the Ghent army labor to annoy the garrison of Oudenarde. They, however, comforted each other as well as they could, and defended themselves against these attacks. They made sallies three or four times a week, in which they gained more honor than disgrace, and also more profit than loss.

CHAPTER CII.

A DETACHMENT OF THE GHENT ARMY FROM BEFORE OUDENARDE, IN OVERRUNNING THE LANDS OF THEIR LORD, BURN SOME VILLAGES ON THE FRONTIERS OF FRANCE, WHICH CAUSES A WAR BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THEM.

WHILE the siege of Oudenarde was going forward, eleven hundred men left the army, with a determination to scour the country, and to ruin and destroy the houses of those knights who, having quitted Flanders, had established themselves, with their wives and families, in Hainault, Brabant, and in Artois. They accomplished their purpose; for this detachment committed great damage throughout Flanders, not leaving any house of a gentleman unburnt, or standing. They then came again to Marle, the house of the earl, and completely destroyed it. They found there the cradle in which he had been nursed, and the bathing tub in which he had been washed, both of which they entirely demolished. They pulled down the chapel, carrying away with them the bell to Bruges, where they met Peter du Bois, and Peter le Nuitre, who entertained them well, and told them they had performed good services. When these men had refreshed themselves, they took the road to the bridge of Warneston, crossed the river Lis, and came before Lille, where they destroyed some windmills and set fire to other villages of Flanders. Upward of four thousand of the inhabitants of Lille armed themselves, and sallied out on horseback and on foot, after these marauders, whom they soon overtook, slew many and seized others, who had afterwards their heads struck off in Lisle; but, had they been well pursued, not one of them would have escaped. Notwithstanding this check, the detachment from the Ghent army entered the country of Tournay, where they did much mischief, and burnt the town of Sechlin, and some of the adjacent villages which belong to the kingdom of France. They then returned with a very considerable booty, to the siege of Oudenarde.

News was carried to the duke of Burgundy, at Bapaume in Artois, how the Ghent men had pillaged and burnt some villages in France. He instantly wrote an account of it to his sovereign, who at that time was at Compiegne, as well as to his brother the duke of Berry, to the duke of Bourbon, and to the king's council, that they might consider of it. The duke of Burgundy wished not the Flemings to have acted otherwise; for he though it would be now necessary to call on the king for aid, otherwise his father-in-law, the earl of Flanders, would never regain his inheritance; besides, on every account, this war exasperated him most exceedingly, for he was, in right of his wife, the heir of Flanders.

The earl of Flanders resided at this moment at Hêdin. He there learnt that the Ghent men had destroyed his house at Marle, through spite to him, even the chamber wherein he was born, and had broken the font wherein he had been baptized, with the cradle of his childhood, which was of silver. The bathing tub wherein he had been washed was beaten to pieces and carried away. All this vexed him exceedingly. While at Hêdin he thought of different plans: for he saw his country had turned against him, except Dendremonde and Oudenarde, and no succor to be looked for, but from France. Having weighed well all circumstances, he resolved to visit his son the duke of Burgundy, who lived at Bapaume, and explain to him his situation. He departed from Hêdin and went to Arras, where he reposed himself two days. On the morrow he came to Bapaume, and dismounted at the hôtel of the counts of Artois, which was now his own; for, by the death of his lady-mother, he was count of Artois. The duke of Burgundy took much compassion on him, and comforted him kindly, when he had heard his complaints, saying, "My lord, by the faith I owe to you, and to the king, I will not attend to anything but the recovery of your country. You shall be repossessed, or we will lose the remainder; for it is not to be suffered that such a set of scoundrels as are now in Flanders should govern that country, as in that case all knighthood and gentility may be destroyed and pulled down, and consequently all Christianity."

The earl of Flanders was much consoled by the duke engaging to assist him. He took leave of him, and went to the city of Arras. At this time, he held in prison upward of two hundred persons from the chief towns in Flanders, who had only bread and water for food; and every day they were threatened to lose their heads. When the earl returned to Arras, he gave them all their liberties, in honor of GOD and the Virgin; for he found, from what had passed in Flanders after their imprisonment, that they were not any way to blame. He made them all swear to be true and loyal to him, and then gave them money to carry them to Lille or Douay, or wherever else they pleased. The earl gained much popularity by this measure. He then left Arras, and returned to Hêdin.

CHAPTER CIII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY INSTIGATES HIS NEPHEW KING CHARLES TO MAKE WAR ON GHENT AND ITS ALLIES, AS WELL IN REVENGE FOR THE BURNT VILLAGES AS TO ASSIST IN THE RECOVERY OF FLANDERS FOR THE EARL, WHO WAS HIS VASSAL.

THE duke of Burgundy was not forgetful of the engagements he had entered into with his lord and father the earl of Flanders. He set out from Bapaume attended by sir Guy de la Trimouille and sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, who were very desirous the earl should be assisted. These two were the principal persons of his council. They continued their journey until they arrived at Senlis, where the king was with his two uncles of Berry and Bourbon. He was received with joy, and then was asked what was the news in Flanders, and how the siege of Oudenarde was going on. The duke of Burgundy made very prudent replies to these first

* "Galrigaches"—a sort of strong white wine, or liqueur.

questions of the king and his uncles; but when he found an opportunity, he drew his brother the duke of Berry aside, and explained to him how the Ghent men, in the insolence of their pride, were endeavoring to be masters everywhere, and to destroy all gentlemen; that they had already burnt and pillaged part of the kingdom of France, which was much to the prejudice and dishonor of the realm, and ought not to be patiently borne.

"Fair brother," said the duke of Berry, "we will talk to the king on this subject: you and I are the principal of his council. The king being made a party, no one will attempt to thwart our inclinations in fomenting a war between France and Flanders, which have hitherto been at peace with each other: it will be proper we give some good reasons for it, and that the barons of France be of our opinion; otherwise we may be blamed, and the fault thrown on us; for the king is young, and every one knows that he will do whatever we shall tell him or advise him. If it turn out successful, it will be passed over; but, should it be otherwise, we shall be charged with it, and much more blamed, and with reason, than any of the other counsellors. Every one will say, 'See how badly the king's uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, have advised the king; they have engaged the nation in a war in which it had nothing to do.' I therefore say, my fair lord, that we must assemble the greater part of the prelates and nobles of the kingdom of France, and lay before them, in the presence of the king, who is personally interested in this business, all the events which bear any relation to the inheritance of Flanders: we shall then soon see what is the general wish of France."

The duke of Burgundy replied, "You say well, my fair brother, and what you have advised shall be done." At these words, the king entered the apartments where his uncles were, with a falcon on his wrist: he was struck with the duke's last words, and said with much good humor, "What were you speaking of, my fair uncles, at this moment with so much earnestness? I should like to hear it, if it be proper for me to know." "Yes, my lord," answered the duke of Berry; "for what we were discussing personally concerns you. Your uncle, my brother of Burgundy, has just been complaining to me of the Flemings: those villains of Flanders have driven the earl their lord out of his country, and all the gentlemen. They are now, to the amount of a hundred thousand men, besieging Oudenarde, under a captain called Philip von Artaveld, an Englishman for courage, who has sworn he will never break up the siege until he has had his will on those of the town, unless you shall force him to it. This reservation he has made. Now, what do you say to this? will you assist your cousin of Flanders to regain his inheritance, of which peasants, in their pride and cruelty, have deprived him?" "By my faith, my dear uncles," replied the king, "I have a very great inclination so to do, and in God's name let us march thither. I wish for nothing more than to try my strength in arms, for never hitherto have I had armor on. It is necessary, therefore, if I wish to reign with honor and glory, that I learn the art of war."

The two dukes, looking at each other, were much delighted with what the king had said; and the duke of Berry added, "My lord, you have very properly spoken, and you are bound to do what you say; for the country of Flanders is a dependence on the domain of France; and you have sworn, and we also for you, that you will support in their rights your vassals and liege men: the earl is also your cousin; you therefore owe him affection. Now, since you are in such good inclinations, do not change them, but say the same to all who shall speak to you on this subject; for we will assemble in haste the prelates and barons of your realm, and in your presence lay before them this business. Do you speak your mind then, as clearly and as loudly as you have done to us, and they all will say we have an enterprising and well-intentioned king." "On my faith, my fair uncle, I wish everything were ready for us to march thither to-morrow; for, from henceforward, the greatest pleasure I shall have will be to abase the pride of these Flemings." The two dukes were well pleased at hearing the king thus speak out. The duke of Bourbon now came, having been sent for by them; and they related to him all you have heard, and how eager the king was to march to Flanders, with which he was much pleased.

Things remained in this state. The king and his uncles wrote letters to all the lords of the council, ordering them to come to Compiegne on a certain day, when there would be a council held on the affairs of the realm. Every one obeyed, as was right; but the king was so much rejoiced at what he had heard, and so much occupied was his mind with this subject, that nothing could put it out of his head. He frequently said, "The council would be too tedious to accomplish the business well;" adding, that "when any one wishes to perform an enterprise successfully, deliberations should not be too long; for at last the enemy gains information of it." He also said, when they laid before him the dangers that might happen, "Yes, yes; nothing venture, nothing gain." In this manner did the young king of France converse with the knights and squires of his chamber. I will now relate to you a dream which he had at this time at Senlis; and from which he took a flying hart for his emblem, as I was then informed

CHAPTER CIV.

CHARLES THE SIXTH, KING OF FRANCE, FROM A DREAM, CHOOSES A FLYING HART FOR HIS DEVICE.

It happened that during the residence of the young king Charles at Senlis, as he was sleeping in his bed, a vision appeared to him. He thought he was in the city of Arras, where, until then, he had never been, attended by all the flower of knighthood of his kingdom: that the earl of Flanders came there to him, and placed on his wrist a most beautiful and elegant pilgrim-falcon, saying, "My lord, in God's name, I give this falcon to you, for the best that was ever seen, the most indefatigable hunter, and the most excellent striker of birds." The king was much pleased with the present, and said, "Fair cousin, I give you my thanks." He then thought he turned to the constable of France who was near him, and said, "Sir Oliver, let you and I go to the plains, and try this elegant falcon which my cousin of Flanders has given me." When the constable answered, "Well, let us go." Then each mounted their horses, and went into the fields, taking the falcon with them, where they found plenty of herons to fly him at. The king said, "Constable, cast off the falcon, and we shall see how he will hunt." The constable let him fly, and the falcon mounted so high in the air, they could scarcely see him: he took the direction toward Flanders. "Let us ride after my bird," said the king to the constable: "for I will not lose him." The constable assented, and they rode on, as it appeared to the king, through a large marsh, when they came to a wood, on which the king cried out, "Dismount, dismount: we cannot pass this wood on horseback." They then dismounted, when some servants came and took their horses. The king and the constable entered the wood with much difficulty, and walked on until they came to an extensive heath, where they saw a falcon chasing herons, and striking them down; but they resisted, and there was a battle between them. It seemed to the king that his falcon performed gallantly, and drove the birds before him so far, that he lost sight of him. This much vexed the king, as well as the impossibility of following him; and he said to the constable, "I shall lose my falcon, which I shall very much regret; for I have neither lure, nor anything else to call him back." While the king was in this anxiety, he thought a beautiful hart, with two wings, appeared to issue out of the wood, and come to this heath and bend himself down before the king, who said to the constable, as he regarded this wonder with delight, "Constable, do you remain here, and I will mount this hart that offers himself to me, and follow my bird." The constable agreed to it, and the young king joyfully mounted the hart, and went seeking the falcon. The hart, like one well tutored to obey the king's pleasure, carried him over the tops of the highest trees, when he saw his falcon striking down such numbers of birds, that he marvelled how he could do it. It seemed to the king that when the falcon had sufficiently flown, and struck down enough of the herons, he called him back, and instantly; as if well taught, he perched on the king's wrist, when it seemed to him, that after he had taken the falcon by its lure, and given him his reward, the hart flew back again over the wood, and replaced the king on the same heath whence he had carried him, and where the constable was waiting, who was much rejoiced at his return. On his arrival he dismounted: the hart returned to the wood, and was no more seen. The king then, as he imagined, related to the constable how well the hart had carried him: and that he had never rode so easy before in his life; and also the goodness of his falcon, who had struck down such numbers of birds: to all which the constable willingly listened. The servants then seemed to come after them with their horses, which, having mounted, they followed a magnificent road that brought them back to Arras. The king at this part awakened, much astonished at the vision he had seen, which was so imprinted on his memory, that he told it to some of his attendants who were waiting in his chamber. The figure of this hart was so agreeable to him, that he could not put it out of his imagination; and this was the cause why, on this expedition to Flanders against the Flemings, he took a flying hart for his device.

CHAPTER CV.

DURING THE SIEGE OF OUDENARDE, THE REBELS ENTREAT KING CHARLES TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THEM AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS. THE KING ANSWERS THEM WITH CONTEMPT. THEY THEN ENDEAVOR TO DRAW THE ENGLISH INTO AN ALLIANCE WITH THEM.

Philip von Artaveld, although he had been very successful at the battle of Bruges, and though fortune had smiled on him at his defeat of the earl and citizens of Bruges, possessed not any abilities for war or sieges. When young he had not been educated for it, but in fishing with a rod in the rivers Scheld and Lis; and he clearly proved his incapacity during the siege of Oudenarde. He knew not how to take the town, and, through pride and presumption, thought that it must be his, and that the inhabitants ought to come and surrender it to him. They had no such inclination; but behaved themselves like valorous men, skirmishing frequently with these Flemings at the barriers, in which they slew many and wounded more; and then retired without loss into their town. In these sallies, Lambert de

Lambres, Tristan his brother, and the lord de Lunelhein, gained great renown.

The Flemings, observing that the ditches of Oudenarde were wide and full of water, and that they could not approach the place but with great peril, resolved in council to collect quantities of faggots and straw to fill them up, to enable them to come near the walls and engage hand to hand. As it had been ordered, so it was executed; but the garrison held what they were about cheap, and said, that if there was no treason between them and the townspeople, they were not alarmed for the event of the siege. However, sir Daniel de Haluyn, the governor, to prevent any misconduct, had kept the citizens so much under command, that they had not any power whatever: and he had strictly ordered, that none of the inhabitants should dare to ascend the walls, day or night, without being accompanied by some of the men-at-arms; otherwise, if found, they would risk the loss of their lives. In this manner was the siege continued. The Flemings had plenty of provision in their army, which was brought to them by sea and land, as well as down the rivers, for they were lords of the whole of Flanders. They were also near the countries of Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and a part of Hainault, the inhabitants of which, through avarice of gain, privately brought their army provision in quantities.

This Philip von Artaveld had a courage more like English than French. He would have been glad if they had adhered more to the former, and made an alliance with England; for, should the king of France, or duke of Burgundy, march an army against them to recover the country, they would have been assisted. Philip had already in his army two hundred English archers, who had stolen away from their garrison at Calais, and were paid every week.

Philip, to put a better color on his actions, and to know what they said of him in France, resolved to send letters from himself and from the country of Flanders, to the king of France; humbly entreating the king to take the trouble of bringing about a sound reconciliation between them and the earl their lord. He had no sooner mentioned this idea than it was executed: he wrote amicable letters to the king of France and to his council, which he ordered a messenger to carry to France and deliver to the king. The messenger said he would willingly obey, and rode on with the letters until he came to Senlis, where the king was, to whom and to his uncles he gave the letters. The king took them, and had them read in the presence of his uncles and council. After they had been read and comprehended, the auditors burst out into laughter. The messenger, because he had come into the king's presence without a passport, was ordered to be arrested, and put into prison, where he remained for upward of three weeks.

When Philip heard of this, he was very indignant; and, having summoned the captains of the army to him, he said, "You see what honor the king of France pays to us, after we have so amicably written to him, for which he detains our messenger. We certainly make too many difficulties in connecting ourselves with the English, and may suffer for it. The duke of Burgundy is now in France and governs the king just as he pleases, for he is but a child. Do you think that he will leave things in their present situation? Certainly not. Take for example our messenger, whom he has detained. It will therefore be prudent in us to send to England, as well for the general good of Flanders, as to secure ourselves and alarm our enemies. I am desirous," said Philip, "that we send thither ten or twelve of our principal men, that the knowledge of it may be carried to France, and that the king and his council may think we intend to unite ourselves with his adversary, the king of England. But I do not wish such alliances to be made in a hurry, nor at all if we were not thus circumstanced; but I would that our embassadors should demand privately of the king of England and his council the sum of two hundred thousand old crowns, which we have a just right to, and which Jacob von Artaveld, my father, and the states of Flanders, lent to the king of England when before Tournay, to pay his troops. Let them also tell the king of England, his uncles and his counsellors, that the states of Flanders in general, and the chief towns who made this loan, demand the payment of it; and that when this shall have been done, which the king of England is obliged to perform, he and his subjects shall have free entry into Flanders for the time to come. "It is much better," added Philip, "that we make use of what is our own, than that foreigners should do so; and we never can have a better opportunity than now to get it back again, for the king and realm of England will not hesitate to gain the entry, love, and alliance of such a country as Flanders now is: besides, the English have not in the whole coast from Bordeaux to Sluys any port, except Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, to gain entrance into France. Flanders, therefore, will open her ports to them very opportunely; for Brittany, excepting Brest, is quite shut against them, and the duke of Brittany, has sworn to be a true Frenchman, which, if he were not, he would so become, through love to his cousin-german the earl of Flanders."

All who heard him, answered, that he had well and wisely spoken, and what he had proposed should be followed; and that whoever was of the contrary opinion, was not a wellwisher to the prosperity of Flanders. Philip did not delay executing it; he wrote on this subject to Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre, governors of Bruges, and also to those of Ypres and Courtray, who agreed to his proposal. One or two citizens were chosen from the principal towns, but from Ghent six. Among the first were Francis Atremen, Rasse de la Verdelle, Louis de Vaux, sir John Stotelare, Martin Blondel-Vatre, Jacob Bernare, and a clerk who had been nominated bishop of Ghent by pope Urban. Master John d'Albert, who had been dean of the church of our Lady at Tournay, had proposed to make a bishopric of the town of Ghent, which should enjoy the profits the bishop of Tournay ought to have.

When the twelve citizens had received their full instructions, as to what they were to say and do, they took leave of their friends, departed from the siege of Oudenarde, and continued their journey until they arrived at Calais. Sir John d'Albrenes,* the governor, received them very politely; when he understood they wanted to go to England, he provided them with ships and passage-boats. They remained there only three days, when they embarked, landed at Dover, and pursued their road to London.

At the time this embassy from Flanders arrived at London, the king of England with his council, sir John Montague, sir John Burley, and sir William Beauchamp, were at Westminster, occupied in the investing sir Perducas d'Albreth, with the whole barony of Chaumont in Gascony, which had reverted to the king, for him to do with it as he pleased; and I will tell you how this happened. King Edward, in former times, had given it to sir John Chandos, who had held it as long as he lived: after his death, he had given it to sir Thomas Felton. Now sir Thomas was lately dead, and the barony had reverted to the king of England. It was improper it should long remain without a lord who would reside on the spot; for it joined the lands of the lord d'Albreth, who at that period was a loyal Frenchman. The king's council considered that sir Perducas d'Albreth, having faithfully served the kings of England, Edward, Richard, and the prince, as well as the country of the Bourdelois for upward of thirty years, was well deserving to have this estate, which he would defend against any one.

Sir Perducas d'Albreth, on receiving the investiture of the lands of Chaumont from the hands of the king, in the presence of the nobles of England, thus addressed his majesty: "Sire, I take and receive this inheritance for myself and for my heirs, on condition that I and my heirs faithfully serve you against all mankind, except against the house of Albreth; for against that whence I am sprung, I will never make war as long as my inheritance is left in peace." The king and his council replied, "In God's name be it so;" and on these terms he was invested.

I will now relate what befel this sir Perducas d'Albreth. When he was returning to Gascony to take possession of his estate, and the séneschal of Bordeaux had given him seisin of the barony, the lord d'Albreth was much rejoiced; for he knew his cousin would not make war upon him, and that the lands of Albreth and of Chaumont would remain in quiet. The lord d'Albreth showed much affection to his cousin, for he expected that after his decease he would be put in possession of such of his castles as were in the barony of Chaumont. But Perducas had not any such intentions. It chanced that he fell sick; and, when he was lying on his death-bed and saw there were no hopes of recovery, he summoned all his vassals, and calling to him a young squire and good man-at-arms, named Perduch,† said to him, "I transfer to thee, in the presence of my vassals, my whole estate of Chaumont. Be, therefore, a true Englishman, and loyal to the king of England. But I will not, that against the house of Albreth, whence we are sprung, thou shouldest ever make war, unless they commit outrages against thee." The squire cheerfully answered, "Sir, I willingly accept it on these terms." Thus was Perduch d'Albreth lord of Chaumont in Gascony. Sir Perducas died soon after, which is all I know about it.

CHAPTER CVI.

THE EMBASSADORS FROM GHENT FAIL IN FORMING AN ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND.

When these Ghent men were come to London, their arrival was soon known, and information of it carried to the king and his council, who sent to them to know what they wanted. They came in a body to the palace of Westminster, where they were met first by the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Buckingham, the earl of Salisbury, and the greater part of the council; but the king was not present at this first interview. These embassadors having made their obeisances to the English lords, the bishop elect of Ghent spoke for them all, saying, "My lords, we are come hither by orders from the town of Ghent, and from all Flanders, to request counsel, comfort, and assistance from the king of England, on account of certain articles, and for reason of ancient alliances which subsisted between England and Flanders. We wish to renew them, as the country of Flanders now stands in need of assistance, being at this moment without a lord. The principal towns and the country have chosen a regent,‡ named Philip von Artaveld, who recommends himself particularly to the king, and to you all who are of his council. He entreats you to receive this commendation in good part; for if the king shall wish to come into Flanders he will find all its ports open, and the coun-

* Q. "Sir John d'Albrenes."

† Sala call him "Verduret de la Breth his nephew." ‡ *Regard.*" See p. 306

well disposed toward him, where he may repose and refresh himself and people as long a time as he shall please; and he may call upon Flanders for one hundred thousand men, all armed. We are also ordered to request from you the two hundred thousand old crowns* which Jacob von Artaveld, and the chief towns of Flanders, formerly lent to king Edward, of good memory, at the sieges of Tournay and of Calais, and which they now desire may be paid back. It is the intention of the principal towns in Flanders, that before anything further be done in a treaty of alliance this sum be paid down, by which means the king of England, and all his subjects, may say they are friends to the Flemings; and they shall have free entrance, at their pleasure, into Flanders."

When the lords had heard this speech and demand, they looked at each other, and some began to smile. The duke of Lancaster, addressing them, said, "My fair lords of Flanders, what you have said requires counsel. Go and return to London, and the king will consider your requests, and send you such answers as you shall be contented with." The Ghent men replied, "God will it be so." They then quitted the council chamber, leaving the lords of the council behind, who began to laugh among themselves, and say, "Did you notice these Flemings, and hear the request they made? They ask assistance, saying, they are in very great want of it, and, besides, demand our money. It is by no means reasonable that we should pay, and assist them into the bargain." They looked on the Flemings as proud and presumptuous, in thus demanding a debt of two hundred thousand old crowns of so very ancient a date as forty years.

Nothing could have happened more opportunely for the king of France, who was eager to invade Flanders; for if the Flemings had been silent, respecting these crowns, and had only requested assistance from the king of England, he would have gone in person to Flanders, or would have sent thither such a powerful force, that the Flemings who were in the field might have resisted the greatest power on earth. But it fell out otherwise, as you will hear related in this history.

CHAPTER CVII.

THE MESSENGER WHOM THE GHENTMEN HAD SENT TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE IS DELIVERED FROM PRISON. SOME PRISONERS FROM TOURNAY AND COURTRAY ARE EXCHANGED FOR EACH OTHER.

Intelligence was carried to the king's council in France, that Philip von Artaveld, and the country of Flanders, had sent embassadors to England to form an alliance. And it was commonly reported, that the king of England, with a large army, was about to come this season to Flanders, and that he would fix his quarters at Ghent. This news was very probable, for it was to be supposed the Flemings would strengthen themselves by some means or other. It was then thought proper to liberate the messenger of Philip. Indeed, to say the truth, they had not any right to imprison him. He was therefore set at liberty, and sent to Oudenarde, where the army lay.

At this time, the citizens of Bruges had seized and imprisoned some from Tournay. The Flemings showed by this that they were indifferent as to war or peace with the French. Those of Tournay, in return, captured some citizens of Courtray, whom they carried away prisoners to their town. Thus was the hatred increased between the men of Tournay and the Flemings. The lords of Tournay, however, who wished not to make war on the Flemings, their neighbors, on their own account, without receiving orders from the king of France, resolved to send two of their citizens to Philip von Artaveld, to make up matters between them, so that they might recover their townsmen who were prisoners, and render back, in exchange those whom they had taken. John Bon Enfant and John Picard were chosen to go on this business. They went to the siege before Oudenarde, and spoke with Philip, who, in honor of the city of Tournay, and not out of any respect to the king of France, as he told them, received them very amicably: for the king had not used him nor the country of Flanders well, when he had imprisoned a messenger whom he had sent to him on friendly terms.

"Sir," replied the two citizens, "you have received back your messenger." "That is true," said Philip; "but it was more through fear than otherwise. Now tell me," added Philip, "what business has brought you hither?" "Sir," answered the citizens, "it is to have back our townsmen who are imprisoned at Bruges." "Ha," replied Philip; "if they are detained, you have, also, imprisoned some from Courtray. You must not lose anything for this journey, so do you return ou men, and you shall have yours." The men from Tournay answered, "You say well, and we will cheerfully consent to it." The agreement was instantly made, and Philip von Artaveld wrote to Peter du Bois and to Petre le Nuitre, who resided in Bruges, to deliver up the citizens of Tournay whom they had thrown into prison; and that they would have in exchange those who had been detained from Courtray; for he declared the city of Tournay had written to request it.

When they took their leave, Philip thus spoke to them: "Gentlemen, mind my words: I do not wish to betray you; you are from the town of Tournay, which is a dependence on the king of France, with whom we will not enter into any treaty, until Dendremonde and Oudenarde shall be surrendered to us. Do not therefore come hither again, for those who do will be detained. Advise your countrymen and merchants not to pass through Flanders; for we well know, that the king of France, your lord, will make war on us, for which we are prepared."

These citizens of Tournay, after having heard this speech, returned to Tournay to relate all that had passed. A proclamation was made, that no one should have any intercourse with the Flemings, without incurring the indignation of the king. The citizens of Tournay, who had been imprisoned at Bruges, returned; and those from Courtray were sent back. They dared not deal openly with the Flemings; but, when they wanted any merchandise from Flanders, they applied to Valenciennes; for those of Brabant, Holland, Hainault, Zealand, and Liege, might travel and carry on their commerce through all Flanders with perfect security.

The siege of Oudenarde still went on in the same manner. Philip and his Ghent men were encamped on the hill of Oudenarde, on the side of Hainault, where they had planted bombards, cannons, and large machines, which made such a noise when fired that they could be heard upward of six leagues. Near them, but below, on the banks of the Scheld, were encamped those from Bruges, as you ascend the river by the gate of Bruges. Those of Poperingue, Ypres, Cassel, and the Franconate, were quartered near them, so that they surrounded the town completely.

Oudenarde being thus surrounded, the Flemings thought they should starve those within it; but the garrison made frequent sallies, in which sometimes they gained the advantage, and at others lost it, as in such cases must happen. However, there were not any attempts made to storm it. Philip would not rashly risk the lives of his men, and said he would have it otherwise than by storm; and that it could not hold out much longer, since there was not a possibility of its being reinforced. A bird could scarcely fly into Oudenarde without being seen by the besieging army, so completely was it invested on all sides.

* "Old crowns," each worth seven shillings and twopence.—Cotgrave.

CHAPTER CVIII.

KING CHARLES ORDERS COMMISSIONERS TO ENTER INTO CERTAIN TREATIES WITH THE FLEMINGS. THEIR MESSENGERS ARE IMPRISONED AT THE MOMENT THEY DEMANDED PASSPORTS.

We will now return to the king of France. His uncles and council thought it prudent to send to Tournay some knights and prelates of the realm to treat with the Flemings, and to learn more clearly their intentions. They therefore ordered sir Milles de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, the bishop of Auxerre, the bishop of Laon, sir Guy de Harcourt, and sir Tristan du Bois, to Tournay as commissioners from the king of France, where they found John Bon Enfant and John Picard, just returned from the siege of Oudenarde. They told these commissioners that Philip von Artaveld had declared to them on taking leave, that the Flemings would never enter into any treaty until Oudenarde and Dendremonde were in their power. "Well," replied the commissioners, "Philip, with all his pride and presumption, of which he has enough, is not master of all the great towns in Flanders. We will therefore write to Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and send to each town letters by a messenger. We must enter on this business by some means or other."

The commissioners wrote letters to the three principal towns in Flanders, and directed them to Philip von Artaveld as the chief leader. These letters contained as follows: "To Philip von Artaveld and his companions, and to the good people of the three towns of Flanders and the Franconate of Bruges. May it please you to know, that the king of France has sent us hither with the good intentions of establishing a peace, as lord paramount, between the noble lord of Flanders, his cousin, and the commonalty of Flanders. Public report says, that you seek to form an alliance with the king of England and the English; which will be unreasonable, and prejudicial to the kingdom of France, and which the king declares he will not suffer. We therefore entreat you, in the king's name, to send us passports, that we may endeavor to bring this peace to a good and solid conclusion, for which the king will thank you. You will write us word what are your intentions, and may the Lord keep you. Written at Tournay the sixteenth day of the month of October" (1382.)

When these three letters, which contained the same words, were written and sealed, they gave them to three men, to carry to Ghent, to Bruges, and to Ypres, and to bring back the answers. They replied, they would bring back an answer, if they could get one, and then departed, each following the road to the town he was sent to.

By accident, Philip happened to be at Ghent the day the messenger arrived with his letter; for otherwise those of Ghent would not have opened it in his absence. When he had read it, he did nothing but laugh, and set out soon after from Ghent, on his return to Oudenarde, carrying the letter with him; but the messenger remained in prison in Ghent. When arrived at Oudenarde, he called to him the lord de Harzelles and others of his companions: having read to them the letters from the commissioners, he said, "I think these French people wish to make a mockery of me and the country of Flanders. I told the citizens of Tournay when they were here the day before yes-

terday, that I would not listen to any proposals from France, nor enter into any treaty which they might offer, until Oudenarde and Dendremonde were surrendered to us." At these words, news came from the governors of Bruges and Ypres, that they had also received letters, and that the messengers who had brought these letters were detained and lodged in the town prisons. "This is well done," continued Philip. He then examined the letters for a while, and said he would write himself to the French commissioners. He did so, in consequence, and addressed them, "To the very noble and discreet lords the commissioners from France."

CHAPTER CIX.

THE ANSWER OF PHILIP VON ARTAVELD TO THE FRENCH COMMISSIONERS WHICH HE SENT BY A PRISONER OF WAR FROM OUDENARDE.

"VERY dear and potent lords, may it please you, in your noble discretion, to know that we have received very amicably the letters sent to us by the most excellent lord Charles, king of France, informing us, that your very noble lordships are come by his orders into these parts, to negotiate a peace between us and the most noble prince my lord of Flanders and the country of Flanders, and that the king aforesaid and his council have authority to bring it to a conclusion, as the citizens of Tournay, our dear and good friends, testify to us by letters patent which we have seen. Now, since the king writes to us that he is much displeased that these discords have so long continued and still exist, we are much surprised that he should treat them so lightly; as in former times, when the town of Ghent had besieged that of Oudenarde, we, by the unanimous consent of the three great towns of Flanders, wrote to him, as to our sovereign lord, to request that he would make peace with us; but at that time he did not seem so willing to do what at this moment he is so desirous of.

"We have also received letters patent to say, that twice you have written to us, and that you have come twice hither commissioned by the king aforesaid, as is declared in these letters patent. But it seems to us, that in our answers, which we have sent, we have clearly explained our intention respecting a treaty, which is, that we are resolved no treaty shall be entered into by us and the country of Flanders, until those towns and fortresses which are shut against the towns and country of Flanders, and particularly and expressly against the good town of Ghent, of which we are regent, shall be thrown open to the will of us the regent, and the good town of Ghent; and, if this be not done as a preliminary, we shall not treat in the manner you request. For it seems to us, that the king, according to you, means to assemble a large army to assist his cousin our lord. We know and feel that there are double dealings going forward at this time, as was the case formerly. Our intention therefore is, to be on sure ground and prepared for our defence; for, if it should fall out as we expect, he will find our army ready to defend us against our enemies; and we hope, through God's assistance, to be as fortunate as formerly in gaining a victory.

"With regard to what you say of public rumor, that we, or some of our countrymen, have sought an alliance with the king of England, and that we are to be aided from thence; it is a truth that we are subjects of the crown of France, and that the king is our lord paramount, to whom we are bounden in allegiance. This we ever have performed. And even in these last days we sent him our letters, as to our sovereign lord, to entreat he would conclude a peace, to which he not only made no reply, but detained and imprisoned our messenger. This seems to us a blameable conduct in such a lord, and still greater in him, for we wrote to him as to our lord paramount, and he never condescended to send us any answer. Since therefore he has thus acted, we thought ourselves justified in seeking advantage for the country of Flanders from whatever persons we pleased, which has been the cause of the embassy to England, but nothing hitherto has been concluded. The king may not therefore be too late, provided all the strong places shall be laid open to us. Notwithstanding, we had forbidden those of Tournay, the last time they came to our army, in future to dare to carry any letters or verbal message, without proper passports; yet letters and messages have been carried to Bruges and Ghent; for which reason we have imprisoned the messengers, and we will teach them not to carry such letters, that others may take warning from their example. We know well that you are seeking to sow dissensions among us, and especially against me, Philip von Artaveld (whom God guard and preserve,) and that you wish to stir up treason where at this moment there is peace. We therefore warn you not to continue such practices, until the before-mentioned towns be opened unto us, which, with God's help, they shall shortly be, and to whose protection we commend you.

"Written before Oudenarde the 20th day of October, in the year 1382, Philip von Artaveld regent of Flanders."

When Philip had written the above, in the presence of his council, they thought it could not be amended, and sealed it. They then considered to whom they should give it to carry. Philip asked, "Have we no prisoners from Oudenarde?" "Yes," they replied, "we have a varlet who was taken yesterday in a skirmish, who is from Artois." "Send for him hither." On his coming, Philip said, "Thou art my prisoner, and I may, if I choose, put thee instantly to death, but thou hast had a narrow escape; for since thou art here thou shalt have thy liberty, on condition that thou pledge thy troth to carry these letters to Tournay, and deliver them into the hands of the king's counsellors whom thou wilt find there." The varlet was never so happy in his life as when he was promised his liberty, for he considered his death as certain, and replied, "I swear my lord, on my troth, that I will carry them whithersoever you please, were it to hell." Philip, bursting out into laughter, said, "Thou hast well spoken." He ordered two crowns to be given to him, and had him escorted out of the camp, and put in the road to Tournay.

When he arrived at Tournay they showed him the hôtel of the bishop of Laon, whither he went, and falling on his knees, punctually delivered his message to the bishop. They asked him news of Oudenarde and of the besieging army, when he told them all he knew. He was invited to dinner, and was, during dinner-time, closely questioned by the attendants of the bishop. The bishop of Laon went away, being unwilling to open the letters without his companions. When the three bishops and the knights were assembled they opened the letters, read them attentively, and considered them maturely. They then delivered their sentiments, saying, "This Philip von Artaveld seemeth full of pride and presumption, and little loves the royal majesty of France." Having consulted together, they added, "The provosts, jurats and council of Tournay know that we have sent to Philip and the towns of Flanders: it is just they should learn the answer Philip has sent us." They sent for the provost, had the town-hall opened, and sounded the bell which called the council together. When they were all assembled, they read to them the letters they had received. The wisest were astonished at the presumptuous expressions they contained. It was resolved that copies of these letters should remain at Tournay. The council then broke up, and every man returned to his home.

CHAPTER CX.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD WRITES AFFECTEDLY CIVIL LETTERS TO TOURNAY. THE FRENCH COMMISSIONERS RETURN TO THE KING.

PHILIP continued with the army before Oudenarde, as you have before heard. He did not repent having sent such harsh and pointed answers to the commissioners of the king of France, but was sorry he had not written cajoling letters of civility to the provost and jurats of Tournay, pretending to show them honor, though he had very little respect for them; for he was not willing to increase the hatred and ill will they bore him.

Philip therefore wrote in manner and form following: the superscription was, "To our honorable, wise and good friends, the provosts and jurats of the good town of Tournay. "Very dear and good friends, may it please you to know that we have received your letters, wherein mention is made of the two citizens of your town, ill intentioned carriers of letters to Ghent and Bruges, from the commissioners of the king of France, who have been arrested and detained by us, and whom you entreat to be set at liberty; by which means the love and affection (which, through God's grace, subsists between us) may be continued uninterrupted between you and the country of Flanders. This love, very dear friends, does not appear to be very great: for we have received information that the king of France, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, are assembling their forces to come to the assistance of my lord, the earl, against the country of Flanders, to regain that country, and to fight with us, notwithstanding the letters which they have sent us to treat of peace and concord, which to us does not seem to be conduct becoming such persons; and for which reason we are upon our guard, and shall continue so henceforth day and night. With respect to the prisoners, your townsmen, we shall detain them until we know for a certainty the truth of this assembling of forces, and until it shall please us to set them at liberty. You know, that when your citizens were lately in Flanders seeking peace, it was then ordered that no person whatever should bring messages or letters without a proper passport. This however is what the lords commissioners, being with you, have done, in order to excite discord and dissensions in the country. We therefore entreat of you, dear friends, that you will not in future send any of your citizens or townsmen to Flanders by order of these commissioners. But if there should be anything that we can do, affecting your town or its citizens, we will attend to it in the same manner as we should wish our affairs might be attended to by you, in whom we have the greatest confidence, such as good neighbors ought to have for one another. And it is the general intention of all Flanders, that merchants and merchandise pass safely from country to country, without suffering the smallest injury. May God take you into his holy keeping!

"Written at our army the 22nd day of October, in the year 1382, Philip von Artaveld regent of Flanders."

Three days after the first letter had been sent to the commissioners from France, and while these lords were assembled in council in the hall, this second letter was brought by a varlet from Douay, who said, that those who were before Oudenarde had sent it to them. It was carried to the hall where the commissioners were, and read and considered at leisure. At length the commissioners replied to

those of Tournay, who requested their advice on the occasion: "Gentlemen, we would advise you not to have any acquaintance or dealings with the Flemings, for you will not be thanked for it in France. Neither receive nor open any letters which may come from them; for, if it should be known in the king's council that you do so, you will be blamed, and suffer for it. Affairs will not long remain in the state they are now in." Those of Tournay answered, "They would follow this advice, and, if it pleased God, they would never do anything to deserve a reprimand."

The French commissioners staid but three days longer at Tournay, when they set out on their return to the king, whom they found at Peronne, and his three uncles, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, with him.

CHAPTER CXI.

KING CHARLES, AFTER HEARING THE REPORT OF HIS COMMISSIONERS, AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS WHO WAS PRESENT, ASSEMBLES HIS ARMY IN ARTOIS, AGAINST THE FLEMINGS. PHILIP VON ARTAVELD GUARDS THE PASSES INTO FLANDERS.

The day before the return of the commissioners, the earl of Flanders arrived at Peronne, to lay his affairs before the king and council, and to do homage for the county of Artois, which he was bounden to do and had not performed since the decease of his mother, who had died this year. On the arrival of the commissioners, the council was assembled in the presence of the young king, when the letters before mentioned were read; that of Philip to them, and the one he had sent to Tournay. They considered them in an unfavorable light, and declared that such pride and presumption in Flanders ought not to be suffered. The earl of Flanders was not, as may be supposed, displeased on hearing this: he therefore laid his grievances before the king and council very opportunely, when they were heard and attended to with pleasure. The king was advised to make the following answer: "Earl of Flanders, you will return to Artois; and in a short time we will ourself be at Arras, where you will perform your duty in the presence of the peers of France. I cannot better show you that I make the quarrel my own, than by my intention to march against our enemies."

The earl was satisfied with this answer. Three days afterwards, he left Peronne, and, returning toward Artois, came to Hêdin. But the king of France, like one who was desirous of marching to Flanders to abase the pride of the Flemings, as his predecessors had formerly done, set his secretaries at work, and sent his letters and summons by messengers to all parts of his kingdom, ordering every one to hasten to Arras without delay, accoutred each, according to his rank, in the best manner he was able; for, if it were God's pleasure, he was determined to fight the Flemings in their own country.

No lord of his realm disobeyed, but all sent orders to their vassals, and marched from the most distant countries, such as Auvergne, Rouergue, Toulousain, Gascony, Poitou, Limousin, Saintonge and Brittany: others came from the Bourbonois, Forêts, Burgundy, Dauphiné, Savoy, Bar and Lorrain, and from all parts of France and its dependencies, to Arras. The assemblage of such numbers of men-at-arms was a wonderful beautiful sight. The earl of Flanders resided at Hêdin, and heard daily, from the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, of the great levies which were making, and in consequence issued a proclamation throughout Artois, forbidding any one, under pain of losing his life and fortune, to withdraw anything whatever from house, fortress or town; for he was desirous that the men-at-arms who were marching to Artois should have the advantage of being served with whatever was in the low countries.

The king of France came into Artois, where he remained. Men-at-arms came to him from all quarters, and so handsomely equipped it was a fine sight to see: they quartered themselves as they arrived in the plains, and found all the barns quite full and well furnished. The earl of Flanders came to Arras, which greatly pleased the king and his lords: he performed his homage in the presence of those peers who were there, for the county of Artois, and the king accepted him as his vassal. His majesty then addressed him, saying, "Fair cousin, if it please God and St. Denis, we will restore you to your inheritance of Flanders, and will abate the pride of Philip von Artaveld and the Flemings so effectually, that they shall never again have it in their power to rebel." "My lord," replied the earl, "I have full confidence in it; and you will acquire such honor and glory that as long as the world lasts you will be praised, for certainly the pride of the Flemings is very great."

Philip, while at the siege of Oudenarde, was informed of everything, and that the king of France was marching a large army against him, though he pretended not to believe it; and said to his people, "By what means does this young king think to enter Flanders? He is as yet too young by a year to imagine he can frighten us by his assembling an army. I will have the entrances so well guarded that it shall not be in their power for this year to cross the river Lis." He sent to Ghent for the lord de Harzelles. On his arrival, he said to him: "Lord de Harzelles, you hear how the king of France is making preparations to destroy us. We must have a council on the subject. You shall remain here, and I will go to Bruges to learn surer intelligence, and to encourage the citizens of the principal towns. I will go to establish such garrisons on the river Lis, and at the chief passes, that the French shall not be able to advance through them."

The lord de Harzelles having assented to this, Philip left the siege, and took the road toward Bruges. He travelled like a lord, having his displayed pennon before him, blazoned with his arms: which were three hats argent on a field sable. On his arrival at Bruges, he found Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre, the governors of Bruges; and having informed them, that the king of France was marching toward Flanders with a large army, and that it was necessary to provide a remedy by guarding the passes, he added: "You, Peter du Bois, must go to the pass of Commines, to guard the river; and you, Peter le Nuitre, will defend the bridge of Warneton; you will break down all the bridges on the river as far as La Gerge, Haselles, Meureville and Courtray, by which means the French will not be able to pass. I will myself go to Ypres, to encourage them, and to remonstrate with them, that as we are all united in one common cause, none should fail or hesitate to perform what we have sworn to do. It is not in the power of the king of France, nor these Frenchmen, to cross the river Lis and enter Flanders provided the passes be well guarded, for they must follow the course of the river to seek for a passage."

The two Peters replied, "Philip, you speak well, and we will obey what you have ordered. But have you had any news from our people in England?" "No, by my troth," said Philip, "which I wonder at. The parliament is sitting at London, and very shortly we must receive intelligence from them. The king of France cannot make such haste, but we shall have received succors from England, before they could do us much harm. I hope that the king of England has issued his summons, and that the English will arrive here some night before we are aware." Thus did these companions discourse together, who held all Flanders under their obedience, except Dendremonde and Oudenarde.

CHAPTER CXII.

SEVERAL KNIGHTS OF THE PARTY OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS, HAVING PASSED PONT-AMENIN, ARE DEFEATED AND KILLED ON THEIR ATTEMPT TO REPASS IT, THE FLEMINGS HAVING BROKEN DOWN THE BRIDGE. PHILIP, HEARING THIS NEWS WHEN AT YPRES, MAKES USE OF IT TO ENCOURAGE THE INHABITANTS.

While these preparations were going forward, and during the residence of the king of France at Arras, great bodies of men-at-arms were assembling in the Tourneois, Artois, and castlewick of Lille and its neighborhood. Some knights and squires, who resided at Lille and thereabout, resolved to perform feats of arms that should gain them renown, chiefly through the exhortations of the Haze de Flanders. They collected about six score knights and squires, and crossed the river Lis at Pont-Amenin, which was not then broken down, two leagues from Lille. They rode for the town of Harle, which they surprised; and, after slaying many in the town and environs, they drove the remainder out of the town. Their cries were heard in the neighboring villages; the inhabitants of which sounded their alarm bells, and marched toward Harle and Pont-Amenin, whence the cries seemed to come.

When the Haze, sir John Jumont, the constable de Vuillon, sir Henry Duffle, and the other knights and squires had sufficiently alarmed the country, they thought it was time for them to retreat, and set out on their return, intending to repass the bridge, but they found it strongly occupied by Flemings, who were busily employed in destroying it; and, when they had broken down any parts they covered them with straw, that the mischief might not be perceived. The knights and squires at this moment arrived, mounted on the best of horses, and found upward of two thousand peasants drawn up in a body without the town, prepared to advance upon them. The gentlemen, on seeing this, formed, and having fixed their lances on their rests, those best mounted instantly charged this body of peasants, with loud shouts. The Flemings opened their ranks through fear, but others say through malice; for they well knew the bridge would not bear them; and they said among themselves, "Let us make way for them, and we shall soon see fine sport."

The Haze de Flanders and his companions, desirous to get away, for any further stay would be against them, galloped for the bridge, which was now too weak to bear any great weight: however, the Haze, and some others, had the courage and good luck to pass over: they might be about thirty: but, as others were following, the bridge broke down under them. Horses and riders were overthrown, and both perished together. Those behind, seeing this misfortune, were thunderstruck, and knew not whither to fly to save themselves. Some leaped into the river, intending to swim, but they were not able thus to escape. Great slaughter ensued; for the Flemings fell upon them and killed them easily, and without pity. They made several leap into the water, and they were drowned. Sir John de Jumont narrowly escaped, for the bridge broke under him, but, by great agility of body he saved himself: he was, however, badly wounded on the head and body by arrows, and it was six weeks before he recovered. At this unfortunate action were killed, the con-

stables de Vuillon, de Bouchars, de St. Hilaire, and more drowned: sir Henry Duffle was slain. Including drowned and killed, there were upward of sixty; and very fortunate were those who escaped. Great numbers returned wounded from this enterprise. News was carried to the lords of France at Arras, of their countrymen having lost the day: and that the Haze de Flanders had conducted this foolish expedition. He was pitied by some, but by others not. Those who had been most accustomed to arms said, they had acted ill, to cross a river that was not fordable, attack a large town and enter an enemy's country, and return the way they had come, without having established guards on the bridge. It was not an enterprise planned by prudent men-at-arms, who were desirous of success; but, since they planned their enterprise with so much self-sufficiency, they had suffered from the consequence.

This affair passed off, and was soon forgotten. Philip departed from Bruges and came to Ypres, where he was most joyfully received. Peter du Bois went to Commines, where all the inhabitants of the flat country were assembled, and instantly began his preparations for defence, loosening the planks of the bridge, so that, if there should be occasion, it could immediately be pulled down: but he was unwilling totally to destroy the bridge, lest the inhabitants of the adjacent flat country might suffer, who daily crossed it with their cattle in droves, to place them in greater security on that side of the Lis. The whole country was so much covered with them it was marvellous to see.

The day Philip von Artaveld came to Ypres, news arrived of the defeat of the French at Pont-Amenin, and that the Haze had been nearly taken. Philip was mightily rejoiced at this, and said with a smile, to encourage those near, "By the grace of God, and the just cause we are engaged in, it will all end so; and never shall this king, if he should be so foolishly advised to cross the Lis, return again to France."

Philip was five days in Ypres, and harangued the people in the open market-place, to encourage them and to keep them steady to their engagements, telling them that the king of France was coming to destroy them without the least shadow of right. "Good people," said Philip, "do not be alarmed if he should march against us; for he will never be able to cross the river Lis, as I have had all the passes well guarded, and have ordered Peter du Bois to Commines with a large body of men: he is a loyal man, and one who loves the honor of Flanders; and Peter le Nuitre I have sent to Warneton; all the other bridges on the Lis are broken down, and there is neither pass nor ford which they can cross but at these two towns. I have also heard from our friends whom we sent to England. In a short time we shall receive considerable succors from thence, as we have made a strong alliance with them. Keep up, therefore, valiantly your hopes, for our honor shall be unsullied; and observe punctually what you have promised and sworn to us in the good town of Ghent, which has had such trouble and difficulty to maintain the rights and franchises of Flanders. Now, let all those who are determined to remain steady to the cause, according to the oath they took, gallantly lift up their hands to heaven as a token of loyalty."

At these words, all who were in the market-place, and who had heard the speech, held up their hands as a sign of their loyalty. After this, Philip descended from the scaffold on which he had harangued, and returned to his house, where he remained the whole day. On the morrow, he and his attendants mounted their horses and went toward Oudenarde, where the siege was still going on, notwithstanding the news of the French; but on passing through Courtray, he rested two days.

CHAPTER CXIII.

THE ORDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN ITS MARCH TO FLANDERS, AFTER THEY HAD HEARD THE BRIDGES WERE BROKEN AND GUARDED.

We will for a while leave Philip von Artaveld, and speak of the young king of France, who resided at Arras, and who, as he showed, had a great desire to enter Flanders, to lower the pride of the Flemings; and was daily increasing his army, by the arrival of men-at-arms from all quarters. After the king had tarried eight days at Arras, he went to Lens, in Artois,* where he staid two days. On the third day of November he departed and came to Seclin,† where he halted. A council was held, in the presence of the constable of France, the marshals of France, Burgundy and Flanders, to consider how they should proceed; for the common report in the army was the impossibility to enter Flanders in case the passes of the river should be strongly guarded. It rained, besides, at this time continually, and was so exceedingly cold that they could not advance. Some of the wisest said it was wrong to undertake such an expedition at this season of the year, and to bring the king so far into such a country. They ought not to have united before the summer to carry the war into Flanders, for the king had never been so far in his life.

This river Lis is so difficult to cross, that, except at certain places, it cannot be passed. There are no fords, and the country it runs through is so very marshy, horses cannot approach it. The constable, on hearing this, asked, "Where does it rise?" He was answered, that it came from near Aire and St. Omer. "Since it has a spring," replied the constable, "we will easily pass it. Order our men to march toward St. Omer, where we can cross this river at our ease, and enter Flanders. These Flemings are so proud and self-sufficient, they will march to attack us, either before Ypres or at some other place."

The marshals agreed to the proposition of the constable, and everything remained in this state the whole day and night, when, on the morrow, the lord d'Albreth, the lord de Coucy, sir Aimemon de Pommiers, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, sir William de Poitiers, the bastard de Langres, the bègue de Villaines, sir Raoul de Coucy, the count de Conversant, the viscount d'Acy, sir Raoul de Raineval, the lord de St. Just, sir Arthur de Hédin, sir Anthony d'Archies, the lord de Saimpi, sir William des Bourdes, the lord de Longueville, the lord de Sulli, sir Tristan de l'Estouet, sir Oliver du Guesclin, sir Maurice du Tresiquidy, sir Guy le Baveux, sir Lucas de l'Estrughen, sir Nicholas Pamel, the two marshals of France, sir Louis de Sancerre, and sir Louis de Blainville, the marshals of Burgundy and Flanders, sir Enguerrant de Haluyn, entered the chamber of the constable, to receive orders, how, and in what direction, they were to advance: whether they should march through Lille to Commines and Warneton, where the passes were guarded, or make for the upper countries of Venoye and St. Venant,* and there cross the Lis. There were many debates among these lords on this subject; and those who knew the country said: "Certainly, at such a season as this, it will not be right to advance into that country, nor can we go into the territories of Cassel, Surnes, or Verthes." "And what road shall we then take?" cried the constable. Upon which, the lord de Coucy said, "I would propose that we march to Tournay and there cross the Scheld, and take the road toward Oudenarde. This road is very easy, and we shall engage with our enemies. After passing the Scheld, we shall not have anything to stop us before Tournay. We may thus arrive before Oudenarde, and punish Philip von Artaveld. We can have daily refreshments of provisions come to us from Hainault, and follow us down the river from Tournay." This speech of the lord de Coucy was well attended to, and supported by several for some time: but the constable and marshals were more inclined to follow the course of the Lis, to seek a shorter passage, than to march to the right or left, by a longer road; and they urged strong reasons for it, saying, "If we look for any other road but the straight one, we do not show ourselves good men-at-arms; at least it is our duty to examine if we cannot pass the river above or below this pass of Commines, which is guarded. Besides, if we retreat, our enemies will rejoice and be encouraged: their forces will increase, and they will say that we fly from them. There is also another point which ought to be considered: we are ignorant what has been the success of the embassadors they sent to England; for if, by any treaty, assistance should come to them from that quarter, they will give us much trouble. It is therefore better that we get rid of this business in Flanders as speedily as possible, than be thus long in determining upon it. Let us instantly, and with courage, march toward Commines, and God will assist us. We have so often crossed and recrossed larger rivers than this Lis, that it cannot long prevent us from passing it. Happen what may, when we are on its banks we can then form our opinions; and when those of our company in the vanguard (who have for these twenty or thirty years seen many more dangerous passes than this) have crossed this river, and gained the other side, our enemies will be a hundred times more frightened than if we had marched at our ease, seeking a passage on the right or left, out of our direct road: we may then consider ourselves as lords of Flanders."

This plan was unanimously adopted. During the time these lords were assembled, they considered how they should form their battalions; and selected those who were to march on foot with the constable in the vanguard, in order to clear the roads for the army to pass and march in a line, and to act as scouts to observe and find out their enemies. They also chose those who were to be in the king's battalion, regulated the arms with which they should serve, and appointed proper persons to carry the oriflamme of France and to guard it; and likewise determined of what numbers the wings were to be composed, and how many were to be in the rear-guard. All these things they debated and arranged. When these points had been settled, and they could not think of anything more that was necessary to be done, the council broke up, and every one retired to his lodgings. Those lords and barons who had not been present were informed of the regulations, and the manner in which they were to act from henceforward. It was this day ordered, that the king should on the morrow dislodge from Seclin, march through Lille without halting, and take up his quarters at Margnette l'Abbayee; and that the vanguard should pass on to Commines and Warneton, and do the most they could in the course of the day. This being settled, the master of the cross-bows, in conjunction with the constable and marshals, unanimously appointed sir Josse de Haluyn and the lord de Rambures to the command of the infantry, who were to clear the roads by cutting down hedges and forests, filling up valleys, and everything else that might be necessary: their numbers amounted to seventeen hundred and sixty.

* "Lens"—a town in Artois on the Souchet, four leagues from Bethune.
† "Seclin"—an ancient town in Flanders, near Lille.

* A town in Artois on the Lis, four leagues from Bethune.

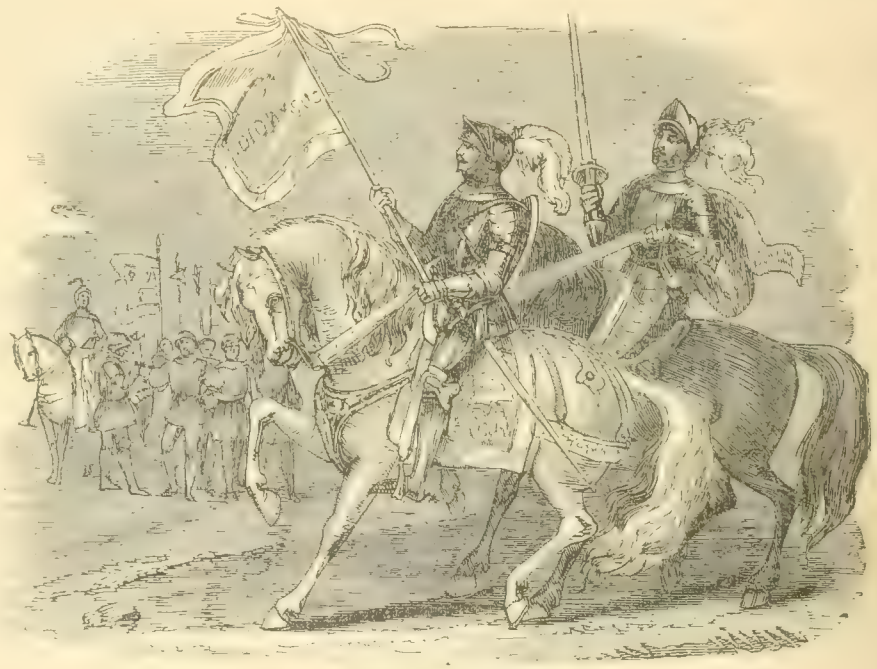
In the vanguard were the marshals of Flanders, France and Burgundy, who had under their command seventeen hundred men-at-arms and seven hundred cross-bows, besides four thousand infantry whom the earl had given to them, armed with large shields and other weapons. It was also ordered that the earl of Flanders, and his battalion, consisting of about sixteen hundred men-at-arms, knights, squires and infantry, should march on the wings of the vanguard to reinforce it, should it be necessary. It was likewise ordered that the king's battalion should march between the vanguard and the battalion of the earl of Flanders, and that the king's three uncles, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon should be in it; and also the count de la Marche, sir James de Bourbon, his brothers, the count de Clermont, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Dampmartin, the count de Sancerre, sir John de Boulogne, to the amount of six thousand men-at-arms, two thousand Genoese cross-bows and others.

The rear-guard was to consist of two thousand men-at-arms and two hundred archers; the commanders of which were the lord John d'Artois count d'Eu, the lord Guy count de Blois, sir Waleran count de St. Pol, sir William count de Harcourt, the lord de Châtillon and the lord de Sere.

Sir Peter de Villiers was appointed to bear the Oriflamme, attended by four knights, whose names were sir Robert le Baveux, sir Morice de Sancourt, sir Guy de Tresiquidi and Brandon de la Heuse: le borgne de Ruet and le borgne de Montdoulcet were named to guard the banner.

It is proper to be known, that the lords who had planned this expedition had determined they would never return to France until they had engaged Philip von Artaveld and his forces, and it was for this reason they had drawn up their battalions as ready for the combat on the morrow. The lords d'Albreth, de Coucy, and sir Hugh de Hanlon were ordered to form the battalions and place them in array. Sir William de Bannes and the lord de Champreny were appointed marshals to attend to the quarters of the king and his battalion.

It was also ordered, that on the day of battle, no one but the king and eight valiant men appointed to attend his person, should be on horseback. The names of these eight men were as follows: the lord de Raineval, le bègue de Villaines, sir Aymemon de Pommiers, sir Enguerrant de Haluyn, the viscount d'Acy, sir Guy le Baveux, sir Nicholas de Pennel and sir William des Bourdes. The lord de Raineval and sir Enguerrant de Haluyn were to take post in front of the king: le bègue de Villaines and the viscount d'Acy (who is called in several places hereafter the viscount d'Aunoy) were to place themselves on each side; and sir Aymemon de Pommiers, sir Nicholas de Pennel, sir Guy le Baveux and sir William des Bourdes, were to take post in the rear. It was likewise ordered, that on the day of battle, sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, and sir William de Poitiers, bastard de Langres, should advance on horseback, to reconnoitre and observe the appearance of the enemy.



A FRENCH KNIGHT UNFURLING THE ORIFLAMME.—Designed from contemporary authorities.

CHAPTER CXIV.

SOME FEW OF THE FRENCH, NOT BEING ABLE TO CROSS THE LIS AT THE BRIDGE OF COMMINES, FIND MEANS OF DOING SO, BY BOATS AND OTHER CRAFT, UNKNOWN TO THE FLEMINGS.

THE orders above mentioned were punctually obeyed; and the vanguard dislodged on the morrow, marching in order of battle toward Commines. They found the roads well made, for the lord de Fransures* and sir Josse de Haluyn had paid great attention to them: this was on the Monday. When the constable and marshals of France, with the vanguard, arrived at the bridge of Commines, they were forced to halt; for it was so completely destroyed, that it was was not in the power of man to repair it, if any opposition should be made when they were attempting it, as the Flemings were in great force on the opposite side of the river, and ready to defend the pass against all who might wish to attack them: they were upward of nine thousand, under the command of Peter du Bois and others, who showed good inclinations to repulse any attempt. Peter du Bois had placed himself on the causeway, at the end of the bridge, with a battle-axe in his hand; and the Flemings were drawn up on each side.

The constable of France and the lords with him, having considered the situation, thought it impossible to pass the river at that place unless the bridge were rebuilt; they ordered their servants to follow the course of the river, and examine its banks for about a league up and down. When they returned, they informed their masters, who were waiting for them, they had not been able to find any place where the cavalry could pass. Upon hearing this, the constable was much vexed, and said, "We have been badly advised to take this road: better would it have been for us to have gone to St. Omer than remain in this danger, or to have crossed the Scheld at Tournay, as the lord de Coucy advised, and to have marched straight to Oudenarde and fought our enemies, since it is both our duty and inclination to combat them; and they are so presumptuous they would have waited for us at their siege." The lord Louis Sancerre then said, "I am of opinion that we fix our quarters here for this day, and lodge our army, should it arrive, as well as we are able; and that we send to Lille to seek for boats and hurdles, that may come down the river, with which to-morrow we can throw a bridge from these fine meads and cross over; for we have no other alternative." Upon this, sir Josse de Haluyn said, "My lord, we have been informed that there will be great difficulties between this and Lille; for the river Menyn, on which all boats must pass to come hither, has been obstructed by large beams thrown across it by the Flemings who are in those parts: they have totally destroyed the bridge, and we learn it is impossible for any vessels or boats to pass." "I know not then," added the constable, "what we can now do. It will be better for us to take the road to Aire, and cross the Lis at that place, since we are unable to do so here."

During the time the constable and marshals of France and Burgundy where in this dilemma at the bridge of Commines, several knights and squires silently withdrew, with the intent to hazard some gallant deeds of arms and attempt to cross the river, whatever it might cost them. They meant likewise to combat the Flemings in their intrenchments, and open a passage, as I shall now relate. While the vanguard was on its march from Lille to Commines, the lord de St. Py, and some other knights from Hainault, Flanders, Artois, and even France, had held a council without the knowledge of the constable or marshals. They said, "We will procure two or three boats, which we will launch into the river Lis, at a sheltered place below Commines, and will fix posts on each side of the river where it is not wide, to fasten cords to. We shall by this means soon convey over a large body of men, and by marching on the rear of our enemies we may attack them, and, if victorious, we shall gain the reputation of valiant men-at-arms." After they had thus deter-

* "Fransures." He before calls him Rambures.

mined in council, the lord de St. Py exerted himself so much that he procured from Lille a boat and cords, with every other necessary article. On the other hand, sir Herbeaux de Belleperche and sir John de Roye, who were companions in this expedition, had also caused a boat to be brought. Sir Henry de Manny, sir John de Malatrait and sir John Chauderon, Bretons, who had been of this council, had likewise provided one, and followed the preceding companies.

The lord de St. Py was the first who arrived at the river with his boat, cords and fastenings. They fixed a strong stake to which they tied the cord: three varlets then crossed over, and the boat, with the cords, being launched, they fixed on the opposite side another strong post, to which they fastened the other end of the cord: and, this being done, they returned with the boat to their master. It happened that the constable and marshals of France were at that time at the bridge of Commines, pondering how they could discover a passage. They were then informed of the intentions of the lord de St. Py and the other knights. Upon which the constable, addressing himself to the lord Louis de Sancerre, said, "Marshal, go and see what they are doing, and if it be possible to cross the river in the manner they propose, add some of our men to theirs."

Just as these knights were preparing to embark, the marshal of France came thither, attended by a large company of knights and squires. They made way for him, as was right. He stopped on the bank, and with pleasure saw the arrangement of the boats. The lord de St. Py, addressing him, said, "My lord, is it agreeable to you that we should cross here?" "I am very well pleased with it," replied the marshal; "but you are running great risks; for if our enemies, who are at Commines, should know your intentions, they would do you great mischief." "My lord," answered the lord de Saint Py, "nothing venture nothing win: in the name of God and St. George, we will cross over, and, before to-morrow evening, will fall suddenly on our enemies and attack them." The lord de Saint Py then placed his pennon in the boat, and was the first who stepped into it: he was followed by nine others, who were as many as the boat could hold: and instantly, by means of the cord they held, crossed over. When disembarked, in order to prevent themselves from being discovered, they entered a small alder grove, where they lay hidden. Those on the bank, by means of the cord, drew the boat back. The count de Conversant, lord d'Anghien, embarked with his banner, with the lord de Vertain his brother, and seven others. These nine then passed, and the third time others followed them.

The two other boats now arrived that belonged to sir Herbaut de Belleperche, sir John de Roye and the Bretons, which were launched in the same manner the first had been. These knights then crossed, and none but determined men-at-arms did the same. It was a pleasure to see with what eagerness they embarked: at times a great crowd was pushing who should cross first, so that if the marshal of France had not been there, who kept them in proper order, accidents would have happened from their overloading the boats.

News was brought to the constable and the lords of France at the bridge of Commines, how their people were crossing the river, when he said to the séneschal de Rieux, "Go and examine this passage, I beg of you, and see if our people be passing as they tell us." The lord de Rieux was never happier than when he had this commision, and, clapping spurs to his horse, hastened thither with his whole company, to the amount of full forty men-at-arms. When he arrived at the passage where one hundred and fifty of his countrymen had already crossed, he immediately dismounted, and said he would also pass the river. The marshal of France would not refuse him; and intelligence was sent to the constable, that his cousin the lord de Rieux had crossed. The constable mused a little, and then said, "Make the cross-bows shoot, and skirmish with the Flemings who are on the other side of the bridge, to occupy their attention, and prevent them from observing our people; for, if they should have any notion what they are about, they will fall upon them, destroy the passage, and kill all those who have crossed: and I would much rather die than that should happen."

Upon this, the cross-brows and infantry advanced. There were among them some who flung hand-grenades,* which bursting, cast out bolts of iron beyond the bridge, even as far as the town of Commines. The skirmish now began to be very sharp, and the vanguard, by their movements, seemed determined to cross the bridge if they could. The Flemings, being shielded up to their noses, made a good appearance, and defended themselves well. Thus passed this day, which was a Monday, in skirmishing; and it was soon dark, for at that season the days are very short. The boats, however, continued to carry over men-at-arms in great numbers, who, on their landing, hid themselves in the alder wood, waiting for more.

You may easily guess what perils they were in; for, had those in Commines gained the least intelligence of them, they must have had them at their mercy, and conquered the greater part, besides taking the boats; but God favored the other party, and consented that the pride of the Flemings should be humbled.

CHAPTER CXV.

A SMALL BODY OF FRENCH, HAVING CROSSED THE LIS, DRAW UP IN BATTLE ARRAY BEFORE THE FLEMINGS.

I MAINTAIN, that all men of understanding must hold this enterprise of the boats, and passage of men-at-arms, as a deed of superior valor and enterprise. Toward evening, the knights and squires of the vanguard were eager to cross with their companions; and the lord de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lord de la Belliere, the lord de Combort, sir Oliver du Guesclin, le Barrois des Barres, the lord de Collet, sir Reginald de Thouars, the lord de Pousanges, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Passat, le sire de Thouars, sir Louis de Consaule, sir Tristan de la Jaille, the viscount de Meaux, the lord de Mailly, passed over, and Bretons, Flemings, Poitevins, French, Berruyers, Burgundians, Artois-men, Troyens, and Hainaulters, in numbers, so that late in this Monday evening there were, on the Flanders side of the river, about four hundred men-at-arms, all the flower of knighthood: for no varlet was suffered to cross.

The lord Louis de Sancerre, seeing so many gallant men (sixty banners and thirty pennons,) said, he should think himself to blame, if he remained behind. He then entered the boats, with his knights and squires; and the lord de Hangest, &c. crossed at the same time. When they were all assembled, they said, "It is time to march toward Commines, to look at our enemies, and see if we cannot make our quarters good in the town." Upon this, they tightened their arms, buckled their helmets on their heads in a proper manner, and advancing through the marshes which are contiguous to the river, marched in order of battle, with banners and pennons displayed, as if they were immediately to engage. The lord de Saint Py was the principal conductor and commander-in-chief, because he knew the country better than any of the others.

As they were thus marching in close order, in their way toward the town, Peter du Bois and the Flemings were drawn up on the causeway; when, casting their eyes toward the meads, they saw this body of men-at-arms approaching. They were exceedingly astonished, and demanded from Peter du Bois, "by what devil of a road have these men-at-arms come? and how have they crossed the Lis?" He replied, "They must have crossed in boats, and we have known nothing of the matter; for there is neither bridge nor passable ford over the Lis between this and Courtray." "What shall we do?" said some of them to Peter du Bois: "shall we offer them battle?" "By no means," replied Peter: "let them advance: but we will remain in our strength and in our place: we are on high ground, and they on low, so that we have great advantage over them; and, if we descend to meet them in the plain, we shall lose it. Let us wait until the night become more obscure, and then we will consider how we had best act. They are not of force sufficient to withstand us in battle: and, besides, we are acquainted with all the roads of the country, of which they must be ignorant." This advice was followed; for the Flemings never budged from their post, but remained steady at the foot of the bridge, drawn up in order of battle on the causeway, in silence, and, by their appearance, seemed as if they had not noticed what was passing. Those who had crossed the river continued advancing slowly through the marshes, following the course of it as they approached Commines.

The constable of France, on the opposite side of the water, saw his men-at-arms, with banners and pennons fluttering in the wind, drawn up in a handsome small battalion, and marching toward Commines. On seeing this, his blood began to run cold from the great dread he had of their being defeated; for he knew the Flemings were in great force on that side of the water. In the excess of rage, he cried out, "Ah, St. Ives! ha, St. George! ha, our Lady! what do I see there? I see in part the flower of our army, who are most unequally matched. I would rather have died than have witnessed this. Ah! sir Louis de Sancerre, I thought you more temperate and better taught than I

* I call bombards, hand grenades: to my mind, it explains this passage more easily. Lord Berners totally omits it.

(The original is as follows: "Et y en avoit aucun autres qui gettoyent bombardes *portatives* et qui gettoyent gros carreaux empennez de fer, et les faisoient voler outre le pont, jusques à la ville de Commines;" literally, "and they had there some others who threw portable bombards, and which (*or who*) threw large quarrels (cross-bow bolts) pointed with iron, and made them fly beyond the bridge as far as the town of Commines." The construction of the original sentence is such as to render it obscure: it is not clear whether the soldiers, or the bombards, threw the quarrels into the town. It does not appear that the town was near enough for the soldiers to throw grenades into it, over the river, and it is difficult to believe that the explosion of a hand-grenade could do damage at any considerable distance. Most of the cannons made about the time, when they began to be in general use, were of small dimensions, and were fitted with rings at the sides, by which they were carried; to such, the term "portable bombards" may be justly applied, but grenades adapted to be thrown by the hand would, in all probability, have been more particularly distinguished. If we read, "They had there some others who *carried* portable bombards which threw," &c., we shall probably restore the true text, and the sentence becomes at once perfectly clear. Those who are at all acquainted with the nature of the errors which creep into and are continued in repeated MS. transcripts, will readily perceive the cause, in this instance, where the improper repetition of the word "gettoyent" has rendered a passage, at first perfectly plain, inelegant, and unintelligible. Mr. Johnes having once taken up the idea of the hand-grenade (which, according to all received accounts, was not invented till long after the events narrated in the text,) has spoken of their bursting, a circumstance not alluded to by Froissart. Lord Berners, who, though he does not speak of grenades, does *not* omit the bombards, says, "Then the cross-bowes and men a-fote, and *gunners*, shote over the bridge into the towne."—ED.)

see you now are; how could you have hazarded so many noble knights and squires, and men-at-arms, against ten or twelve thousand men, who are proud, presumptuous, and well prepared, and who will show them no mercy, while we are unable, if there should be a necessity, to aid them? Ah, Robun! ah, Laval! ah, Rieux! ah, Beaumanoir! ah, Longueville! ah, Rochfort! ah, Manny! ah, Malatrait! ah, Conversant! ah, such a one and such a one, how afflicted am I for you all! when, without consulting me, you have run into such imminent danger. Why am I constable of France? for, if you be conquered, I shall incur all the blame, and they will say I ordered you on this mad enterprise." The constable, before he heard that such numbers of valiant men had crossed, had forbidden any of those near him to pass the river; but, when he saw the appearance of those who had passed, he said aloud, "I give free liberty for all who wish it to cross, if they be able."

At these words, the knights and squires stepped forth, seeking means to cross the bridge; but it was soon night, and they were forced to leave off their attempt, though they had begun to lay planks on the beams, and even some had placed their targets to make a road; so that the Flemings who were in Commines had enough to do to watch them, and were puzzled how to act, for on the one hand they saw below the bridge, in the marshes, a large body of men-at-arms, who had halted with their lances advanced before them, and to whom great reinforcements were coming, and on the other, those of the vanguard on the opposite side of the bridge, were constantly skirmishing with them and exerting themselves lustily to repair the bridge.

In this situation were the French who had that evening crossed over in boats. They had halted on the marshes, in mud and filth, up to their ancles. Now consider what must have been their courage and difficulties, when in these long winter nights they thus remained a whole night with their arms and helmets on, with their feet in the mire, and without any sort of refreshments. Certainly, I say, they are worthy of great renown, for they were but a handful of men in comparison with the Flemings in Commines and in that neighborhood. They dared not, therefore, advance to attack them, and for this reason had halted, saying among themselves, "Let us stop here until it be daylight, when we shall have a sight of these Flemings who quit not the advantage of their intrenchments; but at last they will not fail to come to us, and when near we will shout our war cries with a loud voice, each his own cry, or the cry of his lord, notwithstanding all our lords may not have joined us: by this means we shall frighten them, when we will fall on them with a thorough good will. It is in the power of God, and within the compass of our own ability, to defeat them, for they are badly armed, while our spears and swords are of well-tempered steel from Bordeaux; and the haubergeons* they wear will be a poor defence, and cannot prevent our blows from penetrating through them." With such hopes as these did those who had passed the river comfort themselves, and remain in silence during the night.

The constable of France, who was on the other side of the river, toward Lille, had great anguish at heart on their account, and wished himself and army in the town of Commines with them. The marshals of Burgundy and Flanders, and those knights who were near his person, in order to comfort him, said: "My lord do not be cast down; for all must own that those who have crossed the river are truly valiant, as well as prudent knights, and we must believe they will not do anything but what shall be dictated by good sense and valor. They will not engage in combat this day, and you have given permission for all to pass the river as they can. To-morrow, as soon as daybreak shall appear, let us exert ourselves to cross the bridge. We have this day made more provision of planks and timber than will be necessary, so that we may be soon over to reinforce them, should they have need of it, and these wicked people will be prevented from overpowering them."

Thus was the constable of France consoled by the valiant men in his company.

CHAPTER CXVI.

THE FRENCH WHO HAD CROSSED THE LIS DEFEAT, WITH GREAT SLAUGHTER, PETER DU BOIS AND THE FLEMINGS. THE VANGUARD OF THE FRENCH ARMY REPAIR AND PASS OVER THE BRIDGE OF COMMINES.

Peter du Bois, knowing these men-at-arms were in the marshes joining Commines, was not perfectly at his ease, for he was uncertain what might be the event. He, had, however, under his command, six or seven thousand men, to whom, during the night, he had thus spoken: "The men-at-arms who have crossed the river to fight with us are neither of iron nor steel. They have labored hard this whole day, and have been all night standing in these marshes, so that it is possible, that toward daybreak, they will be overpowered with sleep. While they are in this situation, we will come slily to attack them: our numbers are sufficient to surround them: but when we have so done, let no one dare to rush upon them, but remain silent; for when it shall be proper time for you to act, I will inform you." To this command of Peter they all promised obedience. On the other hand, the barons, knights and squires, who had remained in the marshes so near the enemy, were far from being comfortable: some of them were up to their ancles in mud, and others half way up their legs. But their eagerness and joy, on gaining this pass with so much honor (for very gallant deeds of arms were likely to ensue,) made them forget all their pains and difficulties. If it had been in summer-time, instead of the seventh day of November, they would have enjoyed it; but now the ground was cold, muddy and dirty, and the nights were long. At times also it rained heavily on their heads, but it ran off, as they had their helmets on and everything prepared for the combat, and were only waiting for the enemy to come and attack them. The great attention they paid to be in readiness kept up their spirits, and made them almost forget their situation.

The lord de Saint Py full loyally acquitted himself in this expedition, as a scout and observer of what the Flemings were doing, though he was the commander-in-chief. He was continually on the look-out, and went privily to reconnoitre their motions. On his return, he said to his companions in a low voice, "Now up: our enemies are very quiet: perhaps they will advance on us at daybreak: therefore be on your guard, and prepare to act." He would then return again, to see if anything were going forward, and then come back to tell what he had observed. This he continued to do, until the hour which the Flemings had fixed upon to attack them. It was on the point of day when they began their march in close order, without uttering a word. The lord de Saint Py, who was on the watch, no sooner saw this manœuvre than he found they were in earnest, and hastening to his companions, said to them, "Now, my lords, be alert, we have but to do our utmost, for our enemy is on his march, and will be instantly here. These barons of new date are advancing slowly, and think to catch and surprise us: show yourselves true men-at-arms, for we shall have a battle." As the lord de Saint Py uttered these words, the knights and squires, with great courage, seized their long Bordeaux spears, and having grasped them with a hasty will, placed themselves in as good order as any knights or squires could devise.

When the lords who had crossed the river, and, as I have before said, found themselves obliged to halt in the marshes, saw that the Flemings waited their opportunity to attack them, they said among themselves, "Since we are not in sufficient force to begin the combat, when the Flemings advance upon us they will not know what numbers we are: let us each set up one cry, or that of the lord to whom we may belong whether he be present or not: and, by thus shouting loudly, we shall so much alarm them that they may be defeated. In addition to this, we will receive them on the points of our spears." In this manner did it fall out: for, when the Flemings advanced to the combat, the knights and squires began to utter their war cries, insomuch that the constable and vanguard, who had not yet crossed the bridge, heard them, and said, "Our friends are engaged: may God help them! for at this moment we are unable to give them any assistance." Peter du Bois marched in front, and was followed by his Flemings; but, when they approached the French, they were received on the sharp points of their long Bordeaux spears, to which their coats of mail made not more resistance than if they had been of cloth thrice doubled; so that they passed through their bodies, heads and stomachs.

When the Flemings felt these sharp spears which impaled them, they fell back, and the French advancing gained ground upon them; for there were none so hardy but that feared their strokes. Peter du Bois was one of the first who was wounded and run through by a lance. It came quite out at his shoulder: he was also wounded on the head, and would have been instantly slain if it had not been for the body-guard he had formed, of thirty stout varlets, who taking him in their arms, carried him as quickly as they could out of the crowd. The mud from the causeway to Commines was so deep that all these people sunk in it up to the middle of their legs. The men-at-arms, who had been long accustomed to their profession, drove down and slew the Flemings without let or hindrance: they shouted, "St. Py for ever!" "Laval, Sancerre, Anghien!" and the war-cries of others who were there. The Flemings were panic-struck, and began to give way, when they saw these knights attack them so vigorously and pierce them through with their spears. They retreated, and falling back on each other, were followed by the French who marched through them or around them, always attacking the thickest bodies. They no more spared killing them than if they had been so many dogs; and they were in the right, for, had the Flemings conquered, they would have served them the same.

The Flemings, finding themselves thus driven back, and that the men-at-arms had won the causeway and bridge, counselled together, to set fire to the town, in hopes it would cause the French to retreat, or enable them to collect their people. This was executed, and fire set to several houses, which were instantly in flames; but they were disappointed in thinking by this to frighten the French, for they pursued them as valiantly as before, fighting and slaying them on the ground, or in the houses whither they had retreated. Upon this the Flemings made for the open plain, where they collected in a body. They sent to Vertain, Poperingue, Bergues, Rollers, Mesieres, Warneton and the other neighboring towns, to urge them to come to their assistance at Commines. Those who fled, and the inhabitants of the villages near Commines, began to set their bells a-ringing, which clearly showed there was an engagement going forward. Some of

* "Haubergeons"—small coats of mail.

them, however, began to slacken, and others to occupy themselves in saving what they could of their goods, and to carry them to Ypres or Courtray. Women and children ran thither, leaving their houses full of furniture, cattle and grain. Others again marched in haste toward Commines, to help their countrymen who were fighting.

While this was passing, and those valiant knights who had crossed the Lis in boats were so gallantly engaged, the constable and vanguard were busily employed in attempting to repair the bridge and cross it. There was a very great throng, for the constable had given permission for all to pass it who could. There was much danger for those who crossed it first; and the lords who did so were obliged to step on targets thrown on the beams of the bridge. When they had crossed, they began to strengthen the bridge, for they found the planks lying on the ground, which they put in their proper places. During the night two wagon-loads of hurdles were brought, which were of great use to them, so that shortly it was made as strong as ever. On Tuesday the whole vanguard passed, took possession of the place, and, as they crossed, fixed their quarters in the town.

The earl of Flanders, hearing that the vanguard was engaged at the pass of Commines, sent thither six thousand infantry to their assistance; but when they arrived, the business was over and the bridge rebuilt. The constable sent them to Warneton to rebuild that bridge, that the baggage might pass it this Tuesday without delay. News was brought on Tuesday morning to the king of France at the abbey of Marquette, that the pass at Commines was won, and the vanguard on the other side, which was very agreeable to the king and his uncles. It was instantly determined that the king should cross the river; and, the king having heard mass with his lords and drank a cup, they mounted their horses and took the road to Commines. Those of the vanguard who were in Commines drove out the Flemings. There were slain of them in the streets and fields about four thousand, not including those killed in the pursuit, in wind-mills, and in monasteries, whither they had fled for shelter; for, as soon as the Bretons had crossed, they mounted their horses and began a chase after the Flemings, and overran the country, which was then rich and plentiful.

The lords de Rieux, de Laval, de Malatrait, the viscount de la Belliere and the lord de Combort, with their men, rode on until they came to Vertain, which is a large town: it was taken and burnt, and those found in it were put to death. The Bretons had great profit from their pillage, as well as the others who had spread abroad over the country. They found the houses full of draperies, furs, with cloths of gold and silver: for, trusting to the strength of the passage over the river Lis, the Flemings had not carried away anything from their houses to their strong towns.

The first Bretons, Normans and Burgundians who entered Flanders by the pass at Commines, paid no attention to pieces of cloth, furs or jewels, but to the gold and silver which they found. However, those who followed cleared the whole country, for everything was acceptable to them.

CHAPTER CXVII.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD TAKES MEASURES TO RESIST THE FORCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE. HE RECEIVES AN ANSWER FROM HIS EMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND.

Bad news soon flies abroad. On Tuesday morning Philip von Artaveld heard, while he lay before Oudenarde, that the French had crossed the Lis on the Monday in boats, and had advanced as far as Commines, having conquered the Flemings posted there and in the adjacent parts: that about six thousand Flemings had been slain, and that Peter du Bois was supposed to be dead. Philip was thunderstruck at this intelligence; and he asked the lord de Harzelles, who was present, "what was to be done." The lord de Harzelles replied, "You must go to Ghent, and collect as many people as you can in the town, and return with them hither: you must then march your whole army to Courtray; for when the king of France learns that you are marching in full force against him, he will consider well before he advances further into the country. We ought in a short time to receive news from our embassadors in England. It may be that the king of England and his uncles will cross the sea with a large army, or perhaps they have already done so, which will be fortunate for us."

"I am surprised," answered Philip, "how the English can so long delay it, when they know they are to have free entrance into this country; and I marvel what they are thinking of, as well as our people who are there. Notwithstanding, I will not hesitate going to Ghent to draw out the arriere-ban, with which I will return and offer battle to the king of France, whatever be the consequences. I am informed by Peter du Bois, that the king of France has full twenty thousand men-at-arms, which constitute sixty thousand fighting men. I will draw up in battle array as many to meet him; and if God, out of his grace, and the just cause we have, should enable me to defeat him, I shall be the most respected lord in the world; if I be discomfited, better fortune will befal a greater lord than myself."

As Philip von Artaveld and the lord de Harzelles were thus conversing, some soldiers arrived who had been at the battle of Commines, who confirmed the first intelligence. Philip said, "And Peter du Bois, is he dead, or a prisoner?" They answered, "Neither; but he has been severely wounded in the battle, and has retired to Bruges." At these words, Philip mounted his horse and ordered thirty of his men to do the same, when he set out for Bruges. He quitted, however, the direct road, to view some of the garrison of Oudenarde who had made a sally the preceding night, but had been overpowered and slain: they were twelve in number who had been put to death. As he was thus examining the dead, he saw, coming toward him from Ghent, a herald attached to the king of England, whose name was Chandos, though called Ireland king-at-arms. Philip was much pleased at the arrival of this herald, and asked "what news he had brought." "My lord," replied the herald, "five of your embassadors returned to Ghent, accompanied by a knight called sir William Frenenton,* who, by orders from the king and council, bring letters (as we learnt from them at Dover) addressed to you as regent of Flanders. When you know the contents of these letters, and approve of the great alliance offered to you, large reinforcements will be instantly sent to you on the return of the knight and his companions to England." Philip said, "I am not well satisfied with such an arrangement: the succors will come too late. Go to my quarters." He ordered him to be conducted to the lodgings of the lord de Harzelles, that he might hear the news; while he took the road to Ghent, but in so melancholy a temper of mind that nothing could be got from him, nor could he be persuaded to enter into any agreeable conversation.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE CROSSES THE LIS AT THE BRIDGE OF COMMINES. THE TOWN OF YPRES SURRENDERS TO HIM.

We will now return to the king of France, and say how he went on. When intelligence was brought him of Commines being conquered, that the Flemings were dispersed, and the bridge rebuilt, he set out from the abbey of Marquette, where he had lodged, and marched with his whole army in battle-array, as was befitting him to do, toward Commines. The king and his uncles arrived at Commines on Tuesday, and took up their lodgings in the town; from whence the vanguard had marched for the hill of Ypres, where they had fixed their quarters. On the Wednesday morning the king advanced to the hill of Ypres, where he remained until the baggage and the remainder of his army should cross the river at Commines or at Warneton, for there were very numerous trains, and multitudes of horses.

On Wednesday, the king's rear-guard passed the bridge of Commines. It consisted of two thousand men-at-arms and two thousand cross-bows, under the command of the count d'Eu, the count de Clois, the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the lords de Châtillon and de la Fere. These lords with their men, lodged this Wednesday at Commines.

When the night came, and these lords thought of reposing themselves after their march, they heard the cry, "To arms!" They thought certainly they should have a battle, and that the Flemings from Ypres, Cassel, Bergues, and their dependencies, were collected and on their march to attack them. The lords armed themselves, put on their helmets, displayed their banners before their lodgings: and, having lighted torches, each lord advanced to the causeway under his banner or pennon: as their men came, they drew up and arranged themselves under their proper banners; and thus they remained, half way up their legs in mud, almost the whole night. You may imagine if these lords had the best of it, such as the count de Blois and the others, who had not been accustomed to suffer such cold and comfortless nights as these a month before Christmas; but, when their honor was at stake, they minded it not, for they thought they should be attacked every moment: however, it was not so, for this was a false alarm caused by a scuffle among the varlets. Their lords, however, suffered for it, which they bore as well as they could.

On Thursday morning, the rear-guard dislodged from Commines, and marched, in good order, toward their main army, which was encamped on the hill of Ypres, the vanguard, the battalion of the king and all. The principal commanders held a council, to consider whether they should march to Ypres, Courtray, or Bruges. While they remained there, the French foragers overran the country, where they found a marvellous quantity of beasts, grain, and all other provisions; for since they had gained the passage at Commines, they were never in want. The inhabitants of Ypres, finding the king so near with his whole army, and the passage gained, were not much at their ease, and considered how they should act. The town-council assembled. The richest and chief inhabitants, who had been of the moderate party, but who had not dared to show it, proposed throwing themselves on the king's mercy, and sending to him the keys of the town. The governor, who was from Ghent, appointed by Philip von Artaveld, would not listen to a surrender, but said, "Our town is sufficiently strong, and we are well provided with everything. We will stand our ground; during which time Philip will assemble his forces, to combat the king and raise the siege." Others replied, "That he was not assured that this would so happen: that it was not in the power of Philip von Artaveld, nor of

* "Sir W. Prenenton." Q. If not Farrington.

the whole country, to defeat the king of France, unless they had the assistance of the English, of which there was not any appearance; and that, in short, the best thing they could do would be to surrender themselves to the king of France." High words ensued, which ended in a riot, in which the chief inhabitants were masters. The governor, named Peter Vauclaire, was slain. When this was over, they called to them two preaching friars, whom they sent to the king and his uncles on the hill of Ypres, to know if it were agreeable to them to enter into an amicable treaty with the town.

The king was advised to grant passports to twelve of the citizens and an abbot (who being at Ypres had interfered in this business,) to come to the camp, and explain more fully what their intentions were. The friars returned to the town, when the twelve citizens elected by the council and inhabitants, and the abbot, went to mount Ypres, where, casting themselves on their knees, they offered to place the town under the king's obedience for ever, and without any terms of reservation. The king of France, following the good advice which was given him, to gain the country by gentle means, and not wishing to show any ill will or cruelty, received them kindly, and accepted their offer; on condition that the town would pay forty thousand francs, to defray the smaller expenses which this expedition had hitherto cost.

The inhabitants of Ypres were much rejoiced at this event, and never afterwards rebelled. Thus were the citizens pardoned. They entreated the king and his uncles would be pleased to partake of some refreshments in their town, which would give great joy to the inhabitants. A promise was in truth made them, that the king should come thither, when he should be further advanced in Flanders. Upon this the deputation returned to the town, mightily pleased to find themselves at peace with the king of France. The forty thousand francs were instantly raised among themselves, and paid to the king, or his commissioners, before he made his entry into Ypres.

CHAPTER CXIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE RECEIVES INFORMATION OF A RIOT AMONG THE PARISIANS. SEVERAL PLACES IN FLANDERS SURRENDER TO HIM.

During the time the king of France was on the hill of Ypres, news was brought that the Parisians were in rebellion: and that they had resolved, as it was then reported, to pull down the castle of Beauté, which is situated in the wood of Vincennes, and the castle of the Louvre, as well as other castellated houses in the neighborhood of Paris, to prevent being oppressed in future by their means. One of their leaders made a speech to excite to mischief, but which, however, as it appeared afterwards, turned out quite the contrary: "My fair sirs, let us abstain from doing this until we see how the king's affairs turn out in Flanders. If the Ghent men succeed, as I truly hope they will, then will be the time to destroy all these castles. Let us not begin anything which we may repent of afterwards." It was Nicholas le Flamand who by this speech made the Parisians give up their intentions of committing outrages. They kept within the walls of Paris, which they had amply supplied with everything; and had as rich and handsome armor as if they had been great lords. There were upward of thirty thousand armed from head to foot, like true men-at-arms, and more than thirty thousand armed with mallets. They worked day and night in forging helmets, and purchased armor wherever it was to be sold.

Now, consider what a sad devilment it would have been, if the king of France, and the gallant chivalry with which he was accompanied, had been defeated in Flanders. It may readily be supposed, that then all the nobility would have been destroyed in France, as well as in other places; for the Jacquerie were never so ferocious as they would at such a time have been. In like manner the peasants began to rebel at Rheims, at Châlons in Champagne, and down the river Marne, and to menace those gentlemen, ladies and children, who had remained at home. At Orleans, Blois, Rouen, and in the Beauvoisis, the devil had entered their heads to prompt them to murder every one, if God had not provided a remedy, as you will soon have related.

When those of the castlewicks of Cassel, Bergues, Bourbourg, Gravelines, Furnes, Dunkerque, Poperingue, Tourrout, Vaillant, and Malines, had heard that the men of Ypres had surrendered and put themselves under the obedience of the king of France, who had graciously pardoned them, they began to be much alarmed. After these towns had well considered the business, the inhabitants seized their governors, whom Philip von Artaveld had put over them, and having bound them strongly, so that they could not escape, led them to the king on mount Ypres, in order to please him and to appease his anger. On their arrival, they cast themselves on their knees and said, "Noble king, we put our lives, towns, and fortunes, under your obedience, and wish so to remain. In order to show that we regard you as our true lord, here are the governors whom Philip von Artaveld had set over us; for by force, and not otherwise, has he made us obey him: you may do your pleasure with them, for they have governed us according to their wills." The king was advised by his lords to grant his pardon to all these towns: on condition, however, that they should pay him, as part of his expenses in this war, sixty thousand francs. All the provisions were to be given up, and whatever cattle might be found in the fields; but they were assured that their towns should neither be burned nor pillaged. This was very satisfactory to them, and they greatly thanked the king and his council. They were much rejoiced on finding they had escaped so well; but the governors of Philip von Artaveld, who had been carried thither, were beheaded on the bridge of Ypres.

No mention whatever was made in these treaties and submissions of the earl of Flanders: nor was he, or any one of his court, ever summoned to the councils of the king. If he was displeased at this I am ignorant, but during the whole expedition he was treated in the same manner. None of his people were permitted to quit the army, or the battalion which was posted by orders of the master of these cross-bows, on the wings, although they were Flemings. It was also ordered by the king, under pain of death, that no one in the army should speak Flemish, nor carry any stick bound with iron.*

CHAPTER CXX.

THE KING OF FRANCE LODGES IN YPRES. PETER DU BOIS PREVENTS BRUGES FROM SURRENDERING TO THE KING. PHILIP VON ARTAVELD ASSEMBLES HIS FORCES TO COMBAT THE FRENCH.

While the king and his whole army were on mount Ypres, many markets were there held, and plenty of pillage was sold to those of Lille, Douay, and Tournay; indeed to all who wished to buy. A piece of cloth of Vexin, Malines, Poperingue or Commines, was sold for one franc. People were clothed there too cheaply. Some Bretons and other pillagers, determined on gain, went in large bodies, and loaded carts and horses with their booty of cloths, linen, knives, money in gold and silver, dishes and plates of silver wherever they found them, which they sent, well packed up, to a place of safety on the other side of the Lis, or by their servants into France.

The king and all the lords came to Ypres, where they quartered themselves as well as they could, and in as great numbers as the town would hold. They remained there to refresh themselves four or five days. The inhabitants of Bruges had received information of the conduct of the king, that he was at Ypres, and how the whole country, as far as Gravelines, had submitted to him. They were doubtful whether to negotiate with the king, or let it alone: however, for the present they did nothing. The principal cause which withheld them from surrendering, was the great number of men-at-arms which Philip von Artaveld had with him from their town: for there were at least seven thousand at the siege of Oudenarde; and their principal citizens were at Ghent as hostages, in order that Peter du Bois might more easily govern the place.

Besides, Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre were in the town, who comforted them, saying, "My good gentlemen, do not be alarmed if the king of France is come to Ypres: you know that formerly the whole power of France was sent by king Philip to Courtray,† and could not withstand the courage of our fathers, for his whole army was slain and defeated. Know then, that this army shall in like manner be destroyed; for Philip von Artaveld, with an immense force, will not leave things thus without combating the king. It may very well happen, that from the good cause we are engaged in, and the good fortune that follows Ghent, Philip may defeat the king, so that not one shall escape or recross the river, but the whole country which has submitted will instantly be reconquered. Thus will you remain like true and loyal men in your franchises, and in the grace of Philip and of us Ghent men." With such speeches as this, Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre daily harangued the men of Bruges, and restrained them from entering into any treaty with the king of France.

While these things were going on, the citizens of Ghent, with sir William Fermiton,‡ arrived at Calais, from England, to conclude and seal those treaties and agreements which the English wished to enter into with the Flemings. Sir John Devereux, governor of Calais, sent for them, and told them, "that they could not continue their journey at that time, for the king of France was at Ypres, and that all the country, from Calais to Ypres, had surrendered to him. We shall shortly have more news: for it is reported that Philip von Artaveld is assembling his forces to combat the king of France, and we shall see who will have the best of it. Should the Flemings be beaten, you have nothing to do in Flanders; and if the king of France be defeated, it is all our own. This," said the English knight, "you may depend upon as truth." The intelligence detained the citizens of Ghent and sir William Fermiton.

We will now return to Philip, and say what he was doing. Being eager to combat the king of France, as he plainly showed, he ordered, on his arrival at Ghent, every man capable of bearing arms, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the town, to follow him. All obeyed; for he gave them to understand, that by the grace of God,

* *Baston à verolle*, literally, "a stick with a ferule."—Ed.

† "Courtray." The battle 1302.

‡ "Fermiton." Froissart before calls him Fremeton. I should have supposed this person was sir William Farendon, or Frampton, if, in the Rolles François, the names of those sent by Richard had not been particularly named, as may be seen underneath.

Ann. Dom. 1382–1383. Membrana 4.

"De potestate data Johanni Devereux, Briano de Stapilton, Wilhelmo Ermyn, et Johanni de Burley, ad tractandum cum comiti Flandriæ et gentibus ibidem de debatis, et de attemptatis reformandis."—Data apud Westmunster, 16th May.

they would defeat the French, be lords of Ghent, and rank as sovereigns among other nations. Philip von Artaveld carried with him about ten thousand men as the arriere-ban: he had before sent to Bruges, Damme, Ardembourg, Sluys, to the sea-coasts, the Quatre Mestiers, and constablewicks of Grammont, Dendremonde, and Alost, and had raised from those places about thirty thousand more. He and his whole army were quartered one night before Oudenarde: on the morrow they marched away, and came before Courtray: he had with him about fifty thousand men. The king of France received intelligence, that Philip von Artaveld was approaching, and, as it was said, with full sixty thousand men. Upon this, the vanguard set off from Ypres, under the command of the constable and marshals of France, and encamped a league and a half from Ypres, between Rollers and Rosebecque: on the morrow, the king and all the lords, with the main battalion and rear-guard, quartered themselves there also. I must say that these lords, while they were in the field, suffered greatly; for it was in the heart of winter, the beginning of December, and it rained every day. They slept on the roads every night, for they were in daily and hourly expectation of a battle: it was commonly said in the army, "They will come to-morrow;" which they believed, from the news the foragers brought when they returned from their excursions.

The king was quartered in the midst of his army. The lords of France were much vexed at Philip for delaying, for they were very impatient of being out in such bad weather. It should be known, that with the king were all the flower of French knighthood: it was therefore highly presumptuous in Philip von Artaveld and the Flemings to think of fighting with them; for if they had been satisfied with continuing their siege of Oudenarde, and had slightly intrenched themselves, the French, considering the wetness of the season, would never have marched to seek them; and, if they had done so, they would have combated them under the greatest disadvantages. But Philip was so vain of the good fortune he had met with at Bruges, that he thought nothing could withstand him, and he hoped he should be lord of the world. No other thoughts had he, and was nothing afraid of the king of France nor his army; for, if he had entertained any fears, he would not have done that which he did, as you shall hear related.

CHAPTER CXXI.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD, HAVING ENTERTAINED HIS CAPTAINS AT SUPPER, GIVES THEM INSTRUCTIONS HOW THEY ARE TO ACT ON THE MORROW AT THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE. WONDERFUL APPEARANCES IN THE HEAVENS ARE SEEN DURING THIS NIGHT.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD, with his whole army, on the Wednesday evening preceding the battle, was encamped in a handsome position, tolerably strong, between a ditch and grove, and with so good a hedge in front that they could not easily be attacked. It was between the hill and town of Rosebecque where the king was quartered. That same evening, Philip gave a magnificent supper to his captains at his quarters; for he had wherewithal to do so, as his provisions followed him. When the supper was over, he addressed them in these words: "My fair gentlemen, you are my companions in this expedition, and I hope to-morrow we shall have something to do; for the king of France, who is impatient to meet and fight with us, is quartered at Rosebecque. I therefore beg of you to be loyal, and not alarmed at anything you shall see or hear; for we are combating in a just cause, to preserve the franchises of Flanders, and for our right. Admonish your men to behave well, and draw them up in such manner that, by this means and our courage, we may obtain the victory. To-morrow, through God's grace, we shall not find any lord to combat with us, or any who will dare take the field, unless he mean to remain there, and we shall gain greater honor than if we could have depended on the support of the English; for, if they had been with us, they alone would have gained all the reputation. The flower of the French nobility is with the king, for he has not left one behind: order, therefore, your men not to grant quarter to any one, but to kill all who fall in their way. By this means we shall remain in peace; for I will and command, under pain of death, that no prisoners be made, except it be the king of France. With regard to the king, I wish to support him, as he is but a child and ought to be forgiven; for he knows not what he does, and acts according as he is instructed: we will carry him to Ghent and teach him Flemish; but as for dukes, earls, and other men-at-arms, kill them all. The common people of France will never be angry with us for so doing; for they wish, as I am well assured, that not one should ever return to France, and it shall be so."

His companions who were present at this discourse, and who were from the different towns in Flanders and the country of Bruges, agreed to this proposal, which they thought a proper one, and with one voice replied to Philip, "You say well, and thus shall it be." They then took leave of Philip, and each man returned to his quarters, to order his men how they were to act conformably to the instructions they had just had. Thus passed the night in the army of Philip: but about midnight, as I have been informed, there happened a most wonderful event, and such that I have never heard anything equal to it related. When the Flemish captains had retired, and all gone to their quarters to repose, the night being far advanced, those upon guard fancied they heard a great noise toward the Mont d'Or. Some of them were sent to see what it could be, and if the French were making any preparations to attack them in the night. On their return, they reported, that they had been as far as the place whence the noise came, but that they had discovered nothing. This noise, however, was still heard, and it seemed to some of them that their enemies were on the mount about a league distant: this was also the opinion of a damsel from Ghent whom Philip von Artaveld had carried with him, on this expedition, as his sweetheart.

While Philip was sleeping under his tent on a coverlid near the coal-fire, this damsel went out of the tent about midnight, to examine the sky, and see what sort of weather it was and the time of night, for she was unable to sleep. She looked toward Rosebecque, and saw, in divers parts of the sky, smoke and sparks of fire flying about, caused by the fires the French were making under hedges and bushes. This woman listened attentively, and thought she heard a great noise between their army and that of the French, and also the cry of Montjoye and several other cries; and it seemed to her that they came from the Mont d'Or, between the camp and Rosebecque. She was exceedingly frightened, returned to the tent, awakened Philip, and said to him, "Sir, rise instantly, and arm yourself; for I have heard a great noise on the Mont d'Or, which I believe to be made by the French who are coming to attack you."

Philip at these words arose, and wrapping himself in a gown, took a battle-axe and went out of his tent to listen to this noise. In like manner as she had heard it, Philip did the same; and it seemed to him as if there were a great tournament. He directly returned to his tent, and ordered his trumpet to be sounded to awaken the army. As soon as the sound of the trumpet was heard, it was known to be his. Those of the guard in front of the camp armed themselves, and sent some of their companions to Philip to know what he wished to have done, as he was thus early arming himself. On their arrival, he wanted to send them to the part whence the noise had come, to find out what it could be; but they reported that that had already been done, and that there was no cause found for it. Philip was much astonished; and they were greatly blamed, that having heard a noise toward the enemy's quarters, they had remained quiet. "Ha," said they to Philip, "in truth we did hear a noise toward the Mont d'Or, and we sent to know what it could be; but those who had been ordered thither, reported that there was nothing to be found or seen. Not having seen any positive appearance of a movement of the enemy, we were unwilling to alarm the army lest we should be blamed for it." This speech of the guard somewhat appeased Philip; but in his own mind he marvelled much what it could be. Some said it was the devils of hell running and dancing about the place where the battle was to be, for the abundance of prey they expected.

Neither Philip von Artaveld nor the Flemings were quite at their ease after this alarm. They were suspicious of having been betrayed and surprised. They armed themselves leisurely with whatever they had, made large fires in their quarters, and breakfasted comfortably, for they had victuals in abundance. About an hour before day, Philip said, "I think it right that we march into the plain and draw up our men; because, should the French advance to attack us, we ought not to be unprepared, nor in disorder, but properly drawn up like men, knowing well what we are to do." All obeyed this order, and, quitting their quarters, marched to the heath beyond the grove. There was in front a wide ditch newly made, and in their rear quantities of brambles, junipers, and shrubs. They drew up at their leisure in this strong position, and formed one large battalion, thick and strong. By the reports from the constables, they were about fifty thousand, all chosen men, who valued not their lives. Among them were about sixty English archers, who, having stolen away from their companions at Calais, to gain greater pay from Philip, had left behind them their armor in their quarters.

Everything being arranged, each man took to his arms. The horses, baggage, women, and varlets, were dismissed: but Philip von Artaveld had his page mounted on a superb courser, worth five hundred florins, which he had ordered to attend him, to display his state, and to mount if a pursuit of the French should happen, in order that he might enforce the commands which he had given to kill all. It was with this intention that Philip had posted him by his side. Philip had likewise from the town of Ghent about nine thousand men, well armed, whom he placed near his person; for he had greater confidence in them than any of the others: they therefore, with Philip at their head with banners displayed, were in front; and those from Alost and Grammont were next; then the men from Courtray, Bruges, Damme, Sluys, and the Franconate. They were armed, for the greater part, with bludgeons, iron caps, jerkins, and with gloves *de fer de baleine*. Each man had a staff with an iron point, and bound round with iron. The different townsmen wore liveries and arms, to distinguish them from one another. Some had jackets of blue and yellow, others wore a welt of black on a red jacket, others chevroned with white on a blue coat, others green and blue, others lozenged with black and white, others quartered red and white, others all blue. Each carried the banners of their trades. They had also large knives hanging down from their

girdles. In this state they remained, quietly waiting for day, which soon came.

I will now relate to you the proceedings of the French as fully as I have done those of the Flemings.

CHAPTER CXXII.

KING CHARLES ENTERTAINS AT SUPPER HIS UNCLES AND SOME OTHERS OF HIS PRINCIPAL BARONS ON THE EVE OF THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE. THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON IS EXCUSED FROM ATTENDING THE KING'S PERSON DURING THE BATTLE.

The king of France, and the lords with him, knew well that the Flemings were advancing, and that a battle must be the consequence; for no proposals for peace were offered, and all seemed to have made up their minds for an engagement. It had been proclaimed on the Wednesday morning in the town of Ypres, that the men-at-arms should follow the king into the field, and post themselves according to the instructions they had received. Every one obeyed this order, and no man-at-arms, or even lusty varlet, remained in Ypres, except those appointed to guard the horses, which had been conducted to Ypres when their lords dismounted. However, the vanguard had many with them for the use of their light troops, and to reconnoitre the battalions of the enemy; for to them they were of more service than to the others.

The French on this Wednesday remained in the plain pretty near to Rosebecque, where the lords and captains were busy in arranging their plans. In the evening the king gave a supper to his three uncles, the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, and to some other foreign lords from Brabant, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Germany, Lorraine, and Savoy, who had come thither to serve him. He, as well as his uncles, thanked them much for the good services they had done and were willing to do for them. The earl of Flanders this evening commanded the guard of the king's battalion, and had under him six hundred lances, and twelve hundred other men.

After the supper which the king had given on the Wednesday to these lords, and when they had retired, the constable of France remained to converse with the king and his uncles. It had been arranged in the council with the king, that the constable, sir Oliver de Clisson, should resign his constableship for the morrow (as they fully expected a battle,) and that, for the day only, the lord de Coucy was to take his place, and sir Oliver remain near the king's person: so that when the constable was taking his leave, the king said to him, as he had been instructed, in a courteous and agreeable manner, "Constable, we will that you resign to us, for to-morrow only, your office; for we have appointed another, and you shall remain near our person." These words, which were new to the gallant constable, surprised him so much, that he replied, "Most dear lord, I well know that I can never be more highly honored than in guarding your person; but, dear lord, it will give great displeasure to my companions, and those of the vanguard, if they do not see me with them: and we may lose more than we can gain by it. I do not pretend that I am so valiant, that the business will be done by me alone; but I declare, dear lord, under the correction of your noble council, that for these last fifteen days, I have been solely occupied how I could add to your honor, to that of your army, and to my own office. I have instructed the army in the manner in which they were to be drawn up: and if to-morrow, under the guidance of God, we engage, and they do not see me; or, if I fail in giving them advice and support, I who have always been accustomed in such cases so to do, they will be thunderstruck; some may say I am a hypocrite, and have done this slily, in order to escape from the first blows. I therefore entreat of you, most dear lord, that you would not interfere in what has been arranged and ordered for the best, for I must say you will gain the more by it."

The king did not know what answer to make to this speech, any more than those present who had heard it. At last the king said, very properly, "Constable, I do not mean to say that it has been any way thought you have not, on every occasion, most fully acquitted yourself, and will still do so; but my late lord and father loved you more than any other person, and had the greatest confidence in you: it is from this love and confidence which he reposed in you that I should wish to have you on this occasion near to me, and in my company." "Very dear lord," replied the constable, "you will be so well attended by such valiant men, all having been settled with the greatest deliberation, that it cannot any way be amended, so that you and your council ought to be satisfied with it. I therefore beg of you, for the love of God, most dear lord, that you will permit me to execute my office: and to-morrow your success shall be such that your friends will be rejoiced, and your enemies enraged."

To this the king only answered, "Constable, I will it be so: in God's name, and in the name of St. Denis, act as becomes your office. I will not say one word more to you on the subject; for you see clearer in this business than I do, or those who first proposed it. Be to-morrow at mass." "Willingly, sir," replied the constable. He took leave of the king, who saluted him, and returned to his quarters, with his attendants and companions.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD AND HIS FLEMINGS QUIT THE STRONG POSITION THEY HAD TAKEN IN THE MORNING, TO ENCAMP ON MONT D'OR, NEAR TO YPRES. THE CONSTABLE AND ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, WITH THE BASTARD OF LANGRES, SET OUT TO RECONNOITRE THEIR SITUATION.

On the Thursday morning all the men-at-arms of the army, the vanguard, the rear-guard, and the king's battalion, armed themselves completely, except their helmets, as if they were about to engage: for the lords well knew the day could not pass without a battle, from the reports of the foragers on the Wednesday evening, who had seen the Flemings on their march demanding a battle. The king of France heard mass, as did the other lords, who all devoutly prayed to God, that the day might turn out to their honor. In the morning there was a thick mist, which continued so long that no one could see the distance of an acre: the lords were much vexed at this, but they could not remedy it.

After the king's mass, which had been attended by the constable and other great lords, it was ordered that those valiant knights sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and sir William de Poitiers, bastard of Langres, who had been long used to arms, should reconnoitre the position of the Flemings, and report to the king and his uncles the truth of it: during which time, the lord d'Albreth and sir Hugh de Châtillon were employed in forming the battalions. These three knights, leaving the king, set off on the flower of their steeds, and rode toward that part where they thought they should find the Flemings, and toward the spot where they had encamped the preceding night.

You must know that on the Thursday morning, when the thick mist came on, the Flemings having, as you have before heard, marched, before daybreak, to this strong position, had there remained until about eight o'clock, when, not seeing nor hearing anything of the French, their numbers excited in them pride and self-sufficiency: and their captains, as well as others, began thus to talk among themselves: "What are we about, thus standing still, and almost frozen with cold? Why do we not advance with courage, since such is our inclination, and seek our enemies to combat them? We remain here to no purpose, for the French will never come to look for us. Let us at least march to Mont d'Or, and take advantage of the mountain." Many such speeches were made, and they all consented to march to Mount d'Or, which was between them and the French. In order to avoid the ditch in their front, they turned the grove and entered the plain. While they were thus on their march round the grove, the three knights came so opportunely that they reconnoitered them at their ease, and rode by the side of their battalions, which were again formed within a bow-shot from them. When they had considered them on the left, they did the same on the right, and thus carefully and fully examined them. The Flemings saw them plainly, but paid not any attention to them; nor did any one quit his ranks. The three knights were well mounted, and so much used to this business that they cared not for them. Philip said to his captains, "Our enemies are near at hand: let us draw up here in battle-array for the combat. I have seen strong appearances of their intentions: for these three horsemen who pass and repass have reconnoitred us, and are still doing so."

Upon this, the Flemings halted on the Mont d'Or, and formed in one thick and strong battalion; when Philip said aloud, "Gentlemen, when the attack begins, remember our enemies were defeated and broken at the battle of Bruges by our keeping in a compact body. Be careful not to open your ranks, but let every man strengthen himself as much as possible and bear his staff right before him. You will intermix your arms, so that no one may break you, and march straight forward with a good step, without turning to the right or left; and act together, so that, when the conflict begins, you may throw your bombards and shoot with your cross-bows in such manner that our enemies may be thunderstruck with surprise."

When Philip had formed his men in battle-array, and told them how to act, he went to the wing of his army in which he had the greatest confidence. Near him was his page on the courser, to whom he said, "Go, wait for me at that bush out of bow-shot; and, when thou shalt see the discomfiture of the French and the pursuit begin, bring me my horse and shout my cry; they will make way for thee to come to me, for I wish to be the first in the pursuit." The page, on these words, left his master and did as he had ordered him. Philip placed near him, on the side of this wing, forty English archers whom he had in his pay. Now, if it be considered how well Philip had arranged this business, I am of opinion, and in this I am joined by several others, that he well knew the art of war: but in one instance, which I will relate, he acted wrong. It was in quitting the first strong position he had taken in the morning; for they would never have sought to fight him there, as it would have been too much to their disadvantage; but he wished to show that his people were men of courage, and had little fear of their enemies.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE, BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND FLEMINGS. PHILIP VON ARTAVELD IS SLAIN, AND HIS WHOLE ARMY DEFEATED.

The three knights returned to the king of France and to his battalions, which had already been formed and were marching slowly in order of battle: for there were many prudent and brave men, who had been long accustomed to arms, in the vanguard, in the king's battalion, and in the rear-guard, who knew well what they were to do, for they were the flower of chivalry in Christendom. Way was made for them; and the lord de Clisson spoke first, bowing to the king from his horse, and taking off the beaver he wore, saying, "Sire, rejoice: these people are our own, and our lusty varlets will fight well with them." "Constable," replied the king, "God assist you! now advance, in the name of God and St. Denis." The knights, before mentioned as the king's body-guard, now drew up in good order. The king created many new knights, as did different lords in their battalions, so that several new banners were displayed.

BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE.—Designed from various authorities in the Harleian MSS., 4374.

It was ordered, that when the engagement was about to commence, the battalion of the king, with the oriflamme of France, should march to the front of the army, that the van and rear-guards should form the two wings as speedily as possible, and by this means inclose and straiten the Flemings, who were drawn up in the closest order, and gain a great advantage over them. Notice of this intended movement was sent to the rear-guard, of which the count d'Eu, the count de Blois, the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count de Châtillon, and the lord de la Gere were commanders. The young lord de Haurel displayed his banner this day before the count de Blois, who also knighted sir Thomas d'Istre, and the bastard sir James de Hameth. According to the report of the heralds, there were this day created four hundred and sixty-seven knights.

The lord de Clisson, sir John de Vienne, and sir William de Langres, having made their report to the king, left him and went to their post in the vanguard. Shortly afterwards, the oriflamme was displayed by sir Peter de Villiers, who bore it. Some say (as they find it written) that it was never before displayed against Christians, and that it was a matter of great doubt during the march whether it should be displayed or not. However, the matter having been fully considered, they resolved to display it, because the Flemings followed opinions contrary to that of pope Clement, and called themselves Urbanists; for which the French said they were rebellious and out of the pale of the church. This was the principal cause why it had been brought and displayed in Flanders.

The oriflamme* was a most excellent banner, and had been sent from heaven with great mystery: it is a sort of ganfanon,* and is of much comfort in the day of battle to those who see it. Proof was made of its virtues at this time; for all the morning there was so thick a fog, that with difficulty could they see each other, but the moment the knight had displayed it, and raised his lance in the air, this fog instantly dispersed, and the sky was as clear as it had been during the whole year. The lords of France were much rejoiced when they saw this clear day, and the sun shine, so that they could look about them on all sides.

It was a fine sight to view these banners, helmets, and beautiful emblazoned arms: the army kept a dead silence, not uttering a sound, but eyed a large battalion of Flemings before them, who were marching in a compact body, with their staves advanced in the air, which looked like spears; and, so great were their numbers, they had the appearance of a wood. The lord d'Estonnenort told me, that he saw (as well as several others) when the oriflamme was displayed, and the fog had dispersed, a white dove fly many times round the king's battalion. When it had made several circles, and the engagement was about to begin, it perched on one of the king's banners: this was considered as a fortunate omen.

The Flemings advanced so near, that they commenced a cannonade with bars of iron, and quarrels headed with brass. Thus was the battle begun by Philip and his men against the king's battalion, which at the outset was very sharp; for the Flemings, inflamed with pride and courage, came on with vigor, and, pushing with shoulders and breasts like enraged wild boars, they were strongly interlaced, one with the other, that they could not be broken, nor their ranks forced. By this attack, of cannons and bombards, the lord d'Albaruin, banneret, Morlet de Haruin, and James Doré, on the side of the French, were first slain, and the king's battalion obliged to fall back. But the van and rear-guards pushed forward, and, by inclosing the Flemings, straightened them much. Upon the two wings these men-at-arms made their attack: and, with their well-tempered lances of Bordeaux, pierced through their coats of mail to the flesh. All who were assailed by them drew back to avoid the blows, for never would those that escaped return to the combat: by this means, the Flemings were so straitened that they could not use their staves to defend themselves. They lost both strength and breath, and, falling upon one another, were stifled to death without striking a blow.

Philip von Artaveld was surrounded, wounded by spears, and beaten down, with numbers of the Ghent men, who were his guards. When Philip's page saw the ill success of his countrymen, being well mounted on his courser, he set off, and left his master, for he could not give him any assistance, and returned toward Courtray, on his way to Ghent. When the Flemings found themselves inclosed on two sides, there was an end to the business, for they could not assist each other. The king's battalion, which had been somewhat disordered at the beginning, now recovered. The men-at-arms knocked down the Flemings with all their might. They had well sharpened battle-axes, with which they cut through helmets and disbrained heads: others gave such blows with leaden maces that nothing could withstand them. Sarcely were the Flemings overthrown before the pillagers advanced, who, mixing with the men-at-arms, made use of the long knives they carried, and finished slaying whoever fell into their hands, without more mercy than if they had been so many dogs. The clattering on the helmets, by the axes and leaden maces, was so loud, that nothing else could be heard for the noise. I was told, that if all the armorers of Paris and Bruxelles had been there working at their trade, they could not have made a greater noise than these combatants did on the helmets of their enemies; for they struck with all their force, and set to their work with the greatest good-will. Some, indeed, pressed too forward into

* The oriflamme was a sacred banner, carefully preserved, of a red color, and had the name of St. Denysius on it. This was never called out but on the most urgent occasions, when the king himself was present, and to be displayed solely against heretics

* Gonfanon was a square pennon fixed to the end of a lance, such as are now used in Italy: and the bearer was called Gonfanonier, or Gonfalonere.

the crowd, and were surrounded and slain: in particular, sir Louis de Gousalz, a knight from Berry, and sir Fleton de Roniel. There were several more, which was a great pity; but in such a battle as this, where such numbers are engaged, it is not possible for victory to be obtained without being dearly bought; for young knights and squires, eager to gain renown, willingly run into perils in hopes of honor.

The crowd was now so great, and so dangerous for those inclosed in it, that the men-at-arms, if not instantly assisted, could not raise themselves when once down. By this were several of the French killed and smothered; but they were not many, for, when in danger, they helped each other. There was a large and high mount of the Flemings who were slain; and never was there seen so little blood spilt at so great a battle, where such numbers were killed. When those in the rear saw the front fail, and that they were defeated, they were greatly astonished, and began to throw away their staves and armor, to disband and fly toward Courtray and other places, not having any care but to save themselves, if possible. The Bretons and French pursued them into ditches, alder groves, and heaths, where they fought with and slew them. Numbers were killed in the pursuit, between the field of battle and Courtray, whither they were flying in their way to Ghent.

This battle on Mont d'Or took place the 27th day of November, on the Thursday before Advent, in the year of grace 1382; and at that time the king of France was fourteen years of age.

CHAPTER CXXV.

THE NUMBER OF SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE AND PURSUIT AFTERWARDS. PHILIP VON ARTAVELD IS HANGED AFTER HE WAS DEAD. THE SIEGE OF OUDENARDE IS RAISED. PETER DU BOIS RETREATS TO GHENT. THE KING OF FRANCE FIXES HIS QUARTERS IN THE TOWN OF COURTRAY.

Thus were the Flemings defeated on Mont d'Or, their pride humbled, and Philip von Artaveld slain; and with him nine thousand men from Ghent and its dependencies (according to the report of the heralds) on the spot, not including those killed in the pursuit, which amounted to twenty-five thousand more. This battle, from the beginning to the defeat did not last more than half an hour. The event was very honorable to all Christendom, as well as to the nobility and gentry; for had those low-bred peasants succeeded, there would have been unheard of cruelties practiced, to the destruction of all gentlemen, by the common people, who had everywhere risen in rebellion. Now, let us think of the Parisians: what they will say, when they hear the news of the defeat of the Flemings at Rosebecque, and the death of Philip von Artaveld, their leader? They will not be much rejoiced more than several other large towns.

When this battle was completely finished, they allowed time for the pursuers to collect together, and sounded the trumpets of retreat, for each to retire to his quarters, as was proper. The vanguard halted beyond the king's battalion, where the Flemings were quartered on the Wednesday, and made themselves very comfortable; for there was a sufficiency of provision in the king's army, besides the purveyances which came from Ypres. They made, the ensuing night, brilliant fires in different places, of the staves of the Flemings: whoever wished for any could collect sufficient to load his back.

When the king of France arrived at his camp, where his magnificent pavilion of red silk had been pitched, and when he had been disarmed, his uncles, and many barons of France, came, as was right, to attend him. Philip von Artaveld then came into his mind, and he said: "If Philip is dead or alive, I should like to see him." They replied, "they would have a search made for him." It was proclaimed through the army, that whoever should discover the body of Philip von Artaveld, should receive one hundred francs. Upon this the varlets examined the dead, who were all stripped, or nearly so, and Philip through avarice was so strictly sought after, that he was found by a varlet, who had formerly served him some time, and who knew him perfectly. He was dragged before the king's pavilion. The king looked at him for some time, as did the other lords. He was turned over and over to see if he had died of wounds, but they found none that could have caused his death. He had been squeezed in the crowd, and falling into a ditch, numbers of Ghent men fell upon him, who died in his company. When they had sufficiently viewed him, he was taken from thence and hanged on a tree. Such was the end of Philip von Artaveld.

Sir Daniel de Haluin, who, with his knights and squires, had held out Oudenarde so highly to his honor, knowing well the king of France was in Flanders, and that there would be a battle with the Flemings, lighted, late at night on the Wednesday preceding the battle, four torches, which he hoisted above the walls, as a signal that the siege would be raised. About midnight, on the Thursday, news was brought to the lord of Harzelles and the others, that their army had been completely routed, and Philip von Artaveld slain. Upon this they instantly broke up the siege, and marched away for Ghent, leaving behind them the greater part of their stores, each running as fast as he could to Ghent. The garrison of Oudenarde was ignorant of this retreat, and remained so until the morrow morning. On being informed of it, they sallied out, and carried into Oudenarde great pillage of knives, carriages and stores, which they found had.

On Thursday evening, intelligence arrived at Bruges of the defeat of the army, and of everything being lost. They were more astonished than ever, and said among themselves, "Our destruction is now come upon us: if the Bretons should advance hither and enter our town, we shall be pillaged and murdered, for they will spare none." Upon this, the townspeople of both sexes, collected their jewels and most precious effects, and began to embark in vessels, to save themselves by sea, in Holland or Zealand, or wherever fortune should carry them. In this manner were they employed four days: and you would not have found in all the hôtels of Bruges one silver spoon. Everything was packed up for fear of the Bretons.

When Peter du Bois, who was confined to his bed from the wounds he had received at Commines, heard of the defeat of the army, and death of Philip von Artaveld, and how much the inhabitants of Bruges were alarmed, he did not think himself very safe, and therefore declared he would set out from Bruges and return to Ghent; for he thought that Ghent would be much frightened: he therefore ordered a litter for himself, as he could not ride. You must know, that when the news arrived at Ghent of the great loss of their men, the death of Philip von Artaveld, and the destruction of their army, they were so much cast down, that if the French on the day of the battle, or even on the Friday or Saturday, had advanced to Ghent before Peter du Bois arrived there, they would have opened the gates to them, without any opposition, and submitted to their mercy. But the French did not attend to this, thinking themselves perfectly masters since Philip was dead: and that the Ghent men would, of their own accord, surrender themselves to the king's mercy. This measure, however, they did not adopt. On the contrary, they alone carried on the war with greater vigor and bitterness than before, as you will hear related in the continuance of this history.

On the Friday the king dislodged from Rosebecque, on account of the stench of the dead: he was advised to advance to Courtray to refresh himself. The halze* and some knights and squires who well knew the country, mounting their horses, entered the town of Courtray full gallop; for there was not any opposition made. The women, both rich and poor, and many men also, ran into cellars and churches to save themselves, so that it was a pitiful sight. Those who first entered Courtray gained considerably by the pillage. The French and Bretons next came there, and lodged themselves as they entered. The king of France made his entry the first day of December.

A strict search was now made over the town for the Flemings who had hid themselves, and no man was admitted to mercy, for the French hated them as much as they were hated by the townspeople, on account of a battle which had formerly been fought before Courtray, when the count Robert d'Artois and all the flower of the French nobility were slain. The king had heard that there was in a chapel of the Virgin in Courtray five hundred gilt spurs, which had belonged to the knights of France who had perished at the battle of Courtray in the year 1302, and that the inhabitants every year kept a grand solemnity, by way of triumph, for the success of this battle. He declared he would make them pay for it: and, on his departure, would give up the town to fire and flame; so that they should remember, in times to come, that the king of France had been there.

Soon after the arrival of the king and his lords at Courtray, sir Daniel de Haluin, with fifty lances from the garrison of Oudenarde, came thither to pay their respects to the king. They were very graciously received by him and his lords; and, after staying there one day, they returned to their companions in Oudenarde.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

BRUGES SUBMITS TO THE KING'S MERCY. THE COUNT DE BLOIS GUARDS THE COUNTRY OF HAINAULT FROM BEING PILLAGED. THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT GAIN COURAGE FROM PETER DU BOIS.

The Bretons and the vanguard showed very plainly the great desire they had to march to Bruges and to divide the spoil among themselves, for they were quartered between Tourout and Bruges. The earl of Flanders, who had an affection for the town of Bruges, and who would have been sorry for its destruction, had strong suspicions of their designs. He had received intelligence of what was going forward in Bruges, and how very much they were frightened. He therefore took compassion on them, and spoke to his son, the duke of Burgundy, remonstrating with him, that if the town of Bruges should throw itself on the king's mercy, it ought not to be refused; for, if the Bretons or others were permitted to enter it, it would be irrevocably ruined. The duke agreed to this. Now it happened that, during the king's residence at Courtray, the inhabitants of Bruges, who were in great alarms and knew not whether to quit their town or wait the event, determined to send two friars to the king, to solicit a passport for twelve of the principal inhabitants to wait on his majesty and lay their cases before him.

The monks came to Courtray and spoke with the king and his

*This name has puzzled me very much. I cannot find it in any dictionary. It is called, both in MSS. and print, Hese, Haze, Hazele, and Hèze.—(*Haze* was a title conferred on the Bastard of Flanders and Brabant, but it is difficult to account for its origin; the meaning of the word, according to Cotgrave's Dictionary, is "an obscene cone or hare," and in subsequent parts of the work the same person is called "Le Lievre de Brabant," the *hare* of Brabant. Some accidental circumstance probably gave occasion for this somewhat strange appellation.—Ed.)

council, and the earl of Flanders, who softened the business as much as he could. The king granted the passport for the twelve citizens to come and return, and said he would willingly hear them. On the return of the monks to Bruges, twelve deputies set out, under the passport they had brought, and came to the king at Courtray, where they found him accompanied by his uncles. They cast themselves on their knees, and entreated him to accept them for his subjects; that they were his men, and the town was at his mercy; but begged him, for the love of God, to have mercy on them and not suffer the town to be destroyed or pillaged; for, if it were, too many persons would be ruined. With regard to having opposed their lord, they had been forced to it by Philip von Artaveld and the Ghent men; for they had always loyally acquitted themselves to the earl. The king heard this speech through the interpretation of the earl of Flanders, who was present, and who on his knees entreated for them.

It was explained to the citizens of Bruges, that it would be necessary to satisfy the Bretons and men-at-arms who were encamped between Touront and Bruges, and that there was no other means of doing so but with money. Upon this, negotiations were entered upon as to the sum: at first, two hundred thousand francs were demanded; but it was reduced at last to six score thousand francs, sixty thousand of which they were to pay down, and the remainder at Candlemas; for which the king assured them peace; but they surrendered themselves simply as liege men to the king of France by faith and homage. By this means was the good town of Bruges prevented from being pillaged. The Bretons were much vexed at it, for they thought to have had their share; and some of them said, when they heard peace had been made, that this war in Flanders was not worth anything; that they had gained too little pillage, and that it did not end well for them; adding, "But when we return home, it shall be through the country of Hainault; and duke Albert, who governs it, has not assisted his cousin the earl of Flanders, but has acted in a double manner. It will be right that we pay him a visit: for Hainault is a rich and plentiful country: besides, we shall not find any one to obstruct our passage, and we may there make amends for our losses and ill-paid wages."

There was a time when those of this opinion amounted to twelve hundred spears, Bretons, Burgundians, Savoyards and others. You may suppose the charming country of Hainault was in jeopardy. The gallant count de Blois, who was one of the greatest lords of the rear-guard, and of the king's council, heard of this intended march, and that the Bretons, Burgundians and others, who only looked for pillage, menaced the fair country of Hainault; he took immediate steps to prevent it, saying, it was not to be suffered that so fine a country should be overrun and pillaged. He summoned to his lodgings his cousins, the count de la Marche, the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, the lord d'Anghien and several more, all holding lands in Hainault, and who had come thither to serve the king, and remonstrated with them, that they ought not by any means to suffer the good country of Hainault, whence they had sprung, and where they had estates, to be pillaged in any way whatever; for, with regard to the war, Hainault had not been in the least wanting, but had most loyally assisted the king in this expedition with its barons, and, before the king came into Flanders, it had aided the earl of Flanders with its knights and squires, who had shut themselves in Oudenarde and Dendremonde, at the risk of their lives and fortunes.

The count de Blois exerted himself so much, and gained so many partisans, that all those measures were broken, and Hainault remained in peace. This gallant lord performed another noble service. There was in Flanders a knight called the lord d'Esquemine, who from affection to a relation of his, called Daniel Buse, killed in Valenciennes by his own fault, had declared he would make war on and harass that town. He had done so, and threatened to insult it still more, being seconded by many friends inclined to evil; for it was reported that he had collected full five hundred spears, who would follow him into Hainault to attack the town of Valenciennes, in which they said he was justified. But when the count de Blois heard of it, he went to him nobly accompanied, and ordered the knight not to dare enter Hainault, nor to conduct any men-at-arms into the countries of his cousin duke Albert, otherwise he should pay dearly for it. This gallant count went further, and made the knight his particular friend, and obsequious to himself and the lord de Coucy; and thus was that town kept in peace. Such services did the count de Blois to Hainault and Valenciennes, for which he gained great love and affection, but particularly from Valenciennes.

The lords and the men-at-arms still remained in and about Courtray, for they knew not whether the king would march to Ghent or not. The French imagined, that when Bruges had surrendered itself to the king's mercy, Ghent would do the same, since it had lost its leader, and such numbers of men at the battle of Rosebecque. In truth, for three days, the inhabitants were well inclined so to do, and knew not how to act: to quit the town and leave everything, or to send the keys to the king, and surrender themselves to his mercy. They were so completely cast down that there was neither union nor steadiness among them. The lord de Harzelles, though in the town, was incapable of giving them comfort.

When Peter du Bois arrived, he found the gates open without any guards, which much surprised him; and he asked, why they did not better guard the town. Those who came to him, and who were much rejoiced at his arrival, replied: "Ah, sir, what can we do? You know we have had our good captain slain; and, by an exact account, the town of Ghent has lost, without counting strangers, full nine thousand men. This loss touches us so nearly that we have no hopes left." "Ye foolish people," answered Peter du Bois, "are ye thus thunderstruck when the war is not near over, nor the town of Ghent so famous as she shall be? If Philip is dead, it has been by his own violence. Close your gates, and think of preparing to defend yourselves. Ye do not suppose that the king of France will come here this winter-time; and before the proper season shall arrive, we shall have gained reinforcements from our friends in Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, Brabant and other places. We can have men enough for our money. Francis Atremen, who is now in England, will soon return, and he and I will be your captains. The war has never been so serious, or so well conducted, as we will have it. We are much better alone than joined by all Flanders; for while we had the country with us, we knew not how to make war. Let us now attend to the business ourselves, and we shall perform greater exploits than have hitherto been done."

By such speeches as this did Peter du Bois rally the cast-down inhabitants of Ghent, who would, without doubt, have surrendered themselves unconditionally to the king of France, if Peter du Bois had not been there. So much depends upon the courage and ability of a single man. When the Ghent men saw five or six days pass over without any attempt being made on their town, nor any appearance of a siege, they recovered their courage, and became more presumptuous than before.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

THE TREATY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FLEMINGS IS BROKEN. THE KING OF FRANCE DEPARTS FROM FLANDERS.

You have before heard how sir William Fremiton, having been sent by the king of England and his council with letters to the principal towns in Flanders on the subject of the intended treaties between them, had remained at Calais, and with him Francis Atremen and the six citizens of Ghent. When the Flemings heard of the defeat at Rosebecque, they were so much astonished, that the English knight saw he had no occasion to proceed further, for there was an end of the treaty. He therefore took his letters without having sealed them, and returned to England as speedily as he could, to relate the particulars of this event.

The nobles of England were not sorry on hearing it; for they said, that if the commonalty of Flanders had been victorious over the king of France, and his nobility had been slain, the pride of the common people would have been so great that all gentlemen would have had cause to lament it, for appearances of insurrections had been shown in England. The Flemings, who had been sent to London with Francis Atremen, were much cast down, and, hastily embarking at Calais, sailed to Middlebourg in Zealand. The deputies returned to their different towns, and Francis Atremen and his companions got to Ghent as well as they were able, through Zealand, but not until the king of France had left Flanders.

During the residence of the king of France in Courtray, many councils were held, to determine whether they should lay siege to Ghent or not. The king was well inclined for so doing, as were the Bretons and Burgundians. But the lords of the council, as it was now the heart of winter, considered, that no effectual war could be carried on, and that the knights were much weakened and harassed by the cold; that, as the rivers round Ghent were wide and deep, it would be time thrown away to attempt the siege: besides, the chiefs were also worn down by the rains, the cold, and lying on the ground, so that, everything considered, the king was advised to return to Tournay, where he might recruit himself and keep his Christmas. Those from the more distant parts, such as Auvergne, Dauphiny, Savoy and Burgundy, were to march quietly into their own countries. But the king and his council wished the Bretons, Normans and French to remain with him and the constable; for, as he could depend on them, he intended employing them against the Parisians, who had been so busy in forging armor, to make them behave better than they had hitherto done, since the coronation of the king.

When the king of France departed from Courtray, he was not forgetful, any more than his lords, of the gilt spurs which had been hung up in a church at Courtray, and which had belonged to the French nobility who had fallen with Robert d'Artois at the battle of Courtray. The king therefore ordered the town to be burnt and destroyed. The earl of Flanders, on hearing of this, went to the king, in hopes of remedying it, and flung himself on his knees, begging of him to recal his orders; but the king answered, he would do no such thing. The earl dared not renew his request, but went away to his lodgings before they were set on fire. The duke of Burgundy had taken down a curious clock which struck the hours, the handsomest that was to be seen on either side of the sea, which he had caused to be packed up, and placed on carts with its bell, and carried to Dijon, where it was placed, and there strikes the hours day and night.

After the king had quitted the town, it was harshly treated; for it was burnt and destroyed without mercy: and many knights, squires, men-at-arms, fine children, both boys and girls, were carried

away as slaves, to be ransomed. The king rode on to Tournay, where he was shown every respect due to him, and fixed his quarters at the abbey of Saint Martin. The inhabitants were all dressed in white with three green bars on one side: and proper houses were alloted to the lords. The king was at Saint Martin's: and his attendants occupied one quarter of the town. The duke de Berry was lodged in the palace of the bishop; the duke de Bourbon at the Crown; the duke of Burgundy at the Golden Head; the constable at St. James's Head.

Proclamation was made for none to do any damage to the good people of Tournay, under pain of death, nor take anything without paying for it, nor to enter the country of Hainault with intent of doing mischief. All these orders were observed. The lords refreshed themselves there with their men: but those from the distant parts returned to their homes through Lille, Douay and Valenciennes. The count de Blois took leave of the king and his uncles, and of his companion the count d'Eu, and retired to his inheritance in Hainault. He stopped one day and night at Valenciennes, where he was magnificently entertained; for he had gained the affection of the inhabitants, as well in gratitude for the services he had rendered by preventing the Bretons, Burgundians and Savoyards, from putting their intentions into execution of overrunning the country, as in regard to sir Thierry d'Esquemine, who had long kept them in alarm, and who, by having put himself under the obedience of the count and the lord de Coucy, had given them peace. The count de Blois left Valenciennes and went to Landrecies, where he passed some time, with the lady Mary his wife and his son Louis, in recovering himself from his fatigues. The following summer he went to Blois; but the countess and her son continued in Hainault, and lived the greater part of the time at Beaumont.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

VAIN ATTEMPTS MADE FOR PEACE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND GHENT. THE KING, ON HIS RETURN TO PARIS, ORDERS THE CHAINS TO BE TAKEN AWAY THAT BARRICADED THE STREETS. HE SEVERELY PUNISHES THE PARISIANS.

The count de la Marche and sir James de Bourbon, his brother, left Tournay to refresh themselves at their castle of Hainault. The lord Guy de Laval, a Breton, went to Cheure in Hainault, which is divided between sir Robert de Namur and himself. The lord de Coucy stopped at Mortagne on the Scheld, where he rested himself and his men: but the greater part of the time he was with the king at Tournay. The count de St. Pol was commissioned to correct the Urbanists of the town, which was reported to contain many. Several were discovered, and wherever found, even in the church of Nôtre Dame, they were arrested, cast into prison, and paid dearly for their liberty. By this means the count de St. Pol amassed in a very few days seven thousand francs: for none obtained their liberty without paying, or giving very good security.

During the king's residence at Tournay, the men of Ghent had a passport granted them to come thither and return. There were hopes that they would have been pardoned; but, during the conferences which were holden, they were as proud and hardened as if they had been the conquerors at the battle of Rosebecque. They declared, indeed, that they would willingly put themselves under the obedience of the king, and would form part of the domain of France, under the jurisdiction of Paris; but that they would never acknowledge for their lord earl Louis, because they could never love him for the great mischiefs he had done them. Several attempts were made to obtain a peace between the king and his council with these deputies; but, notwithstanding the interference of some wise prelates, they could not get from them any other answer. They declared to the prelates, that if they were to live in such peril as would turn the town upside down for three or four years, they would never alter their minds. They were told they might return when they pleased: upon which, they departed from Tournay to Ghent, and things remained in a state of war.

The king of France and his lords took great pains that all Flanders should become Clementists, and obey pope Clement: but the principal towns were as strongly inclined to Urban as the earl, that they could not be moved. They replied, through the earl's council, that they would consider of it, and give a determined answer before Easter: the business, therefore, was held over till then. The king of France kept his Christmas at Tournay: and, when he departed, he appointed the noble lord de Guistelles governor of Bruges, the lord de St. Py governor of Ypres, the lord de Guistelles chief regent* of Flanders, and sir John de Jumont governor of Courtray, whither the king sent two hundred Bretons and other men-at-arms, and to garrison Ardembourg. Sir William de Laumeghien was nominated to Oudenarde, with about one hundred lances for his garrison. Thus were all the strong places in Flanders provided with men-at-arms and stores, to enable them to carry on the war during the winter upon the enemy's garrisons.

These things being arranged, the king set out from Tournay for Arras, attended by his uncles and the earl of Flanders. During the residence of the king at Arras, the city ran a great risk of being pillaged by the Bretons, to whom large sums were due for their pay, and who had fought hard in this campaign: they were much discontented with the king, and it was with some difficulty they were restrained. The constable and marshals of France appeased them, by promising that their whole pay should be completely paid them at Paris; and, with the lord Louis de Sancerre and the lord de Blainville, pledged themselves for their performance.

Upon this the king departed, following the road to Peronne. The earl of Flanders took his leave of the king, and returned to Lille, where he resided. The king continued his route through Peronne, Noyon, Compiegne, to Senlis, where he stopped. The army took up their quarters in the villages between Senlis and Meaux in Brie, and upon the river Marne and round St. Denis, so that the whole country was filled with men-at-arms. The king having left Senlis for Paris, ordered his officers to make ready the Louvre, where he intended to dismount. His three uncles did the same, sending their servants to prepare their hôtels, as did other lords. This they were advised to, by way of precaution; for the king and his lords had been counselled not to enter Paris suddenly, as the Parisians were not to be depended on, but to observe what countenance they would show, and what preparations they had made against the king's return. The king's officers, and the servants of the other lords, were ordered, if any questions were asked about the king, and if he were coming, to reply, "Yes, truly: he will be here instantly."

The Parisians, on learning this, resolved to arm themselves, and show the king, on his entrance into Paris, the force that was in the city armed from head to foot, ready for him, if he pleased, to dispose of. It would have been better for them to have remained quiet in their houses, for this display cost them dearly. They said they had done it with good intentions, but it was taken in an opposite sense. The king lodged at Louvres,* and from thence went to Bourget;† it was immediately reported in Paris, that the king would be instantly there: upon which, upward of twenty thousand Parisians armed themselves and took the field, and drew up in a handsome battalion between St. Ladre and Paris, on the side of Montmartre. Their cross-bowmen had large shields and mallets, and all were prepared as for instant combat. The king was still at Bourget, with his lords, when this news was brought them, and an account of the state of Paris. "See," said the lords, "the pride and presumption of this mob! what are they now making this display for? if they had thus come to serve the king when he set out for Flanders, they would have done well; but their heads were only stuffed with prayers to God, that none of us might return." To these words some, who would have been glad to have gone further, and attacked the Parisians, added, "if the king be well advised, he will not put himself into the hands of such people, who meet him fully armed when they ought to come in all humility, with a procession, ringing the bells of Paris, and returning thanks to God for the grand victory he has been pleased to give us in Flanders."

The lords were somewhat puzzled how to act: at last, it was determined that the constable of France, the lord d'Albreth, the lord de Coucy, Sir Guy de la Trimouille and Sir John de Vienne, should go to speak with them, and demand the reason why they had come out of Paris in such a body, armed from head to foot, to meet their king; for that such a proceeding had never before been known in France. These lords were prepared to answer, whatever might be their reply to this question; for they were fully capable to manage a business, had it been of ten times the importance. They set out from the king unarmed, and, to give a pretext to their mission, they took with them three or four heralds, whom they ordered to ride forward, saying, "Go to those people and demand from them a passport for our coming to them and our return, as we are ordered to parley with them, and tell them the king's commands." The heralds, sticking spurs into their horses, soon came up to the Parisians. When the Parisians saw them coming, they never thought they were ordered to speak with them, but that they were going to Paris, like men who wished to get there beforehand.

The heralds, who had their emblazoned tabards on, asked, with a loud voice, "Where are the chiefs? where are the chiefs? Who among you are captains? because it is to them our lords have sent us." These words made some of the Parisians perceive they had acted wrong, and, bowing their heads, replied, "There are no chiefs here: we are but one, and under the command of our lord the king. Speak, in the name of God, what you have to say." "My lords," answered the heralds, "our lords (naming them) have sent us hither; for they cannot perceive what are your intentions; and to require that they may peaceably and without peril come hither and speak with you, and return to the king with such an answer as you shall give them; for otherwise they are afraid to come." "By my troth," replied those to whom this speech was addressed, "there was no need to say this to us, unless it came from their noble minds; but we think you are laughing at us." "We have told you nothing but the truth," said the heralds. "Well then," replied the Parisians, "go and tell them they may come here in perfect safety; for they shall have no harm from us, who are ready to obey their commands."

The heralds returned to their lords and related what you have just read. The four barons then advanced, attended by the heralds, to

* "Regard."

* "Louvres"—a town in the Isle of France, five leagues from Senlis, six from Paris.
† "Bourget"—a small town in the Isle of France, about a league from Paris.

the Parisians, whom they found drawn up in very handsome battle-array. They were upward of twenty thousand. As these lords rode by them, examining and praising, in their own minds, their handsome appearance, the Parisians bowed as they passed. When they were arrived in the centre, they stopped; and the constable addressing them, said with a loud voice, "You people of Paris, what can have induced you thus to quit your town in such array? It would seem that, thus drawn up, you were desirous of combating the king, your lord, you who are his subjects." "My lord," replied those who heard him, "under your favor we have no such intentions, nor ever had. We have come out in this manner, since you please to know it, to display to our lord the king, the force of the Parisians, for he is very young and has never seen it; and, if he should not be made acquainted with it, he can never know what service he may draw from us should there be occasion." "Well, gentlemen," answered the constable, "you speak fairly: but we tell you from the king, that at this time he does not wish to see it, and what you have done has been sufficient for him. Return, therefore, instantly to Paris, each man to his own house, and lay aside your arms, if you wish the king should come thither." "My lord," replied the Parisians, "we will cheerfully obey your orders."

The Parisians upon this marched back to Paris, and each went to his house to disarm himself. The four barons returned to the king, and reported to him and his council the words you have heard It was then ordered that the king and his uncles, with the principal lords, should enter Paris with some men-at-arms, but that the main body should remain near the city, to keep the Parisians in awe. The lord de Coucy and the marshal de Sancerre were ordered to take the gates off the hinges from the principal gates of St. Denis and St. Marcel immediately on the king's entrance into Paris, so that the gates might be open day and night for the men-at-arms to enter the more easily, and master the Parisians should there be any necessity for it. They also commanded the chains which were thrown across the streets to be taken away, that the cavalry might pass through the streets without danger or opposition. These orders were punctually obeyed.

The king made his entrance into Paris and lodged at the Louvre, and his uncles with him: the other lords went to their own hotels, at least those who possessed any. The gates were taken off their hinges, and the beams which had been laid under the tower of the gates, with the chains from the streets, were carried to the palace. The Parisians, seeing this, were in great alarm, and so fearful of being punished that none dared to venture out of doors, nor to open a window; they remained in this situation for three days; in great fright lest they should receive more harm than they had done. It cost them several large sums; for those whom they wished to mark, were sent for one at a time, to the council chamber, where they were fined; some six thousand, others three, others one; so that they exacted from the city of Paris, to the profit of the king, his uncles and ministers, the sum of four hundred thousand francs. They never asked any but the principal persons as to their means of payment, who thought themselves happy to escape with only a fine. They were ordered to carry their armor in bags, each man his own, to the castle of Beauté, which is now called the castle of Vincennes, where they were thrown into the great tower, with the mallets.

In this manner were the Parisians punished, as an example to the other towns of the kingdom of France. In addition, they were taxed with subsidies, aides, gabelles, fouages, with the twelfth and thirteenth penny, and many other vexations. The flat country was also completely ransacked.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIZENS OF PARIS ARE BEHEADED, WITH JOHN DES MARETS, AND MANY OTHERS IN THE DIFFERENT TOWNS AND CITIES IN FRANCE.

The king and his council arrested and threw into prison whatever persons they pleased. Many were drowned; but, in order to calm the fears of the others, proclamation was made in the king's name in all the streets and squares of Paris, that no one, under pain of death, should hurt the inhabitants, nor pillage their houses. This proclamation greatly appeased the Parisians. There were, however, carried to execution several of the inhabitants who had been condemned to death for having stirred up the people: but it was with great astonishment John des Marêts* was seen among the number; he was considered as a wise and upright man; and some say he was condemned unjustly, for he was always known to have acted with the utmost prudence, and was above all one of the greatest and wisest members of the courts of law. He had served king Philip, king John and king Charles, with so much credit, that no fault was found in him: nevertheless, he was condemned to be beheaded, with twelve others in his company. As they were conducting him to his execution, seated in a cart high above the others, he called out, "Where are those who have condemned me? Let them come forth, and justify, if they can, the cause and reason why and wherefore they have judged me guilty of death." He then harangued the people, and those who were to suffer with him, which made all pity him, but they dared not speak out.

He was carried to the market-place in front of the town-house, where all who accompanied him were beheaded before his eyes: in the number was Nicholas Flamand, a draper, for whose life forty thousand francs had been offered in vain. When the executioner came to behead John des Marêts, he said to him, "Master John, beg for mercy of the king, that he may pardon you your crimes." Upon which he turned, and said, "I have served his great-grandfather king Philip, king John, and king Charles his father, faithfully and loyally: and never did these three kings find fault with me, nor would this king have done so, if he had arrived at the wisdom and age of manhood. I firmly believe that, in my condemnation, he is not any ways culpable. I have not, therefore, any cause to beg his mercy; but from God alone shall I beg it, and that he would forgive all my sins." Upon this he took leave of all the people, who, for the greater part, were in tears; and thus died Master John des Marêts.

In like manner were several executed in the city of Rouen, and many fined, in order to intimidate the people. At Rheims, Châlons, Troyes, Sens and Orléans, similar scenes passed. The towns were heavily fined because they had been disobedient at the commencement of this reign. Immense sums were thus raised throughout the kingdom, and all went to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, for the king was under their management. However, to say the truth, the constable and marshals had great part of it to pay the men-at-arms who had served in the expedition to Flanders. The lords and great barons of France, such as the count de Blois, the count de la Marche, the count d'Eu, the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count dauphin of Auvergne, the lord de Coucy and others, had granted to them assignments on the royal domain, to raise as much as the king owed them for their services in Flanders, and to pay their men. I know not how these lords were paid their assignments, for very shortly new taxes were imposed on these lands by orders from the king. Most commonly the king's tax was insisted on being paid first, and the lords were obliged to wait for their arrears.

* "John des Marêts"—was an upright man, a distinguished magistrate, and avocat-général. He suffered from the hatred of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, which was most inveterate toward him.

CHAPTER CXXX.

THE GHENT MEN RENEW THE WAR. THE EARL OF FLANDERS BECOMES AN OBJECT OF HATRED TO THE ENGLISH.

You know that when the king of France departed from Courtray, the town of Ghent was still in a state of war. The governors of it at this time were Peter du Bois, Peter de Nuitre and Francis Atremen, who reinforced their army with soldiers who came from different countries, and were not in the least dismayed with their situation, but as fresh and vigorous as ever. These captains heard that there was a garrison of Bretons and Burgundians in the town of Ardembourg, and therefore determined to pay them a visit. Accordingly, Francis Atremen marched from Ghent with three thousand men, and arrived at Ardembourg, where there was a severe skirmish. In fact, the Ghent men won the town; but it cost them a number of men, as there were full two hundred of their soldiers killed. The town was stormed, pillaged, and the greater part of it burnt. They then marched back to Ghent with their booty, where they were received with great joy. Shortly after this they advanced to Dendremonde, Alost, and as far as Oudenarde, plundering the whole country.

The earl of Flanders, who resided at Lille, heard how the Ghent men were ravaging the country, and marching to different parts to plunder it. He was much enraged thereat, not supposing they would have had either the courage or power so to do, since they had lost Philip von Artaveld. Those present answered, "My lord, you have always heard how very artful the men of Ghent are: they have shown it to you, and will now do so the more since their embassadors are returned from England, especially Francis Atremen, who was the intimate friend of Philip: and as long as he lives, you will never be free from war. We also know for a truth that he has concluded a treaty between Ghent and the king of England; for he is secretly, in spite of appearance, attached to England, and receives daily from thence one franc as wages. John Saplemon, who lives at Bruges, and has resided there under you for twenty-four years, pays him monthly. To corroborate the truth of his connections with England, Rasse de Voirie, Louis de Voz and John Sercolat, who are from Ghent, and the clerk who solicits the bishopric, have remained behind in England to complete the treaties. In the month of May, you will hear more of all this than we now have told you." The earl of Flanders pondered on what he had heard, and believed the fact was so. He turned his attention to John Saplemon and the English at Bruges, and ordered his serjeants to summon them to appear on a certain day before him. The serjeants ordered John Saplemon and several other rich Englishmen, who were quite unprepared for such a proceeding, to appear that day fortnight before the earl, at the castle of Lille.

The English were much astonished at the summons, and consulted together. They could not imagine for what cause the earl had thus summoned them. Having weighed every circumstance, they began to have their suspicions, for they knew the earl was very hasty in his anger. They said among themselves, "He who is not careful of his

own person, is careful of nothing. I suspect the earl has had some intelligence concerning us; for with Francis Atremen, who has a pension from our king, there are two citizens of this town in England, who, having turned to his party, may perhaps have given information against us, and placed us in his ill graces." This idea struck them all, and made them afraid to wait the day of summons, and to appear at Lille. They set out from Bruges for Sluys, where, by great exertions, they purchased a vessel that was ready to sail, and having embarked, weighed anchor, and arrived at the quays of London. When the earl of Flanders heard of this, and saw that the English did not come according to his summons, he was much vexed. He found, from appearances, that what he had been told was the truth. He instantly sent his serjeants to Bruges, and caused to be seized whatever could be found belonging to those English who had fled, selling the articles collected; and John Saplemon of London and his companions were banished Flanders for one hundred years and a day. Those who had been arrested were thrown into the dungeon of the prison, which cost some of them their lives, while others recovered all they had lost.

There is a common and true saying, that envy never dies. This comes to my remembrance, because the English are too envious of another's good fortune, and have always been so. You must know, that the king of England, his uncles, and the nobility, were much vexed at the good success and great honor which the king of France and his nobles had gained at the battle of Rosebecque. When the English knights conversed together on the subject, they said: "Ha, by holy Mary! how proud will the French be now, for the heap of peasants they have slain. I wish to God, Philip von Artaveld had had two thousand of our lances and six thousand archers: not one Frenchman would have escaped death or imprisonment. By God, they shall not long keep this honor, for we have now a fine opportunity of entering Flanders. That country has been conquered by the king of France, and we will conquer it for the king of England. The earl of Flanders shows at this moment how completely he is subject to France, and how much he wishes, in every respect, to please her, by banishing from Bruges and Flanders our English merchants, who have resided there upward of thirty years. The time has been when he would not have done so for any consideration, but at present he dares not act otherwise for fear of the French."

This, and such like speeches, were common in England; and it was publicly said, that things should not remain as they were: now, one may fairly suppose, that envy was the original cause of it.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

POPE URBAN SENDS BULLS INTO ENGLAND FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CLEMENTISTS. THE BISHOP OF NORWICH APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AGAINST THEM.

About this period, he who signed himself pope Urban the sixth, came from Rome to Genoa by sea, where he was grandly received, and he fixed his seat there. You have heard how all England was obedient to him, both church and commonalty, and now more than ever. Because the king of France and that country were Clementists, Urban (whom the English and several other countries obeyed,) during his residence at Genoa, sought how he could obtain succors from England to annoy the king of France; and I will tell you by what means. He was to send his bulls to the archbishops and bishops of the country, to proclaim that he absolved, and would absolve, from all crime and fault, every one who would assist in the destruction of the Clementists. He had heard that his adversary Clement had resorted to this means in France, and was daily doing so; and that the French called the Urbanists, as to matters of faith, dogs, which those retorted back on the Clementists, whom Urban was very desirous of condemning to the utmost of his power, and he knew that he had no other means of hurting them but through the English. It was necessary, however, that he should have a considerable sum of ready money, if he wished to put his plans into execution; for it was well known that the nobles of England would not, for all the absolutions in the world, undertake any expedition, unless such were preceded by offers of money. Men-at-arms cannot live on pardons, nor do they pay much attention to them except at the point of death. He therefore determined, that with the bulls he sent to England for the prelates to preach upon, he would order a full tenth to be raised by the church, and to be paid by them to the nobility, without affecting the king's treasury, nor oppressing the common people. This, he imagined, would be agreeable to the knights and barons of England.

He instantly hastened the writing and engrossing his bulls, as well to the king as to his uncles and the prelates of England, with his pardons and absolutions from all crimes; he granted, besides, to the king and his uncles, a full tenth to be by them raised and levied throughout the kingdom, on which he enlarged very much. And because all these sums were to come from the church, he would have a churchman command the expedition. The lord Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich, was appointed, that the commonalty and churches of England might have greater faith in it. In addition to this, because he knew that the king of Spain was contrary to his interest, and much allied with the king of France, he declared, that with the money that should be thus raised in England, the duke of Lancaster, who, in right of his wife, called himself king of Castille, should set out for that country to raise a similar army there; and, if the duke of Lancaster would undertake this expedition with a powerful force of men-at-arms, he would grant to the king of Portugal (who had just commenced a war against don John king of Castille) a full tenth on the whole kingdom of Portugal.

In this manner was Urban active in his own concerns. He sent upward of thirty bulls to England, where they were received with much joy. The prelates preached up in their dioceses this expedition in the manner of a croisade; and the people of England, who were credulous enough, believed it too readily, so that none of either sex thought they should end the year happily, nor have any chance of entering paradise, if they did not give handsomely to the expedition as pure alms. At London, and in that diocese, there was collected a large Gascony tun full of money, and he who gave the most, according to the pope's bull, gained the greatest number of pardons. All who should die at this time, and who had given their money, were absolved from every fault; and, by the tenor of the bull, happy were they who would now die, in order to obtain so noble an absolution. They collected during the winter and ensuing Lent, throughout England, as well by alms as by the tenth from the church, for everything was received, and they so cheerfully taxed themselves, that the sum of twenty-five hundred thousand francs was amassed.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, COMMANDER OF THE ENGLISH IN THE CROISADE OF URBAN AGAINST THE CLEMENTISTS, DISEMBARKS AT CALAIS WITH HIS ARMY OF URBANISTS.

When the king of England, his uncles, and council, were informed of the amount of the above sum, they were greatly rejoiced, and said they had money sufficient to carry on a war against the two kingdoms of France and Spain. Thomas, bishop of London, and brother to the earl of Devonshire, was nominated to accompany the duke of Lancaster to Spain, in the name of the pope and prelates of England. They were to have two thousand lances and four thousand archers, and one half of the money which had been raised; but they were not to leave England so soon as the army under the command of the bishop of Norwich, because this last was to march to Calais and enter France. They were uncertain how far in that country they could advance, and whether the king of France would meet them in force to give them battle.

There was another circumstance adverse to the duke of Lancaster, who had great expectations from his intended expedition: the common people of England inclined in general to follow the bishop of Norwich in preference to him: for a considerable time he had not been popular with them: besides, France was much nearer than Spain. Some said privately, that the duke of Lancaster, more through avarice and a desire to partake of the large sums which had been collected from the church and from the alms of good men than through devotion, had planned this expedition; but that the bishop of Norwich represented the pope, and had been appointed by him to the command, for which reason the greater part of the people, as well as the king, had greater faith in him.

There were in the pay of the church, and under the command of this bishop of Norwich, several good knights of England and Gascony, such as the lord de Beaumont, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmon, sir John Ferrers, sir Hugh Spenser, nephew of the bishop, being his brother's son, sir William Fermiton, sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, the Lord de Châteauneuf, and his brother sir John de Châteauneuf, Raymond Masson, William de Pau, Gariot Vighier, John de Cachitan, with many others: in the whole, about five hundred lances and fifteen hundred other men; but there were multitudes of priests, because it was an affair of the church, and had been set on foot by the pope. The men-at-arms were punctual in laying in their stores, and the king gave them a passage from Dover and Sandwich. Their purveyances were at those places about Easter; and all who were desirous of going on this expedition, which was a sort of a croisade, marched thither in small bodies. Before the bishop and the captains embarked, but particularly sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Trivet, and sir William Helmon, they were summoned to attend the king's council, where they solemnly swore, in the presence of the king, to fulfil the object of the expedition, and that they would never make war on, or harass any country or men who acknowledged pope Urban, but only those who were under the obedience of Clement.

After they had taken this oath, the king, by advice of his council, addressed them, saying, "Bishop, and you, Thomas and William, when you shall have arrived at Calais, you will remain there for a month or thereabouts, in which time I will send you a good marshal and valiant man, sir William Beauchamp: for I have dispatched messengers to him on the borders of Scotland, where he at present is holding conferences on our part with the Scots, for the truce between us and Scotland will expire on St. John's day. On his return, you shall have him without fail in your company: therefore wait for him, for he will be of great use to you by his good sense and advice." The bishop of Norwich and the above-named knights assented to this proposal, and quitted the king: they went to Dover, where they

embarked, and arrived at Calais the 23rd of April, 1383. Sir John Delvernes was at that time governor of Calais, who received the bishop and his companions with much pleasure. They disembarked a few at a time, with their horses and armor; and those who had the opportunity of doing so, lodged themselves in the town; the rest abided in huts which they erected in the neighborhood, and continued thus until the 4th day of May, expecting their marshal, sir William Beauchamp, who, however, did not arrive.

The Bishop of Norwich at the head of his Troops.—Designed from Contemporary Authorities.

The bishop of Norwich, young and eager, and wishing to bear arms, having never done so but in Lombardy with his brother, finding himself at Calais, and at the head of so fine a body of men-at-arms, said to his companions, "For what purpose, my good sirs, are we thus waiting here so long? Sir William Beauchamp will never arrive, and the king and his uncles have totally forgotten us. Let us perform some deeds of arms, since we have been ordered so to do, and loyally employ the money of the church, since we are living upon it, and make conquest on our enemies." "It is well spoken," replied those who heard him. "Give notice to our men, that in three days we shall make an excursion, and let us determine to what part we shall march. We cannot issue out of the gates of Calais without entering an enemy's country; for France surrounds us on all sides, as well toward Flanders as toward Boulogne and St. Omer: Flanders is now a conquered country, by the power of the king of France. Considering all things, we cannot do a more honorable thing than to reconquer it; for the earl of Flanders has done great injustice to our countrymen, whom, without any apparent reason, he has banished from Bruges and Flanders. Two years ago, he would not willingly have done so; but at this moment he must obey the orders and good pleasure of the king of France." "On which account," said the bishop of Norwich, "if If I may be believed, the first expedition we undertake should be to Flanders." "You shall be believed heartily,' replied sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmon: "give orders for this, and let us march thither in three days, for it will be on enemy's ground." This was adopted by all the council, and they gave notice of it to the rest of the army.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, COMMANDER OF THE URBANISTS, ENTERS FLANDERS CONTRARY TO THE OPINION OF SIR HUGH CALVERLEY. THE EARL OF FLANDERS SENDS EMBASSADORS TO THE BISHOP, WHO RETURNS A HARSH ANSWER.

Sir Hugh Galverley was not present at this council, having gone to see a cousin called sir John Droicton,* who was governor of Guines, and had remained there all that day, intending to return on the following, which he did. The bishop sent for him to the castle, where he was lodged, as were the others, because sir Hugh had been longer accustomed to arms, and had seen more than they had done. The knights had told the bishop, that they wished to have sir Hugh's opinion before they undertook anything. The bishop related to sir Hugh, in their presence, the conversation which had passed, and demanded his advice on it. Sir Hugh thus replied to the bishop: "Sir, you know on what terms we have left England: our expedition has nothing to do with what concerns the wars of kings, but is solely pointed against the Clementists. We are the soldiers of pope Urban, who has given us absolution from all faults if we destroy the Clementists. Should we march into Flanders, notwithstanding that country may now appertain to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, we shall forfeit our engagement; for, I understand, that the earl of Flanders and all the Flemings are as good Urbanists as ourselves; besides, we have not a sufficient army to enter Flanders, for they are prepared and accustomed to war, having had nothing else to do for these last four years. They are a numerous people, and it will be difficult to march through so strong a country. But if you are determined on an expedition, let us march into France, there we shall find our enemies. The king, our lord, is now at open war with them, and the French are all Clementists, holding a contrary faith to us and to our pope. We ought to wait for our marshal, sir William Beauchamp, who cannot fail to arrive soon with large reinforcements; and the last word the king said to us was, that he would send him. I therefore advise, since you are resolved on an expedition, that we march toward Aire or Montreuil: none will venture, as yet, to oppose us, and we shall add to our numbers by the Flemings, who, having lost their all, will come and join us in the hopes of gain. They have still rankling in their minds the misfortunes the French brought on them by the slaughter of their fathers, sons, and friends, in their wars."

Scarcely had sir Hugh done speaking, when the bishop, in a rage, hot and impetuous as he was, replied, "Yes, yes, sir Hugh: you have learnt so long to fight in France, that you know not how to fight elsewhere. Now, can we anywhere make an excursion with more advantage to ourselves than toward the sea, by Bourbourg, Dunkirk, Nieuport, and thence to the dependencies of Cassel, Bergues, Ypres, and Poperingue? In the country I have named, according to the informations I have received from citizens of Ghent who are with us, they have never been harassed by the war; we will therefore go thither to refresh ourselves, and wait for the arrival of sir William Beauchamp, if he intend coming, but as yet we have not had any intelligence of him."

Sir Hugh Calverley, seeing himself thus rebuffed by the bishop, who was of high birth and his commander, notwithstanding he was a valiant knight, made no reply, and the rather, because he had not any support from sir Thomas Trivet, nor from sir William Helmon: he therefore left the place, saying, "By God, sir, if you make an excursion, sir Hugh Calverley will accompany you, and you shall take neither road nor march but he will be of the party." "I willingly believe," said the bishop, "that you have a great desire for an excursion: therefore make yourself ready, for we shall march in the morning." In this resolution they agreed, and then separated. Orders were sent to all the quarters in and round Calais, that every one might be prepared for the expedition in the morning. When morning came, the trumpet sounded, and all marched off, taking the road toward Gravelines. They were, according to a muster made, three thousand armed heads. They continued their march until they came to the port of Gravelines; but it was at the time of ebb; they therefore passed by the port, and attacked and pillaged a monastery which the townsmen had fortified. The town could not hold out long, for it was only inclosed by palisadoes, and the inhabitants were seamen. If there had been any gentlemen in the town it would have held out longer than it did. Neither had the country any notice of this war, nor did they any way suspect the English of thus attacking them. The English therefore conquered the town of Gravelines by storm, and, having ended it, advanced toward the monastery, whither these good people had retreated, carrying with them their wives, children, and fortunes, which they placed therein, depending on the strength of the walls. They had made deep ditches all round this strong place, so that the English could not immediately win it, but remained two days in the town before they

* "Droicton." Q. Drayton.

took it. In the end, they conquered, and slew those who defended it, doing with the remainder according to their pleasure. Thus were they lords and masters of Gravelines, where the whole army was quartered, and found plenty of provisions. The country began to take alarm on hearing the English were in possession of Gravelines; and those of the low countries sheltered themselves in the fortresses, sending their wives and children to Bergues, Bourbourg, and St. Omer.

The earl of Flanders heard at Lille, where he resided, that the English had made war on his country, and had taken Gravelines. He began to have suspicions of them, as well as of Bruges and its dependencies. Summoning his council, he said to them, "I am very much astonished that the English should overrun my country, and take my towns without giving me any notice of it; and that, without sending me any defiance, they should have entered my territories." "Indeed, my lord," some of them replied, "you have cause to wonder; but one may suppose they consider Flanders as belonging to France, since the king had advanced so far into it, that the country surrendered to him." "Well, what had we best do?" asked the earl. "It will be right," replied his council, "that sir John de Villain and sir John du Moulin, who are here, and have pensions from the king of England, should go in your name to England to speak with the king, and report to him a detail of this affair, and demand, in your name, for what purpose he thus makes war on you. I believe, that when he shall have heard your embassadors, he will be angered at those who have thus harassed your country, and recal them thence with much blame." "This is very well," said the earl, "but during the time our knights are going to England, those at Gravelines (and who will stop them?) may do great damage to the inhabitants of the Franconate." The earl was thus answered: "It is necessary some parley should be held with them, as well to obtain passports for Calais and England as to know what it is they want; and sir John Villain and sir John du Moulin are such discreet persons, that they will manage to restore peace to the country." "I consent to this," replied the earl.

The two knights received their instructions from the earl and his council, in regard to the parley with the bishop of Norwich, as well as respecting their mission, and what they were to say to the king of England and his uncles. While these knights were preparing to set out for Gravelines to the bishop of Norwich, all the country rose in the environs of Bourbourg, Bergues, Cassel, Poperingue, Furnes, Nieuport, and other towns, and advancing to Dunkirk, entered that town, declaring that they would in a short time march out to guard the frontiers and fight the English. These Flemings had for leader a knight called sir John Sporequin, who was governor or regent of the territories of madame de Bar, which are situated on this frontier and extend to the gates of Ypres. Sir John Sporequin was ignorant of the earl's intentions of sending to England: the haze de Flanders had come to him with thirty lances, and said that the earl was at Lille; but that he knew nothing more; and that he was about to marry his sister there with the lord Delbauurin. These two knights took great pains to stir up the country, and to collect all men of courage: they amounted at last to twelve thousand men, armed with pikes, staves, coats of mail, jackets,* iron caps and helmets, and all of them were, for the greater part, as I was informed, vassals of madame de Bar, residing between Gravelines and Dunkirk.

Three leagues off, and near the road, is Mardyke, a large village quite open on the sea-shore, whither the English advanced; and at times there were skirmishes. Sir John Villain and sir John du Moulin arrived at Gravelines with a passport, for which they had waited at Bourbourg, where one of their heralds brought it. On their arrival at Gravelines, and soon after they had dismounted, they waited on the bishop of Norwich, who outwardly gave them a handsome reception and good entertainment. He had that day at dinner all the barons of his army; for he well knew that the knights of the earl of Flanders were coming, and therefore wished they might meet with them altogether. The knights opened their business, and said to the bishop, "Sir, we are sent hither by my lord of Flanders." "What lord?" said the bishop. "The earl of Flanders, sir: Flanders has no other lord." "By my God," replied the bishop, "we consider it as belonging to the king of France or to the duke of Burgundy, our enemies, for by force of arms have they just conquered it." "Under respect to your grace," answered the knights, "the territory was loyally remitted at Tournay into the hands and government of my lord the earl of Flanders, who has sent us hither to entreat of you to grant us, who are attached by faith and pension to the king of England your lord, passports to go to England, to the king, to know his reasons for making war on my lord the earl of Flanders and his country, without sending him any defiance." The bishop replied he would consider of it, and they should have his answer to-morrow morning. They could not obtain more at this moment, and retired to their houses, leaving the English in council, who resolved as I shall tell you.

Having fully weighed every circumstance, and the enterprise they had undertaken, they resolved not to grant passports to the two knights to go to England, for the journey was long, and while they were going and returning, the whole country would be secured and greatly strengthened; for the earl, who was a subtle character, might inform the king of France and duke of Burgundy of his situation, by whose means so large a force might in a few days come upon them, that they would be unable to resist it. Having formed this resolution as to the answer they would give in the morning to the knights from Flanders, sir Hugh Calverley was called upon for his opinion, who said to the bishop, "Sir, you are our commander: you will tell them that we are on the territories of the duchess of Bar, who is a Clementist; that you make war for Urban and no one else; and that if the people of this country, with the churches and monasteries, will be good Urbanists, and march with you through the country, your men shall peaceably pass, paying for whatever they may want: but in respect to granting them passports to go to England, you will do no such thing; for our war does not regard either the king of France or the king of England, but solely pope Urban, whose soldiers we are. It seems to me that such an answer ought to satisfy them." All present assented to it, and particularly the bishop, who had no other care, whatever might be said or done, but to fight and carry on the war. Thus was this business arranged for the night. On the morrow after mass, the two knights, desirous of having their answer, went to the lodgings of the bishop, and waited until he came out to hear mass, when they placed themselves before him. Outwardly he seemed glad to see them, and conversed with them on different topics to delay the time, until his knights should come. On their arrival the bishop said, "My fair gentlemen, you are come for an answer, and you shall have one. With regard to the request you made to us from the earl of Flanders, I inform you, you may return when you please to the earl; but as to Calais or England, you will go at your perils, for I will not give you any passport. I am not king of England, nor commissioned to do so. I am the soldier of pope Urban, and all those who are with me are so likewise, having taken his money to serve him. We are at this moment on the territories of the duchess of Bar, who is a Clementist. If the people of this country hold that opinion, we make war on them. If they will follow us, they shall have their share of the absolutions; for Urban, who is our pope, and for whom we march, absolves from all crimes those who shall aid in the destruction of the Clementists."

When the two knights heard this speech, sir John Villain said, "Sir, with respect to what concerns the pope, I believe you have never heard but that my lord of Flanders is a good Urbanist; you have therefore been badly advised if you make war on him or on his country: and I do not believe that the king of England has given you such extensive orders; for if such had been his intentions, he is so noble and considerate, he would first have sent him a defiance." This answer enraged the bishop, who said, "Go and tell your earl he shall not have any other answer. And if he wishes to send you or any others to England, to learn more particularly the king's intentions, let him look to it; for those he sends must take another road than this, and they shall not cross at Calais." When the knights found they could not have any other answer, they took their leave and departed. They returned to their lodgings to dinner; and then, mounting their horses, went that day to St. Omer.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH MARCHES TOWARD DUNKIRK. HE DEFEATS TWELVE THOUSAND FLEMINGS AND TAKES THE TOWN.

THE same day that the knights of Flanders had departed, news was brought to the bishop and the English, that there were at Dunkirk and in its neighborhood, upward of twelve thousand men armed, and that the bastard of Flanders commanded them, but that there were other knights and squires who also advised them. That they had skirmished with their men at Mardyke, and had repulsed and killed one hundred. The bishop said, "Now observe the conduct of the earl of Flanders: he affects to do nothing, and yet he is at the bottom of all: he wants to negotiate sword in hand. I am resolved to march to-morrow toward Dunkirk, and see what sort of men these are." This proposal met universal approbation, and notice was sent of it through Gravelines. This day two knights joined the army, one from Calais, the other from Guines, with about thirty lances and sixty archers. These knights were called sir Nicholas Cliton* and sir John Dracton,† governor of Guines.

On the ensuing morning, every one was ready for the march. They took the field, amounting in number to more than six hundred lances and fifteen hundred archers. They advanced toward Mardyke and Dunkirk; and the bishop of Norwich had the arms of the church borne before him, the banner of St. Peter, gules with two keys en sautoir, as being gonfalonnier of pope Urban. His pennon had his own arms, which were argent quartered with azure, with a fret or, on a field azure, and a baton gules on a field argent; and, because he was a younger brother of the Dispensers, his arms were charged with a bordure gules. Sir Hugh Dispenser, his nephew, was there with his pennon, and the lord de Beaumont, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmon and sir Hugh Calverley, had both banner and pennon. Sir William Drayton, sir John Drayton, his brother,

* "*Hocquetons*," a quilted garment generally worn beneath steel armor, but occasionally used as the sole armor of light troops.—ED.

* "Cliton." Q. if not Clinton.

† "Dracton." Q. if not Drayton.

sir Matthew Redman, sir John Ferrers, sir William Frenenton,* and sir John de Neufchastel, Gascon, had only pennons. These men-at-arms came to Mardyke, where they refreshed themselves, and, having drank a cup, continued their march toward Dunkirk. The Flemings, who were in the town, heard that the English were marching in order of battle to combat them. Upon this, they resolved to take the field, and draw up in battle-array to defend themselves if there should be any occasion, for it would not be for their advantage to shut themselves up in the town. They instantly executed this resolution, and all who were in Dunkirk armed and marched into the fields, where they drew up in good array on a hill, and mustered upward of twelve thousand men.

The English were now advanced near to Dunkirk, when, on looking toward the rising grounds on the right, in the direction of Bourbourg, and near the sea-shore, they saw the Flemings formed in a large and well-arranged battalion. On this they halted, for they thought, from the manner in which the Flemings had drawn themselves up, that they had an intention of fighting. The principal captains assembled to consider how they should now act, and many words passed, for some, and especially the bishop, wished to march instantly to the combat; but others, such as the lord de Beaumont and sir Hugh Calverley, were of a contrary opinion, and assigned as their reason, that the Flemings had never done them any wrong; and that, in truth, they had never sent any declaration of war to the earl of Flanders, though they had entered his country. "We do not make war in a gallant manner, but like a mob, that whoever can, may pillage. The whole country where we are is Urbanist, and follows the same opinion as ourselves: now, consider what just cause have we for attacking them." The bishop answered, "How do we know whether they are Urbanists or not?" "In God's name," said sir Hugh Calverley, "let us send a herald to them to know why they are thus drawn up in battle-array, and what they want; and let them be asked which pope they obey. If they answer pope Urban, you will require of them, by virtue of the bull we have with us, that they accompany us to St. Omer, Aire, Arras, or whithersoever we may wish to lead them. When they shall have had these questions put to them, we shall know their intentions, and may then call a council." This proposal was adopted, and a herald called, whose name was Montfort, and attached to the duke of Brittany. He was ordered by these lords to ride to the Flemings, and told what he was to say, and how to act when among them. He obeyed their commands, and, clothed in his proper coat of arms, without suspecting any accident, made for the Flemings, who were drawn up in handsome order of battle. He wished to address himself to some knights; but he could not, for as soon as the Flemings saw him, without ever asking what was his business, or making any inquiries, they surrounded him and slew him, like ignorant people, nor could those gentlemen who were there save him. The English, on seeing this action, for they kept their eyes on them, were mad: as were also the citizens of Ghent who accompanied them, and were eager to urge them on; hoping that, by these means, new troubles would fall on Flanders.

The English said, "This mob has murdered our herald: they shall pay dearly for it, or we will all die on the spot." The archers were ordered to advance on the Flemings. A citizen of Bruges or Ghent was made a knight, and shortly the battle began briskly; for, to say the truth, the Flemings defended themselves very well, but the archers wounded or beat down many, when the men-at-arms broke through them, and with their pointed spears killed multitudes on their first charge. In short, the English won the day, and the Flemings were defeated. They thought to keep together in a body and enter Dunkirk; but the English followed them closely and kept up the engagement so warmly that they entered the town with them. Numbers were slain in the streets or on the shore, though they there gained some advantage, for the English lost four hundred at least. As the English pursued, the Flemings retired: many detached parties fought, in which several knights and squires from Flanders were slain; scarcely any escaped death or captivity. Thus did this affair end: there were full nine thousand Flemings killed at this battle of Dunkirk.

The day the battle had taken place, sir John Villain and sir John du Moulin had returned to the earl of Flanders at Lille, and had repeated to the earl all they had seen and heard from the English. The earl was very melancholy on the subject, not knowing how to act: he was still more so, and with greater reason, when he heard the news of the slaughter and defeat of his men at Dunkirk. He bore it with tolerable patience, and comforted himself as well as he could, by saying, "Well, if we have lost at this time, at another, please God, we shall win." He instantly dispatched a messenger to the duke of Burgundy, who was with the king of France, with private letters, to give him information of this event, and for him to consider of it; for he concluded that since the English had thus entered Flanders and killed his subjects, they would not rest there, but would advance further into the country and do more mischief. The duke of Burgundy, on receiving this intelligence, sent knights and squires to garrison St. Omer, Aire, St. Venant, Bailleul, Bergues, Cassel, and all the strong places on the frontiers of Flanders, and to guard the entrance of Artois.

We will return to the English, and say how they prospered.

* "Frenenton." Q. Farringdon, or Frampton.

CHAPTER CXXXV.

THE ENGLISH, UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, HAVING CONQUERED ALL THE COAST FROM GRAVELINES TO SLUYS, LAY SIEGE TO YPRES.

After the defeat near Dunkirk and the conquest of that town, the English were swollen with pride, and thought all Flanders was their own. To say the truth, had they marched directly to Bruges, many who were well acquainted with the state of that town, say it would have surrendered to them: but they acted otherwise; for they had determined to march to Bourbourg, to take that town, and then to advance to Aire and Cassel, conquering the whole country so as to leave no enemy in their rear, and then to lay siege to Ypres. They imagined the town of Ypres would surrender on seeing that the country was conquered. They left Dunkirk, after having done their pleasure with it, and marched for Bourbourg: the inhabitants of which place, being much alarmed, no sooner saw them coming than they instantly surrendered, on having their lives and fortunes spared. The English entered the place with great joy; for they said they would there establish a handsome garrison, to make war on St. Omer and the adjacent frontiers.

After this, they gained the castle of Dixmude: but it was three days before they took it by storm, and the garrison of two hundred men were slain. The English repaired it, and declared they would keep it to the utmost of their power, garrisoning it again with fresh men-at-arms. They continued their march to Cassel, which they took, where they made a great booty, and peopled it again with their own men. They still continued their march, saying that they would have a look at Aire; but many, well acquainted with its situation, knew it was not easy to be taken, and would cost too much: however, the bishop of Norwich said, he would have a near view of it.

At this time, the governor of Aire was a gallant knight from Picardy, called sir Robert de Bethune, viscount de Meaux: there were also with him sir John de Roye, the lord de Clary, sir John de Bethune his brother, the lord de Montigny, sir Perducas de Pont Saint, sir John de Chaugny and sir Florens his son, with several more; so that there were about six score lances of good men-at-arms, knights and squires. When the bishop of Norwich, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Henry de Beaumont, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmon, sir Matthew Redman and the rest were advanced to a place near Aire, called the New Ditch, they formed themselves in battle-array, and thus marched on in close order with banners and pennons fluttering in the wind; for they knew not what intentions the viscount and his companions might have.

The viscount with his knights and squires were handsomely drawn up on the causeway before the barriers of Aire, and plainly saw the English march beside them, on the road to St. Venant; but as they were not in numbers sufficient to bar that passage, they remained quiet at their post to defend themselves if attacked. The English marched by, and took up their quarters two leagues from St. Venant; the governor of that place was a knight of Picardy called sir William de Melle, who had fortified the church of the town to serve as a place of retreat should it be necessary: he found it so, for the town was only inclosed by small palisadoes and ditches. The attack did not last long before the English entered it, when the French retreated, some to the castle, others to the church. Those in the castle were not attacked; for it was marvellously strong, and could not be approached for the deep and wide ditches which surrounded it: but the church was instantly assaulted by the English on their entrance into the town, for they had heard that the men-at-arms had retreated thither. Sir William de Melle was a good and gallant knight, and would have defended the church of St. Venant valiantly; but the English archers had surrounded it, and shot so rapidly and with such good aim that scarcely any dared show themselves in its defence. Those who were on the battlements were provided with stones, pieces of wood and artillery, which they used with such success as to wound many; but the attack was continued with so great earnestness by the English, that the church was taken by storm and sir William in it, who had fought valiantly. The others did the same; and had they entertained any hopes of being supported, they would have held out longer, which was the cause that they were thus easily taken. Sir William de Melle was made a prisoner: he agreed for his ransom, and returned to France with the consent of his captor, to whom he had given his word according to the manner in which all French and English gentlemen behave to one another in similar cases; but not so the Germans, who, whenever they take a prisoner throw him into durance vile, loaded with irons, in order to gain a more considerable ransom.

The bishop of Norwich and his army, on their departure from St. Venant, quartered themselves in the forest of Niepe, which was not far distant, and near to Bailleul. They entered the castlewick of Poperingue, and took all the inclosed towns, wherein they found much money and great booty, which they sent to Bergues or Bourbourg. When they had thus laid the whole country under their subjection, so that none came to oppose them, and when they were masters of the coast from Gravelines to Sluys, having possessed themselves of Dunkirk, Nieuport, Furnes and Blanquenbergue, they

advanced to lay siege to Ypres. There the bishop, sir Hugh Calverley and the English halted, and then sent messengers to Ghent. I have good reason to suppose that Francis Atremen went to them, and was at all their battles and conquests, and had served as conductor of the English from town to town, and from village to village.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

THE MEN OF GHENT ASSIST THE ENGLISH IN THEIR SIEGE OF YPRES. THE LORD DE ST. LEGER GOING TO REINFORCE THE GARRISON OF COURTRAY, BY ORDERS OF THE KING OF FRANCE, IS DEFEATED BY A PARTY OF ENGLISH NEAR COMMINES.

When Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre, and the captains in Ghent heard that the English demanded their assistance, and were lying before Ypres, they were much pleased, and prepared themselves to march thither as speedily as possible. They set out from Ghent on the Saturday morning after the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul, to the amount of near twenty thousand, with a very considerable train of carts, and in good array. They marched by Courtray, and came before Ypres. The English were rejoiced at their coming, and made great cheer for them, saying they would take Ypres, and then conquer Bruges, Damme and Sluys, making no doubt that, before September, they would have conquered all Flanders. Thus did they boast of their good fortune.

The governor of Ypres at that time was the lord de Saint Pi, a very prudent and valiant knight, who had thrown himself into the place, where everything was done according to his plans and orders. The men-at-arms who had accompanied this knight thither by order of the duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders, were sir John Bougraigne, castellan of Ypres, sir Baldwin de Delbedene his son, the lord Disseghien, the lord de Stades, sir John Blanchart, sir John de Merfelede, sir Hamel, sir Nicholas Belle, lord de Harlequebecque, the lord de Rolleghen, sir John Ahoutre, John de Saint Pi, nephew to the governor, François Belle, sir George Belle, and many more. They had great difficulty to withstand the English, who attacked them openly and covertly. They were likewise under alarm lest there should be some understanding between the townsmen and those from Ghent; and lest the place should, by treason, fall into their hands.

A gallant knight of Hainault, called sir John de Jumont, was at this time in Courtray as its governor, having accepted it at the earnest entreaties of the duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders. At that time no knight of Flanders dared to undertake it, so dangerous did the defence of it appear; for when the king of France had marched away it was dismantled and burnt, on which account very few resided there, and it was so much destroyed, that they could scarcely find a place to put their horses in. Sir John de Jumont undertook the grand enterprise of defending it. He speedily repaired it, and behaved so gallantly, through God's mercy and grace, that there was not any damage done it; on the contrary, much honor accrued to him.

The duke of Burgundy, who carefully attended to the affairs of Flanders, as they so nearly concerned him, sent from France sixty Breton lances to Courtray, to reinforce and encourage sir John de Jumont. These men-at-arms marched to Lille, under command of the duke; from thence they set out on a Friday morning to Commines, where they arrived, under the command of the lord de St. Leger and Yvonnet de Cantemat. By the break of day, full two hundred lances had come to the town of Commines, to collect forage from the flat countries, and carry it to the army before Ypres. These Bretons had not any expectation of their coming, and fell into their hands. There was a sharp engagement at the foot of the bridge of Commines, where the Bretons defended themselves marvelously well, and if they had been supported by as many again as themselves, they would have escaped without loss. As it was, they were constrained to fly, for they were too few to oppose such numbers. The greater part were slain or taken as they were escaping toward Lille. The lord de St. Leger was desperately wounded, and left for dead on the field. Fortunate were those who escaped from this engagement: and the pursuit of the English after the Bretons, lasted to within half a league of the town of Lille. The lord de St. Leger, although mortally wounded, was carried to that town with great difficulty, where he died five days afterwards. Five of his squires died also, and thus ended this adventure.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

THE BISHOP OF LIEGE, NOT BEING ABLE TO BRING ABOUT A PEACE BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF NORWICH AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS, RETURNS HOME.

The siege of Ypres continued with great activity on the part of the English and Flemings, who made many assaults, which much frightened those in the town. The earl of Flanders was not very well assured but that Ypres must fall; for the English are very subtle, and they could receive great reinforcements from England, by way of Calais, without his knowledge, or opposition, having garrisons in all the towns on the road. They might, if they had chosen, have had reinforcements from England; but they did not think much was to be dreaded at the commencement, either from the earl or the power of France, for several great English barons were prepared and ready to cross the sea at Calais, to assist their countrymen from the environs of Dover, Sandwich, and Lewes, had they been so required; they amounted to a thousand lances, and two thousand archers in the parts above mentioned. Sir William Beauchamp and sir William Windsor, marshals of England, were appointed by the king and council to command these men-at-arms, by which the duke of Lancaster lost this opportunity of making his expedition to Portugal. All England, as I have before said, were more inclined to serve in the army of the bishop of Norwich than in that of the duke of Lancaster.

The earl of Flanders was informed of all these events which were passing in England, as well as of what was going forward before Ypres. He therefore resolved to provide, as much as was in his power, a remedy for them; for he supposed the duke of Burgundy would excite the barons of France to exert themselves to drive the English out of Flanders, and from the countries which they had recently conquered. But as he knew that France was very extensive, that several barons bound to serve the king were at a great distance, and that many things might happen before they could arrive, he resolved to send sir Arnoul de Sorge, bishop of Liege, who was a stanch Urbanist, to request he would come to Ypres and negotiate with the English to decamp and march elsewhere; for he had been much astonished at their proceedings, since it was well known to the world that both himself and country were good Urbanists.

The earl managed so well that the bishop of Liege came to Hainault, and from thence to Valenciennes, Douay and Lille, where he had a conference with the earl, who informed him of what he wished him to do. After this, the bishop left Liege and came to the camp before Ypres, where the English and Ghent men received him very politely, and attentively listened to all he had to say. I was told at the time, that the earl of Flanders, through the means of the bishop of Liege, offered to the bishop of Norwich and the English, if they would break up their siege, and carry their war against the countries of the Clementists, to send them five hundred lances to serve under their orders for three months, and at his own expense.

The bishop of Norwich replied, he would attentively consider and discuss this proposal. Many words passed; for the Ghent men advised him not to put any trust in what the earl had said, for there was no dependence on his promises, and told him that if he could he would deceive him. Having therefore maturely considered everything, he gave notice to the bishop of Liege, that he might return when he pleased, for he would not pay any attention to his offers; and, as for the siege, he would never depart thence until he had reduced the town of Ypres to his obedience. The bishop, finding he could obtain nothing more, took his leave and returned to Lille, and gave the earl of Flanders the answer he had received. When the earl saw that he could not obtain any terms, he was more pensive than before; for he clearly perceived, that unless the force of France raised the siege, he should lose his good town of Ypres. He therefore wrote other letters, giving a detail of what answers he had received, and what was going forward, which he sent by one of his own knights to his son and daughter of Burgundy, who resided at Compiegne. The bishop of Liege left the earl, and returned through Douay and Valenciennes to his own country.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES A GRAND SUMMONS, WITH THE INTENTION OF RAISING THE SIEGE OF YPRES. SOME OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS' MEN ARE DEFEATED BY THE ENGLISH BEFORE THE CHURCH OF EMENIN.

The duke of Burgundy, being convinced that things would end badly if the king of France with an army did not provide a remedy, exerted himself for a parliament to be holden at Compiegne of all the great barons and princes of the realm of France. To this parliament all who were summoned came, and the duke of Brittany personally attended. It was there discussed, whether or not the king of France, with his uncles the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, should march to Flanders with a greater force than he had commanded at Rosebecque, to raise the siege of Ypres, and offer combat to the English and Flemings, if they should think proper to wait for him. It was resolved in the affirmative; and the king of France issued his summons throughout the kingdom of France for every man to be at Arras, or in that neighborhood, by the 15th day of August, provided with all things suitable to his rank. The king wrote also to those at a distance, such as the counts d'Armagnac and Savoy, and to duke Frederick of Bavaria. This duke was in upper Germany, and the son of one of the brothers of the reigning duke: he was very desirous of visiting the court of France and bearing arms for it, as he was fond of every sort of honor; and they had told him, which he believed as fact, that all honors in the world were to be had in France. Duke Frederick, being at such a distance, was the first sent for: he made his preparations on receiving the summons, and said he would come through Hainault, to visit his uncle and his cousins, the count de Blois and others.

During the time these warlike preparations were making, the siege

of Ypres continued with great vigor. There were many attacks and skirmishes, in which several were killed or wounded: but the governor, sir John de Saint Pi, made so good a defence, that no essential damage was done. During this siege, the earl of Flanders was informed that the church of Emenin was strong, and fortified; for, should the English come thither, they would easily take it, as it had no garrison, and they would from thence much harrass the country. The earl resolved to take possession of it;* and, sending for sir John du Moulin, he said to him, "Sir John, collect a body of men from this town, and with cross-bows go to Emenin, and gain the church, lest the English fortify it; for, if they win it, they will harass all the surrounding country." Sir John replied, he would willingly do so, and immediately made preparations for the excursion. On the morrow morning, he mounted his horse, accompanied by a young knight, a bastard son of the earl of Flanders, called sir John Sansterre, and about sixty lances, with the same number of archers. On their leaving Lille, they took the road to Emenin, but found only a few men-at-arms there, who, in their own free will, were guarding the church.

This same day, about two hundred English and Gascon lances made also an excursion, and learning from the foragers that there were some men-at-arms and cross-bows at Emenin, they stuck spurs into their horses, and never halted until they arrived at the town, when, dismounting in the square before the church, they grasped their spears and shouted their cries. Sir John du Moulin and the bastard of Flanders, seeing from this body of men that a combat was unavoidable, formed in battle array in the square, and ordered their cross-bows to shoot: they at first wounded several of the English, who soon broke through them; but for a small body they made a good fight, though many were struck down, wounded, and killed.

The English were so superior in numbers, that the Flemings were defeated, and the two knights made prisoners, who behaved gallantly in defending themselves. Of the remainder, many were taken; and very few returned to Lille, being mostly slain or captured. Thus ended this expedition to Emenin, which greatly vexed the earl of Flanders, but at that time he could not help it. The Gascons and English carried their prisoners with them, and made much of them; but it was not long before they ransomed themselves.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

THE ENGLISH AND GHENT MEN MAKE A SHARP ATTACK ON YPRES; BUT, LEARNING THAT THE KING OF FRANCE HAD MARCHED AN ARMY INTO ARTOIS, THEY INSTANTLY BREAK UP THE SIEGE.

It always happens, that in war there are gains and losses: very extraordinary are the chances, as those know well who follow the profession. The siege of Ypres was pushed on with unwearied force; and it was fully the intention of the bishop of Norwich, the English, and Peter du Bois, to conquer Ypres by storm or otherwise, as the vigor of their attacks showed. Among the many assaults, there was one much severer than the rest; for it lasted from morning until almost night. Many valiant actions were done by several on both sides, and the English and Flemings made vast exertions to conquer it. The besieged created that day four knights; John de St. Pi, nephew to the governor, Fançois Belle, George Belle, and John Belle, who showed themselves good knights in this first display of their knighthood. An English squire, called Lewis Lin, was killed† at this attack, which was very sharp: and numbers were wounded on each side, who too rashly exposed themselves.

The English archers, posted on the ditches of the town, shot so expertly and rapidly that scarcely any dared to appear on the battlements to defend the place. There were collected that day in Ypres two tonst of artillery, especially arrows, which were shot into the town, so that none ventured to pass through those streets near the walls where the attack was made, for fear of being killed, if not well armed and shielded. This attack lasted until night, when the English and Flemings, who had fought the whole day in two batalions, returned to the camp quite tired, as were likewise those in the town.

The English and Flemings, finding they could not take the town by storm, and having expended much of their artillery, resolved to have quantities of faggots made and collected, with which and earth they could fill up the ditches, so that they might advance to fight hand to hand with the garrison, undermine the walls, and, by throwing them down, win the place. Workmen were instantly employed to procure and cut down as much wood as possible in the neighborhood of Ypres, which was to be placed withinside of the ditches, and covered with earth: but this was not so soon done, nor could they accomplish their intentions; for the king of France, having a great desire to raise the siege and fight with the English at all events, hastened his preparations, set out from Compiegne, and marched to Arras.

* Mr. Johnes seems to have misunderstood the text. The earl determined to *desemparer* (to *demolish*) the church, not to keep possession of it; and the original subsequently states that, "the two knights when they arrived at the church or *munster* as Froissart terms it) began to pull down, and demolish the munster." This passage is omitted by Mr. Johnes.

† "D'un trect du canon;" by a cannon ball, according to D. Sauvage.—Ed.

‡ "La valeur de deux tonneaux pleins d'artillerie;" as much as two *tuns* full, not two *tons* weight, of artillery.—Ed.

The constable of France, with many barons who formed the van of the army, had already arrived, and were quartered in Artois. The duke of Brittany came with two thousand lances, as he was anxious to assist his cousin the earl of Flanders on this occasion. Indeed he was much bounden so to do, for he had found him, in former times, eager to befriend him in his distress. All the lords, both from far and near, were on their march and at hand. The count of Savoy and the count of Geneva, came with seven hundred honest Savoyards. Duke Frederick of Bavaria was hastening with a strong body of men-at-arms, and had arrived at Hainault. He resided at Quesnoy with his uncle duke Albert, his aunt, the duchess Margaret, and with his cousins.

The dukes of Lorraine and Bar arrived with a large body in Artois. Sir William de Namur, not having attended the former war, as the earl had excused him, came with two hundred good lances to serve the king of France and duke of Burgundy. He had passed through Hainault, and fixed his quarters in the country round Tournay. It was wonderful to see what bodies of men different lords brought to serve the king of France. The count Guy de Blois lay ill at Landrecy* during the whole time these warlike preparations were making, and neither himself nor his people knew if he would be able to bear the fatigues of this campaign with the king. He was carried in a litter to Beaumont in Hainault, and was somewhat better, for that air was more agreeable to him than that of Landrecy. Notwithstanding he was very unwell and feeble, he made ample preparations, as did his dependents in the country of Blois, such as the lord de Montigny, the lord de Vresin, sir Vilhennes de St. Martin, sir Waleran de Doustienne governor of Remorentin, and other knights and squires who came to serve under the young king of France

News was brought to the bishop of Norwich, sir Hugh Calverley and the English besieging Ypres, that the king of France was hastening by forced marches, with an army of upward of twenty thousand men-at-arms, knights and squires, and sixty thousand other men. This intelligence was repeated from so many quarters, that at last it was thought to be true, for at first they would not believe it. They heard for certain that it was so, and that if they remained where they were, they would have to fight with them. They also learnt that the duke of Brittany was with the king of France, and coming against them, which astonished them much. They called a council on this information, to consider what line of conduct to pursue. Having weighed every circumstance, and not finding themselves in sufficient strength to wait for the whole force of the king, they judged it to be more prudent for Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre and the Ghent men to return to their town, and the English to retreat toward Bergues and Bourbourg, which they were to garrison: and if any force should come from England, or if king Richard or his uncles should cross the sea, they would send them advice of it. This resolution was adopted, and they broke up their camp. The Ghent men set out on their return home, where they arrived. The English retired to Bergues and Bourbourg, and entered the forts which they had conquered.

The day that the English began their retreat, Thomas lord Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland, arrived. He came from Prussia, and hearing on his road that the kings of France and England were to engage in the plains of Flanders or Artois, each at the head of his army, the knight was so much rejoiced, and had so great a desire to be present at the battle, that the journey, which at a moderate rate of travelling would have taken forty days, he performed in fourteen, leaving his equipage and servants behind, and frequently changing horses. He afterwards learnt that his baggage had arrived in less than twenty days in the town of Ghent. Such good will and gallantry deserve much praise.

CHAPTER CXL.

DUKE FREDERICK OF BAVARIA ARRIVES AT THE ARMY OF THE KING OF FRANCE. COUNT GUY DE BLOIS, NOTWITHSTANDING HIS ILL HEALTH, COMES TO ARRAS ATTENDED BY HIS MEN-AT-ARMS.

Intelligence was brought to the king of France, in the city of Arras, and to the lords with him, that the English and Ghent men had raised the siege and decamped from before Ypres. The king was eager to hurry matters and pursue them, so that they should not escape. He set out from Arras, and came to Mont St. Eloy, a very handsome abbey, where he remained four days waiting for the arrival of the duke of Berry. The army was continually increased by those who came to it from all parts, and it was known, through the constable, the marshals and sir Guiscard count dauphin, master of the cross-bows, that the king had with him upward of one hundred thousand men.

The king departed from Mont St. Eloy, following the road to St. Omer, and came to Aire, of which place the viscount de Meaux was governor. He tarried there two days, the army still increasing. The constable with the van were advanced, and quartered in the town of Cassel. The king went to St. Omer, where he stopped for the arrival of his people, who were coming to him from every quarter. When duke Frederick of Bavaria arrived at the army, the great barons of France, in order to do him honor, went out to meet him,

* "Landrecy," a strong town in Hainault, diocese of Courtray.

as he had come from such a distant country to serve the king, who entertained him handsomely, and was thankful for his arrival. He caused him to be quartered as near to himself as possible during the whole expedition, as was but just.

In the army were full three hundred thousand horses: and it was wonderful where provisions could come from, or be found to supply such an army. At times, indeed, there was a scarcity; at others, they had abundance. The count Guy de Blois, who resided at Beaumont in Hainault, notwithstanding he was not yet recovered from the long illness he had been visited with during the summer, thought it would not be for his honor to remain idle, when so many great and powerful princes and lords were in the field; besides, inquiries had been made after him, as he was one of the leaders of the rear-ward. It was therefore better for him to join them, trusting to the will of God, than to remain behind under a supposition of dissembling.

This gallant lord began his journey; but as he was unable to ride, he ordered his litter, and took leave of the lady his wife, and of his son Lewis. Several of his council, on account of the great heat and closeness of the weather, looked on this journey as a wrong measure, while others who heard of it thought it a great proof of his courage. He was accompanied from Hainault by the lord de Sanzest, the lord de Hanzelles, sir Gerard de Warrieres, sir Thomas de Distre, the lord de Doustrenent, John de Ghisnelle, who was created a knight on the road, and several more. He passed through Cambray, and came to Arras, and the longer he travelled the better was his health. His vassals from Blois, hearing of his journey, went to meet him. On his arrival at Arras, his people collected together, to the amount of more than four hundred lances, and always followed him. He had his provisions from Hainault, and in this respect was most abundantly supplied. Let us return to the king of France.

CHAPTER CXLI.

THE VAN OF THE FRENCH ARMY TAKES CASSEL AND TRUGHEN. THE ENGLISH ABANDON BERGUES, AND RETIRE TO BOURBOURG, WHERLIN THE KING OF FRANCE BESIEGES THEM.

The king of France continued his march to St. Omer, where he halted and refreshed himself. The van, with the constable and marshals, advanced to Cassel, which was in the hands of the English. The town was attacked, taken by storm, and all in it put to the sword. Those who could escape retreated to Bergues, where was sir Hugh Calverley with full three thousand English. The bishop of Norwich was not there, having retired to Gravelines, to be the sooner at Calais should there be occasion. The English had burnt and pillaged all the country near to Cassel. The king of France, on his arrival at St. Omer, was lodged at an abbey out of the town, on the road to Bergues, called Ranombergues, where he remained. He came there on a Friday, and on the following day the constable, the marshals, with the lord de Coucy and a great number of good men-at-arms, took the field and came before the castle of Trughen, wherein were about three hundred men-at-arms, who had formed a garrison of this place the whole season.

They made a vigorous attack on the castle, and exerted themselves very much: indeed, they were forced to do so if they wished for conquest, as the English within defended themselves so valiantly that it was marvellous to think of their prowess. However, by continued attacks, and gallant deeds of arms, the castle was taken, and all within put to death, for the constable would not show mercy to any one. In the lower court was found the most beautiful white horse that had been seen for years, which was presented to the constable, who instantly sent it to the king of France. The king willingly accepted the horse, and was so pleased with it that he rode it all Sunday.

The count de Blois, at this period, arrived at the army with his company. He was appointed to the rear division, as he had been last year at the battle of Rosebecque, in company with the count d'Eu, the count de Harcourt, the lord de Châtillon and the lord de la Fere. Men-at-arms were constantly coming in from all parts. It was a fine dry summer, otherwise it would have been bad for the horses near the sea-shore and impossible for them to have advanced into the country. All the English except the bishop, who, quite thunderstruck, was gone to Gravelines, had retired into the town of Bergues, which was only inclosed by a palisade and ditches: he sorely repented having undertaken this expedition, for he saw that all he had done would now be turned with shame against him, and was still more sorry for the words he had uttered which had been repeated through France. He had boasted during the time he was besieging Ypres, that he would there wait for the king of France and his army, and offer them combat. He now felt how suddenly he had been forced to raise the siege and fly, for his army could not resist that of the king.

The English at Calais found great fault with him, saying he had very ill employed the pope's money. In truth, the duke of Lancaster, who had been prevented by this expedition of the bishop from carrying his own into execution, did not wish it would turn out otherwise. The principal barons of England were of the same sentiment; for when sir William Windsor, their marshal, sent to tell them, while before Ypres, that if they wished for reinforcements, they should have very numerous ones, the bishop answered, as did sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmon,* that they had strength enough, and more than they wished, to combat the king of France and the army he could bring against them. But sir Hugh Calverley, who had seen more service than any of the others, had always held a different language, and said during the siege of Ypres, when he heard of the offer from the barons in England; "Gentlemen, you seem to have great confidence in your strength: why should we refuse the assistance of our countrymen, when they offer to come to us and the country consents to it? A day may come, perhaps, when we shall repent of our refusal." But these words were not attended to, as they said they had men sufficient. Things, therefore, continued as they were, and in the end they lost more than they gained by it.

Sir Hugh Calverley, on his arrival at Bergues, quartered himself and his men in the different hotels and houses of the town: they were in the whole, including archers, more than four thousand men. Sir Hugh said, "I am determined to keep this town; it is of good strength, and we are enough to defend it. I expect we shall have, in five or six days, reinforcements from England; for they will learn our situation, and also the force of our enemies." All replied, "God assist us!" Upon this he made very prudent regulations: on dividing his men under pennons and into companies, to mount the walls and guard the gates, he found he had numbers sufficient. He ordered all the ladies and women, children and lower classes of inhabitants, to retire into a church, whence they were not to stir.

The king of France was at the abbey of Ranombergues, and learnt that the English had retreated to Bergues. A council was held on the occasion, when it was ordered that the van, with the constable and marshals, should advance beyond the town and encamp on one of its sides; and the king of France, with the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, would follow with the main army; that the count de Blois and the count d'Eu, with the rear division, should lodge themselves on the other side of the town, and thus surround the English. This plan was executed; and the king set out from Ranombergues, attended by his whole army. It was a beautiful sight to behold these banners, pennons and helmets glittering in the sun, and such numbers of men-at-arms that the eye could not compass them: they seemed like a moving forest, so upright did they hold their lances. Thus they marched in four divisions toward Bergues, to inclose the English in that town.

About eight o'clock in the morning, an English herald entered the town, who, by the courtesy of the lords of France, had passed through their army: he waited on sir Hugh Calverley in his hotel, and spoke so loud that every one heard him. "Herald, whence dost thou come?" "My lord," replied the herald, "I come from the French army, where I have seen the finest men-at-arms, and in such vast numbers, that there is not at this day another king who can show the like." "And these fine men-at-arms which thou art speaking of," said sir Hugh, "what number are they?" "By my faith, my lord, they are full twenty-six thousand men-at-arms: handsomer nor better armed were never seen." "Ha, ha!" replied sir Hugh, who was much provoked at the latter part of his speech, "thou art a fine fellow to come and mock us with this pompous tale. I know well thou hast lied; for many a time have I seen the armies of France, but they never amounted to twenty-six thousand; no, not even to six thousand men-at-arms."

As he said this, the watch of the town, who was at his post, sounded his trumpet, for the van of the enemy was about passing near the walls. Sir Hugh then, addressing the knights and squires present, said; "Come, come: let us go and see these twenty-six thousand men-at-arms march by, for our watch blows his horn." They went on the walls of the place, and, leaning on them, observed the march of the van, which might have consisted of about fifteen hundred lances, with the constable, the marshals, the master of the cross-bows and the lord de Coucy. Next came the duke of Brittany, the earl of Flanders and the count de St. Pol, who had under their command about fifteen hundred lances more. Sir Hugh Calverley, who thought he had seen the whole army, said, "Now see if I did not say the truth: where are these twenty-six thousand men? Why, if they be three thousand men-at-arms, they are ten thousand. Let us go to our dinner, for I do not yet see such a force as should oblige us to surrender the town. This herald would frighten us well, if we were to believe him."

The herald was much ashamed, but he said, "My lord, you have as yet only seen the vanguard: the king and his uncles are behind with the main army, and there is besides a rear division, which consists of more than two thousand lances. You will see the whole in four hours if you remain here." Sir Hugh paid not any attention to him, but returned to his house, saying he had seen everything, and seated himself at table. He had scarcely done so, than the watch again blew his horn, and so loud as if he would burst it. Sir Hugh rose from the table, saying he would see what was the cause of this, and mounted the battlements. At this moment, the king of France marched by, attended by his uncles, the duke Frederick, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Savoy, the dauphin of Auvergne, the count de la Marche and their troops: in this battalion were full sixteen thousand lances. Sir Hugh felt himself much disappointed, and said to the herald, who was by his side, "I have been in the wrong to blame you: come, come: let us mount our

* "Sir William Helmon." Elmham, according to Carte.

horses and save ourselves, for it will do us no good to remain here. I no longer know the state of France: I have never seen such numbers collected together by three-fourths as I now see and have seen in the van: besides, the rear division is still to come." Upon this, sir Hugh Calverley left the walls and returned to his house. All the horses being ready saddled and loaded, they mounted, and, having ordered the gates to be opened which lead to Bourbourg, they set off without any noise, carrying with them all their pillage. Had the French suspected this, they could easily have stopped them; but they were ignorant of it for a long time, so that they were nearly arrived at Bourbourg before they heard of it.

Sir Hugh Calverley halted in the plain to wait for his rear and baggage. He was very melancholy, and said to sir Thomas Trivet and others who had come to meet him; "By my faith, gentlemen, we have this time made a most shameful expedition: never was so pitiful or wretched a one made from England. You would have your wills, and placed your confidence in this bishop of Norwich, who wanted to fly before he had wings: now see the honorable end you have brought it to. There is Bourbourg! if you choose it, retire thither; but for my part I shall march to Gravelines and Calais, because I find we are not of sufficient strength to cope with the king of France." The English knights, conscious they had been to blame in several things, replied; "God help us! we shall return to Bourbourg and wait the event, such as God may please to ordain." Sir Hugh on this left them; and they threw themselves into Bourbourg.

The king of France heard that the English had marched from Bergues and retreated to Bourbourg, leaving Bergues quite empty; the gates of which were opened to him, when the king entered with all who wished it. The first who did so found enough to pillage, for the English had not been able to carry away everything. The women were saved and sent to St. Omer, but almost all the men were put to death and the town set on fire. The king marched on to lodge at a village, on account of the greatness of the fire. This happened on a Friday; and the lords encamped themselves separately in the fields as well as they could. It was fortunate for them that it was dry weather, for it could not be a finer season; had it been cold and rainy, they could not have foraged. Indeed it was wonderful where they found forage for such numbers of horses, as well as provision for so large an army. But on the day on which they came before Bourbourg great quantities of stores arrived, of which the lords of France were duly informed. They resolved to surround the town and attack it. The Bretons were, from avarice, eager to take it, on account of the great booty they expected to find there.

On the Saturday morning it was clear weather, and the army made itself ready to march to Bourbourg. The vanguard, the duke of Brittany, the earl of Flanders, the count de St. Pol, the constable of France, with about three thousand lances, marched on the outside of the walls, and halted opposite to the king's division, which consisted of the finest men-at-arms that could be seen or imagined. They advanced to a large plain before Bourbourg, where the different lords drew up their men; and it was for a long time their intention to storm the place. Banners and pennons were flying in the wind, and each lord under his own banner. The lords of France made a splendid show, and had not been sparing of any expense in exhibiting appearances suitable to their rank. The lord de Coucy and his state were particularly noticed, for he had led coursers richly caparisoned, and ornamented with housings with the ancient arms of Coucy mixed with those he now bore. He himself was mounted on a beautiful horse, on which he rode from side to side in a most graceful manner, to the delight of those who saw him; all praised him for the agreeable manner with which he addressed every one. The other great lords kept up a state suitable to their dignity. More than four hundred knights were this day created. The heralds mustered the knights who were before Bourbourg with the king, and they amounted to from seven to nine thousand. In the army were upward of twenty-five thousand men-at-arms and squires.

The English were at their posts in the town of Bourbourg, and seeing this immense force of the king of France before them, expected an assault: they were pleased at the thought; but when they found themselves shut up in a town which was only defended by palisadoes, they were not so well satisfied: however, like men of courage, they had posted themselves in companies round the town. The lord Beaumont* (who is an earl in England, and his name Henry,) commanded one hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers, to guard one part of the town: sir William Elmham, with as many men, guarded another part. Sir John de Châteauneuf, with the Gascons, had another quarter to defend as far as the tower, opposite to the quarters of the constable. The lord Ferrers, an Englishman, was with forty men-at-arms and as many archers at another part, so that the whole place was well guarded with men-at-arms and archers. Sir William Farrendon, sir Matthew Redman, and sir Nicholas Tracton,† with two hundred men and as many archers, were posted in the square before the church. They had appointed a body of men to watch and extinguish any fires that might happen; for the English were much afraid of the town being burnt, as the houses were only covered with thatch.

In this situation were the English. I must now relate the gallant action which Francis Atremen performed this same Friday in the evening, when the king of France, after having taken Bergues, continued his march.

* "Lord Beaumont." Froissart mistakes: he was a baron, and his name was John: his son's name was Henry.—See Dugdale

† Q. If not Drayton, or Tresham.

CHAPTER CXLII.

FRANCIS ATREMEN SURPRISES OUDENARDE IN THE NIGHT-TIME.

Francis Atremen, Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre and the other captains, after their return to Ghent from the siege of Ypres, were daily and nightly imagining how they could annoy their enemies. Francis Atremen found out, that the governor of Oudenarde, sir Gilbert de Lieneghen and the men-at-arms, had left Oudenarde, by orders from the earl of Flanders, and were with the army of the king of France before Bergues and Bourbourg. He also learnt that the town was carelessly guarded, and that the ditches in the meadows on the road to Hamme were dry, as they had emptied them of water to get the fish, so that the walls of the town might be approached on foot, and might be entered with ladders. Such was the intelligence the spies of Francis Atremen had brought to Ghent, who, at their leisure, had examined the town; for the guards held the Ghent men very cheap, and, as it were, had forgotten, or were quite indifferent concerning them.

When Francis Atremen had heard all this from his spies, he went and related it to Peter du Bois, and said: "Peter, such is the situation of Oudenarde: I am resolved to risk the chance of taking it with scaling ladders: there never can be so good an opportunity as the present, for neither the governor nor the men-at-arms are in it, but with the king of France near St. Omer, and they have not the least fear or suspicions of any one." Peter du Bois instantly assented to the proposal, and said: "Francis, if you succeed in this expedition, no man will ever have behaved better, and every one will praise you for so gallant an action." "I do not know," replied he, "how it may turn out, but my courage does not fail me, and my heart tells me that this night I shall gain Oudenarde."

Francis Atremen then chose four hundred men in whom he had the greatest confidence, and, toward night-fall, set out on his road to Oudenarde. It was in the month of September, when the nights are tolerably long, and such beautiful weather that it was a pleasure to be out in it. About midnight they arrived in the meads of Oudenarde, having ladders with them. As they were traversing the marshes, there was a poor woman gathering grass for her cows, who, hiding herself, heard their conversation, and knew from it that they were Ghent men going to surprise the town, for she saw them carrying ladders. She was at first much frightened, but recovering courage, said to herself, that she would hasten to the town and inform the guard of what she had heard and seen. She made for the town by a short path she was acquainted with, and arrived at the ditches before the Ghent men, when she began to moan and complain, so that one of the night-guard going his rounds heard her, and asked who she was; she said she was a poor woman who had come to tell them that a body of Ghent men were close at hand, and that she had seen them carrying many ladders to surprise Oudenarde; but now she had given this information she must get away, for should they meet her she would be a dead woman. The poor woman departed, and the watch remained perfectly astonished. He determined to keep quiet where he was, to see if this woman had told truth. The Ghent men, without horn or trumpet, were silently advancing to begin their enterprise: they made not any noise except by talking. Francis Atremen sent forward four of his men, ordering them to reconnoitre without making the least noise by coughing or otherwise, and report to him, should they observe anything.

They obeyed their orders, and Francis Atremen remained hid in the marshes with his men, very near this poor woman, who heard and saw them distinctly; but they did not notice her. The four men advancing up to the ditches, neither saw nor heard anything. It was very unlucky; for, if they had but seen a lighted candle, they would have thought there had been a good watch kept. They returned to Francis telling him they had not seen anything, nor heard the least noise. "I believe the watch has gone his rounds," said Francis, "and is now retired to bed: come, let us take this upper road which leads to the gates, and enter the ditches." The good woman heard these words; and what did she do? Why, she instantly returned by the same way as before, and came to the man who was listening on the walls and told him all she had heard, begging of him, for God's sake, to be on his guard, and go to the Ghent gate to see if his companions were in a proper state, for very shortly the Ghent men would be at their post. "I must now return," said the woman, "as I dare not stay longer, but I have told you all I have seen and heard: pay proper attention to it, for I shall not again come to you this night." On saying which, she departed. The man now remained alone, but did not treat the information he had received with indifference. He went to the gate leading to Ghent, where he found the guard playing at dice. "Gentlemen," said he, "have you well fastened your gates and your barriers? for a woman came to me this night, and gave me notice of her having seen a body of Ghent men marching hither."

"Yes," replied they: "our gates are fast enough: but may a scurvy night befal this woman, who has thus alarmed you at such an hour. There probably were cows and calves that had got untied, and these she fancied to have been Ghent men coming hither: they have not any such intentions."

While this conversation was passing between the constable of the watch and the guard at the gate, Francis Atremen and his companions were executing their plan: they had got into the ditches, which were dry, as they had fished them this week, and had broken down a little of the palisadoes near the wall, against which they had placed their ladders and had entered the town. They marched to the market-place without any noise, and continued so until they were all collected, when they met a knight, called sir Florens de Halle, lieutenant-governor, who was there on guard with about thirty men-at-arms of the town. The Ghent men began to shout "Ghent, Ghent!" and to attack the guard, whom they slew, as well as sir Florens de Halle. Thus was Oudenarde taken. You may suppose that the inhabitants, who were sleeping in their beds, were exceedingly astonished when they heard these shouts and saw the town taken by scalado without having any remedy for it. Their houses were forced open, and those within slain; for they were so suddenly surprised, there was not any help for it. Those who could escape did, leaving their houses in a state of nakedness, and leaping over the walls, saved themselves by the ponds and ditches of the town. None of the rich men could carry any part of their wealth with them, but were happy if they saved their lives. This night great numbers were killed, or drowned in the ponds; and thus ended this expedition.

In the morning, when the Ghent men saw themselves masters of the town, they sent out of it all the women and children in their shifts, or in the meanest dress they had. In this plight those who had escaped got to Mons, Arras, Condé, Valenciennes, or Tournay, in the best manner they could. News was spread everywhere of the capture of Oudenarde. The inhabitants of Ghent were greatly rejoiced at it, and said that Francis Atremen deserved to be highly prized for his valor. Francis Atremen remained governor of Oudenarde, where he gained great riches, with all sorts of stores, which was a fortunate circumstance for the captors, such as corn and wines of all sorts. Everything fell into their hands, and all the wealth which was there from France, Flanders, and Tournay; but whatever belonged to Hainault was saved, nor was any part of that taken but what was duly paid for.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

AYMERIGOT MARCEL, AN ENGLISH CAPTAIN ON THE BORDERS OF AUVERGNE, TAKES BY STRATAGEM THE CASTLE OF MARQUEL. THE COUNTESS DAUPHINE RANSOMS IT FOR FIVE THOUSAND FRANCS.

In the same week an almost similar adventure happened in Auvergne, where the English held several castles bordering on the territories of the count dauphin, and on those of the bishops of St. Fleur and of Clermont. The English garrisons knew the country of Auvergne had been drained of men-at-arms, for the greater part of them were with the king of France in Flanders: they, in consequence, began to lay plans for surprising some of the strong places of Auvergne. Aymerigot Marcel, governor of Aloise, a handsome castle situated a league distant from St. Fleur,* set off from his castle at daybreak, attended only by thirty picked men. He marched silently for the lands of the count dauphin, having formed his plan to take by scalado the castle of Marquel (which the count dauphin bears for his arms,) and rode through woods and a close country. Aymerigot and his men took up their lodgings early in a small wood near the castle, where they remained until sunset, and the garrison had retired into the castle: while the governor, whose name was Girardon Buissel, was at supper, the English, who knew well what they were to do, affixed their ladders and entered the castle at their ease.

Those passing through the court saw them climbing over the walls, and instantly cried out, "Treason, treason!" On Girardon hearing this, he had not any hopes of saving himself but through a private passage which led from his apartment to the great tower, and which served as the dungeon of the castle. Thither he instantly retired, taking with him the keys of the gates, and shut himself in, while Aymerigot and his companions were otherwise employed. When they discovered that the governor had escaped into the great tower, which they were unable to take, they said they had done nothing, and repented greatly having thus inclosed themselves; for, the gates being fastened, they could not get out. Aymerigot having mused a little, came to the tower, and, addressing the governor, said, "Girardon, give us the keys of the castle-gate, and I promise you we will leave it without doing any mischief to the castle." "Indeed," replied Girardon, "but you will carry off all my cattle: how can I believe you?" "Give me thy hand," said Aymerigot to him, "and I swear to thee, on my faith, that thou shalt not suffer the smallest loss." Upon this, he, like a fool, came to a small window in the tower, and offered his hand for him to pledge his faith on; but the moment Aymerigot got hold of it he pulled it to him, squeezing it very hard, and called for his dagger, swearing he would stick his hand to the wall unless he gave up all his keys.

When Girardon saw himself thus caught, he was stupefied, as indeed he had reason; for Aymerigot would not give up his hand without nailing it to the wall, unless he received the keys. With his other hand, therefore, he gave the keys, for he had them near him. "Now, see," said Aymerigot to his companions, when he had got the keys, "if I have not well cheated the fool: I am equal to many such feats as this." They opened the tower gate, and, being the masters, put out of the castle the governor and all who were in it, without doing them any other harm. News was carried to the countess dauphine, who resided at a strong castle in the good town of Zaides, a league distant, how the English had won Marquel. The lady was much surprised, and because her lord, the dauphin, was not in the country, she immediately sent to all of the knights and squires who were at home, to request they would assist her in recovering possession of her castle. Knights and squires, on hearing this, instantly waited on the lady and laid siege to the castle; but the English were not alarmed, and held the place for fifteen days. During this time the lady entered into a treaty, and Aymerigot received five thousand francs in hard money, for which he and his men surrendered it and returned to his garrison.

In another part those of Caluisel, of which Perrot le Brenois was captain, harassed much the countries of Auvergne and Limousin. The English had at that time upward of sixty strong castles on the borders of Auvergne, Limousin, and Quercy, and they could march from fort to fort, even unto Bordeaux. But the castle which harassed the country most was Ventadour,* one of the strongest castles in the world: the captain of it was a Breton, called Geoffry Tête-noir. This Geoffry was a wicked man, showed mercy to none, and would just as soon put to death a knight or squire as a peasant: he held all men so cheap, and was so much feared by his soldiers, that they dared not anger him. He maintained in this castle full four hundred men, whom he paid regularly every month; and the whole country was under such subjection and awe of him, that none dared to ride over his lands. His castle of Ventadour was more largely supplied with every sort of store than that of any lord. There were warehouses of Brussels and Normandy cloths, of furs, merceries, and other articles, which he sold to his people, deducting the prices from their pay. He had stores of steel, iron, wax, spices, and every necessary, in as great plenty as at Paris. Sometimes he made war on the English as well as on the French, in order to be the more dreaded: and his castle of Ventadour was always well provided for a siege of seven years. We will now return to the affairs of Flanders.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS BOURBOURG TO BE ATTACKED. IT IS SURRENDERED TO HIM BY CAPITULATION, WHEN THE ENGLISH QUIT FLANDERS. HE THEN DISBANDS HIS ARMY.

When the king of France came before Bourbourg there were never seen such fine men-at-arms, nor such numbers as he had with him. The lords and their men were all drawn up, and eager for the attack. Those who reconnoitered the place said, it could not hold out long; but that it would cost dearly in men: and several wondered why the attack was delayed. Some said, that the duke of Brittany and the earl of Flanders, who were on the other side of the town, were treating with the English to surrender without waiting for the assault. On this the Bretons, Burgundians, Normans, Germans, and others, who knew there was much wealth in the place, which, if taken by storm, would probably fall to their share, were much exasperated at the thoughts of a capitulation, and began to skirmish with the infantry at the barriers, without waiting for orders from the constable or marshals of the army: indeed, they were not forbidden to assault it. This skirmish increased so much that the French set fire to the town by means of fire-arrows and cannons, so that such a flame and smoke came from the houses of Bourbourg as might have been seen forty leagues off. The attack then began with shouts; and sir William de Namur, who with his men, was in the front ranks, fought valiantly. Many gallant deeds were done, and the assailants leaped cheerfully into the mud of the ditches above the knees, when they engaged with the English at the palisades and barriers.

The garrison defended themselves handsomely: indeed they had need of their exertions, for they knew not on which side to turn themselves. They were attacked on all parts: and the houses of the town were blazing with fire, which more confounded the English than anything else. This, however, did not throw them off their guard, nor cause them to quit their posts. Sir Matthew Redman and sir Nicholas Drayton, with their men, in the centre of the town, endeavored to check the progress of the fire; but it was such a dry season, that the smallest spark set the houses in flames. It is certain, that if the attack had began earlier, or had not the night come on so soon, the town must have been taken by storm; but the approach of night put an end to it. Sir William de Namur's division had thirty-six killed and wounded; and the army lost, according to the report of the heralds, upward of five hundred. On the attack ceasing, the French retired to their quarters, to attend the sick and bury the dead. They said, that on the morrow they would renew the at-

* "St. Fleur"—a city of Auvergne, situated on a mountain, generality of Riom.

* "Ventadour"—a castle in the diocese of Limoges, near Tulles.

tack, and it should be irresistible. The English, all this Saturday night were employed in repairing the palisadoes which had been broken, in putting all things in a good state, and in extinguishing the fires in the town. They were in a most perilous situation, being surrounded on all sides, without means of escaping by flight.

On the Sunday morning when the king had heard mass, it was proclaimed through the army, that whosoever should bring a faggot to the king's tent should receive a halfpenny, and as many faggots so many halfpence. These faggots were intended to be thrown into the ditches, so that they might resolutely pass over them, and engage with the English on the Monday morning at the palisadoes. Upon this all the lower ranks, and the servants, began to make faggots and carry them to the king's tent, insomuch that a very large heap of them was made there. Sunday passed without any attack. Some say that on this day, and appearances confirmed it, the duke of Brittany, who was on the opposite side of the town to the king, entered into negotiations with the English, aware of the peril they were in. He advised them to surrender the town, on their lives and fortunes being spared. This they were very willing to do, and they entreated the duke, through love of God, and in honor of his gentility, to undertake the business.

The duke sent information of what he had done to the king, his uncles, the constable of France, the count de St. Pol, and to the council. Having considered how advisable it was to gain all the strong places in Flanders, in whatever manner they were offered to be surrendered, and that to win Borbourg they must renew the attack, which would cost them probably numbers of lives; besides, they should at last only conquer a handful of men, who would defend themselves until they dropped; the king of France and his uncles replied, that, in God's name, they would willingly agree to a treaty, if the duke of Brittany and the constable of France would undertake it. In this manner Sunday passed without anything being done. I heard that, in the evening, on a promise of safety, John de Châteauneuf, a Gascon, and Remonnet de St. Marc, came to the tent of the lord Guy de la Tremouille to play and amuse themselves, where they staid all night. On the Monday morning they returned to Bourbourg; and at their departure the lord Guy said to them, "John and Remonnet, ye shall both be my prisoners this evening." They replied, they would prefer being his, than belonging to any other knight.

Intelligence arrived this Sunday of the capture of Oudenarde, which much vexed sir Gilbert de Lieneghien the governor, as it had been lost through his absence; but he was exculpated from all blame by his lord the earl of Flanders, who had sent for him. The count de Blois commanded the king's guard this Sunday, and every one thought the attack would be renewed on Monday: but in the morning it was proclaimed through the army, that the king forbade any attack until further orders. This proclamation made every one quiet; and several lords guessed that the English would escape by means of a treaty, as the attack was forbidden. After dinner, those who were to negotiate came out of the town, such as sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Nicholas Drayton, sir Matthew Redman, and others, to the number of fourteen knights and squires, whom the duke of Brittany, the constable of France, and the count de St. Pol, conducted to the tent of the king. The king was much pleased thereat, as he had scarcely seen any English except sir Peter Courtenay, who had come to Paris to fight with the lord Guy de la Tremouille, but the king and his council had made up the quarrel. Now, as the English had been much renowned for gallantry and deeds of arms, the young king of France wished to see them: and their treaty was much the better for it.

On the Monday this negotiation was carried on in the king's tent, and in his presence. There were also present the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, Brittany, the earl of Flanders, the constable of France, and no more. The duke of Brittany was very active in this business: and it was settled, that the English should depart from Bourbourg and Gravelines, and carry away with them as much of their wealth as they could. Several of the Bretons, French, Normans, and Burgundians were much vexed at this treaty, for they thought of partaking of the spoils; but the king and his council had ordered it otherwise.

After the treaty had been signed, the English took leave of the king of France, his uncles, the duke of Brittany and the constable, and went with the count de St. Pol, who carried them to supper at his house, where he entertained them as handsomely as he could in such a situation. After supper he had them conducted to the gates of Bourbourg, for which they testified to him their thanks. The whole of Tuesday they employed in shoeing their horses, and in packing up all their wealth, of which they had much, and in making preparations for their departure. On the Wednesday morning they loaded their baggage-horses and began their march, passing through the army with passports from the king. The Bretons were much exasperated when they saw them so loaded; and they treated very indifferently a few who tarried behind. Thus the English marched to Gravelines, where they halted. On the Thursday morning, when they left it, they set fire to the place, burned it to the ground, and arrived at Calais with all their pillage. They stopped there to refresh themselves, and to wait for a favorable wind to return to England.

The king of France, and all the lords of his army, with their attendants, entered Bourbourg on the Thursday morning, when the Bretons began to plunder it, without excepting even the church of St. John: in which church, a pillager having mounted on an altar, with the intent of forcing out a precious stone that was in the crown of an image made to represent the person of our Lady, the image turned about, and the pillager in his fright fell from the altar and was instantly struck dead. This is a certain truth, for many persons were witnesses of it. Shortly afterwards, another pillager came with a similar intent of robbing the image; but all the bells began a peal without any one touching them, for no one could have rung them, the bell-ropes being drawn up and fastened. On account of these miracles, the church was visited by crowds. The king made a handsome present to it, as did all the lords, so that the amount of their gifts was upward of three thousand francs.

On Tuesday, the army began to decamp, and the king and constable gave permission to several of his men-at-arms to return home. The king thanked those who had come from distant parts, and in a particular manner the duke of Bavaria and the count of Savoy, who had come from such a distance to serve him. Each lord now returned home, and the king went to France; but the duke of Burgundy staid a short time with his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, to regulate his affairs, and resided at St. Omer. The lord de Coucy, with many knights and squires from Ponthieu, Vimeu and Picardy, entered Gravelines when the English had left it, repaired and greatly strengthened it, and made it a garrison as a frontier to Calais.

The countries of Furnes, Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Nieuport were by degrees repeopled. They had lost everything by this war, but they now began somewhat to recover themselves.

CHAPTER CXLV.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH AND THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM IN HIS EXPEDITION ARE BADLY RECEIVED ON THEIR RETURN TO ENGLAND. CERTAIN GREAT PERSONAGES ARE DEPUTED TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE OR TRUCE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND. THE DUKE OF BAVARIA DIES.

You must know that the duke of Lancaster was not very sorry this expedition of the bishop of Norwich had failed, for by it his intended voyage to Spain and Portugal had been frustrated. When these knights returned to England, they were attacked by the common people, who told them they had behaved very badly in their expedition, for, from the prosperity they had been blessed with at the beginning, they ought to have conquered all Flanders. Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Elmham were more blamed than the rest; but sir Hugh Calverley was not any way found fault with, either by the king's council or the populace, for they well knew, that if they had paid attention to what he had advised, the event would have been more to their honor. They laid to their charge, that they had sold Bourbourg and Gravelines to the king of France, which exasperated the people to a great degree, and they were at one time in danger of their lives. The king ordered these two knights to be confined in the Tower of London, and during the time of their imprisonment the country was quieted: on their liberation, they threw themselves on the king's mercy.*

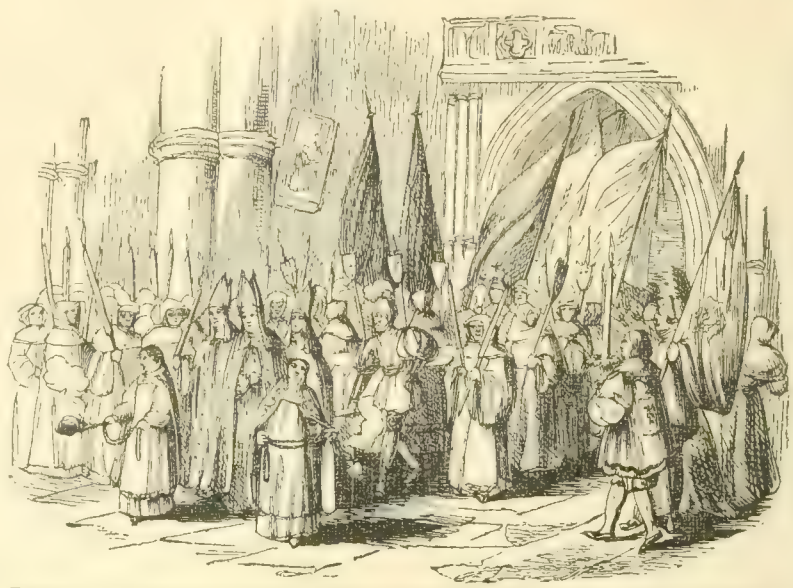
At this time, negotiations were set on foot to conclude a truce between England and France, in which the Ghent men were included, to the great displeasure of the earl of Flanders; but he could not help it. When the army decamped from Bourbourg, the duke of Brittany remained with his cousin the earl of Flanders at St. Omer, and was desirous that a long peace or truce should be established between his lawful lord, the king of France, and the king of England. In order to make a beginning to such business, he had mentioned the subject to some of the English knights, on the Monday, when they were in the king's tent before Bourbourg; which knights had promised, on their arrival in England, to propose it to the king, his uncles, and his council. However, to show that this matter was quite agreeable to him, and that he was anxious about it, he sent two of his knights to England under good passports. These knights, the lord de la Houssaye and the lord de Mailly, managed matters so well, that the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Buckingham, the bishop of Hereford, the lord John Holland, brother to the king, the lord Thomas Percy, and others of the king's council, were ordered to Calais, having full powers from the king of England to conclude a peace or truce, according to their pleasure. On the other hand, there came to Boulogne the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the bishop of Laon, and the chancellor of France, having also full powers from the king of France and his council to conclude either a peace or truce.

When assembled at Calais and Boulogne, they were delayed a short time by the non-arrival of the deputies from Spain; for the French would not enter into any treaty that did not at the same time include the Spaniards. At last, a bishop, a dean, and two knights arrived on the part of the king of Spain. As they were not

* Writs were issued to the sheriffs of London, Somerset, Dorset, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, to levy on the goods of sir W. Elmham, for 3080 golden francs—sir W. de Farndon, 1400 ditto—sir Thomas Trivet, 1400 ditto—sir Henry de Ferrers, 6080 ditto—Robert Fitzrauf, 300 ditto. They were also taken into custody; but no mention is made of the Tower of London. Robert de Foulmer, clerk, treasurer to the bishop of Norwich, was also imprisoned, and 700 golden francs levied on his goods. Dated 8th March—pardoned 14th May.—RYMER, ann. 1384, ann. 7 Ric. II.

empowered on either side to grant passports, that the negotiators from France might come to Calais, or the English go to Boulogne, it was settled between them, that the conference should be transferred to a village that had a church, half way between these two towns, above Buissem,* called Bolignes.† Thither all the parties went, and the lords, with their council, were together for many days. The duke of Brittany and the earl of Flanders were present, and the great tent of Bruges was pitched, wherein the earl entertained at dinner the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Buckingham, and the other English lords. Each negotiator kept up a grand state; but, notwithstanding there were many conferences holden, yet they could not agree upon a peace, for the French wanted the English to give up Calais, Guines, and all the fortresses which they possessed in Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, Saintonge, and La Rochelle, as far as the river Garonne. But the English would not any way listen to such a proposal; nor would they ever consent to give back such places as Calais, Guines, Cherbourg, or Brest. These conferences lasted three weeks, in which they or their councils discussed these matters daily.

At this period, the gallant duke Winceslaus of Bohemia departed this life in the town of Luxembourg: he was in his time magnificent, blithe, prudent, amorous and polite;‡ and, when he died, it was said that the prince of the highest birth, of the most noble blood, and most numerously and honorably connected, was gone. God have mercy on his soul! He lies buried in the abbey of Vaucler, near Luxembourg. The lady Jane, his duchess, remained a widow, and never had any inclination to marry again. All who loved the duke were exceedingly concerned at his death.



FUNERAL OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—Bearing the body into the Church, with an array of Priesthood, &c.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

DURING THESE CONFERENCES THE GHENT MEN INSULT TOURNAY. A TRUCE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND AND THEIR ALLIES.

We will now return to the conferences which were holding between the lords of France and England, half-way between Calais and Boulogne, at the before-mentioned village. Neither side seemed willing to accommodate the other. Some said it was owing solely to the earl of Flanders, at the instigation of the town of Bruges, who would not consent that the Ghent men should be included in the treaty. This the English resented, and of course the treaty was stopped; for they had formed so strong a connection with Ghent, that they would not conclude a peace unless that place were included. They had sworn to observe this during the time they were together at Calais, and this compact frequently interrupted the negotiations.

Since there seemed no probability of a solid peace being made, they proposed a truce, and on this ground the conferences were continued. The earl of Flanders would willingly have had Ghent excluded, and remain in a state of war, but the English absolutely refused to consent, so that a truce was made to comprehend Ghent, and everything was to remain in its present situation, without any surrender of forts: Oudenarde and Gravelines therefore belonged to Ghent. Notwithstanding the conferences, the Ghent men in garrison at Oudenarde marched to Tournay, burnt the suburbs, and returned back in safety with their pillage. About Christmas the Ghent men went and received the rents of the lord d'Estournay in his own town, which made him very melancholy; and he swore to God, that if he would be pleased to assist him, whatever treaty or agreement should be made between the country of Flanders and these men, he would never pay any attention to it, but would continue the war against them to the utmost of his power, for they had robbed him of his inheritance. He was ignorant how he should live, if his friends in Brabant did not assist him, so completely had they plundered him.

With some difficulty, the lords who had held so many conferences at Bolinges concluded a truce between the kings of France and England and their allies. On the part of France was included all Spain, as well as Scotland. The king of France bound himself to send notice of this truce to the king and barons of Scotland as speedily as possible; and the bearers of this information were to have passports for their safety, in going to and returning from Scotland through England.

On the part of the English were included all their allies and adherents, wheresoever they might be. Ghent was expressly mentioned in all their deeds, to the great displeasure of the earl of Flanders. This truce was to last until the Michaelmas of the year 1384: and these commissioners were to see that the articles were duly observed, having full powers to enforce them. Public acts were made of each different article for the better observance of them; and the lords present swore they should all be loyally kept, and in no way infringed.

* Probably what is now Haut Buisson.

† Q. If not Bollinghem, now a village, near Boulogne.

‡ Noble, gallant, frisque, sage, *armeret* et amoureux—noble, handsome, lively, wise, *valiant*, and amorous.—ED.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS DIES. THE CEREMONY OF HIS FUNERAL.

On the conference breaking up, the French lords returned to France, and the English lords to Calais. The duke of Brittany went back to his duchy, and the earl of Flanders to St. Omer. Shortly after, he was taken so ill that he died.* It was ordered that he should be buried in the church of St. Peter in Lille. The earl departed this life on the 20th day of January, in the year 1383, and his body was carried to Los, an abbey near to Lille. The body of the countess his lady, who had died five years before in the county of Rethel, was also brought thither, and from thence to Lille, where they were interred together in the church of St. Peter.†

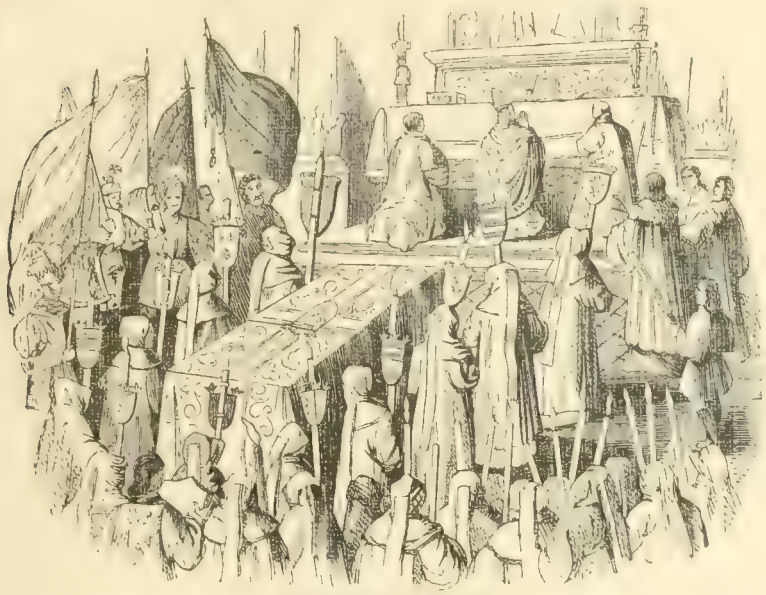
I will now relate the arrangement of this ceremony, and the manner in which it was conducted, and describe the order of procession at the funeral of the earl and countess of Flanders, whose bodies had been carried to Los, an abbey near Lille. When they were about to enter Lille, a great number of lords from France, Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, who had arrived there the eve of the funeral, were to meet the body at the gate of the Invalids, and to carry it through the town to the church of St. Peter. They were to be armed as for war, as well as their squires who supported them.

Sir John Haluin was nearest the body, supported by Enguerrand de Volemie, and Roger de l'Espierre: then the lord de la Marque, supported by John de l'Espierre, and the lord Sausée de Fretin; the lord de Mauvis, supported by Godfrey de Noille, and Henry de la Vacquerie. The names of those appointed to the convoy were, sir Peter de Bailleuf, near the body, supported by Guyot de Lompré, and John Louis lord of Lamberticourt: sir Sohier de Gand advanced before sir Peter de Bailleuf, supported by Hugart de Quinghen, and by Michael de la Quarrie: sir John du Moulin advanced before sir Sohier de Gand, supported by John de Quinghen and Haubequin le mareschal. Next followed the banners of the bier; first, sir Francis de Hasurquerque and sir Goussain le Sauvage in front; sir Lancelot de la Personne before sir Goussain, and sir John de la Helle before sir Lancelot de la Personne. Those who bore the banners of the

* Some authorities state that he was stabbed by the duke of Berri, because he insisted on receiving the homage of the latter for the earldom of Boulogne, held by himself in right of his wife.—ED.

† The earl of Flanders left only one legitimate child, Margaret of Flanders, his sole heiress, but he had eleven illegitimate children, the eldest of whom was Louis, before-mentioned, called the Haze. Anglice *Hare* of Flanders. The origin of this title is uncertain.—ED.

bier and convoy came next, sir Matthew de Hunieres, and before him sir John de Helles lord des Aveaux, and sir Cierchelart de la Barre before the above-named lord des Aveaux; and sir John de Paris before Cierchelart. The names of those barons who assisted to carry the corpse of the earl from the gate of the Invalids, in procession through the town of Lille, to the church of St. Peter: first, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, on the right, and the lord de Guistelles on the left; sir Valeran de Ravenal on the right, the castellan de Disquenieu on the left; the lord d'Estournay on the right, and sir Ansel de Salins on the left.



Placing the body before the Altar.

Those barons who assisted in bearing the corpse of the countess of Flanders from the gate of St. Ladre to the church of St. Peter were, the lord de Sully on the right, and the lord de Châtillon on the left side of the body; sir Guy de Pontalliers, marshal of Burgundy, on the right, sir Guy de Guistelles on the left; then sir Henry du Coing on the right, and the castellan of Furnes on the left.

I shall now mention the regulations on the day of the obsequies, which were performed in the church of St. Peter, the names of those present, as well as of the squires who supported the shields during the whole mass, until the offertory: first, the duke of Burgundy by himself, and the first shield was borne before him, which shield was supported by the lord de Ravenal, by the lord de la Gouneuse, by Labequini de la Coutre, and by John de Pontalliers, brother to the marshal of Burgundy.

The second shield was borne before my lord John of Artois, count d'Eu, and the lord Philip de Bar, by Valeran de la Sale and Lesclaus d'Annequin. Next followed the count de la Marche and the lord Philip d'Artois; the shield was borne by Gillon de Labert and Robin de Florigny. Then came sir Robert de Namur, and with him his nephew sir William de Namur: the shield was borne by Chaux Bernard and Girard de Sternaille.

The shields of the convoy: the lord d'Anghien, and with him sir John de Namur; the shield carried by Aillart de Ponthées and Henry de Moucy. Next followed sir Esne de Châtillon, and the lord de Fere; the shield supported by John de Heluin and Edward de Castron; then the lord d'Ancoing and the lord de Guistelles: the shield-bearers were Tristan de Landres and John du Béart; then the lord de Moriennes and the lord de Silly: the shield borne by Fresingue and by Damas de Bucy.

Then came those who were to make offerings of the war-horses of the earl: first my lord de Châtillon and sir Simon de Lalain, bailiff of Hainault. These lords were on foot, and the horse was armed and caparisoned; with the second horse were sir Valeran de Ravenal and the castellan de Dixmude: with the third, sir Hugh de Melun and the lord d'Aucy: the lord de Burnel and the lord de Brumeu were with the fourth horse. Then came those who were to offer the steeds of the convoy: first, sir Henry d'Ancoing and sir Gerard de Guistelles; with the second, the lord de Montigny and the lord de Rasenghien; the lord de la Haurade and the castellan de Furnes were with the third; and the fourth had the lord de Saugmelles and sir Rowland de la Clicque.

Next came those who were to offer the earl's swords of war; my lord admiral of France bore the first, the lord de Rary the second, the marshal of Burgundy the third, the lord de Saint Py the fourth. The names of those who offered the swords of the convoy: sir William de Ponthieu bore the first, sir William de la Trimouille the second, the castellan of Ypres the third, and sir Guy de Hancourt the fourth. Then came those who offered the war-helmets of the earl; the lord de Manly bore the first; the second was borne by sir William de Hornes and sir Ansel de Salins: sir John Doppem and the castellan of St. Omer had the third; and sir Guy Guistelles and le Galois d'Aunoy the fourth.

The helmets of the convoy were borne and offered as follows: the first by sir Josse de Hallain and sir Oliver de Guffy; the second by the lord d'Ysebobecque and the lord de Lalain;* the fourth by sir Tristan du Bois and sir John de Jumont. Then came those who offered the banners of war: the lord de Listrenaille offered the first, sir Leoncel d'Airainnies the second, sir Giles de la Gouneuse the third, and sir John de Luisolom the fourth. The banners of the envoy were next offered: the first by sir Orengois de Rely, the third† by sir John de Disquenieu, and the fourth by sir Vilaines de la Clicque.

Those who, after the obsequies were ended, laid the body of the earl of Flanders in the earth were, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, the lord de Guistelle, sir Valeran de Ravenal, the castellan de Dixmude, the lord de Ray and Sir Ansel de Salins. Those who interred the body of the countess, consort to the earl, were, sir Guy de la Trimouille, the lord de Châtillon, the séneschal of Burgundy, the lord Gerard de Guistelles, sir Henry d'Antoing, and the castellan of Furnes.

Placing the body in the Tomb.

It should be observed, that all who officially had entered the

* The third is not mentioned in any of my editions.

† The second is forgotten

church of St. Peter at Lille, with the corpse in the evening, remained there until the mass of the morrow, as well those knights who were armed as those who bore the banners, and the squires who led the horses. There were about four hundred men, clothed in black, appointed to carry the body of the earl and countess of Flanders, through Lille, to the church of St. Peter, and each of them bore a torch in his hand. These four hundred men held their torches on the morrow in the church during mass, and they were all of them officers in the principal towns or of the earl's household.

The archbishop of Rheims celebrated the mass, assisted by the bishops of Paris, Tournay, Cambray and Arras, and likewise by five abbots. There were in the church, during the obsequies, seven hundred candles or thereabouts, and each candle weighed one pound. On the catafalque were five banners; in the centre, the banner of Flanders; on the right, that of Artois; on the left, lower down, that of Boulogne; the fourth of Nevers, and the fifth of Rethel. The catafalque was emblazoned on the right side with the scutcheons of Flanders, and on the left with those of Flanders and Brabant. Down the church were twelve hundred and twenty-six candles, similar to those around the bodies. There was not any lady or damsel present on the part of the duke or duchess of Burgundy except the lady of the governor of Lille.

A magnificent dinner was provided, and every knight and squire were gratuitously entertained the day and night of the obsequies; and all the black cloth they had worn was given to them. After this ceremony they all returned to their homes.

The duke of Burgundy placed in the garrisons and towns in Flanders, knights and squires, notwithstanding the truce which had been made between France and England, and between their allies, for every one was on his guard. The duke of Burgundy then returned to France, but the lady-duchess remained a considerable time in Artois.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

THE EARLS OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND NOTTINGHAM RAISE A BODY OF ENGLISH TO MAKE AN EXCURSION INTO SCOTLAND. EMBASSADORS ARE SENT FROM FRANCE TO SCOTLAND, TO NOTIFY THE TRUCES WHICH HAD BEEN MADE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

You have before heard how the lords of France who had attended the conferences in Bolinge had engaged on their departure to notify the truces that had been made between them and the English, to the Scots and to the king of Scotland, so that any misunderstanding should be prevented between the two countries. The council of France, however, to say the truth, did not use all the diligence they should have done; for they were to have sent instant information of this truce, which they did not do. I know not how this happened, except it were owing to the duke of Burgundy being so much engaged by the death of his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, and taken up with the business of his obsequies, as you have heard related. He likewise did not imagine the English would have acted as they did; for, soon after Easter, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the barons of Northumberland, collected a body of about two thousand lances and six thousand archers, with which they marched by Berwick and Roxburgh, and entered Scotland.

They burnt all the lands of the earl of Douglas and of the lord Lindsay, and left nothing unmolested as far as Edinburgh. The barons of Scotland were not apprised of this invasion, and took the affair much to heart, saying they would revenge it to the utmost of their power. They added, that the English ought to have been at peace with them according to what had been reported of the truce; but they knew not this for certain, as in fact it had not at that time been notified to them; and they well knew that they had not entered into any treaty with the English. The war was thus begun; and they had suffered in the first instance from it, which greatly displeased them. Intelligence soon spreads abroad; it was known in Flanders, particularly at Sluys, from some merchants who had sailed from Scotland, that the English had invaded that country, and that king Robert and his barons were collecting a numerous force to engage the English. It was also known in France that the English had taken the field, and they said among themselves that a battle must be the consequence.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the king's council, hearing this news, said it was foolishly done not to have notified the truce to Scotland, according to their promise. It was then ordered by the king, his uncles and his council, that sir Hemart de Massé, a very prudent knight, should go to Scotland, properly authorized, and with him sir Peter de Flamel; and a serjeant-at-arms of the king, who was of the Scots nation, and called Janequin Champenois, was likewise ordered to attend them, because he was acquainted with the country and understood the language. While these embassadors were making their preparations, and the English overrunning Scotland, the news of which was spoken of everywhere, several men-at-arms from France who had fixed their residence at Sluys, not knowing where to offer their services, as a truce was now established between France and England, resolved to go to Scotland. They heard the news of this war between Scotland and England; and it was confidently said at Sluys, that an engagement must very soon take place. These men-at-arms, such as sir Geoffry de Charny, sir John de Plassy, sir Hugh de Boulon, sir Sainge de Villiers, sir Garnier de Libourne, sir Garnier de Gussangin, sir Odin de Motin, sir Robert de Campignen, James de Montfort, John de Heluin, John de Mellez, Michael de la Barre, William Gobart, heard this information with pleasure: they might amount to about thirty men-at-arms, knights and squires.

In order to advance their renown, they had determined among themselves, since they knew not where to offer their arms, to hire a vessel and seek for adventures with the Scots. This resolution they followed, and having embarked all their arms and baggage, they themselves went on board, and set sail from Sluys as soon as the wind became favorable. They left their horses behind, on account of the dangers of the sea and the length of the voyage: besides, the mariners who conducted them knew they could not land at Edinburgh, Dunbar, nor any of the adjoining ports, on account of the English fleet, with the purveyances which followed the army, being masters of all the havens.

About this time the embassadors from France arrived in England, and waited on the king and his uncles, who entertained them handsomely. They dissembled a little the first day, because they knew a war was carrying on in Scotland; but, on hearing their people had finished the business, they hastened the messengers from France, sir Hemart de Massé and the others, and, for their greater security, ordered some of the king's heralds to attend them through England, and to have all towns and castles opened to receive them. This being arranged, they set out on their embassy. The French knights who had sailed from Sluys, by coasting the shores of Holland and England, and carefully avoiding the English fleets, arrived safely at a small sea-port in Scotland, called Monstres.* The Scots who lived in the town, hearing that the passengers were Frenchmen, come hither to seek for deeds of arms, showed them great kindness, and supplied them with every necessary to the utmost of their power. When these knights and squires had refreshed themselves for two days, and had gained sufficient intelligence, they set out mounted on hackneys, and rode to Dundee, from whence, continuing their journey as well as they could, they came to Perth, a handsome town. The river Tay runs by it; there is a good sea-port, from whence one may sail to any part of the world. On their arrival at Perth, they learnt that the English had retired, and that the king and all the nobility of Scotland were assembled in parliament at Edinburgh. Upon this they resolved to send sir Garnier de Cuissangin and Michael de la Barre, to Edinburgh, to have a conference with the king and the nobles, to know if they could be employed, and to testify their good will, at least, in coming from Flanders to Scotland: sir Geoffry de Charny and the rest were to remain at Perth, until they heard how they had been received.

As they had resolved, so was it executed: the embassadors set out from Perth and came to Edinburgh, where the king was. The earl of Douglas was there, whose name was James, for sir William, the present earl's father, was lately dead: there were present also the earls of Moray and Orkney, the lords de Versi, Sutherland, Lindsay and his six brothers, who were all of them knights. These Scots lords entertained very handsomely the knights of France. Sir Garnier explained to the king and his barons the intentions of his companions, and their reasons for coming to Edinburgh. The embassadors from France, sir Hemart de Massé, sir Peter de Flamel and Janequin Champenois, arrived with copies of the truces entered into between the kings of France and England; but the Scots having no inclination to accept them, dissembled, by saying that they had come too late, and that they should not now pay any attention to them, for the English had just made a grevious war on the country. King Robert did everything he could for their being accepted, saying, that in truth, since they had been notified to them, they had not any pretence for a refusal: this caused a difference between the king and the knights of his country.

The earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the children of Lindsay, and such knights and squires of Scotland who wished for war, held a secret meeting in the church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, where the French knights, sir Garnier and Michael de la Barre, were desired to attend. The Scots barons said they would enter into a treaty with their companions, and they should soon hear good news from them, but it must be kept secret. Upon this they returned to Perth, and related all they had seen and heard.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

THE BARONS AND KNIGHTS OF SCOTLAND, IN CONJUNCTION WITH SOME FRENCH KNIGHTS, UNDERTAKE AN EXPEDITION INTO ENGLAND WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND, WHO SENDS A HERALD TO MAKE HIS EXCUSES TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Sir Geoffry de Charny and the other knights and squires were much pleased at this intelligence. Leaving Perth, they continued their march until they arrived at Edinburgh. They gave not the smallest hint of their expectations, and had not remained there twelve days when the earl of Douglas gave them a secret invitation

* "Monstress." Mr. D. M'Pherson, in his excellent Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, translates it Melrose: but I think it must be a mistake, as Froissart calls it, "un petit port." From what follows it must be some small port near to Dundee, and I should suppose it to mean Montrose

to come to him, and at the same time sent horses to conduct them to his castle of Dalkeith. On the morrow after their arrival, he carried them to where the barons and knights of Scotland were mustering their men. In three days' time they amounted to upward of fifteen thousand on horseback, all armed according to the usual manner of the country. When the whole were collected, they said they would make an inroad, and revenge themselves on the English for the mischiefs they had done.

They began their march through the woods and forests of their country, and entered Northumberland, on the lands of the lord Percy, which they pillaged and burnt. They advanced still further, and then returned through the estates of the earl of Nottingham and the lord Mowbray, to whose lands they did much damage. They passed by Roxburgh: for they had a very large booty with them, as well in men as in cattle, and returned to their own country without any loss; for the English had been some time disbanded, and could not be reassembled in time to oppose them: they were, therefore, obliged to suffer this insult, as they had before given a similar one to the Scots. The king of Scotland could easily excuse himself for this inroad, as he had been kept entirely ignorant of their assembling and march. Since the country was so inclined, it was not material that he should know anything about it; but supposing he had known it, and there had been no other treaties than those which existed between the two countries, they would not have acted otherwise for him.

Notwithstanding the barons of Scotland, with the French knights, had thus invaded England, sir Hemart de Massé and sir Peter de Flamel continued to reside at Edinburgh, near king Robert: they allowed the Scots to act as they pleased, that it might not be said, nor the English suppose, that it was through their fault, or those of their country who had come with them, that the treaties had been infringed which had been concluded at Bolinghen by the nobles and council of France, England and Castille. The king of Scotland and the embassadors sent each a herald to England fully instructed what they were to say. When the heralds arrived in England, they found the whole country in motion, and eager to renew the war, by marching into Scotland. The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge were, however, anxious to go to Portugal and Castille in the course of the year, with a large body of men-at-arms and archers, under the power of one or both of them; for they considered themselves as heirs by their ladies to all Castille, and they wished to renew the war between the king of Portugal and the king of Castille. King Fernando was dead, and the Portuguese had crowned his bastard brother don John, a valiant man who wished for a war with the Spaniards, but not without having succors from England. Of this the duke of Lancaster was well informed, but dissembled his knowledge as well as he could, and endeavored through his friends to prevent any forces being collected to carry on a war with Scotland. It was asserted, that the king of Scotland had refused to authorize the war which the French and Scots knights wished for, and that the late expedition had been made without his knowledge.

The Scots herald on his appearance before the king of England and his uncles, well knowing his duty, threw himself on his knees, and requested that, as herald from the king of Scotland, he might deliver his message. The king and the nobles granted his request: he then declared why he had been particularly sent by the king and the embassadors from France, and excused them, by saying, that the king of Scotland had graciously received the embassy from France, and having assented to the treaties which the king of France had made, should conform to the truce: that he had ordered, as strongly as lay in him, his vassals to do the same; but that the borderers of Scotland, on the lands of the lord Percy and the earl of Nottingham, such as the earl of Douglas, the earl of Mar his uncle, sir Archibald, sir Rame, sir Peter, sir William and sir Thomas Douglas, all the brothers of Lindsay and Ramsay, with sir William Seton, would not attend the parliament in which this treaty was agreed to, nor would they accept it; for they said there had been such damage done to their lands as was disagreeable to themselves and friends, which they would revenge the very first opportunity. These lords, whom I have just named, collected their forces to invade England, but they never mentioned it to the king, nor to any of his household, for they well knew he would not have consented to it. "They say, however, in Scotland, that England began hostilities; that, my lords, you knew well a truce had been concluded beyond sea; and that on your return from Calais, it ought to have been signified to us. They say likewise, that the embassadors from France, when they passed through this country, were detained from coming to us as they were bound to do, and that you kept them too long here with your entertainments: on which accounts, this misunderstanding has happened between Scotland and England, urged on by those who had long meditated it, and under shadow of dissimulation the greater part of it has been effected. But my most redoubted and sovereign lord, the king of Scotland, and the embassadors from the king of France, who reside at present with him, exculpate themselves from any knowledge of the last expedition which the barons and knights of Scotland made into England, having been completely ignorant of it. Therefore, to redress all complaints and place things on a proper footing, I am ordered to say, that if you will conform to the treaties concluded beyond sea through the discretion and wisdom of the counsellors of the king of France and your own, and will agree that the truces last the time such truces have been agreed to with my very redoubted and sovereign lord the king of Scotland, he and his council will confirm them, and swear to keep and maintain them, out of respect to the king of France and his council, as well by himself as by his vassal; and upon this subject you will be pleased to give me your answer."

The king of England and his uncles paid attention to the herald while he was speaking, and willingly heard him. The duke of Lancaster told him, that indeed he should have an answer. They ordered him to remain in London, where he had had his audience, to wait the answer from the king of England.

CHAPTER CL.

THE TRUCES WHICH HAD BEEN MADE BETWEEN THE FRENCH, THE ENGLISH AND THEIR ALLIES, ARE PROCLAIMED IN SCOTLAND. THE FRENCH KNIGHTS, ON THEIR RETURN FROM SCOTLAND, ARE IN GREAT DANGER FROM THE ZEALANDERS.

At the end of two days, the council agreed on an aswer. Sir Simon Burley, chamberlain to the king, drew it up: and by these means all disputes were settled. To say the truth, the lords of England who had been at the conferences at Bolinghen had not acted very honorably when they had consented to order their men to march to Scotland and burn the country, knowing that a truce would speedily be concluded: and the best excuse they could make was, that it was the French, and not they who were to signify such truce to the Scots. The herald was told, that in God's name he was welcome, and that it was the intention of the king of England, his uncles and council, to keep and maintain what they had sealed and sworn to, and that they would no ways infringe it, but, on the contrary, would preserve it, for those who had been most active had lost the most. The herald demanded all this to be put in writing, that he might the more readily be believed. They made him rich presents, and in such quantity that he was well contented, and greatly thanked the king and his nobles. Having left London, he continued his journey until he arrived in Scotland, where the embassadors from France were waiting to know his answer, for they were anxious to learn how the English would conduct themselves. When they saw the answers from the king and his uncles, in the sealed letters which were delivered to them, they were well satisfied and much rejoiced thereat. Thus was the truce continued for this year between England and Scotland, and for greater security it was proclaimed throughout the two kingdoms.

The French embassadors returned to their own country, through England, without any accident, and related to the king of France and his uncles what they had done, and the opposition they had met with: in short, they recounted everything you have just heard. When sir Geoffry de Charny and the French knights in his company found that the truce was to be established between Scotland and England, they took their leave of the barons of Scotland, more especially of the earls of Douglas and Moray, who had shown them much kindness. These barons of Scotland, as well as some other knights, said to them, joking, "Gentlemen, you have seen the condition and manner of our country, but you have not seen its whole strength and power. Know that Scotland is the country of the world most dreaded by the English; for we can, as you have seen, enter England at our pleasure, without any danger from the sea: if we were in greater numbers, we should do them more mischief than we are now able to do. Be so good, therefore, when you are in France, to tell this to your knights and squires, who shall be eager for renown, to excite them to come hither in search of deeds of arms. We can assure you, that if we had a thousand lances from France, with the good people here, we would give such a considerable blow to England that it should be visible for forty years to come. Have the goodness to remember this when you shall be on the other side of the water."

The French knights replied they would not fail to do so, for it was not a thing to be forgotten. Upon this they embarked on board a vessel they had engaged to carry them to Sluys; but they had contrary winds when at sea, which obliged them to run for a port in Zealand called la Virille.* When they had landed there, they thought they were in a place of safety, but were disappointed, for the Normans had lately visited the coast, and had done, as it was said, much mischief to the Zealanders. These knights and squires were in great danger; for, while a different language was held in the town, their vessel was seized, their trunks broken open, and their arms taken away, and they themselves in risk of losing their lives.

At that time there was in the town a squire of the count de Blois, whose name was Jacob, an agreeable man, who assisted them in all things. He talked with the principal people of the town, and with such good effect that a part of their baggage was restored to them. In order to save them from their peril, for he knew the people were much enraged against them, and had intentions of attacking them on the sea, as they had sent notice of their plans to the neighboring towns, and were in sufficient force to do so, he showed them much courtesy, and out of affection to them, explained how greatly the

* "La Virille" [illegible]

country was exasperated against them, but that, out of regard to his lord and the realm of France, he would counteract it. They warmly thanked him for his kind intentions. Well, what did Jacob do? He went to a mariner and hired a vessel to carry him wherever he pleased, saying his intentions were to go to Dordrecht. The mariners having agreed to this proposal, he and his company embarked on board the vessel, and at first made for Dordrecht; but, when Jacob saw it was time to alter their course, he said to the sailors, "Now, mind what I am going to say: I have hired with my money this vessel to carry me whithersoever I shall please: turn, therefore, the helm for Strueghene,* as I want to go thither." The sailors refused to do so, saying they had been only engaged to sail to Dordrecht. "Attend to me," replied Jacob: "do what I have ordered you, if you do not wish to be put to death." The sailors dared not make any reply, for they were not the strongest; so they at once turned the helm and set the sails, and made for the town of Estrimohee,† where they arrived without fear of danger, for it belonged to the count de Blois. After they had refreshed themselves, they departed and returned through Brabant and Hainault to their own country, thanking Jacob for the kindness he had done them.

When sir Geoffry de Charny, sir John de Plaissy and the other knights and squires who had been in Scotland, returned to France, they were interrogated as to news from that country. They related all they had seen and heard from the barons and knights of Scotland. Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, conversed on the subject with sir Geoffry de Charny, who was surprised, as well as other barons of France, to hear that the French, through Scotland, could gain an easy entrance into England. Sir Hemart de Massé continued the conversation, and added, the Scots could not any way love the English; and he had been directed to say this by order of the Scots council, that the king of France and his uncles might have information of it. The French instantly determined, as soon as the truces should be expired, to send a powerful army to Scotland to lay waste England. This was planned by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who at that time governed the realm at their pleasure, and the constable of France; but the whole was kept very secret.

CHAPTER CLI.

THE LORD DESTOURNAY ASSEMBLES FORCES TO RETAKE OUDENARDE. HE CONQUERS IT BY STRATAGEM.

You have before heard how Francis Atremen took by scalado the town of Oudenarde, while the treaties for a truce were negotiating before Bergues and Bourbourg, to the great surprise of Tournay and the adjacent towns. The garrison of Oudenarde, during this time, had overrun the country: and done much mischief to the territories of Tournay: the whole estate of the lord Destournay was under their subjection. They had at the feast of Christmas collected his rents and duty-fowls, from the towns belonging to him, for their own use, which displeased him and his friends exceedingly. He therefore declared, that whatever truce or respite there might be between the kings of France and England with the Flemings, he should not pay any attention to it, but would exert himself in doing them as much damage as he was able, for they had so grievously oppressed him that he was become a poor man.

The lord Destournay turned his whole attention to retake Oudenarde, and succeeded through the friendship of some knights and squires from France, Flanders, and Hainault, who assisted him in it. When he sent to these friends, several were ignorant of his intentions. The expedition was undertaken on the 17th day of May, 1384; for the lord Destournay learned by his spies, that Francis Atremen was gone to Ghent, trusting to the truce which had been made with the French: by so doing he committed a fault, and was no longer attentive to guard Oudenarde, as I shall relate. The lord Destournay formed a considerable ambuscade of four hundred knights, squires and good men-at-arms, whom he had entreated to assist him. These he posted in the wood of Lart, near to the gate of Oudenarde. There were among them sir John du Moulin, sir James de la Trimouille, sir Gilbert and sir John Cacquelan, sir Roland de l'Espierre, sir Blanchart de Calonne, and the lord d'Estripouille, who was created a knight.

I will now relate their stratagem, and how those of Oudenarde were deceived by it. They filled two carts with provision, which they put under the charge of four hardy and determined men dressed as carters, clothed in gray frocks, but armed underneath. These carters drove the carts to Oudenarde, and gave the guards to understand that they had brought provision from Hainault to victual the place. The guards not thinking but all was right, drew up the portcullis, and allowed them to advance on the bridge. The carters knocked out the pins which held the traces of the horses, and flung them into the ditch. Upon this the guards cried out to them, "Why do not you drive on?" and taking hold of the horses, drove them before them, and thus left the carts standing, for, as I said, they were unharnessed. The guards then found out that they had been deceived and betrayed, and began to strike the carters, who defended themselves ably: for they were well-armed under their frocks, and were men of tried courage. Having killed two of the guards, they were instantly reinforced; for the lord Destournay followed them so close with his men, that the guards fled into the town, crying out, "Treason, treason!" but before the townsmen could be awakened, the men-at-arms had entered it, and killed all who put themselves on their defence, shouting out as they came to the square, "Victory!" Thus was Oudenarde won. Of the Ghent men, full three hundred were killed or drowned. A large sum was found in the town, belonging to Francis Atremen, which I heard amounted to fifteen thousand francs.

News was soon spread abroad, that Oudenarde had been taken during the truce, which angered the Ghenters much, as was natural, for it nearly affected them. They held a meeting on this subject, and resolved to send to the duke of Burgundy to remonstrate with him on the capture of Oudenarde during the truce, and to say, that if it were not delivered back to them they should consider the truce as broken. But the duke excused himself, declaring he had not interfered any way in the business, and that as God might help him, he was entirely ignorant of this expedition of the lord Destournay: he added, that he would willingly write to him, which he did, and order him to give back Oudenarde, for it was neither honorable nor agreeable to the duke to capture any towns, castles, or forts during a truce.

The lord Destournay acknowledged the letters from the duke, and in answer said, that the garrison of Oudenarde had always made war on his lands, whether truce or no truce, and had seized on his inheritance, and that he had never consented to any truce with them; that he had conquered Oudenarde in fair war, and that he would keep possession of it as his own proper inheritance until Flanders and Ghent should be completely reunited, for his other property had been ruined by the war. Things remained in this state, for nothing better could be done.

Francis Atremen was very much blamed for not having better guarded the place, and especially by the lord de Harzelles, insomuch that Francis was wroth with the knight, and high words ensued, adding, whatever he might have done in regard to Oudenarde, he had always acquitted himself loyally toward Ghent. This provoked answers, and the lie was given on both sides. Shortly after, the lord de Harzelles was killed; and some say that Francis Atremen and Peter du Bois were the authors of it. About this time, the Ghent men requested the king of England to send them a valiant man for governor, and one who was connected with the crown by blood. In consequence, the king sent to Ghent one of his knights, a gallant man of sufficient prudence to govern the town: his name was sir John Bourchier,* who remained governor of Ghent upward of a year and a half.

CHAPTER CLII.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU DIES AT A CASTLE NEAR NAPLES. HIS WIDOW IS ADVISED TO SOLICIT THE POPE FOR THE POSSESSION OF PROVENCE.

You have before heard how the duke of Anjou, who styled himself king of Sicily and Jerusalem, had marched into la Puglia and Calabria, and had conquered the whole country as far as Naples: but the Neapolitans would never turn to his party, and continued the support they had always given to the lord Charles Durazzo. The duke of Anjou remained on this expedition three whole years; you may suppose, therefore, that his expenses were very great, for there is no treasury, however rich, but men-at-arms will drain it: whoever is desirous of their services must pay them well, if they expect any advantage from them. It must certainly have cost the duke immense sums of money; but those who sunk his treasury the deepest were the earl of Savoy and the Savoyards. That earl, however, and a great many of his knights, died on this expedition, which weakened the duke of Anjou in men. It was on this account that he sent to France to implore the assistance of his brothers the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who did not fail him in his necessities, but replied that they would support him with men and money. These two dukes considered who would be the proper persons to send on this expedition. After having maturely weighed everything, they thought they could not fix better than on the gallant lord de Coucy and the lord d'Anghien, count de Conversano,† whose earldom is situated in la Puglia.

These two lords, having been solicited to undertake the business by the king of France and his uncles, cheerfully complied, for it was highly honorable to them. They instantly began their preparations, and set off as speedily as possible with a handsome company of men-at-arms: but when they arrived at Avignon, and were busily employed in forwarding their troops and other business, certain intelligence was brought them of the death of the duke of Anjou at a castle near Naples.‡ The lord de Coucy, on hearing this, advanced no further, seeing that the expedition was at an end; but the lord de Conversano continued his march, for he had many things to settle in his own

* "Strughene." Q. Gertruidenberg. † "Estrimohe." Q.

* "Sir John Bourchier." Lord Bourchier of Essex.—See DUGDALE.

† Conversano is a town in the Neapolitan dominions, near Bari: its bishopric is suffragan to Bari.

‡ He died at Biseglia, near Bari, the 20th or 21st September, 1384.—*Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

The authors of the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, by mistake, have placed his death at Paris, but with the same date.

country, in la Puglia and in Conversano. This intelligence was soon known in France to the king and his uncles, who supported the death of the king of Sicily as well as they could.

When madame d'Anjou, who resided at Angers, heard of the death of her lord, you may imagine she was greatly afflicted. The count Guy de Blois, her cousin-german, who lived at Blois, on receiving the news, set out with all his equipage to visit her at Angers, where he remained a considerable time comforting and advising her to the best of his abilities. From thence the queen came to France (for she styled herself queen of Naples, Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria, and Jerusalem,) to wait on the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to have their advice and comfort: she was accompanied by her two sons, Louis and Charles. The lady was advised by the nobles of her blood to go to Avignon, and entreat of the pope that she might have possession of Provence, which is a territory dependent on Sicily. The queen approved the advice, and made preparations for her journey, carrying with her her eldest son Louis, who was everywhere on the road called king, from being heir to the king his father; but these affairs were not so speedily terminated as I have pointed them out.

CHAPTER CLIII.

PREPARATIONS ARE MADE IN FRANCE FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH ENGLAND. THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT SUCCEEDS IN FORMING A MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE CHILDREN OF BURGUNDY AND THOSE OF HAINAULT.

During the winter, the French were busily employed in preparations to send forces to Scotland; but the truces were prolonged between the French and English, and their allies, from Michaelmas to the ensuing first day of May. They, however, continued their preparations by sea and land, for it was the intention of the council of France to carry on the war with vigor in the course of the next summer; and the admiral of France was to sail for Scotland with ten thousand spears, knights and squires. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon and the count de la Marche were ordered into Languedoc, Limousin, and Auvergne, with two thousand men, to recover certain castles which the English and pillagers held, and which did much mischief to the country. Great numbers of battle-axes were ordered to be made in Picardy and Hainault for the expedition into Scotland; and in Artois, Lille, Douay, and Tournay, much biscuit was made, and various other stores got ready along the coast from Harfleur to Sluys, which was the principal harbor whence this armament was intended to be embarked.

The duchess of Brabant, widow of Winceslaus duke of Bohemia, by whose death she had lost a companion and much comfort, which had caused her great grief, resided with her attendants at Brussels. She was much hurt at the troubles which existed in Flanders, and, if she had possessed the means, would most cheerfully have put an end to them; for she was daily hearing how the Ghent men were strengthening themselves by an alliance with the English, who promised them great support. She also saw that her nephew and niece of Burgundy, who were in truth her heirs, and among the greatest princes of the world, as well by their own heritages as by what they had in reversions, were very uneasy at these disturbances in Ghent. She knew that duke Albert, regent of Hainault, had two fine sons and two handsome daughters, neither of whom were yet married; but she had heard that the duke of Lancaster was very desirous to accomplish the marriage of his daughter Philippa, who had been borne to him by the lady Blanche his first wife, with the eldest son of duke Albert, who, by his own right, was heir to the countries of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand.

This lady foresaw, that if such an alliance should take place between Hainault and England, the French would be much hurt, and the fair country of Hainault harassed either secretly or openly, by all those who should pass and repass from France to Flanders. In addition to this, the Hollanders and Zealanders who bordered on the sea assisted the Ghent men in various ways, of which the duke of Burgundy and his council had been informed. He did not love duke Albert the better for this; not, however, that he was any way to be blamed for it; for with regard to the Hollanders and Zealanders, as the war in Flanders no way concerned them, he could not, neither ought he to have, forbidden the free course of commerce.

The good lady having considered all these things, and the dangerous consequences which might ensue, resolved to bring the duke of Burgundy and duke Albert to a good understanding, and offered herself as guaranty of all the treaties. She was determined also to prevail on the duke of Burgundy to receive the men of Ghent into his mercy. Clerks and messengers were immediately set to work: and she managed so well, that a conference was fixed to meet at Cambray on the part of the two dukes. They both assented to it, as well as their council, though neither of them knew the subjects this conference was to treat of. To this conference, which they had under their seals appointed to be held at Cambray, on the twelfth day in the ensuing January, the two dukes came, attended by their councils. The duchess of Brabant came thither also, who was the mover in the business. She first addressed the duke of Burgundy, saying, "He was the greatest prince on earth, and had very fine children: she, however, would be more happy if they were placed in a different situation from what they actually occupied, which would increase their worth; and, for the present, she could neither see nor point out any better place than Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, which would unite the whole country together, and give greater fear and alarm to its enemies; for, 'fair nephew,' added she to the duke of Burgundy, 'I know for a truth, that the duke of Lancaster, who is so powerful in England, is extremely anxious for his daughter to espouse my nephew, William of Hainault, and I certainly wish such good fortune may fall to your children rather than to the English.'" "My good aunt," replied the duke of Burgundy, "I return you my thanks, and, as a proof that I believe you, I shall allow you to unite my daughter Margaret with the youth of Hainault." Upon such good success, she instantly began to treat of this marriage. Duke Albert, to whom the proposition was quite new, replied very courteously, but said, he had not with him those whom he wished to consult on the subject. "And what advice do you want?" answered the duchess, "when it is a question to act properly, and keep your country in peace." "My wife," replied the duke; "for without her I shall do nothing: she is as much interested in my children as I am; and, besides, fair aunt, it will be proper that the nobility of the country be apprised of it." The duchess answered, "Well, God's will be done." She thought the best she could now do was to let them separate in good humor with each other, and desire they would permit her to call them again together in the same city during Lent, and that they would bring the duchess of Burgundy and madame de Hainault, with their councils, along with them.

The lady acted in all this so secretly, that very few persons knew anything of the matter, nor why this conference had been holden. In this state the two dukes left Cambray: the duke of Burgundy went to the city of Arras, where his lady was, and duke Albert returned to his duchess in Holland. The duchess of Brabant returned to her own country, and continually wrote to each party, but secretly. She had great difficulty to bring them and their ladies to Cambray, and labored hard at it; for she was very eager this marriage should take place, to confirm the union and friendship of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault. The duchess managed so well that the different parties and their councils met her and her council at Cambray, where was a grand display of pomp, for each was anxious to do honor to the other. The duchess Margaret of Burgundy and the duchess Margaret of Hainault were present, and the last very active in this business. She said, that if they wished to marry their son with Margaret of Burgundy, John of Burgundy must marry her daughter, by which the ties of affection would be the more strengthened.

It was much against the inclination of the duke of Burgundy to marry his children at once and to the same family. He thought it sufficient for his daughter to marry the heir of Hainault, and excused himself for not agreeing to the marriage of his son John, on account of his youth. The duke's intention was to marry him to Catharine of France, sister to his nephew the king of France. These treaties and conferences were, therefore, on the point of being broken; for the duchess of Bavaria declared, a marriage should never take place with her children, unless they were both married at the same time; and this resolution she kept, notwithstanding all they could say to make her alter it. The duchess of Brabant took great pains in going from one to the other, and in preventing the treaties from being broken off: she at last succeeded, by reasoning properly with the duke and duchess of Burgundy, to bring the affair again under consideration; and it was then agreed that the marriages should take place between the children of the duke of Burgundy and those of duke Albert.

This business had been delayed four or five days by an obstacle which had arisen from the council of the duke of Burgundy, who stated that duke Albert had only a reversionary interest in Hainault, for his elder brother William was then alive, though dangerously ill at Quesnoy, and he might survive his brother, and if that should happen, it was clear his other brothers would have the government of Hainault, and the children of duke Albert be driven from thence. This obstacle delayed the marriages a short time, which was employed in proving that duke Albert had no other brother but William, and that the country of Hainault must descend to him and to his children. When all this was cleared up, there was not any longer delay, but the marriages were concluded and sworn to for William of Hainault to have for his wife Margaret of Burgundy, and John of Burgundy to espouse Margaret of Hainault. They were all to return to Cambray the octave of Easter, in the year of grace 1385, to perform the ceremonies of the marriages.

CHAPTER CLIV.

THE KING AND THE NOBLES OF FRANCE AND HAINAULT LAY IN GREAT PROVISION OF STORES AT CAMBRAY. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER SENDS EMBASSADORS TO THE EARL OF HAINAULT. THE MARRIAGES OF THE CHILDREN OF BURGUNDY AND HAINAULT ARE CONCLUDED.

Things were in this state when they all left Cambray. The duke of Burgundy returned to the king in France; the duchess to Arras. Duke Albert and his duchess went to Quesnoy in Hainault; and the duchess of Brabant to her own country. Carpenters and masons, and all sorts of workmen, were instantly sent to prepare hotels in

the city of Cambray, and purveyors were also ordered thither to lay in vast quantities of provision; it was proclaimed, that every store was to be delivered into the city the week before the octave of Easter. When the king of France heard of this, he said that he would be present at the marriage of his cousins; and commanded his maîtres-d'hôtel to lay in there such provisions as was befitting him. The palace of the bishop had been retained for the duke of Burgundy, and was already preparing for him; but it was necessary to give it up to the king, and workmen were set to embellish it in a royal manner, as it appears at this day: for never was there a feast in the memory of man, nor for these last two hundred years, that had such grand preparations made for it. The nobility, in order to appear with the most pomp and magnificence, were no more sparing of their money than if it had rained gold on them; and each endeavored to outshine the other.

Intelligence of these marriages was carried to England, and how the dukes of Burgundy and Albert intended uniting their children together. The duke of Lancaster (who had nourished the hope that William of Hainault would choose his daughter, at least he had so been given to understand) was pensive and melancholy at this news; in order to be better assured of it, he determined to send, as embassadors, knights and squires of his household to Ghent, with instructions to talk with duke Albert on the subject. When they arrived at Ghent, they found there the lord Bourchier, Francis Atremen and Peter du Bois, who entertained them handsomely for two or three days. They then departed and went to Mons in Hainault; from thence to Quesnoy where duke Albert resided, and waited on him. The duke, the duchess, and their children, in honor of the duke of Lancaster received the English very politely, and the duke entertained them well, as did the lord de Gouvingen.

The master of the wool-staple of all England, being one of the envoys, delivered his credential letters, and spoke first. He strongly recommended the duke of Lancaster to his cousin duke Albert, and then began on the subjects with which he had been charged. Among other topics, as I have been informed, he asked the duke if it were his intention to persevere in the proposed union of his children with those of the duke of Burgundy. This speech moved a little the duke's choler, who replied, "Yes, sir, by my faith do I: why do you ask?" "My lord," said he, "I mention it because my lord of Lancaster has hitherto had hopes that the lady Philippa, his daughter, would have been the wife of my lord William your son." Upon this, duke Albert said, "My friends, tell my cousin, that when he marries any of his children, I shall never interfere: he therefore need not trouble himself about mine, nor how I marry them, nor with whom, nor when." This was the only answer the English had from duke Albert. The master of the staple and his companions took leave of the duke after dinner and went to Valenciennes, where they lay that night: on the morrow they returned to Ghent. More of them I know not, but I believe they returned to England.

Easter was the time fixed for the king of France, the dukes of Burgundy, of Bourbon, the duke Albert with the duchess his lady, the duchesses of Burgundy and of Brabant, sir William and sir John de Namur, to be at Courtray. The king resided in the bishop's palace, and each lord and lady at their own hôtels. You may easily imagine, that where the king of France was and so many of his nobles, there would also be the flower of his knighthood. The king arrived at Cambray on the Monday by dinner-time. All the nobles and ladies, having preceded him, went to meet him out of his city; into which he was escorted, and conducted to the palace, to the sound of numerous trumpets and minstrels. On Monday, the contracts of marriage were signed in the presence of the king and his nobles. The lord William was to possess from thenceforward the county of Ostrevant,* and the lady Margaret his wife was to have the whole territory and castlewick of Arquet in Brabant: the duke of Burgundy gave besides to his daughter one hundred thousand francs. Thus were the portions settled.

On Tuesday, at the hour of high mass, they were married, in the cathedral church of our Lady in Cambray, with great solemnity, by the bishop of Cambray, whose name was John, and a native of Brussels. There was a very magnificent dinner at the palace, to which were invited many of the great nobles. The king of France had the bridegrooms with their brides seated at his table. Several of the principal lords served the king and his guests, mounted on large war-horses. The constable and the admiral of France were seated at table. Sir Guy de la Trimouille and sir William de Namur served, with many other great barons of France. There had not been, for five hundred years, so magnificent or renowned a solemnity seen in Cambray as was that of which I am now speaking.

After this noble and grand dinner, great numbers of lords and knights armed and made themselves ready for the tournament. It was held in the market-place, and there were forty knights. The king of France tilted with a knight from Hainault called sir Nicholas d'Espinoit. This tournament was very handsome: the tilts were well performed and lasted a considerable time; a young knight, called sir John Destrenne, from near Beaumont in Hainault, won the prize. This knight tilted to the satisfaction of the lords and ladies, and received as the prize a clasp of precious stones, which the duchess of Burgundy took from her breast; and the admiral of France and sir Guy de la Trimouille presented it to him. These feasts and amusements continued until Friday, when they took leave of the king after dinner; and the king, the lords and the ladies, departed from Courtray. The duchess of Burgundy carried with her, to Arras, Margaret of Hainault, her daughter-in-law: and madame de Hainault carried madame Margaret of Burgundy to Quesnoy. Thus ended all this business.

* Ostrevant, or island of St Amand. This was formerly a part of the country of Valenciennes. It lies on the borders of Flanders and Artois.—BAUDRAND. [Q. if not Artois.]

CHAPTER CLV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY BETROTHES HIS DAUGHTER TO THE SON OF THE COUNT DE BLOIS. THE DUKE OF BOURBON AND THE COUNT DE LA MARCHE ISSUE THEIR SUMMONS TO INVADE LIMOUSIN.

About this time there was a treaty of marriage between Louis de Blois, son of the count Guy de Blois, and the lady Mary de Berry, daughter of the duke of Berry. The count de Blois carried his countess and his son Louis, well attended by lords and ladies, to Bourges in Berry, where the duke and duchess were waiting for them, who received them and their company most magnificently. Everything was there settled respecting this marriage, and the archbishop of Bourges betrothed them in the presence of a large company of nobility of both sexes. The marriage was not solemnized at that time, because both were very young; but all the contracts and engagements were signed, as to its future completion, in the presence of several great barons and knights. There were, at this betrothing, great feasts of dinners, suppers, dancings and carollings; after which, the count and countess returned with their son to Blois. The young lady remained with the duchess her mother, at a handsome castle in Berry called Mehun sur Yevre.*

At this time, the duke of Berry set out for Auvergne, Languedoc and Avignon, to visit pope Clement. It had been before determined that the duke de Bourbon and the count de la Marche should enter Limousin, with two thousand men-at-arms, to free the country from the English thieves, who were pillaging it; for there were still some castles in Poitou and Saintonge whose garrisons did much mischief; and, complaints of them having been made, the duke of Berry was desirous of providing a remedy for them. He had therefore entreated his cousin the duke de Bourbon to undertake it, and not to quit Limousin or Saintonge until he should have conquered the castle of Vertueil: for it was from that garrison the country had suffered the most. The duke de Bourbon accepted the command, and issued his summons for the assembling of his vassals in Moulins in the Bourbonnois, the first day of June. From thence they marched toward Limoges, and were met by several bodies of men-at-arms. The duke de Bourbon had at that time for his squire an amiable gentleman called John Bonne Lance,† master and captain of his men-at-arms. Of all the flower of his knights and squires, certainly this squire was well worthy of such a command.

The count de la Marche was to accompany the duke de Bourbon in this expedition, and made his preparations in the town of Tours.

* "Mehun sur Yevre"—four leagues from Bourges.

† "Bonne Lance." I suspect this is a *nom de guerre*, for no mention is made of him under this name in the life of the duke.

CHAPTER CLVI.

SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, SAILS TO SCOTLAND TO CARRY ON THE WAR AGAINST THE ENGLISH AT THE EXPIRATION OF THE TRUCE.

At this period, the men-at-arms who had been fixed on to accompany sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, to Scotland, arrived at Sluys in Flanders. He was to have under his command a thousand lances, knights and squires, and, I believe they were all there: for such was the ardor of those who wished to advance themselves, that several went with the admiral though they had not been summoned.

The fleet was ready prepared at Sluys, and the stores in great abundance and good. They embarked arms sufficient for twelve hundred men from head to foot. These they had brought from the castle of Beauté, near Paris, and they were the arms of the Parisians, which had been ordered to be deposited there. With the admiral were plenty of excellent men-at-arms, of the flower of knighthood. It was the intention of the admiral to give these arms to the knights and squires of Scotland, the better to succeed in their enterprise; for sir Geoffry de Charny and the others had told the king, on their return home last year, that the Scots were very poorly armed.

I will now name some of those lords of France who went into Scotland. First, Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, the count de Grand-pré, the lords de Verdenay, de Sainte Croix, the lord de Montbury, sir Geoffry de Charny, sir William de Vienne, sir James de Vienne, lord d'Espaigny, sir Girard de Bourbonne, the lord de Hetz, sir Florimont de Quissy, the lord de Marnel, sir Valeran de Rayneval, the lord de Beausang, the lord de Wainbrain, the lord de Rinolle, baron d'Yury, the lord de Coucy, sir Perceval d'Ameual, the lord de Ferrieres, the lord de Fontaines, sir Bracquet de Braquemont, the lord de Grandcourt, the lord de Landon, a Breton, sir Guy la Personne, sir William de Courroux, sir John de Hangiers, sir

Bery de Vinselin, cousin to the grand master of Prussia, and many other good knights whom I cannot name: there were a thousand lances, knights and squires, without reckoning the cross-bows and sturdy varlets.

They had favorable winds and a good voyage; for the weather was very fine, as it usually is in the month of May. The truces had expired between the French and English, the Ghent men and the Flemings, and all other parts. War was sought for, as it seemed, in every quarter; and these knights and squires who went to Scotland gallantly wished for it, as they said, with the assistance of the Scots they would make a good campaign, and carry on a successful war against England. However, the English, who had received intelligence of this expedition, very much suspected whither it was bound.

CHAPTER CLVII.

THE PILLAGERS OF GHENT, SURNAMED PORKERS, COMMIT MUCH MISCHIEF. FRANCIS ATREMEN DEFEATS SOME FRENCH TROOPS NEAR ARDEMBOURG.

The lord Bourchier, who had the government of Ghent by order of the king of England and the captains of the commonalty, Francis Atremen, Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre, had made every preparation, knowing the war was to be renewed. They had been very busily employed during the truce, in strengthening and victualing the town of Ghent, as well as the castle of Gauvre and all other places under their obedience.

At this period, there were a set of vagabonds who had taken refuge in the wood of Respaille, and had fortified themselves in a house so strongly that it could not be taken. They had been driven out of Alost, Grammont and other towns in Flanders: having wasted their all, and not knowing how to live otherwise than by plunder, they robbed and pillaged any one who fell in their way. The subject of universal conversation was these Porkers of la Respaille, which wood is situated between Regnais, Grammont, Anghien, and Lysines. They did much mischief in the castlewick of Ath, and on the lands of Floberge, Lysines and Anghien; and these pillagers were supported by Ghent. Under their countenance they committed many murders and robberies: they entered Hainault, from whence they dragged people out of their beds, and carried them to their fort, when they ransomed them, and thus made war on all mankind. The lord de Baudrius and de la Morte, castellan of Ath, watched them several times, but he could never catch them, for they were too well acquainted with the means of escaping. They were so much dreaded on the borders of Hainault and Brabant that none dared to travel those roads, nor through that part of the country.

The duke of Burgundy, in consequence of the renewal of the war, had reinforced the garrisons of his towns and castles in Flanders with men and stores. The lord de Guistelles was commander in Bruges, and sir John de Jumont in Courtray: for sir William de Namur was at that time lord of Sluys: sir Roger de Guistelle governed Damme, and sir Peter de la Sieple Ypres. Men-at-arms were stationed in all the frontier towns of Flanders by order of the duke of Burgundy. Sir Guy de Pontarlier, marshal of Burgundy, remained in garrison in the town of Ardembourg, with sir Rafflart de Flandres, sir John de Jumont, sir Henry du Coing, the lord de Montigny in Ostrevant, the lord de Longueval, sir John de Bernecte, sir Peter de Bailleul, Belle-Fourriere, Phelippot Ganey, Raoullin de la Folie, and several more, to the amount of two hundred combatants. They determined among themselves to make an excursion into the Quatre Mesteirs and ravage that country, for much provision was carried from thence into Ghent. They, therefore, having fixed on a day for this enterprise, armed themselves and marched thither.

The same day that the French had fixed on their expedition, about two thousand determined men had sailed out of Ghent under the command of Francis Atremen: accidentally they found themselves in a village in the midst of the French. When they had reconnoitred each other, they saw a battle was unavoidable. The French instantly dismounted, and, grasping their lances, advanced on the enemy: the Ghent men, who were as numerous, did the same. The combat began sharply; but the Ghent men advanced into a pass which was much to their loss, where the battle was more severe: many gallant deeds were done, and many beat down. Sir Rafflart de Flandres in that place showed the greatest courage; and the knights and squires engaged the Ghent men with determined valor, as indeed it behooved them to do, for quarter was given to none. At last the Ghent men, by having superior numbers, gained the field, and the French were obliged to mount their horses or they would have been slain, for their opponents much outnumbered them. In this encounter were killed sir John de Bernecte, sir Peter de Bailleul, Belle-Fourriere, Phelippot de Ganey, Raoullin de la Folie, and many others: the more the pity. The rest were obliged to fly and reënter Ardembourg, or they must inevitably have been killed.

After this event, the viscount de Meaux was sent with all his men-at-arms to garrison Ardembourg, which he repaired and strengthened. He had with him several knights and squires who were good determined soldiers. At this time sir John de Jumont was great bailiff of Flanders, and had been so for the two preceding years. He was much feared through all the country for his great prowess, and the deeds he had performed. Whenever he got hold of any Ghent men he put them to death, or had their eyes thrust out, or their hands, ears or feet cut off, and in this state sent them away to serve as an example to their fellow-citizens. He was so renowned throughout all Flanders for his pitiless justice in thus cruelly punishing the Ghent men, that no one was talked of but him in the whole country.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

THE DUCHESS OF ANJOU URGES HER CLAIM TO THE POSSESSION OF PROVENCE. GALEAS VISCONTI, COUNT DE VERTUS, ORDERS HIS UNCLE BERNABO VISCONTI TO BE IMPRISONED.

Thus was there confusion in all parts of the world, as well between the kings of France and England as between John king of Castille and the king of Portugal, for the war there had been renewed.

Madame d'Anjou, who retained the title of queen of Naples and Jerusalem, went to Avignon, where the pope resided, and there kept her state with her son Lewis, who styled himself king of Sicily, which his father had conquered. The queen had intentions to make war on the Provençals, if they did not acknowledge her as their sovereign lady and put themselves under her obedience. Sir Bernard de la Salle had already entered Provence and declared war in her name. At this time, the lord de Coucy was also at Avignon; for he had been confined to his bed for fifteen weeks from a bruise he had received on his leg during an excursion on horseback. On his recovery, he often visited the queen, and comforted her much, as he was well able to do. She was expecting the duke of Berry, who was on his road to Avignon to hold a conference with the pope, to assist her.

The king of France and his uncles had sent the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, to Provence, with five hundred men-at-arms, to make war on the Provençals, if they did not submit to the queen. Some had done so, but not all: however, the city of Marseilles and the greater part had surrendered themselves to her; but the cities of Aix and Trascon, and some knights of the country, refused to admit her claim to the county of Provence, until she had been peaceably acknowledged as queen, and her son as king, of la Puglia, Calabria, Naples and Sicily; and they said, that when she should be in quiet possession of the above, all Provence, as was just, would obey her. The count de Conversano and his son sir John de Luxembourg made war for her in those distant parts, against the lord Charles Durazzo. Sir John de Bueil remained with the queen, at Avignon, as her counsellor.

At this period, another marvellous event happened at Lombardy, which was the subject of general conversation. The count de Vertus, whose name was John Galeas Visconti,* and his uncle were the greatest personages in all Lombardy. Sir Galeas and sir Bernabo were brothers, and had peaceably reigned and governed that country. One of these lords possessed nine cities, and the other ten; the city of Milan was under their government alternately, one year each. When sir Galeas, the father of the count de Vertus, died, the affections of the uncle for his nephew were much weakened; and sir Galeas suspected, that now his father was dead, his uncle Bernabo would seize his lordships, in like manner as sir Galeas, his father, and uncle Bernabo had done to their brother sir Matthew, whom they had put to death. The count de Vertus was very supicious, and plainly showed that he had his fears of this event taking place. However, by his actions and the capture he made, he proved himself the more subtle of the two. I will relate the circumstance.

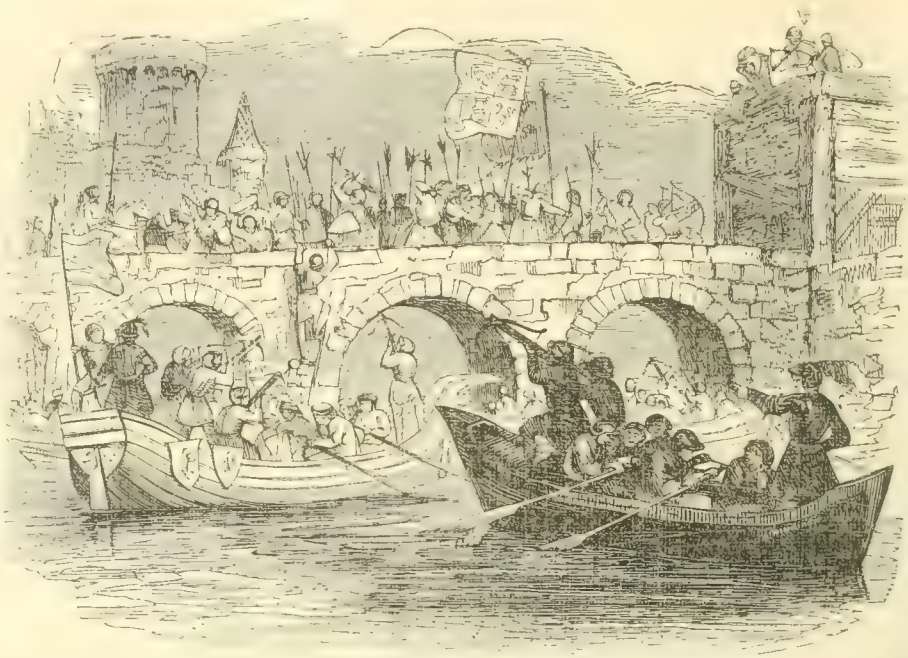
Sir Bernabo heavily oppressed that part of Lombardy of which he was lord, and taxed his vassals, two or three times a-year, a half or a third of their wealth; but none dared to murmur against him. Sir Galeas, count de Vertus, to acquire popularity and praise, did not levy any taxes on his possessions, but simply lived on his rents. This mode he had followed for five years, ever since the death of his father, which gained him so much the love of the Lombards, that they all praised him, and lived happily under him; while, on the contrary, they abused underhand sir Bernabo, who would not leave them anything. The count de Vertus (who had formed his plan, and was acting accordingly, from the suspicions he had of his uncle, and, as some said, from appearances having been manifested, that confirmed them) issued a secret summons to those in whom he confided the most: to some of whom he revealed his plan, but not to all, lest it should be made public. A day had been appointed by sir Bernabo to make an excursion of pleasure from one of his castles to another. Upon this, his nephew placed three ambuscades on the road sir Bernabo was to take; so that it was not possible but he must fall into one of them. He had ordered that he should be made prisoner, and on no account killed, unless he made too obstinate a defence.

Thus as sir Bernabo was riding from one town to another, mistrusting no evil, nor any way thinking of his nephew, but considering himself as perfectly safe, he entered one of the ambuscades, when the men planted in ambush instantly advanced to him full speed and with lances in their rests. Sir Bernabo had a German knight with him, who cried out, "My lord, save yourself! for I see people of a bad mien coming toward you, and I know them to be persons belonging to your nephew sir Galeas." Sir Bernabo replied, that "he

* John Galeas Visconti, count of Vertus, succeeded his father Galeas in the government of one-half of Lombardy in 1378.—Ed.

was not acquainted with any place where he could save himself, if they had any evil intentions against him, and that he was unconscious of having done anything against his nephew that should make him fly." Those who had been placed in ambuscade continued advancing toward sir Bernabo. When the German, who was a man of honor and knight of the body to sir Bernabo, saw them thus approaching his lord, having the sword of his master before him, he instantly drew it out of its scabbard and placed it in the hands of sir Bernabo (which was seen by those who were pressing forward;) and then the knight drew his own sword, like a valiant man, and put himself on his defence. This, however, did not avail, for he as well as sir Bernabo were instantly surrounded, and the knight was slain, under pretence that at the commencement he meant to defend himself; for whose death sir Galeas was afterwards sorely vexed.

Sir Bernabo was made prisoner without any defence made by him or his attendants, and carried to a castle where his nephew was, who was much rejoiced on his arrival. That same day his wife, and children that were marriageable were also arrested, and confined by the lord of Milan, who took possession of all the lordships, castles, towns, and cities which sir Bernabo held in Lombardy. His uncle died shortly after; but I know not by what means, though I believe it was from being bled in the neck, for in Lombardy they are accustomed to make such bleedings when they wish to hasten the death of any one.* News of this was soon spread abroad: some were pleased at it, others vexed; for sir Bernabo had in his time done so many acts of cruelty, and without reason, that few pitied him, saying, he had well deserved it. This was the end of sir Bernabo Visconti, who had reigned most powerfully in Lombardy.



GENOESE CROSS-BOWMEN attacking the Bridge of Taillebourg. The Archers taken from contemporary Illumination, and from Specimens of their Costumes and Weapons, in Sir Samuel Meyrick's Collection, Goodrich Court.

CHAPTER CLIX.

WILLIAM DE LIGNAC, SENESCHAL OF SAINTONGE FOR THE KING OF FRANCE, CONQUERS FROM THE ENGLISH THE CASTLE OF AIGLE. THE ARMY OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON TAKES MONTLIEU AND THE BRIDGE OF TAILLEBOURG, WHILE BESIEGING THAT PLACE.

We will now return to the army which the duke of Bourbon and the count de la Marche conducted into Poitou and Limousin. The duke left Moulins in the Bourbonnois, and marched with a handsome company of knights and squires to accomplish his expedition, attended by John de Harcourt his nephew. The duke of Bourbon had issued his special summons for those of Berry, Auvergne, Poitou, Rouergue, Saintonge, and Limousin, to assemble at Niort, twelve leagues from Poitiers. While this army was assembling, sir William de Lignac, a valiant knight and séneschal for the king of France of Saintonge, and governor of Millau,† resided in that country. He advanced into the Angoumois with all his men-at-arms, to the amount of two hundred combatants, and halted before the castle of Aigle, which the English possessed, and from this place during the winter and the preceding summer, they had exceedingly harassed the country.

Sir William, on his arrival at the castle, dismounted, and ordered his men to do the same, when they instantly began the attack. It was very severe and of long continuance, for those within it fought for their lives. Sir William performed such gallant deeds as proved him worthy of being their leader. He did not spare himself, and showed how they ought to attack it. The place was at last taken by storm, and the French, entering it by ladders, made prisoners of all that were found there, or put them to the sword. This first conquest this season was made by sir William de Lignac, as he was waiting for the duke of Bourbon and his army.

On the duke's arrival at Niort, he found plenty of men-at-arms impatient for his arrival. His cousin the count de la Marche, with a large body, the viscount de Tonnerre, sir Henry de Thouars, séneschal of Limousin, the lords de Pons, de Partenay, de Toure, de Pousanges, and many other barons of Poitou and Saintonge were there. Sir William de Lignac came thither to wait on the duke, having conquered the castle de l'Aigle, for which the duke felt himself obliged to him. When all these men-at-arms were mustered, they amounted to full seven hundred lances, not including the Genoese and the lusty varlets: in the whole, two thousand combatants. They then held a council whither they should turn their arms; to Bertueil, Taillebourg,* or Montlieu.† After having well considered each situation, they determined to march to Montlieu, because it was a strong castle near the moors of Bordeaux; and, if they should succeed in taking it, the others would be weakened, and none able to quit Bordeaux without their knowledge.

They marched through the Angoumois, and on arriving at Montlieu, prepared for the siege. Sir James Poussart and John Bonnelance were the leaders of the duke of Bourbon's men-at-arms, and of the whole army. They were not long besieging Montlieu before they made ready their ladders and other things, necessary for an attack. They surrounded the castle and began the assault, but those within defended themselves vigorously. The combat was sharp, long continued, and many gallant deeds were done; for the French mounted their ladders with rapidity, and fought hand to hand on the battlements with their daggers: in short, they exerted themselves so much that the castle was fairly won by storm, and most within perished.

When the lords of France had got possession of Montlieu, they reinforced it with a new garrison and stores, and then took the road to Taillebourg on the Charente. Dinandon de la Perate, a Gascon, was governor of this fortress, an able man-at-arms, who held the French cheap. When they came from Taillebourg, the duke of Bourbon and his company took two small forts which had much harassed the borders of Poitou and Limousin, la Froncette, and Archac: the garrisons were slain, and the castles given up to those of the adjacent countries, who instantly razed them to the ground.

The siege of Taillebourg was now formed, and four block-houses were erected before it. Near Taillebourg was a bridge, the Charente, which the English and Gascons had fortified, so that no vessel from la Rochelle or Saintonge could pass without great danger, unless by paying toll. The French lords determined to gain this bridge, to facilitate their other attacks, and to be in greater security in their block-houses. They ordered vessels ready prepared and armed to ascend the Charente from la Rochelle, in which they had placed large bodies of cross-bows and Genoese, to skirmish with those at the bridge. The attack was severe, for the English and Gascons had well fortified the bridge, and they defended it with

* Bernabo was seized by his nephew on the 6th of May and died on the 13th of December, 1385. Ed.

† "Millau." Q. if not Millac; which is in those parts.

* "Taillebourg," a town in Saintonge on the Charente, three leagues from Saintes.

† "Montlieu," a village in Saintonge, election of Saintes.

spirit, as it behooved them to do, for they were vigorously attacked by land and water. The eldest son of the count de Harcourt, named John, was made a knight at this assault, by his uncle the duke of Bourbon, and displayed his banner.

This attack on the bridge of Taillebourg was long continued: many gallant actions were performed; but the cross-bows and Genoese in the vessels shot so ably, that those on the bridge scarcely dared to appear and defend themselves. Why should I make a long tale of this? The bridge was carried by storm, and all found there slain or drowned: not one escaped. Thus did the French gain the bridge of Taillebourg. Their siege was carried on more eagerly for this. Taillebourg is situated three leagues from St. Jean d'Angely, and two from Saintes, in the finest country in the world.

Dinandon, and those in the castle, were much astonished and vexed at the capture of the bridge; and they had reason, for they lost by it the passage of the river. However, they would not surrender; for they felt themselves in a strong place, and expected succors from Bordeaux, as it had been currently reported on the borders of the Bordelois, and confirmed by all the English and Gascon garrisons, that the duke of Lancaster or the earl of Buckingham, was to arrive at Bordeaux with two thousand men-at-arms and four thousand archers, to combat the French and to oblige them to raise all their sieges: in this they placed great hopes, but it turned out otherwise, as I shall tell you.

In truth, before the army under the command of the admiral of France was prepared to sail for Scotland, it had been ordered in England that the duke of Lancaster, sir John Holland, brother to the king, sir Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, the lord Fitzwalter, sir William Windsor, sir John Silbain, and other barons and knights to the amount of a thousand lances and three thousand archers, should sail for Bordeaux, and remain there the whole summer, to reinforce Mortaigne, Bouteville, and those castles which held out for them in Gascony and Languedoc: they were to fight with the French, should they find them in the country; and, after having remained there a season, they were to march to Castille by way of Bayonne and Navarre, for there was a treaty between them and the king of Navarre. All this had been settled in the imaginations of the English, but it proved a disappointment; for, when they learned for a truth that the admiral of France with a thousand lances of chosen knights and squires were preparing to sail for Scotland, their counsels were changed, and none dared to think of quitting their country, nor of weakening their forces: for they much dreaded the consequences of this junction of the French with the Scots. There was also a report at this time, that England was to be attacked in three different parts by the French. One expedition was from Brittany, as it was said that the duke of Brittany was become a good Frenchman; another from Normandy, where the constable of France was making his preparations at Harfleur, Dieppe, and all along the coast as far as St. Valery and Crotoy; the third from Scotland. From fear of this, the government of England would not allow any knights or squires to quit the country, but attended to the fortifying of their harbors. At this season Richard, earl of Arundel, admiral of the English sea, was cruising with sixty or fourscore large vessels, armed and fitted with men-at-arms and archers: he had, besides, nine light vessels off Normandy to gain intelligence.

We will leave for a while the duke of Bourbon and the siege of Taillebourg, which lasted upward of nine weeks, and relate how the admiral of France, with the army under his command, landed in Scotland, and what a handsome reception, in appearance, they met with from the country.

CHAPTER CLX.

SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND WITH HIS ARMY. HE MEETS WITH BAD TREATMENT THERE.

The French army that was bound for Scotland had very favorable winds, for it was in the month of May, when the weather is temperate and agreeable. They coasted Flanders, Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, and advanced until they approached so near Scotland as to see it; but before they arrived there an unfortunate accident befel a knight of France and an expert man-at-arms, named sir Aubert d'Angers. The knight was young and active, and to show his agility he mounted aloft by the ropes of his ship completely armed; but, his feet slipping, he fell into the sea, and the weight of his armor, which sunk him instantly, deprived him of any assistance, for the ship was soon at a distance from the place where he had fallen. All the barons were much vexed at this misfortune, but they were forced to endure it, as they could not any way remedy it.

They continued their voyage until they arrived at Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, where the king chiefly resides when he is in that part of the country. The earls of Douglas and Moray, from the information they had received, were waiting for them in Edinburgh; and as soon as they were come, hastened to meet them at the harbor, and received them most amicably, bidding them welcome to their country. The Scots barons instantly recognized sir Geoffry de Charny, for he had resided full two months with them last summer in Scotland. Sir Geoffry made them acquainted, as he very well knew how, with the admiral and the barons of France. At that time the king was not in Edinburgh, but in the Highlands* of Scotland: his sons received them handsomely, telling them the king would shortly be there.

They were satisfied with this information, and the lords and their men lodged themselves as well as they could in Edinburgh, and those who could not lodge there were quartered in the different villages thereabout. Edinburgh, notwithstanding it is the residence of the king, and is the Paris of Scotland, is not such a town as Tournay or Valenciennes; for there are not in the whole town four thousand houses. Several of the French lords were therefore obliged to take up their lodgings in the neighboring villages, and at Dunfermline, Kelson,† Dunbar, Dalkeith, and in other villages.

News was soon spread through Scotland, that a large body of men-at-arms from France were arrived in the country. Some began to murmur and say, "What devil has brought them here? or who has sent for them? Cannot we carry on our wars with England without their assistance? We shall never do any effectual good as long as they are with us. Let them be told to return again, for we are sufficiently numerous in Scotland to fight our own quarrels, and do not want their company. We neither understand their language nor they ours, and we cannot converse together. They will very soon eat up and destroy all we have in this country, and will do us more harm, if we allow them to remain among us, than the English could in battle. If the English do burn our houses, what consequence is it to us? we can rebuild them cheap enough, for we only require three days to do so, provided we have five or six poles and boughs to cover them." Such was the conversation of the Scots on the arrival of the French: they did not esteem them, but hated them in their hearts, and abused them with their tongues as much as they could, like rude and worthless people as they are.

I must, however, say that, considering all things, it was not right for so many of the nobility to have come at this season to Scotland: it would have been better to have sent twenty or thirty knights from France, than so large a body as five hundred or a thousand. The reason is clear. In Scotland you will never find a man of worth: they are like savages, who wish not to be acquainted with any one, and are too envious of the good fortune of others, and suspicious of losing anything themselves, for their country is very poor. When the English make inroads thither, as they have very frequently done, they order their provisions, if they wish to live, to follow close at their backs; for nothing is to be had in that country without great difficulty. There is neither iron to shoe horses, nor leather to make harness, saddles or bridles: all these things come ready made from Flanders by sea; and, should these fail, there is none to be had in the country.

When these barons and knights of France, who had been used to handsome hotels, ornamented apartments, and castles with the good soft beds to repose on, saw themselves in such poverty, they began to laugh, and to say before the admiral, "What could have brought us hither? We have never known till now what was meant by poverty and hard living. We now have found the truth of what our fathers and mothers were used to tell us, when they said, 'Go, go, thou shalt have in thy time, shouldst thou live long enough, hard beds and poor lodgings;' all this is now come to pass." They said also among themselves, "Let us hasten the object of our voyage, by advancing toward England: a long stay in Scotland will be neither honorable nor profitable." The knights made remonstrances respecting all these circumstances to sir John de Vienne, who appeased them as well as he could, saying, "My fair sirs, it becomes us to wait patiently, and to speak fair, since we are got into such difficulties. We have a long way yet to go, and we cannot return through England. Take in good humor whatever you can get. You cannot always be at Paris, Dijon, Beaune or Châlons: it is necessary for those who wish to live with honor in this world to endure good and evil."

By such words as these, and others which I do not remember, did sir John de Vienne pacify his army in Scotland. He made as much acquaintance as he could with the Scottish barons and knights: but he was visited by so very few it is not worth speaking of; for, as I have said before, there is not much honor there, and they are people difficult to be acquainted with. The earls of Douglas and Moray were the principal visitants to the lords of France. These two lords paid them more attention than all the rest of Scotland. But this was not the worst, for the French were hardly dealt with in their purchases; and whenever they wanted to buy horses, they were asked, for what was worth only ten florins, sixty and a hundred: with difficulty could they be found at that price. When the horse had been bought there was no furniture nor any housings to be met with, unless the respective articles had been brought with them from Flanders. In this situation were the French: besides, whenever their servants went out to forage, they were indeed permitted to load their horses with as much as they could pack up and carry, but they were way-laid on their return, and villainously beaten, robbed, and sometimes slain, insomuch that no varlet dared go out foraging for fear of death. In one month the French lost upward of a hundred varlets: for when three or four went out foraging not one returned, in such a hideous manner were they treated.

* *En la sauvage Escosse.*"

† "Kelson"—Q. Kelso would have been too far distant

With all this the king required many entreaties before he would come forward: the knights and squires of Scotland were the cause of this, for they declared, they would not at this season wage war with England, that the French might pay more dearly for their coming. Before the king would come to Edinburgh, it was necessary to pay him a large sum of money for himself and his courtiers. Sir John de Vienne engaged, under his seal, that he would never quit Scotland until the king and his people were perfectly satisfied: for, had he not done so, he would not have had any assistance from the Scots. He was obliged to make this bargain or a worse; but however advantageous it was for them, and whatever affection he gained by it, they made the war solely profitable for themselves, as I shall relate in this history. At present I wish to return to what was passing in Flanders, and to speak of the marriage of the young king of France, which happened at this period.

CHAPTER CLXI.

THE TOWN OF ARDEMBOURG* NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING TAKEN BY SURPRISE BY FRANCIS ATREMEN AND HIS GHENT MEN.

After the defeat of the detachment of sir Rafflart de Flandres, which he had led into the Quatre Mestiers, sir Robert de Bethune, viscount de Meaux, came to Ardembourg, whither he had been sent to garrison it. He found there sir John de Jumont and his companions: he had also brought with him about forty knights, who were eager to meet with adventures. On the viscount's arrival, he began to repair and strengthen the fortifications of the town. Francis Atremen and those of Ghent were constantly devising plans to annoy their enemies, and do them mischief. Their attention was particularly directed to places in their neighborhood, such as Oudenarde, Dendremonde, Ardembourg, Damme, Bruges and Sluys. It behooved those towns to keep a strict guard and watch well; for in regard to storming and scaling towns, and such like subtleties, these Ghent men were very skilful and alert.

About the end of May, Francis Atremen, with seven thousand armed men, sallied out of Ghent, with the intent to take Ardembourg by surprise, and to make all the knights and squires there in garrison prisoners. They were more desirous to take the governor, sir John de Jumont, than all the rest; for he had done them much mischief, by slaying and taking their people, thrusting out their eyes, cutting off their hands or ears, so that they could not love him. For this purpose, they came on Wednesday at daybreak to Ardembourg, having with them their ladders ready prepared. Now observe what great peril they were in: the viscount de Meaux, sir John de Jumont, sir Rafflart de Flandres, the lord de Daymart, sir Tiercelot de Montigny, sir Perducas de Port St. Marc, the lord de Longueval and sir John his son, sir Hugh Desnel, the lord de Lalain, sir Reginald de Lommie and several more, were sleeping quietly in their beds, trusting to the watchfulness of the guard: but the guards of the night were almost all retired, and the watchman was mounting his post, when Francis Atremen and his Ghent men, with their ladders on their shoulders, had crossed the ditches and fixed their ladders to the walls, which the foremost had begun to mount.

By accident, the lord de St. Aubin and a squire from Picardy, called Enguerrand Zendequin, were at this moment parading the town close by the walls: they had with them three picards armed with pikes. I believe they had been on guard this night, and were then retiring. To say the truth, if they had not been where they were, Ardembourg must infallibly have been taken, and all the knights in their beds. When the lord de St. Aubin and Enguerrand Zendequin perceived the Ghent men mounting by ladders to the battlements, and that one of them was actually putting his leg over the wall to enter the town, they were very much alarmed, but not so much as to prevent them defending the place: they saw clearly, that if they fled, the town must be conquered; for the Ghent men had arrived there so opportunely, that they were entering it just between the time of the dismissal of the night-guard and the watchman mounting his post.

"Forward, forward!" cried sir Enguerrand to the pikemen: "here are our enemies: let us defend ourselves and our town, or it is taken." They then advanced to the place where they had fixed their ladders and intended entering. The pikemen attacked him who was about to enter so vigorously with their pikes, that he tumbled into the ditch. At this time, the watch was at his post, who, noticing the large battalion in the ditches and thereabouts, sounded his horn, crying out, "Treason, treason!" The town was in motion, and the knights heard in their beds the noise and confusion, and also how the Ghent men wanted to surprise their town. They were very much astonished, and having armed themselves as speedily as they could, sallied forth against them. Notwithstanding they were discovered, the Ghent men labored hard to enter the town; but those five men held out valiantly against them for upward of half an hour, and performed wonders in arms, for which they were highly praised.

The lords now advanced in handsome array; the viscount de Meaux with his banner before him, sir John de Jumont with his pennon, sir Rafflart de Flandres and all the others, shouting their war-cries, and found the knight and squire, with the three pikemen, defending the walls most gallantly. When Francis Atremen and the Ghent men found their scheme had failed, they called back their men and retreated in a handsome manner into the Quatre Mestiers.

The garrison were more attentive in guarding their town for the future, and in posting their sentinels. They honored greatly their five defenders; for, if they had not been there, Ardembourg had been lost, and all their throats cut.

*Ardembourg, ten miles N. E. from Bruges.

CHAPTER CLXII.

LEWIS OF FRANCE, BROTHER TO KING CHARLES VI. IS MARRIED BY PROCURATION TO MARGARET OF HUNGARY. MADAME DE BRABANT CAUSES THE DAUGHTER OF DUKE STEPHEN OF BAVARIA TO COME TO FRANCE TO MARRY KING CHARLES.

You have before heard how the duke of Anjou, who styled himself king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, had carried on a war for three years in la Puglia, Calabria and Naples, against Charles de Durazzo, and that during the last war he had died.* His opponent was dead also. It was said he was killed in Hungary with the consent of the queen; for, after the death of the king of Hungary, being the son of his brother, he wished to maintain that the kingdom had devolved on him, as the king of Hungary had left no male issue. The queen, suspecting his intentions to disinherit her daughter, had him put to death.† This event caused much wonder everywhere; and the war of the queen of Naples and her son Lewis, who resided in Avignon, was more strenuously carried on in Provence.

During the lifetime of the late king of Hungary, the great barons and prelates had advised that the eldest of his daughters, the lady Margaret,‡ who was very handsome, and was likewise heiress to the kingdom, should be given to Lewis count de Valois, brother to the king of France, because they thought he would reside in Hungary, and the king, had he lived, would have followed this advice.

After the decease of the king of Hungary, embassadors were sent to France, to the king and his uncles, to notify the wish of the queen of Hungary to unite the count de Valois with his eldest daughter. This seemed to the king and the barons of France as if it was very desirable, except that it would separate and place at too great a distance the count de Valois from his family and the powerful kingdom of France. On the other hand, they considered it was a grand as well as a profitable offer for the count de Valois to be king of Hungary, which is one of the greatest realms in Christendom. The Hungarians sent by the queen were magnificently received, and large presents were made to them. The bishop de Maillerets and John de Personne, returned with them as embassadors from France, who, on their arrival in Hungary, espoused by procuration, in the name of the count de Valois, the princess Margaret. John de la Personne courteously lay on a bed beside hers. They then came back to France, and showed their letters patent and other public instruments, which gave great satisfaction to all France; and the count de Valois signed himself king of Hungary for a long time.

You have before heard how the duke of Burgundy and duke Albert of Bavaria, lord of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, had intermarried their children in the city of Cambray, at which marriage the king of France had assisted with great magnificence. Some seemed to say, as I was then informed, that the same week the king and all his nobles were at this marriage, there was a secret negotiation for a marriage between the young king of France and the lady Isabella, daughter of duke Stephen of Bavaria, chiefly through the means of the duchess of Brabant. The late king of France had on his dying-bed ordered, that his son should be married, if possible, to a princess of Germany, to strengthen the union of France with that country; for he had seen that the king of England, by marrying the sister of the emperor of Germany, had gained by it. The duchess of Brabant was a lady of a very active mind; she conversed with the king's uncles and his council, while in the city of Cambray, on this subject, explaining to them, that as this young lady was the daughter of a great lord in Germany, and the most powerful in Bavaria, through him great alliances might be made in that country; that duke Stephen was so potent, he could well break the purposes of the great lords of the empire; for he was as powerful, if not more so, than the emperor. This object made the council of France listen more readily to the proposal: it was, however, carried on with the utmost secrecy, and very few knew anything of it until it was settled. The reason for this you shall hear. It is customary

*At the castle of Biseglia, near Bari.

†The Hungarian nobles, tired of the government of two women (Elizabeth the wife of Louis, and Mary his daughter) and their favorites, secretly called in Charles of Durazzo, who, in spite of the entreaties of his wife Margaret, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom of Naples, set sail on the 4th September, 1385, for Signa in Sclavonia, and was proclaimed king by the nobles unanimously, in a diet held at Alba Royal. He was, however, in February, 1385 old style, or 1386 new style, set on by assassins employed by the queen's favorites, and brought to the ground by a sabre cut on the head; all his attendants were massacred. Charles survived his wounds, but he was imprisoned at Visgradi, and on the 3rd of June, 1386, poison completed the work left unfinished by the sword.—SISMONDI's *Italian Repub.*—ED.

‡This is a mistake: the lady's name was *Mary*, not Margaret; Froissart appears to have been also misinformed regarding the proposed alliance between her and the count de Valois, for she had already been betrothed to Sigismond, marquis of Brandenburg, whom she afterwards married, and no mention is made of it by other historians.—ED.

in France, for the lady destined to be married to the king, however high may be her birth, to be examined quite naked by ladies, whether she be well made, and have no apparent hindrance to her bearing children. As this lady was to come from so distant a country as Bavaria, they were ignorant if she would be agreeable to the king, for otherwise everything would be broken off. These were the reasons why this affair was kept so secret. About Whitsuntide the young lady was brought to the duchess in Brabant, who received her cordially, and accustomed her to the usages in France. She was accompanied by duke Frederick of Bavaria, her uncle, by whom, in truth, this marriage was first moved, for the causes which I will explain to you.

When duke Frederick was before Bourbourg, in the service of the king, he was much feasted by the king's uncles, and the other nobles, for having come two hundred leagues to serve France. They considered his services as very great; and he always quartered near the king, out of affection to him, and had the greatest respect paid him. When he left Bavaria, he thought that there must be a pitched battle, between the kings of France and of England, either in France or Flanders, for such had been the current report in Germany. The king of France and his uncles were very thankful for his coming. It happened, that during the expedition to Bergues and Bourbourg, the king's uncles and other nobles, in amicable conversation, had asked him if he had no daughters to marry? for they wanted a wife for the king of France; and they would prefer marrying him to Bavaria than elsewhere, Bavaria having formerly been in the councils of France. Duke Frederick, in reply to this speech, said he had none himself, but that his brother, duke Stephen of Bavaria, had a very handsome one. "And how old is she?" demanded the king's uncles. "Between thirteen and fourteen," replied the duke. Then, said the uncles, "This is what we want. Do you, on your return to Bavaria, talk with your brother, and conduct your niece, as if in pilgrimage, to St. John at Amiens, and the king shall be placed beside her. Should he find her handsome, we hope he will be desirous of her, for he loves beauty; and if he appear eager for her, she shall be queen of France." This was the beginning of the business, and neither more nor less was said on the subject. The king of France was ignorant that anything had been mentioned respecting his marriage.

Duke Frederick, on his return to Bavaria, repeated these words to his brother, who pondered some time on them, and thus answered, "Fair brother, I believe such speeches have been made to you, and that my daughter would be very fortunate if such a high honor as to become the queen of France should fall to her lot; but the distance is great from hence, and it is a matter of great consideration to attempt the making a queen. I should be exceedingly vexed if, after having carried my daughter to France, she should be returned to me: and I would rather marry her at my leisure, nearer home." Such was the answer duke Stephen gave his brother, with which he was contented: and he wrote the substance of it to the uncles of the king, to his own uncle, duke Albert, and madame de Brabant, to whom he had communicated the business on his return home. They thought he had been too indifferent about it, and had made overtures elsewhere, on the subject of the king's marriage. A match was shortly after proposed between the king and the daughter of the duke of Lorraine: she was a very handsome lady, and nearly of his own age: of high birth, being of the family of Blois. The duke of Lancaster's daughter, afterwards queen of Portugal, was also talked of, but this could not be brought about on account of the war: the affair was therefore at a stand.

The duchess of Brabant, when at these marriages at Cambray, and the king and his court present, brought this subject again on the carpet, saying, that a union with Bavaria was the most desirable for the king, on account of the alliances that might be formed with the Germans. "It is so, indeed, lady," replied the king's uncles; "but we now hear nothing of it." "Be you silent," answered the duchess, "and I will make such advances that you shall, without fail, have certain intelligence of it in the course of the summer." The promises of the duchess were verified; for she managed so well, that duke Stephen allowed his brother, duke Frederick, to conduct his niece, as you have before heard: and it was given out on the road, that they were going on a pilgrimage to St. John at Amiens. Every body believed it; for the Germans are fond of performing pilgrimages, and it is one of their customs. After duke Frederick and his niece, the lady Isabella of Bavaria, had been three days at Brussels, they took leave of the duchess: it was, however, her intention to be at Amiens as soon, if not sooner, than they were.

They went through Hainault to Quesnoy, where they found the duke and duchess, and William count of Ostrevant and his wife; by all of whom they were most graciously received, for duke Albert was his uncle. They were much surprised at their coming, and inquired the reasons of it. "Certainly," said duke Frederick; "I have had much difficulty to persuade my brother; but, as you see, I have at last brought him to consent that I should conduct his daughter hither. On taking leave, he called me aside and said, 'Now, Frederick, my fair brother, you are carrying away Isabella, and upon no certain conditions; for if the king of France refuse her, she will be for ever ruined: therefore, consider well this business, for should you bring her back, you will never have a more bitter enemy than me:' and you see, my good uncle, the dangerous situation I am in." "Dear nephew, do not be alarmed; for, if it please God, she shall be queen of France, and you stand acquited of blame, and retain the affections of your brother." They remained at Quesnoy for three weeks, during which time the duchess, who was very able, tutored the young lady of Bavaria, as to her manners and appearance; and did not allow her to keep the clothes she then wore, as being too plain and simple for the French fashions, but had her dressed up and adorned as if she had been her own child. When all had been properly prepared, the duchess and her daughter, the future duchess of Burgundy, set out in great magnificence for Amiens, with the young lady, where the duchess of Brabant was already arrived, as were the king, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and the council.

The lord de la Riviere, sir Guy de Trimouille, with many barons and knights, went out of the city of Amiens to meet the company from Hainault, whom they escorted into town with many honors, and they visited each other out of love and affection. But the king could hardly close his eyes that night from the desire of seeing her who was afterwards his spouse. He asked the lord de la Riviere when he should see her. This question much amused the ladies. And on the Friday when the young lady was dressed for the occasion, the three duchesses presented her to the king. She instantly kneeled down very low, but the king directly raised her up by the hand, and continually kept his eyes upon her: so that from that time love and pleasure pierced his heart.

The constable, observing what passed, said to the lord de Coucy, "By my faith, this lady will remain with us: the king cannot take his eyes off her." When the ladies had remained some little time with the king, they took leave of him, and carried back the damsel. But as the intentions of the king were not known, the duke of Burgundy charged the lord de la Riviere to sound him when he retired to his closet, which he diligently did, by saying, "Sire, how do you like this young lady? will she remain with us?" "Yes, by my troth, will she," replied the king; "for she pleases us, and you will tell my good uncle of Burgundy to hasten the business."

When the lord de la Riviere heard these words, he repeated them to the duke of Burgundy, who announced them to the ladies; and they were so well pleased thereat, they began carrolling. The whole court were joyous on the occasion; and it was intended by the king's uncles to celebrate the feast at Arras, but it did not please the king to go further. He entreated his uncle to make every haste, for he assured him that he wished no delay, but was anxious to have the business completed in the good city of Amiens. "Very well, my lord," replied the duke, "it shall be done as you order."

The duke of Burgundy, in company with the constable, sir Guy de la Trimouille and several others, waited on madame de Hainault, and found her niece seated beside her. The duke related all that had passed, adding that the king had made him alter his intention as to the place where the marriage ceremony was to be performed; for he was so deeply smitten, that he had owned he could neither sleep nor take and repose on account of her whom he wished for his wife, but on the morrow they would cure all his ailings. The duchess went out in a fit of laughter, and they separated from each other with much joy and satisfaction.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

FRANCIS ATREMEN TAKES DAMME. THOSE OF BRUGES ATTEMPT TO RETAKE IT.

On a Saturday night, Francis Atremen marched with seven thousand men from the Quatre Mestiers, whither he had retreated after the failure of his attempt on Ardembourg: he had promised his townsmen, on his departure, that he would never return until he had taken some good town. The Ghent men were desirous of finding the French employment, so that they should be unable to send more men to the admiral in Scotland, to make war on the English; for it was currently reported, that the constable, together with a large body of men-at-arms and cross-bows, was about to embark to reinforce those sent to Scotland.

Francis Atremen, being an expert man-at-arms, sallied out one Saturday evening from the country called Quatre Mestiers, and when it was dark, advanced to the walls of Bruges, in hopes of taking it, but could not. When he found he could do nothing, he marched toward Damme, and met his spies whom he had sent thither and round that neighborhood: they told him he would do well to advance to Damme, for sir Roger Guistelles had left it, and only women were there. This was true! for he had gone to Bruges, thinking the inhabitants were able to defend themselves, but in this he was disappointed. When Francis Atremen heard that sir Roger de Guistelles was not in Damme, he divided his men into two divisions, and, taking the smallest, said to the other, "You will advance to that gate, and make no attack until you hear our trumpets sound: then attempt the barriers, and cut down and destroy all, and on the side we will break down the gate, for we shall never enter the town by ladders."

His orders were punctually obeyed. He advanced with the smaller division, leaving the other behind him: the foremost marched with ladders through the ditches, where they met with no

resistance, and, having passed the mud, fixed their ladders to the walls: on entering the town, they sounded their trumpets and made for the gates without opposition, for they were masters of the place, the good people being still in their beds. It was the 17th day of July when Damme was thus surprised. They advanced to the gate, and broke all the bars of it with strong axes: those without destroyed the barriers, and thus all sorts of people entered the town.

The inhabitants began to be in motion; but it was too late, for they were made prisoners in their houses, and those whom they found armed were slain without mercy. Thus was the good town of Damme taken, wherein they found much wealth: in particular, cellars full of Malmsey and other wines. I heard also that those of Bruges had brought thither great riches for fear of a rebellion of the populace whom they suspected. Francis Atremen was much rejoiced on being master of Damme, and said, "Now I have well kept my promise to Ghent: this place will enable us to conquer Bruges, Sluys, and Ardembourg." He instantly issued a proclamation, that not the smallest harm or insult should be offered to the noble ladies in the town; for there were seven ladies, the wives of knights, who had come thither to visit madame de Guistelles, who was with child and near lying-in. After having pillaged the town and put to death those who would not join their party, they began to repair it.

When those in Bruges heard of this, they were much enraged, and not without cause: they instantly armed and marched to Damme, and began to skirmish and attack it: but it was of no avail, for they lost more than they gained: they therefore marched back to Bruges. You may suppose, when this news reached Ghent, they were much pleased, and considered it as a valiant enterprise, and also looked on Francis Atremen as a gallant soldier.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

KING CHARLES ESPOUSES THE LADY ISABELLA OF BAVARIA. HE BESIEGES DAMME.

We will return to the marriage of king Charles of France, and relate how it was concluded. The duchess Margaret of Hainault, who had the young queen under her care, on the morning of the wedding dressed her out handsomely, as she knew well how to do, when the duchesses of Brabant and Burgundy came thither grandly attended by ladies and damsels. These three ladies conducted the lady Isabella of Bavaria in the richest covered cars ever seen, with a crown on her head, that was worth all the wealth of the country, and which the king had sent to her a little before. The bishop of Amiens performed the marriage ceremony in the presence of the lords and ladies before-mentioned.* After the mass and other ceremonies thereto appertaining, the king, with the lords, ladies, and damsels went to dinner, which was very sumptuous and magnificent, and that day the counts and barons served at it in grand array. After dinner, they amused themselves in different manners, which continued with great enjoyment until evening, when the king retired with his bride.

The feasts were continued until the Tuesday following, when news was brought to the king and to his council that Francis Atremen had taken the town of Damme. A herald arrived at the same time from the duke of Bourbon, who brought letters that Taillebourg, with its castle and bridge, had been subdued, and that the duke, with his army, was on full march to besiege Verteuil, having already conquered back again in Poitou and Limousin, six fortresses. This news rejoiced somewhat the court, and made them indifferent as to the loss of Damme: but it was determined the king should not undertake anything until he had marched to Flanders and retaken Damme. He declared he would enter the Quatre Mestiers, from whence this mischief had sprung, and would not leave any house undestroyed. Messengers were immediately sent over the kingdom with summons for every man-at-arms to be in Picardy by the first of August, to march to Damme. This was soon spread through France, and all knights and squires made their preparations for waiting on the king as they had been commanded. This same day, duke Frederick of Bavaria, duke Albert, and the other barons took leave of the king and departed for their homes, leaving behind the lady Isabella of Bavaria, now queen of France as you have heard. The king of France, who had sent his summons through the realm, declared he would not return to Paris before he had been at Damme. On the twentieth day of July he set out from Amiens, with the constable and many lords, and came to Arras, where he slept one night. On the morrow he went to Lens,† in Artois: men-at-arms were daily coming to him from all quarters. He continued his march until he arrived at Ypres, so that by the first of August he was before Damme, and quartered himself so near the town that the arrows flew over his head.

Three days afterwards arrived William of Hainault, who was very welcome to the king, and to my lord of Burgundy. The siege was laid to Damme in a handsome manner, and Francis Atremen was inclosed within it. He behaved very gallantly, for every day there were attacks and skirmishes, unless prevented by short truces. The lord de Clary, master of the ordnance to the lord de Coucy, was hit by an arrow* from the town, which caused his death: it was a pity, for he was a gallant knight. Those of Bruges and Ypres came to this siege; and there were present upward of one hundred thousand men. The king was quartered between Damme and Ghent. The lord de St. Py and the lord de Guistelles were the commanders of the Flemings: they had about twenty-five lances, and quartered themselves among them for fear of dissensions.

An attack was made on Damme at which all the lords were present. William of Hainault was made a knight by the king's hand, and that day he displayed his banner: during the course of the siege he showed himself an excellent knight. The French, by this assault, lost more than they won, for Francis Atremen had with him some English archers who sorely galled the assailants: he had also many pieces of artillery, for the town, before it was surprised, was well provided; and Francis had ordered more thither from Ghent when he knew it was to be besieged.

* The marriage took place on the 18th July, 1385.—Ed.
† "Lens"—four leagues from Arras.

CHAPTER CLXV.

SOME CITIZENS AT SLUYS ARE BEHEADED FOR TREASON TO THE FRENCH. THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ACQUIRES SLUYS FROM SIR WILLIAM DE NAMUR, BY AN EXCHANGE FOR THE LANDS OF BETHUNE.

During the siege of Damme, some of the principal citizens of Sluys who governed it, were accused of high treason against the king of France: they wanted to deliver the town to his enemies, to murder the governor and all his garrison in their beds, and to set fire to the numerous fleet of France, which was then at anchor in their port, well filled with all sorts of stores. Before the expedition to Damme, the king of France had intended to follow his admiral to Scotland. These wicked people of Sluys also meant to destroy the dikes of the sea, and drown all or the greater part of the army. This had been bargained for by those of Ghent, and it was all to have been done in one night: it would have been executed if one of the inhabitants of the town had not overheard the malice they were devising. He directly went to the governor and told him what was intended, and named the greater part of the conspirators. The knight was much astonished when he heard of this, and taking with him his garrison, which consisted of about sixty lances, went to the houses of the different conspirators, whom he arrested, and sent to separate prisons under a strong guard. He then mounted his horse and hastened to the king's tent, before Damme, where the duke of Burgundy at that time chanced to be. He related to them all that he had heard and done: how near the town was being lost, and his army drowned. The king and his nobles were much surprised; and the governor was ordered to return to Sluys, and to keep his prisoners no longer confined, but instantly to put them to death, that others might from them take example. The governor, on his return, had them beheaded, and thus ended the business.

The same week, the duke of Burgundy, by the advice of sir Guy de la Trimouille, who had last summer resided at Sluys with a considerable force, resolved to open a negotiation with his cousin, sir William de Namur, to obtain that town by exchange for other lands, to add it to the country of Flanders, which lands were equally profitable as to revenue. Sir William de Namur was much displeased when he first heard this proposal for an exchange; for the town of Sluys, with its dependencies and sea-rights, was a noble and profitable inheritance; it had also devolved to him from his ancestors, which made him like it the more. Notwithstanding this, since the duke of Burgundy was desirous of it, he found it necessary to comply. It was the intention of the duke, when in possession of it, to erect there a handsome and strong castle, like to Calais and other places, which should command the harbor of Sluys, and garrison it with men-at-arms and archers, so that none could approach his territories without danger from them. He said he would build it high enough to see from it twenty leagues at sea. In short, sir William was so hard pressed by the duke and his council, that he consented to the exchange of Sluys for the whole territory of Bethune, which is one of the fairest inheritances of the whole country. It was given to him and to his heirs. Immediately afterwards, the duke set workmen on the castle he intended to build at Sluys. We will now return to the siege of Damme, and say how it prospered.

CHAPTER CLXVI.

FRANCIS ATREMEN AND HIS MEN ABANDON DAMME. THE TOWN IS DESTROYED BY THE FRENCH: THEY ALSO RUIN THE COUNTRY OF THE QUATRE MESTIERS.

There were several skirmishes almost daily at the barriers of Damme, where many were wounded and slain. The walls could not be approached, because the ditches were filled with mud and filth: and, if it had been rainy weather, the army would have had

* D. Sauvage's edition says, that the lord de Clary, while approaching the town to view the guns on the walls was struck by a quarrel from one of them, not by an arrow.—Ed.

enough to do, and must have decamped whether they would or not: but for the space of one month, during which this siege lasted, there never fell one drop of rain. They had provision in great abundance; but the stench of the beasts killed by the army and the dead horses corrupted the air, and caused many knights and squires to be so ill and low spirited that they retired to Bruges or elsewhere: the king was wont to lodge at Marle, notwithstanding his tents were left standing in the camp. It was the intention of Francis Atremen to hold out this siege, till the reinforcements which he expected from England should arrive to raise it: for it is certain that Francis, and the men of Ghent, had sent to England for assistance. The uncles of the king of England would undoubtedly have carried over a sufficency of men-at-arms and archers, if the admiral of France had not at that time been in Scotland with so large a force. It was confidently said, that the constable was to reinforce the admiral with a greater body: by which means the Flemings were not assisted, and those of Damme were forced to make a bad bargain of it; for on the 27th day of August, 1385, was the town of Damme conquered back again.

When Francis Atremen found, after the king of France had besieged him for a month, that he was not to expect any succor, and that his artillery began to fail, he was much cast down, and said to those of his council, "I will, that all of us from Ghent return home: but let it be made known to them secretly, so that none of the town be informed of our intended departure, and attempt to save themselves with their wives and children, by sacrificing us. They would obtain peace, and we should be slain: but I must take good care to prevent this; for we will keep in a body, and go round the town to visit the guard. We will secure all the inhabitants, not having arms, in the churches, and give them to understand, we do so because we expect a grand attack to be made to-morrow, and do not wish them to suffer from it. We must tell the guard of the night that we intend to beat up the enemy's quarters, and the moment we are in the plain we will spur for the fastest to Ghent." His council replied, that he had well spoken. Every man made his preparation accordingly, and in the evening packed up their all, and put the women, children and lower sort of people in the churches: they even ordered thither the ladies of the knights who were prisoners, telling them, that on the morrow there was to be a grand attack, and they wished them not to be frightened: all this was thought very proper.

The first hour of the night the Ghent men went their rounds: there were none of their townsmen on the walls, but only those of Damme. Francis Atremen said to them, "Keep up a strict watch about midnight; and on no account, whatever you may see or hear, quit the battlements, for in the morning we shall be attacked; but I am resolved this night to beat up their quarters." His words were believed, for they thought he was speaking the truth. After Francis Atremen had arranged all his business, he ordered the gate to be opened, and sallied forth with those his townsmen from Ghent. They were not half a league from the town when day appeared, and the inhabitants discovered that Francis and his companions were gone off: they were much disheartened: but their leaders began to negotiate with those belonging to the king, and said they had killed Francis Atremen the preceding evening.

Several of the town, understanding that Francis Atremen was gone away, and the gate still open, set out from the town as fast as they were able. When this news arrived at the camp, the Bretons and Burgundians, who were eager for pillage, mounted their horses, and pursued them within two leagues of Ghent: several were slain, and upward of five hundred made prisoners; they were not from Ghent, but the inhabitants of Damme who were running away. While they were pursuing them on all sides, the town, now defenceless, was attacked: the French entered it at different parts by ladders, which they carried over the ditches with much difficulty. When they entered, they imagined they should roll in riches; but they found nothing, except poor people, women and children, and great quantities of good wines. In spite, therefore, they set fire to the town and burnt almost the whole of it. The king, and duke of Burgundy were much vexed at this, but they could not prevent it. The noble ladies were, however, saved, but with some difficulty, from having any harm done to their persons.

After Damme had been thus regained by France, the king was advised to decamp, and to fix his own quarters at a small town two leagues from Ghent called Artavelle, and that, during the time he should be there, the men-at-arms should scour the country of the Quatre Mestiers, and completely destroy it; because, in former times, all sorts of provision were sent from thence to Ghent, and more assistance given to that town from those countries than from any others. The king of France and his army marched from before Damme: he took up his quarters at Artavelle; during which time the men-at-arms destroyed the country, burning all houses, monasteries and forts which had held out for them. They left not any house whole, and killed or drove into the woods all the women and children. When the French had completed this destruction, they were ordered to march and lay siege to the castle of Gaure, and afterwards to do the same to Ghent. But all this ended in nothing.

CHAPTER CLXVII

THE KING OF FRANCE LEAVES FLANDERS, AND DISBANDS HIS ARMY. DURING THE TIME HE IS AT PARIS, TREATING WITH EMBASSADORS FROM HUNGARY, NEWS ARRIVES THAT THE MARQUIS DE BLANCQUEFORT* HAD FORMERLY MARRIED THE HEIRESS OF HUNGARY.

Intelligence was brought to the king, while at Artavelle, that the queen of Hungary had sent the bishop of Vassereul, attended by several knights and squires as her embassadors, who had brought credential letters to say that they were come to seek for the lord Lewis of France, count de Valois, and who signed himself king of Hungary, whom John de la Personne, a French knight, had espoused by procuration for the said Lewis count de Valois. This news pleased greatly the king and his council, who, being desirous of properly equipping the young count de Valois, resolved to return to France, saying they had done enough for this season. The king set out from Artavelle the 12th day of September, and disbanded all his men-at-arms, when each returned to his home. The men of Ghent were much delighted at this event.

The king went to Cray,† where the queen resided; for, when he left Amiens to go to Flanders, she was sent thither to hold her court. I know not how many days he staid there with her; but, when they left it, the king came to Paris, and the queen went to Vincennes, where she resided a while, for they were busily employed in the equipment of the young count, as they were anxious he should have furniture and attendants suitable to his rank as king of Hungary; but things in a short time turned out differently in Hungary, as you shall hear.‡ True it is, that the queen-mother of Hungary took great delight in the idea of Lewis of France being king of Hungary, and considered her daughter as married to him. She wished not for any other but him for her son-in-law; and with this intent she had sent the bishop of Vassereul, with many knights and squires, to conduct him to his queen.

It happened, that while these embassadors were on their road to France, the emperor of Germany, who styled himself king of the Romans, had a brother younger than himself, called Henry de Blancquefort.§ The king of the Romans had been informed of the state of Hungary, of the treaties which had been entered into with the count Louis de Valois, and that the before-named embassador was gone to conduct him to Hungary. The king of the Romans loved his brother's interest more than his cousin's, had long considered this business, and had already arranged it in his mind to bring it cautiously and secretly about according to his own plan; for, had the queen of Hungary had the slightest intimation of his intent, she would have guarded effectually against it: but it was clear she had not.

It was known to the council in Germany, that the queen of Hungary and her daughter were gone to a castle near the borders of Germany, to amuse themselves: upon which, the marquis de Blancquefort set off with a large body of men-at-arms, ten thousand at least, to lay siege to this castle and inclose the ladies within it. The queen, on perceiving her situation, was thunderstruck, and sent to know from the marquis why he thus kept her confined, and what he wanted. The marquis sent for answer, "it was done solely because she intended marrying her daughter to the brother of the king of France, who was a stranger, and from whom she never could have any comfort;" adding, that "it would be better and more advantageous for the kingdom of Hungary, if he, who was her neighbor, should marry her, than another, who came from such a distant country as Louis de Valois." The queen answered, that she had never before heard one word of his pretensions, and for that reason had consented to her daughter's union with the brother of the king of France: besides, the king of Hungary, during his lifetime, had ordered her so to do." To this the marquis replied, that "he paid little attention to what she said; that he had the consent and good will of the

* This, I suppose, should be Brandenburgh.

† "Cray." Q. If not Craonne, which is a town in Picardy.

‡ There must be some mistake, or perhaps Froissart was misinformed, for I cannot find any mention of the crown of Hungary being offered to the count de Valois. Underneath is all that is said of the matter in the "Art de Verifier les Dates."

Mary, surnamed King Mary.—Mary, daughter of Charles the Great, was crowned in Albe Royale, or Stul Weissembourg, in the year 1382, under the name of King Mary. As she was too young to govern the kingdom, the regency was given to her mother queen Elizabeth. Nicholas de Gara having gained the confidence of the two princesses, ruled despotically in their names, insomuch that it excited great murmurs among the Hungarians. In the year 1385, Charles le Petit, king of Naples, at the solicitations of the discontented party, arrives at Buda, seizes the government, and caused himself to be crowned king of Hungary in Albe Royale the 30th of September, in the same year. On the 5th of February following, he is assassinated in Buda, by order, and in the presence of Elizabeth. On the 1st of May, 1386, John Horwarh, ban of Croatia, surprises the two queens, attended by Nicholas de Gara, while on a journey: he massacres the last before their eyes, drowns Elizabeth the ensuing night, and carries off Mary prisoner to Croatia. Sigismond, marquis of Brandenburg, flies, on hearing this, to deliver Mary, to whom he was betrothed. He joins her at Albe Royale, whither she had been sent, marries her at that town, and is crowned king of Hungary on the 10th of June, Whitsunday, being only twenty years old. The ban of Croatia was this same year arrested by his order, and expiated his crimes by tortures. Mary died at Buda, 1392. Her body was buried at Peter-Waradin.

§ This should be *Sigismond* marquis of Brandenburg: he was a son of the emperor Charles IV. and brother of the emperor Wenceslaus, and had been betrothed to Mary in his infancy. The whole story concerning the count de Valois is very apocryphal, no other historian mentions it.—Ed.

greater part of the Hungarian nation, and that he would, by fair means or otherwise, have her, now she was in his power." The lady was much cast down at these words, but, notwithstanding, held out as well as she could; and, though she sent to her subjects to come to her assistance, none obeyed, nor did they make the least movement against the marquis, which plainly showed the Hungarians preferred the Germans to the French.

When the queen found she was not to expect any assistance from her subjects, she began to listen to reason; for the marquis threatened her, that if she suffered the castle to be taken by storm he would confine her in a tower, where she would have only bread and water, as long as she lived. These menaces frightened her, for the place was weak, and she had come thither without enough of men or provision. She therefore entered into a treaty with the marquis; and in this situation she gave him her daughter, who was directly married, and he instantly went to bed to her.

Thus did sir Henry of Bohemia, marquis de Blancquefort, gain the inheritance of Hungary, of which he was king rather through force than love, with regard to the consent of the queen-dowager; but she was obliged to abide by this bargain, or worse might have happened. News of this was soon published, and it was sent to the bishop and knights of Hungary who were on their return from France; for the count de Valois, having completed his arrangements, had proceeded as far on his journey as Troyes. He was much enraged when this event was told him; but he could not any way remedy it. The Hungarians departed very angry, as indeed they had reason; and the young count de Valois returned to his brother and uncles at Paris, who, having never depended much on this marriage, said, "the count de Valois was fortunate in having his wife taken from him, for Hungary was a distant country, and out of reach of the French, from whence they could never have had any assistance." These considerations made them indifferent about it, and induced them to think of another connection for him. This was the duke of Milan's daughter, heiress of Lombardy, which territory is more valuable than all Hungary, and nearer at hand to the French.

We will leave these marriages, and speak of the duke of Bourbon, who, having taken Taillebourg, was in Poitou besieging Verteuil; and return to the admiral of France in Scotland, and say how he went on.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

THE DUKE OF BOURBON TAKES VERTEUIL IN POITOU, AND RETURNS TO THE KING OF FRANCE AT PARIS.

During the time the king was before Damme, the duke of Bourbon, with a handsome body of men-at-arms, made an excursion into Poitou and Limousin, where he took many English castles and forts, such as Archeac, Garnate, Montlieu, eight leagues from Bordeaux, and Taillebourg on the Charente; he then laid siege to Verteuil, a strong castle in Poitou, on the borders of Limousin and Saintonge. Andrew Prior, an Englishman, and Bertrand de Montrinet, a Gascon, were governors of Verteuil, and had with them numbers of stout companions. There were skirmishes, therefore, almost daily at the barriers, and many gallant deeds of arms done, in which several were slain or wounded. The duke declared he would not move from thence until he was master of the castle, for to this effect had he given his promise the last time he had conversed with the duke of Berry.

It happened that while Bertrand de Montrinet, one of the governors, was planning a ditch to be made within the castle to add to its strength, and showing his people how to bank it, a stone, shot from a dondaine* by the besiegers, wounded him mortally, and caused his instant death. This Bertrand had escaped from sixteen very dangerous sieges. His companions lamented much his death; but, as that was now irretrievable, Andrew remained sole governor. Fifteen days afterwards, negotiations were opened, and a treaty concluded, that the garrison should surrender the castle, with all its provisions,

King Robert of Scotland and his Nine Sons who loved arms. Designed from Contemporary Illustrations

on being conducted in safety to Bouteville, of which place Durandon de la Perede was governor. Thus did the French gain the castle of Verteuil, which they afterwards repaired and reinforced with stores, artillery and men-at-arms. They then marched to an adjoining town called Cares, and when they departed thence, came to Limoges, where the duke of Bourbon remained full eight days. He was advised to return to Paris, which he did, and found the king with his nephew the count de Valois, who received him with great joy.

We will now return to the affairs in Scotland, and speak of the admiral of France.

CHAPTER CLXIX.

THE SCOTTISH ARMY WITH THAT OF THE ADMIRAL OF FRANCE ENTER NORTHUMBERLAND—BUT THE ENGLISH, BEING ON THEIR MARCH TO MEET THEM, THEY RETREAT WITHIN THE BORDERS.

You have before heard how the admiral of France, with a large body of men-at-arms, had landed at the port of Edinburgh, and that they found it a very different country from what they had expected from the accounts of the barons of Scotland. The king's council and other barons had told those knights who had been in Scotland last year, particularly sir Geoffry de Charny and sir Amyard de Marse, that if the séneschal, the constable or the admiral of France would cross the sea to Scotland, with a thousand good lances and five hundred cross-bows, with armor for a thousand Scotsmen and proper equipments for the leaders, with their assistance the rest of Scotland would make such a fatal irruption into England, it would never recover the blow. With this expectation had the French crossed the sea, but had not found these promises realized. In the first place, they met with savage people, bad friends and a poor country; and the knights and squires knew not where to send their varlets to forage, for they dared not do so except in very large parties for fear of the wicked people of the country, who lay in wait for them, attacked and killed them.

At last, king Robert of Scotland arrived, with red bleared eyes, of the color of sandal wood, which clearly showed he was no valiant man, but who would rather remain at home than march to the field: he had, however, nine sons who loved arms. On the king's arrival at Edinburgh, the barons of France waited on him to pay their respects, as they well knew how to do: the earls of Douglas, Moray, Mar, Sutherland, and several more, were at this interview. The admiral requested the king to fulfil the terms on which they had

* "Dondaine"—a large machine to throw stones from.

come to Scotland; for that on his part he was determined to enter England. Those barons of Scotland who were eager to advance themselves were rejoiced at hearing this, and replied, that if it pleased God, they would make such an inroad as would be both profitable and honorable.

The king issued his summons for a very large armament: on the day fixed for their assembling at Edinburgh, there were thirty thousand men on horseback, who, as they arrived, took up their quarters after the manner of the country, but they had not everything comfortable. Sir John de Vienne was very impatient to make an excursion, and to afford his men opportunities of performing gallant deeds of arms in England; he no sooner saw the arrival of the Scottish men-at-arms, than he said it was time to march, for they had remained idle too long. The departure was then proclaimed, and they took their march toward Roxburgh. The king was not with the army, but remained at Edinburgh: however, all his children accompanied it. The thousand* complete suits of armor brought from France, were delivered to the Scottish knights who were badly armed, and those who had them were much delighted. They began their march toward Northumberland, which they continued until they came to the abbey of Melrose, where they quartered themselves on each side of the river Tweed: on the morrow, they advanced to Lambir Law, and then came before Roxburgh.

The governor of the castle of Roxburgh for the lord Mountague, to whom it belonged as well as all the circumjacent lands, was a knight called sir Edward Clifford. The admiral of France, with his whole army, as well as the Scots, halted before it, and, having reconnoitred it, thought they should gain nothing by the attack, as the castle was large, fair, and well provided with artillery. They therefore continued their march down the river, toward Berwick and the sea, until they came to two square towers, tolerably strong; in which were two knights, father and son, of the name of Strande. A good farm of fine fields of grass, with a country-house, was hard by, which was instantly burnt and the towers attacked. Several feats of arms were performed, and many of the Scots wounded by arrows and stones; but the towers were at length taken by storm, and the knights within them, who had valiantly defended themselves as long as they had been able.

After the conquest of these two towers, the Scots and French came before a very strong castle in another part of the country, which is called Werley;† it belonged to sir John Mountague. Sir John Lussebourne was the governor for him, and had in it his wife, children, and all his family; for he had been informed that the Scots and the French were advancing that way. He had in consequence, fully provided the place with men-at-arms and artillery, to the utmost of his power, in expectation of the attack. The army soon came and encamped before Werley, situated on a handsome river which runs into the Tweed below it. There was one grand assault on this castle, where the French behaved much more valiantly than the Scots; for they crossed the ditches, though with much difficulty; and, having fixed their ladders, many gallant deeds were done, for the French ascended to the battlements, and there fought hand to hand and dagger to dagger with the garrison. Sir John Lussebourne showed himself a good knight and powerful in arms, by engaging the French knights as they mounted the ladders. At this attack a German knight, called sir Alberis Gastelain, was slain, which was a pity; many others were killed and wounded. The enemy, however, were so numerous, and the attack so often renewed, that the castle was taken, and the knight, his wife, and children, who were within it. The French who first entered made upward of forty prisoners; the castle was then burnt and destroyed, for they saw they could not keep nor guard it, being so far advanced in England.

After the capture of this castle, and of sir John Lussebourne, the admiral and barons of France and Scotland marched toward Amith,‡ the estate of the lord Percy, and quartered themselves all around it. They destroyed several villages, and marched as far as Boul,§ a handsome and strong castle on the sea-coast, belonging to the earl of Northumberland: they did not attack it, for they knew they should lose their labor, but continued their march to half-way between Berwick and Newcastle-on-Tyne, where they learnt that the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, the lord Neville, with the barons of the counties of Northumberland, York, and Durham, were hastening with a large force to meet them.‖ The admiral and barons of France were much delighted at this intelligence, for they were desirous of an engagement; but the Scots were of a contrary opinion, and advised a retreat toward Scotland, on account of their stores, and to have their own country in their rear and wait for the enemy on their own borders. Sir John de Vienne wished not to act in contradiction to their wishes, and followed what they had advised; they did not therefore advance further into Northumberland, but made for Berwick, of which place sir Thomas Redman was governor, and had with him a great number of men-at-arms. The French and Scots came before it, but made no attack, and continued their road to Roxburgh, on their return to their own country.

News was spread all over England, how the French and Scots had entered Northumberland, and were burning and destroying it. You must, however, know, that before this, the arrival of the admiral and the French in Scotland was known. All the lords were therefore prepared, and the king had issued his summons: as they assembled, they took the road to Scotland, threatening much the Scots. The English at this time had made greater preparations than ever for their expedition to Scotland, as well by land as by sea; for they had freighted six score vessels, laden with stores and provision, which followed their march along the coast. The king took the field, accompanied by his uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, his brothers sir Thomas and sir John Holland. There were also the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, the young earl of Pembroke, the young lord de Spencer, the earl of Stafford, the earl of Devonshire, and so many barons and knights, that they amounted to full forty thousand lances, without counting those of the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Lucy, the lord Neville, and other barons of the marches, who were in pursuit of the French and Scots, to the number of two thousand lances and fifteen hundred archers. The king, and the lords who attended him, had full fifty thousand archers, without including the varlets. He hastened so much the march of his army after the duke of Lancaster, that he arrived in the country about York; for he had had intelligence on the road that there was to be an engagement between his men and the Scots in Northumberland; and for this reason he had made as much haste as possible. The king lodged at St. John de Beverley, beyond the city of York, in the county of Durham, where news was brought him that the Scots had returned to their own country. The army therefore quartered themselves in the county of Northumberland. I will relate an accident that happened in the English army, which caused a mortal hatred between different lords.

CHAPTER CLXX.

SIR JOHN HOLLAND KILLS LORD RALPH STAFFORD. THE EARL OF STAFFORD DEMANDS JUSTICE FROM THE KING.

The king of England was quartered in the country round Beverley, in the diocese of York, with numbers of earls, barons, and knights of his realm; for every one tried to be lodged as near him as possible, more especially his two uncles. Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and sir John Holland, earl of Huntington, his brothers, were also there with a handsome company of men-at-arms.

With the king was a knight from Bohemia, who had come to pay a visit to the queen; and, out of affection to her, the king and barons showed him every attention. This knight was gay and handsome in the German style, and his name was sir Meles. It happened one afternoon, that two squires attached to sir John Holland quarrelled in the fields of a village near Beverley, for the lodgings of sir Meles, and followed him, to his great displeasure, with much abuse. At this moment two archers belonging to lord Ralph Stafford came thither, who took up the quarrel of sir Meles, because he was a stranger: they blamed the squires for their language, and added: "You have used this knight very ill by thus quarrelling with him, for you know he is attached to the queen and from her country: you would have done better to have assisted him than to act thus." "Indeed!" replied one of the squires to the archer who had first spoken, "thou villainous knave, thou wantest to intermeddle: what is it to thee if I laugh at his follies?" "What is it to me!" answered the archer; "it concerns me enough, for he is the companion of my master; and I will never remain quiet to see or hear him abused." "If I thought, knave," said the squire, "thou wouldst aid him against me, I would thrust my sword through thy body." As he uttered these words, he made an attempt to strike him: the archer drew back, and having his bow ready bent, with a good arrow, let fly, and shot him through the body and heart, so that he fell down dead. The other squire, when he saw his companion fall, ran away. Sir Meles had before returned to his lodgings, and the two archers returned to their lord and related to him what had happened. Lord Ralph, when he had heard the whole, said, "You have behaved very ill." "By my troth," replied the archer, "I could not have acted otherwise, if I had not wished to have been killed myself, and I had much rather he should die than that I should." "Well," said lord Ralph, "go and get out of sight, that thou mayest not be found: I will negotiate thy pardon with sir John Holland, either through my lord and father, or by some other means." The archer replied, "he would cheerfully obey him."

News was carried to sir John Holland, that one of sir Ralph Stafford's archers had murdered his favorite squire; and that it had happened through the fault of the foreign knight, sir Meles. Sir John, on hearing it, was like a madman, and said he would neither eat nor drink until he had revenged it. He instantly mounted his horse, ordering his men to do the same, though it was now very late, and, having gained the fields, he inquired for the lodgings of sir Meles: he was told that he was lodged at the rear-guard with the earl of Devonshire and the earl of Stafford, and with their people. Sir John Holland took that road, riding up and down to find sir Meles. As he was thus riding along a very narrow lane, he met the lord Ralph Stafford: but, being night, they could not distinguish

* In other editions the number is stated as *two hundred*, which appears more probable.—Ed.

† "Werly." Q. if not Warkworth?

‡ "Amith." Q. Alnwick.

§ "Boul." Q. if not Cornhill.

‖ Mr. Redpath, in his Border History, gives a very short account indeed of this expedition, and of these places; he adds—"It is said, they took and destroyed the castles of Wark, Cornhull, and Ford."

each other. He called out, "Who comes here?" He was answered, "I am Stafford:" "And I am Holland." Then sir John added, "Stafford, I was inquiring after you. Thy servants have murdered my squire, whom I loved so much." On saying this, he drew his sword and struck lord Ralph such a blow as felled him dead, which was a great pity. Sir John continued his road, but knew not then that he had killed him, though he was well aware he had stricken him down. The servants of the lord Ralph were exceedingly wroth, as was natural, on seeing their master dead: they began to cry out, "Holland, you have murdered the son of the earl of Stafford: heavy will this news be to the father when he shall know it."

Some of the attendants of sir John Holland, hearing these words, said to their master, "My lord, you have slain the lord Ralph Stafford." "Be it so," replied sir John. "I had rather have put him to death than one of less rank; for by this I have the better revenged the loss of my squire." sir John hastened to Beverley, to take advantage of the sanctuary of St. John's church, whither he went, and did not quit the sanctuary; for he well knew he should have much trouble in the army from the affection it bore to lord Ralph, and he was uncertain what his brother the king of England would say to it. To avoid, therefore, all these perils, he shut himself up in the sanctuary.

News was carried to the earl of Stafford, that his son had been unfortunately killed. The earl asked who had done it. They told him, "Sir John Holland, the king's brother," and related why, and wherefore. You may suppose, that the father, having only one beloved son, who was a young, handsome, and accomplished knight, was beyond measure enraged. He sent for all his friends, to have their advice how he ought to act to revenge this loss. The wisest and most temperate did all they could to calm him, adding, that on the morrow the fact should be laid before the king, and he should be required to see law and justice put in force.

Thus passed the night. In the morning, the lord Ralph Stafford was buried in the church of a village near the spot where he fell: he was attended by all the barons, knights, and squires related to him that were in the army. After the funeral, the earl of Stafford, with full sixty of his own relations, and others connected with his son, mounted their horses, and went to the king, who had already received information of this unfortunate event. They found the king attended by his uncles and many knights. When the earl approached, he cast himself on his knees, and thus spoke with tears and anguish of heart: "Thou art king of all England, and hast solemnly sworn to maintain the realm in its rights, and to do justice. Thou art well acquainted how thy brother, without the slightest reason, has murdered my son and heir. I therefore come and demand justice: otherwise thou wilt not have a worse enemy than me. I must likewise inform thee, my son's death affects me so bitterly, that if I were not fearful of breaking up this expedition by the trouble and confusion I should make in the army, and the defections it would cause, by my honor, it should be revenged in so severe a manner that it should be talked of in England a hundred years to come. For the present, however, and during this expedition to Scotland, I shall not think of it; for I like not the Scots be rejoiced at the misery of the earl of Stafford."* The king replied, "Be assured, I myself will do justice, and punish the crime more severely than the barons would venture to do; and never for any brother will I act otherwise." The earl of Stafford and his relations answered, "Sir, you have well spoken, and we thank you." Thus were the relations of lord Ralph Stafford appeased. He performed the expedition to Scotland, as I shall relate to you; and, during that whole time, the earl of Stafford seemed to have forgotten the death of his son, in which conduct all the barons thought he showed great wisdom.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND DESTROYS THE ABBEY OF MELROSE IN SCOTLAND. THE BARONS OF FRANCE AND SCOTLAND INVADE CUMBERLAND.

The army of the king of England, which consisted of seven thousand men-at-arms and sixty thousand archers, kept advancing: none had remained behind, for it had been confidently reported through England that sir John de Vienne would give them battle. Indeed, such were his intentions, and he had in a manner told this to the barons of Scotland, when he said, "My lords, make your army as considerable as you can; for, if the English come as far as Scotland, I will offer them combat." The Scots replied, "God assist us!" but they afterwards changed their mind.

The king and his army advanced beyond Durham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and through Northumberland to Berwick, of which sir Matthew Redmond was governor. He received him with all due respect; but the king did not stay there long; he continued his march, and the whole army crossed the river Tweed, which comes from Roxburgh and the mountains in Northumberland, and took up his quarters in the abbey of Melrose. This monastery, in all the preceding wars of England and Scotland, had been spared, but it was now burnt and destroyed; for it had been determined by the English to ruin everything in Scotland before they returned home, because the Scots had allied themselves with the French.

The admiral of France, on learning that the king of England and his army had crossed the Tyne and Tweed, and were now at Lambir Law, said to the Scottish barons, "Why do we remain here, and not reconnoitre our enemies to fight them? You told us, before we came into this country, that if you had a thousand, or thereabouts, of good men-at-arms from France, you would be sufficiently strong to combat the English. I will warrant you have now a thousand, if not more, and five hundred cross-bows; and I must tell you, that the knights and squires who have accompanied me are determined men-at-arms, the flower of knighthood, who will not fly, but abide the event, such as God may please to order it." The barons of Scotland, who well knew the strength of the English army, and had not any desire of meeting it, answered, "Faith, my lord, we are convinced that you and your companions are men of valor, and to be depended on; but we understand that all England is on its march to Scotland, and the English were never in such force as at present. We will conduct you to a place from whence you may view and consider them: and if, after this, you should advise a battle, we will not refuse it, for what you have repeated as having been said by us is true." "By God, then," said the admiral, "I will have a battle."

Not long afterwards, the earl of Douglas and the other Scots barons carried the admiral of France to a high mountain, at the bottom of which was a pass through which the English would be forced to march with their baggage. From this mountain, where the admiral was stationed, with many of the French knights, they clearly saw the English army, and estimated it, as nearly as they could, at six thousand men-at-arms, sixty thousand archers and stout varlets. They allowed they were not in sufficient force to meet them in battle, for the Scots were not more than one thousand lances, with about thirty thousand others badly armed. The admiral said to the earls of Douglas and Moray, "You were in the right in not wishing to fight the English; but let us consider what must be done, for they are numerous enough to overrun your whole country and ruin it. Since we are not able to combat them, I request you will lead us by unfrequented roads into England, and let us carry the war into their own country, as they have done here, if such an enterprise may be practicable." The barons told him, it was very practicable.

Sir John de Vienne and the Scots barons resolved in council, to quit that part of the country and suffer the English to act as they pleased in it, and to make an inroad on Cumberland, near Carlisle, where they should find a plentiful country, and amply revenge themselves. This resolution was adopted. They marched their men in an opposite direction to the English, through forests and over mountains, and laid waste the whole country on their line, burning towns, villages and houses. The inhabitants of Scotland carried their provisions to their retreats in the forests, where they knew the English would never seek for them. The Scots barons marched hastily through their own country; and the king, not being well enough in health to accompany them, retired into the highlands, where he remained during the war, and left his subjects to act as well as they could. The French and Scots passed the mountains which divide Cumberland from Scotland, and entered England, when they began to burn the country and villages, and to commit great devastations on the lands of Mowbray, belonging to the earl of Nottingham, on those of the earl of Stafford, as well as on the lands of the baron of Grisop* and of the lord Musgrave, and then continued their march to Carlisle.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND DESTROYS EDINBURGH, AND GREAT PART OF SCOTLAND. THE FRENCH AND SCOTS DO THE SAME ON THE BORDERS AND IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

While the admiral of France and those with him, such as the count de Grand Pré, the lord de Sainte Croix, sir Geoffry de Charny, sir William de Breune, sir James de Boenne, the lords de Peigny, de Hees, de Marnel, sir Valeran de Rayneval, the baron d'Ivry, the baron de Fontaines, the lord de Croy, sir Braque de Bracquemont, the lord de Lendury, amounting to a thousand lances at least, of barons and knights of France, with the lords of Scotland and their army, were thus overrunning the northern parts of England, burning and destroying the towns, houses and country; the king of England, with his uncles, barons and knights, had entered Scotland, wasting the country as they advanced. The English had quartered themselves at Edinburgh, where the king remained for five days. On their departure, everything was completely burned to the ground except the castle, which was very strongly guarded.

During the residence of king Richard at Edinburgh, the English overran the whole country in the neighborhood, and did great mischief; but they found none of the inhabitants, for they had retreated into forts and thick forests, whither they had driven all their cattle. In the king's army there were upward of one hundred thousand men, and as many horses: of course, great quantities of provision were wanted; but, as they found none in Scotland, many stores followed them from England by sea and land. When the king and his lords left Edinburgh they went to Dunfermline, a tolerably handsome

* The earl of Stafford, in the 9th Ric. II., made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, probably on the loss of his son, and died the ensuing year, on his return, at Rhodes.

* "Grisop." Q. Greystocke.

town, where is a large and fair abbey of black monks, in which the kings of Scotland have been accustomed to be buried. The king was lodged in the abbey, but after his departure the army seized it, and burnt both that and the town. They marched toward Stirling and crossed the river Tay,* which runs by Perth. They made a grand attack on the castle of Stirling, but did not conquer it, and had a number of their men killed and wounded: they then marched away, burning the town and the lands of the lord de Versy.

The intention of the duke of Lancaster and of his brothers, as well as of several knights and squires, was to lay waste all Scotland, and then pursue the French and Scots (for they had information of their march to Carlisle,) and by this means inclose them between England and Scotland, so that they should have such advantage over them, not one would return, but all should be slain, or made prisoners. In the mean time, their army overran the country at their pleasure, for none ventured to oppose them, the kingdom being void of defence, as the men-at-arms had all followed the admiral of France. The English burnt the town of Perth, which is on the banks of the Tay, and has a good harbor, from whence vessels may sail to all parts of the world. They afterwards burnt Dundee, and the English spared neither monasteries nor churches, but put all to fire and flame. The light troops of the English, and the vanguard, advanced as far as the city of Bredane,† which is situated on the sea, at the entrance into the highlands, but they did no harm to it, though the inhabitants were exceedingly alarmed, supposing they should be attacked, and that the king of England was coming.

Just in the same manner as the English conducted themselves in Scotland, did the French and Scots in Cumberland, and on the borders of England, where they burnt and destroyed large tracts of country. They entered Westmoreland, passing through the lands of Greystock, and of the baron Clifford, and burnt on their march several villages where no men-at-arms had before been. They met with no opposition, as the country was drained, for all men-at-arms were with the king in his expedition. They came at length before Carlisle, which is well inclosed with walls, towers, gates and ditches: king Arthur formerly resided here more than elsewhere, on account of the fine woods which surround it, and for the grand adventures of arms which had happened near it.‡

There were in the city of Carlisle, sir Lewis Clifford, brother to sir William Neville, sir Thomas Musgrave and his son, David Hollgrave, the earl of Angus, and several others from the neighborhood; for Carlisle is the capital of that part of the country, and it was fortunate to have such men to defend it. When the admiral of France and his army arrived, he made a very severe attack with ordnance, which lasted some time, but there were within those capable of making a good defence, so that many handsome feats of arms were performed before Carlisle.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

THE EARL OF SUFFOLK PREVENTS THE KING OF ENGLAND FROM PURSUING THE FRENCH AND SCOTS WHO HAD INVADED ENGLAND. THE ENGLISH ARMY RETURN HOME THE SAME WAY THEY HAD ENTERED SCOTLAND. THE FRENCH AND SCOTS RETURN IN A SIMILAR MANNER.

The king's uncles and the other lords supposed the admiral of France and the Scots would continue their march, and that they would do as much mischief as they could on the borders and in Cumberland. They therefore thought they could not do better, when their stores were all arrived, than to follow their line of march until they should overtake and fight them; for, as they could not any way escape, they must be attacked to a disadvantage. Of this opinion was the duke of Lancaster, his brothers, several of the nobles of the realm, and the greater part of the army. Their stores were now all arrived by sea or land, and the king had, in the presence of his uncles, ordered this plan to be adopted. But in one night, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who at that time was the heart and sole council of the king, and in whom he placed his whole confidence, undid the whole business. I know not what his intentions were for so doing; but I heard afterwards, he should say to the king, "Ah, ah, my lord, what are you thinking of? You intend then to follow the plan your uncles have devised. Know, that if you do so, you will never return, for the duke of Lancaster wishes for nothing more earnestly than your death, that he may be king. How could he dare advise your entering such a country in the winter? I would recommend you not to cross the Cumberland mountains, where are thirty passes so narrow, that if once you be inclosed within them, you will run into the greatest danger from the Scots. Never engage in such a perilous expedition, whatever they may say to you; and if the duke of Lancaster be so desirous to go thither, let him, with that division under his command: for never, with my consent, shall you undertake it. You have done enough for one time: neither your father, nor your grandfather Edward, have been so far in Scotland as you have now been. This, I say, should satisfy you. Take care of your own person, you are young and promising; and there are those who profess much, but who little love you."

These words made so strong an impression on the king, he could never get them out of his head, as I shall hereafter relate. On the morrow morning, when the lords of England were preparing for their march toward Carlisle, in search of the French, and to fight with them, as had been resolved in council the preceding night, the duke of Lancaster waited on the king, ignorant of what had passed between his nephew and lord Suffolk. When the king saw him, being peevish and choleric from the preceding conversation, he said, harshly, "Uncle, uncle of Lancaster, you shall not yet succeed in your plans. Do you think that, for your fine speeches, we will madly ruin ourselves? I will no longer put my faith in you nor in your councils, for I see in them more loss than profit, both in regard to your own honor and to that of our people: therefore, if you be desirous of undertaking this march, which you have advised, do so, but I will not, for I shall return to England, and all those who love me will follow me." "And I will follow you," replied the duke of Lancaster: "for there is not a man in your company who loves you so well as I do, and my brothers also. Should any other person, excepting yourself, dare say the contrary, or that I wish otherwise than well to you and to your people, I will throw him my glove." No answer was made by any one. The king was silent on the subject. He only spoke to those who served him, on different matters, and then gave orders for returning to England by the way they had come. The duke left the king quite melancholy, and went to make other preparations; for he had concluded they were to pursue the French and Scots, who had already advanced beyond the borders; but, as this was altered, they took the direct road to England.

Thus did the earl of Suffolk, who governed the king, break up this expedition. Some lords said, the king had been badly advised, not to pursue the Scots, as they had all their stores with them, and it was still in their way home. Others, afraid of the difficulties, said that, concerning all things, as well the quantity of provisions necessary for so large an army, as the hardships they would be exposed to in the winter season, when crossing the Cumberland mountains, they might lose more than they could gain. Thus were affairs managed. The English army returned, with the king and barons, by the way they had entered Scotland, but not before they had destroyed the greater part of that country.

News was brought to the admiral of France that the English were retreating homeward. They called a council to determine how they were to act, when it was resolved that, as their provision began to fail, they would return to Scotland, for they were now in a poor country, having ruined all round Carlisle, and the lands of lord Clifford, lord Mowbray and the bishop of Carlisle; but the city of Carlisle they could not conquer. The French said among themselves, they had burnt in the bishopricks of Durham and Carlisle more than the value of all the towns in the kingdom of Scotland. The French and Scots marched back the way they had come. When arrived in the lowlands, they found the whole country ruined; but the people of the country made light of it, saying, that with six or eight stakes they would soon have new houses, and find cattle enow for provision: for the Scots had driven them for security to the forests. You must, however, know, that whatever the French wanted to buy, they were made to pay very dear for; and it was fortunate the French and Scots did not quarrel with each other seriously, as there were frequent riots on account of provision. The Scots said, the French had done them more mischief than the English: and when asked, "In what manner?" they replied, "by riding through their corn, oats and barley, on their march, which they trod under foot, not condescending to follow the roads, for which damages they would have a recompense before they left Scotland; and they should neither find vessel nor mariner who would dare to put to sea without their permission." Many knights and squires complained of the timber they had cut down, and of the waste they had committed to lodge themselves.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

THE SCOTS TREAT THE ADMIRAL OF FRANCE AND HIS MEN VERY HARSHLY. THEY RETURN TO FRANCE.

When the admiral, with his barons, knights and squires, were returned to the neighborhood of Endinburgh, they suffered much from famine, as they could scarcely procure provisions for their money. They had but little wine, beer, barley, bread, or oats: their horses, therefore, perished from hunger, or were ruined through fatigue; and, when they wished to dispose of them, they could not find a purchaser who would give them a groat either for their horses or housings. These lords remonstrated with their commander on the manner in which they were treated, a circumstance well known to himself. They said, "they could not long endure such difficulties, for Scotland was not a country to encamp in during the winter; and that, if they were to remain the ensuing summer, they should soon die of poverty. If they were to spread themselves over the country, to better their condition, they were doubtful if the Scots, who had so villainously treated their foragers, would not murder them in their beds, when they should be divided."

The admiral, having fully weighed what they said, saw clearly they were justified in thus remonstrating; notwithstanding, he had intentions of wintering there, and of sending an account of his situ-

* There is a mistake in geography here, for the Tay does not run near the road to Stirling. I should suppose he must mean the Forth. † "Bredane." Q. Aberdeen.
‡ Froissart mistakes this place, probably, for Carleon

ation to the king of France and duke of Burgundy, who, as the admiral imagined, would hasten to him reinforcements of stores, provision and money, with which, in the course of the summer, he would be enabled to carry on an advantageous war against the English. But having considered how ill intentioned the Scots were, and the danger his men were in, as well as himself, he gave permission for all who chose to depart. But how to depart was the difficulty, for the barons could not obtain any vessels for themselves and men. The Scots were willing that a few poor knights who had no great command should leave the country, that they might the easier govern the rest. They told the barons of France "that their dependents, when they pleased, might depart, but that they themselves should not quit the country until they had made satisfaction for the sums that had been expended for the use of their army."

This declaration was very disagreeable to sir John Vienne and the other French barons. The earls of Douglas and Moray, who pretended to be exasperated at the harsh conduct of their countrymen, remonstrated with them, that they did not act becoming men-at-arms, nor as friends to the kingdom of France, by this behavior to its knights: and that henceforward no Scots knight would dare to set his foot in France. These two earls, who were friendly enough to the French barons, pointed out the probable effect their conduct would have on their vassals; but some replied, "Do dissemble with them, for you have lost as much as we." They therefore told the admiral, they could not do anything for him: and, if they were so anxious about quitting Scotland, they must consent to make good their damages. The admiral seeing nothing better could be done, and unwilling to lose all, for he found himself very uncomfortable, surrounded by the sea, and the Scots of a savage disposition, acceded to their proposals, and had proclaimed through the realm, that all those whom his people had injured, and who could show just cause for amends being made them, should bring them their demands to the admiral of France, when they would be fully paid. This proclamation softened the minds of the people; and the admiral took every debt on himself, declaring he would never leave the country until everything were completely paid and satisfied.

Upon this many knights and squires obtained a passage to France, and returned through Flanders, or wherever they could land, famished, and without arms or horses, cursing Scotland, and the hour they had set foot there. They said they had never suffered so much in any expedition, and wished the king of France would make a truce with the English for two or three years, and then march to Scotland and utterly destroy it: for never had they seen such wicked people, nor such ignorant hypocrites and traitors. The admiral wrote to the king of France and duke of Burgundy, by those who first returned, a full state of his situation, and how the Scots acted toward him: that if they wished to have him back, they must send him the full amount he had engaged to pay the Scots, and for which he had bounden himself to the knights and squires of Scotland: for the Scots had declared, that they had at this time made war for the king of France and not for themselves; and that the damages which the French had committed must be satisfied before they would be allowed to return, which he had promised and sworn to perform to the barons of Scotland.

It was incumbent on the king of France, the duke of Burgundy and their councils, to redeem the admiral, for they had sent him thither. They had the money instantly raised, and deposited in the town of Bruges, so that the whole demand of the Scots was paid to their satisfaction. The admiral left Scotland when he had thus amicably settled matters, for otherwise he could not have done it; and taking leave of the king, who was in the highlands, and of the earls of Douglas and Moray, was attended by them to the sea-shore. He embarked at Edinburgh, and having a favorable wind, landed at Sluys in Flanders. Some of his knights and squires did not follow the same road, as they were desirous of seeing other countries besides Scotland, and went into different parts; but the greater number returned to France, and were so poor that they knew not how to remount themselves: especially those from Burgundy, Champagne, Bar, and Lorrain, who seized the laboring horses wherever they found them in the fields.

The young king of France, and the duke of Burgundy, feasted the admiral splendidly on his return, as was but just. They made many inquiries respecting the situation of the king and barons of Scotland. He told them "the Scots would naturally incline to the English, for they were jealous of foreigners; and added, that as God may help him, he would rather be count of Savoy or of Artois, or some such country, than king of Scotland: that he had seen the whole force of that country assembled together, as the Scots had assured him, but there were never more than five hundred knights and squires together, and about thirty thousand other men, who would be unable to withstand the English archers, or a thousand men-at-arms." The admiral was asked, "if he had seen the English army." He replied he had; "for when I saw the manner in which the Scots fled from the English, I requested they would lead me to a place whence I might see and consider them. They did so, and I saw them pass through a defile, to the amount of sixty thousand archers, and six or seven thousand men-at-arms. The Scots said, 'that this was the whole strength of England, for none had remained behind.'" The company paused a little, and said, "Sixty thousand archers and six or seven thousand men-at-arms is a great force." "They may be as many as that," said the constable of France;* "but I would rather combat the whole of them in their own country than one-half on this side the water, for this was the doctrine my master taught me in my youth." "By my faith, constable," replied sir John de Vienne, "if you had been there with a good command of men-at-arms and Genoese, as I proposed, and as it was agreed on when I undertook this expedition, we would have engaged them when in Scotland, or destroyed them from want of provision."

In this manner did the constable and admiral converse, which excited a great desire in the duke of Burgundy to make a powerful invasion of England. We will now for a while leave them, and return to the affairs of Flanders.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

THE STATE OF FLANDERS. TWO HONEST BURGESSES OF GHENT NEGOTIATE SECRETLY A PEACE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, WITH THE ASSENT OF FRANCIS ATREMEN.

In truth, the duke of Burgundy had a strong desire to undertake a grand expedition against England in the ensuing summer of 1386, and did all he could to urge the king of France to consent to it. On the other hand, the constable of France, who in his youth had been educated in England, and was a knight of gallant enterprise and much beloved in France, advised it strongly, as did sir Guy de la Trimouille and the admiral of France. The duke of Berry was at this time in Poitou, and in the upper parts of Limousin, ignorant of these councils and this intended expedition. The duke of Burgundy was the greatest personage in France, next the king: he had many designs, and knew that, as long as the war continued in Flanders, the invasion of England could not take place: he was therefore much softened, and more inclined to enter into a treaty with the town of Ghent; for they had allied themselves with the king of England, who had sent thither a knight, called the lord Bourchier, to advise and govern them. The citizens of Ghent were also desirous of peace; for they had suffered so much from the war that the richest and principal persons of the town were no longer masters of their property: it was at the command of a few wicked soldiers, who governed them at their pleasure: the wisest foresaw that this could not last long without their being entirely ruined. When they were talking over their affairs among themselves, some wondered they had been thus long kept together in unity; but others knew that unity to have been the effect of force, and more through fear than love, for Peter du Bois would not desist from his wickedness, and none dared before him to speak of peace or of treating: the moment he heard of any one thus talking, he was instantly arrested, however respectable he might be, and put to death.

This war, which Ghent had carried on against its lord the earl Lewis of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy, had lasted near seven years; and it would be melancholy to relate all the various unfortunate events which it had caused. Turks, Saracens and Pagans would have been sorrowful on hearing them, for all commerce by sea was ruined. The sea-coasts from east to west, and all the north, suffered from it; for in truth the riches and merchandise of seventeen kingdoms were sent to Sluys, and the whole was unshipped at Damme or Bruges. Now consider, that if these distant countries suffered, still more bitterly must those nearer have felt it. No means of peace could be imagined. It was first thought on by the grace of God and divine inspiration, and by the prayers of devout people to the Lord, who, at their request, opened his ears, and took pity on the poor people of Flanders.

I will detail how a peace was made between them and the duke of Burgundy, as minutely as I have before related the cause of the war, which originated in the hatreds of Gilbert Mathew, John Lyon, and their accomplices, and I shall beg you will have the goodness to attend to me. At the time I am now speaking of, the lord Bourchier governed the city of Ghent for the king of England, and Peter du Bois assisted him in maintaining his authority, and retaining the affections of the wicked. There were several prudent men that were disgusted with such dissensions, and who had suffered much from them: they dared not open themselves to each other but in secret, for if Peter du Bois heard that any person was desirous of peace, he was put to death without mercy, in like manner as he and Philip von Artaveld had slain sir Symon Bete and sir Gilbert Gente, and latterly, in order to frighten the town of Ghent, they had destroyed many of the inhabitants.

When Francis Atremen had been driven from the town of Damme by the king of France, who, having totally burnt and destroyed the Quatre Mestiers, was returned to France, as it has been before related, the principal persons of Ghent supposed the king would, the ensuing summer, return before that town with a very powerful army. Peter du Bois and those of his party were unwilling to believe it, adding, they should be very glad to see the king come thither, for they had formed such strong alliances with the king of England as to be certain of assistance. At this time, there were in Ghent two valiant men, of good life and conversation, of moderate birth and

* Oliver de Clisson.

fortune, neither of the highest nor of the richest, who were very much vexed at this war against its natural lord the duke of Burgundy, but were afraid openly to declare their sentiments, from the examples which had been made by Peter du Bois. One of them was a mariner; the other the most considerable butcher in the market, called James d'Ardembourg. By these two men was the business first brought about. In addition to them, I must include a worthy knight of Flanders, named sir John d'Elle, a prudent intelligent man, who interested himself much in this affair; but, if it had not been through the means of the two aforementioned persons, he would not have interfered in it so happily; nor, as it may easily be believed, could all the knights of Flanders have succeeded.

This sir John d'Elle was much beloved by many in the town of Ghent, and he went in and out at his pleasure, without being suspected by any one. At the beginning he was afraid of talking either about war or peace; nor would he ever have done so, if it had not been previously mentioned by Roger de Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, and I will tell you how it happened. These two were much displeased at the continued troubles in Flanders, insomuch that they conversed together on the subject, when Roger said to James, "Whoever could interfere between this our native town of Ghent, which is so much oppressed, and the duke of Burgundy our natural lord, would do a deed of great charity, and acquire by it grace from God and praise from men; for the differences and confusion which are so unbecoming would by this means be put an end to."

"You speak truly, Roger," replied James; "but it will be a difficult and dangerous thing to do, on account of Peter du Bois: no one dares talk of peace from fear of him, for if he knew of it, those who had meddled in the business would instantly be put to death." "What!" said Roger, "shall things then remain always as they are? There must be an end to it." "Tell me how," answered James, "and I will cheerfully listen to you." Roger replied, "You are the principal butcher in the market, the richest and most respected: you can talk secretly and boldly with your most confidential friends and brethren in trade; and when you shall find they understand you, by degrees you can draw them more forward. I, on the other hand, who am a mariner, and well beloved by all such sort of people, whose courage I know, and who hate the war, for they have lost much by it, will remonstrate with some of them on the subject, and they will induce others to incline the same way: when we shall have gained over these two trades, which are numerous and powerful, the other trades, and honest people who wish for peace, will join us." "Very well," said James; "I will sound my people: do you the same by yours."

Each of them performed his promise; and they discoursed so prudently with their friends on the subject that, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, James d'Ardembourg found all his brother butchers well inclined to his way of thinking. Roger, on the other hand, with his eloquence, brought the mariners, who were anxious to regain the pilotage they had been so long deprived of, to the same opinion. When these two honest men were conversing on the business, and had shown how desirous they had found their people to obtain peace, they said, "We want a proper person to represent our situation to the duke of Burgundy," and instantly thought of sir John d'Elle, on whom they determined to call, as he was then in the town. This they did, and loyally told him their whole secret, saying, "Sir John, we have so effectually worked on our brethren of the trade, they are all eager for peace; but on condition that my lord of Burgundy will engage to pardon every one, and keep to us our ancient privileges, for which we can show sealed charters." Sir John replied, "You say well, and I will cheerfully negotiate the matter between you."

The knight waited on the duke of Burgundy, who at the time was in France with the king, and related to him all he had heard. He demonstrated so well the advantages of the business, that the duke willingly listened to his proposals. In truth, he was desirous of peace with Ghent, on account of the intended expedition which he wished the king to make against England. His own council advised it, as did sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir John de Vienne, and also the constable of France and the lord de Coucy. He therefore told the knight he would assent to the terms proposed, and that he might return with his answer to those who had sent him. The duke inquired if Francis Atremen had been present when this matter was brought forward: he said, "No, my lord: he is governor of the castle of Gaure; and I know not if those who have sent me would like he should be made acquainted with the business." "Tell them," answered the duke, "to speak to him boldly on the subject: he will not do anything in opposition, for I understand he most earnestly wishes to make his peace with me." The knight returned to Ghent with this good news, with which they were well pleased. He then went to the castle of Gaure to Francis Atremen, when he opened the whole matter to him, but under secrecy. Francis, having paused a little, replied gayly, "Since my lord of Burgundy is willing to pardon everything, and to secure to the town of Ghent its privileges, I will no longer be a rebel, but endeavor by all means to obtain my peace."

The knight left Francis Atremen in Gaure, and returned to the duke of Burgundy in France with the account how matters stood. The duke heard him with pleasure, and wrote very amicable letters to those of Ghent, sealed with his seal, and on this issue of the treaty the knight went back to Flanders and to Ghent, but he did not carry thither his letters: he, however, gave such assurances to Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg that he had them to produce, as to lead them to consider the affair as good as concluded. Now, consider what great peril these men and the knight were in; for, if the lord Bourchier or Peter du Bois had known of it, their lives would have paid the forfeit.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

THE TWO CITIZENS FIX ON A DAY TO ASSEMBLE THEIR FRIENDS, TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR PLAN. ALL GHENT ARE UNANIMOUS FOR PEACE, NOTWITHSTANDING THE ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT IT BY THE GOVERNOR FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND AND PETER DU BOIS.

Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, by whom the whole business was managed, said to sir John d'Elle: "Come hither on Thursday morning exactly at nine o'clock, and bring my lord of Burgundy's letters with you; we will show them, if we succeed in our intentions, to the commonalty of Ghent, and have them publicly read; by which means they will put greater confidence in them, for, at the time we mention, we shall be masters of the town, or dead men." Sir John replied, he would do as they had said; when their council broke up, and sir John left the town to consider how he was to act. These two citizens were very active to complete their plans, and constantly busy with their principal supporters, the deans of guilds. By their assiduity, they had gained over the greater number of the populace; and it was ordered, at eight o'clock on Thursday, they should quit their houses, the banner of Flanders displayed before them, and shout, "Flanders for the Lion! the lord of the country grants peace to the good town of Ghent, and pardon to all evil-minded persons."

This business could not be carried on so secretly but that Peter du Bois knew of it: the moment he had the information, he went to the lord Bourchier, who was governor-in-chief for the king of England, and said to him: "My lord, Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg intend assembling the inhabitants to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, in the market-place, with the banner of Flanders in their hands, and are to shout out through the streets, 'Flanders for the Lion! the lord of the country grants peace and pardon to the good town of Ghent for all misdemeanors.' What are we now to do? The king of England will no longer be obeyed in this town, if we be not beforehand with them, and drive them out of our territories." "How shall we do this?" replied the lord Bourchier. Peter said, "We must assemble all our people to-morrow morning in the town-house, when, after we have armed them, we will march through the town, crying out also, 'Flanders for the Lion! the king of England for the country, and lord of the town of Ghent.' When we have got to the market-place, those who are our friends will join us, and then we will kill all traitors and rebels." "Be it so," answered lord Bourchier: "you have well imagined it, and it shall be done."

God was wondrous kind to these two honest citizens; for they had intelligence given them of the arrangement just mentioned. On hearing it, they were not dismayed, but in the evening visited their friends the deacons, and said to them, "We had fixed to be in the market-place to-morrow at eight, but we now must change it to seven o'clock." This they did to break the measures of Peter du Bois, who was on the watch with forty others, and all agreed to change the hour. On Thursday morning, the lord Bourchier, with sixty of his men, went to the town-house. Peter du Bois came thither with his forty, when they all armed and put themselves in good array.

Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg assembled their friends at the place they had fixed on, when the greater part of those who had been deans of guilds joined them. They then displayed the banner of the earl, began their march through the town, shouting the cry before-mentioned. Those that heard it, and saw the deacons of their trades and the banner of the earl, mixed with their companions and followed the banner as fast as possible. They arrived at the market-place on the point of seven o'clock, where having halted, and placed the banner of the earl before them, they were continually joined by crowds of people, who drew up among them.

News was carried to lord Bourchier and Peter du Bois, who were in the town-house mustering their men, that Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg had taken possession of the market-place. On hearing this, they marched out with the banner of England displayed; and, as they advanced, they shouted their cry. In this manner they arrived in the market-place, and drew up opposite to the others, waiting for more to join them; but very few did so, for they went to those who had the earl's banner, insomuch that Roger and James had eighty from every hundred men who came thither. The market-place was full of men-at-arms, who kept silent, eyeing each other. Peter du Bois was thunderstruck when he perceived that the deans of guilds, with their men, had united with Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, and began to fear for his life; for he saw that those who had been used to follow him now avoided him. He therefore quietly got out of the crowd, and went to hide himself for fear of being killed.

Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg finding, from appearances,

that almost all the inhabitants had put themselves under their banner, were much rejoiced, and with reason, for they then well knew things were in a good train, and that the people would keep peace with their lord. They advanced, with a large detachment of their men, leaving the main body behind, with the banner of Flanders carried before them, toward the lord Bourchier and the English, who did not think their lives very secure. Roger halted opposite to lord Bourchier, and said, "What have you done with Peter du Bois? We wish to know your intentions, and whether you are friends or enemies?" The knight replied, that he imagined Peter du Bois was there; but, when he found he was gone, said, "I know not what is become of him: I thought he had been with me: for my part, I shall be steady to the king of England, who is my right natural lord, and who has sent me hither at your own entreaties, if you will be pleased to remember it." "That is true," they answered; "for if the good town of Ghent had not sent for you, we would have put you to death; but in honor to the king of England, who has ordered you hither at our request, neither you nor your men shall run the smallest risk. We will save you from all danger, and conduct you, or have you conducted, as far as the town of Calais. Retire now, therefore, peaceably to your houses, without stirring thence for anything you may see or hear, as we are determined to have for our lord the duke of Burgundy, and no longer to carry on the war." The knight was much pleased with this speech, and said, "My fair sirs and good friends, since it may not be otherwise, God assist you! and I thank you for the offers you make me."

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

SIR JOHN D'ELLE BRINGS LETTERS PATENT OF PEACE AND PARDON TO THE MEN OF GHENT, FROM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. THIS PEACE IS CONFIRMED AT TOURNAY BY THEIR LETTERS PATENT ON EACH SIDE.

The lord Bourchier and his men quietly left the market-place, and those of Ghent who had been with him, slily slipt away to hide themselves, or mixed with the others, under their banner. Shortly afterwards, sir John d'Elle entered the town and rode to the market-place, bringing with him letters patent, couched in fair language, and properly sealed, from the duke of Burgundy to the town of Ghent, which were publicly read and shown to all, and gave universal satisfaction. Francis Atremen was now sent for from the castle of Gaure, who instantly came, and agreed to the whole of the treaty, saying, "It was well done."

Sir John d'Elle now returned to the duke of Burgundy, who was with his duchess at Arras: he related to him all that had passed at Ghent; that Peter du Bois had lost all power there, and would probably have been killed had he been found; that Francis Atremen had behaved gallantly and loyally in respect to the peace. The duke was much pleased with all this, and signed a truce to last until the first day of January; and ordered a day to be fixed on, in the mean time, for conferences to be holden at Tournay, to confirm the peace. With these papers properly sealed and signed, the knight returned to Ghent; which gave such joy to every one, as plainly showed peace was the unanimous wish.

The lord Bourchier, the English, and Peter du Bois, still remained in Ghent, but nothing was done against them. Peter du Bois continued in peace, because he had sworn he would never more interfere in any war with the good people of Ghent against their lord the duke of Burgundy. He was, however, much assisted in this peril by Francis Atremen, who had spoken handsomely for him to the inhabitants; and for this reason Peter remained unmolested: besides, they knew that Peter had only held similar opinions to their own, and that he was a good and loyal captain. During the truce which had been made between the duke of Burgundy and the town of Ghent, they elected those who were to attend the conference at Tournay. Francis Atremen was chosen as principal, because he was well mannered, of good dispositions, and acquainted with the lords he was to treat with: Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg were elected with him. They arrived at Tournay during the octave of St. Andrew, escorted by fifty horse, and lodged altogether at the Salmon Inn, in the street of St. Brice.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy, with madame de Nevers, their daughter, came thither on the fifth day of December, and entered Tournay by the gate of Lille. The Ghent men instantly rode out to meet them on handsome horses: they did not dismount, but, bareheaded, saluted the duke and the ladies. The duke passed hastily through the town, to meet the duchess of Brabant, who came that same day, and entered it by the Mechlin gate: she was lodged at the bishop's palace. The conferences now began, relative to the treaty which the duke had granted to Ghent. Sir John d'Elle attended them, as he had, with much difficulty, brought this business to an end between the two parties. At last, at the entreaties of the duchess of Burgundy and madame de Nevers, the duke pardoned everything; and peace was proclaimed, after it had been drawn out and sealed by both parties, in manner following.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY, EARL OF FLANDERS, IN RIGHT OF HIS WIFE, AND THE TOWN OF GHENT AND ITS ALLIES.

Philip of France, duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders and Artois, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salins, count of Rethel, and lord of Mechlin, with Margaret, duchess and countess of the countries aforesaid, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: be it known, that our well-beloved subjects, the sheriffs, deacons, council and commonalty, of our good town of Ghent, having humbly supplicated our lord, the king, and us, to have mercy upon them, and that our said lord, together with us, having had compassion on them, by other letters than these present, and for the reasons contained in them, have pardoned and forgiven all misdemeanors and offences committed by them, our subjects of Ghent; and have fully confirmed all the said customs, privileges, and franchises, provided they place themselves wholly under the obedience of our said lord and us. Which grace and pardon the aforesaid subjects of Ghent and their allies have very humbly received from our said lord and us, by their letters and embassadors, which they have sent to our said lord and us, being at Tournay, and have renounced all wars and disputes, being returned most heartily to their obedience to the said lord and us, promising henceforward to be good friends and loyal subjects to our said lord the king, as to their sovereign lord, and to us as their natural lord, in right of Margaret, our wife, being their natural lady and heiress. For which cause, our said lord and ourselves have received our said subjects of Ghent and their allies into our favor, and have granted them letters of remission for all offences, singly and absolutely, with the restitution of all their franchises and privileges, as will be more fully apparent in these our letters. After which grace and remission, our said subjects of our good town of Ghent, having made several supplications which we have received, and have had maturely considered by our council, and they, according with the common good of the country, in order to put a final end to all dissensions, from our love and favor to our good subjects, have ordered as follows, in regard to these said supplications:

First, with regard to their request, that we would confirm the privileges of Courtray, Oudenarde, Grammont, Meule, Dendremonde, Russelmonde, Alost, Ath, Breuilles, Deynse, and the jurisdictions of these towns in the low countries. We order the inhabitants of these said towns to wait on us with their said privileges; and, after examination of them by our council, we will so act, that our subjects of Ghent, and the other good towns, shall be satisfied therewith: and should any of the said privileges be lost or accidentally destroyed, after strict inquiry made on the subject, we will provide accordingly as it has been before mentioned.

Item—as to their request concerning commerce, we consent that it have free course through our country of Flanders, on paying the usual duties.

Item—should any of their friends or allies be hereafter arrested in any foreign country, on account of the late disturbances, we will have them sent home in safety. We likewise consent, that if any of them be thus arrested, we will assist and defend them to the utmost of our power, as good lords should do to loyal subjects.

Item—we are willing that all prisoners of their party, supposing them to have agreed for their ransom, shall have their liberty, on paying the stipulated sum and other reasonable expenses; provided, however, that if any of the said prisoners, their relations or friends, hold any fortresses against us, such be first given up: and on like terms shall those attached to us, and confined by our subjects of Ghent or their allies, be set at liberty.

Item—out of our abundant goodness we have ordered, and by these presents do order, that all those who may have been banished from our good towns of Bruges, Ypres, or other places, on account of these dissensions, as well as those who may have been banished by law and justice from our good town of Ghent, or who may have voluntarily absented themselves, be restored, so that they may return to the said towns and reside; provided, those who have held for the party of Ghent be in like manner restored to their different towns or country, and when they reënter the towns to which they are restored, they make oath before our officers in the town of Ghent, and swear to keep the peace in such towns, and not commit any damage either in a public or private manner on any of the inhabitants. In the like manner will those swear who reënter Ghent.

Item—all those who may return to our town of Ghent, with their allies and other inhabitants, will be obedient to our said lord and to us, and will promptly put themselves under our obedience. With regard to those who may now be absent, they shall be restored, in time hereafter to be specified, to their fiefs, houses, lands, and inheritances, in whatever place they may be, notwithstanding any mischiefs they may have done during, and on account of these disturbances, in as full a manner as they enjoyed them previous to that period.

Item—should any of the inhabitants of the said town of Ghent, or their allies, be in Brabant, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Cambresis, or in the bishopric of Liege, and should they, within two months after the publication of this peace, put themselves under the obedience of our said lord and us, and furthermore, take such oaths as

shall be hereafter declared before us, or before those whom we may appoint to receive them, they shall fully enjoy all the before-mentioned pardons and graces. And those who may be in England, Frizeland, or Germany, should they, within four months as aforesaid, put themselves under our obedience, they shall enjoy the like privileges. If such as may be beyond sea at Rome, or at St. Jago de Compostella, should, within one year from the publication of the peace, without fraud, take the oaths aforesaid, they shall enjoy the same privileges, and in like manner all those banished by judgment of law, or such persons as may have voluntarily absented themselves on account of the dissensions, shall be restored to their fiefs, houses, lands, and inheritances, according to their several claims.

GHENT.—The old Mansion de Ville. From an Original Drawing.

Item—with regard to moveable property, which may have been taken on both sides, no restitutions be made, but each party remain acquitted to each other; unless, indeed, restitutions be made to discharge the consciences of those who may have taken such things.

Item—those now in possession of the houses which are to be restored, as well on one side as on the other, shall not carry away any fixture whatever; and such houses shall be restored with all their appurtenances and rents which may then be due; and henceforward all rents and profits shall be collected peaceably by those to whom they legally belong.

Item—it having been reported to us, that some of our subjects of Ghent or their allies, have done homage for fiefs which they hold to other lords than those to whom they legally appertain, and by such means have forfeited their fiefs, notwithstanding which, we will, out of our grace, that such fiefs remain to them, on performing homage to us, for what had been ours, and of our vassals holding from us; and we acknowledge, out of our especial favor, any leases or recognizances as legal between the present parties.

Item—our said subjects of Ghent, the sheriffs, deacons, council, commonalty, and their allies, by our orders, and their own free will, having renounced all alliances, oaths, obligations, acts, and homages, which they, or any of them, may have done to the king of England, to his commissioners, deputies, or officers, or to others who may not be in the good pleasure of our said lord or of us, do now make oath that from heceforward they will be good and loyal subjects to our said lord, and to his successors, the kings of France, as well as to us; and will perform such services to us and to our successors, as good and loyal subjects are bounden to do to their lord or lady, to defend their persons, honor, inheritances, and rights, and prevent all who may endeavor to invade them, by giving direct information to our officers, saving always their own rights and privileges.

Item—that our subjects of our good town of Ghent may remain always in peace, and under the obedience of our said lord the king and us, as well as of our heirs, the earls of Flanders our successors, and that all disturbances which may in future arise be prevented, we will that all these aforesaid articles be strictly maintained without any infringement. And we forbid our subjects, however ill they may have acted toward us in the late dissensions, to venture in any way, either directly or indirectly, by word or deed, to offer any injury, by reproaches or insults, to the aforesaid men of Ghent.

Item—if any one act contrary to these our orders, and injure those of Ghent, under pretence of taking our part, for what may have passed during the late disturbances, such offence shall be brought before the lord, and the courts to which it may belong; and such criminal act shall be punished by corporal punishment and confiscation of goods, as shall in like manner the offences of their accomplices, abettors, and those who may attempt to conceal them, after having been convicted of infringing the peace, as well by the justice of our officers or of other lords, as by the laws of the country to whose jurisdiction it may more immediately appertain: a reasonable satisfaction shall be made to the injured party, from the criminal's effects, and the surplus shall be paid to us, or to whatever lord has the right to it, saving the privileges of the towns.

Item—should any of the citizens of our said town of Ghent be banished from the said town for fraction of the peace; and supposing that prior to this peace, by the privileges of the town, their effects could not be confiscated; nevertheless, for the better preserving this peace, they shall, for such cause, be confiscated, and from such effects shall reparation be made to the party injured, as has been before stated, and the residue revert to their legal heirs, just as if such persons were deceased, saving in all other respects the privileges of our good town of Ghent: and if such wicked persons cannot be arrested, so as to suffer corporal punishment, their effects shall be confiscated as aforesaid.

Item—if any abusive language shall be uttered, and come to the ears of any of our civil officers, against this our order, we will that the person uttering such be punished by arbitrary fine, so as to serve for an example to others, by the legal judges of such places before whom he or they shall have been brought, saving the franchises and privileges of those places.

Item—if any churchman be guilty of any acts against the said peace, let him be transferred to his ordinary, to be punished as an infringer of the peace, according as the case may require.

Item—this same peace shall be publicly proclaimed and published in the said town of Ghent, and in all our other towns in Flanders.

Item—should any doubts or obscurity appear on the face of the said articles of peace, we declare, and will order our council to declare, that such doubts and obscurities, should any such arise, shall be interpreted and explained in such manner as shall give satisfaction to the complainants.

And we, the deans and commonalty of the town of Ghent, do by these presents accept for ourselves and for our allies these acts of clemency, pardon and grace done to us, by king Charles, our lord paramount, and by the aforesaid duke and duchess, earl and countess of Flanders, our lawful and natural lords: and we thank them, from the bottom of our hearts, for these said graces and pardons. We also swear obedience, as good and loyal subjects should do, to them, and will guard, to the utmost of our power, their persons and honor.

In testimony of which, we the duke and duchess aforesaid have had our seals put to these letters; and we the sheriffs, deacons and commonalty of the town of Ghent have also affixed the seal of the town.

In addition to which, we the duke and duchess aforesaid have entreated and do entreat our very dear and well-beloved aunt the duchess of Luxembourg and Brabant, and our very dear and well-beloved brother duke Albert of Bavaria. And we also, the sheriffs, deacons, and commonalty of Ghent, entreat the very powerful and puissant princess the lady duchess of Luxembourg and Brabant, and the high and puissant prince duke Albert aforesaid. And also we the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and we the sheriffs, council, and commonalty of Ghent, entreat the barons and nobles of the country of Flanders, hereafter named, from the good towns of Bruges, Ypres, the Franconate, Mechlin, and Antwerp, for the security of the peace, and assurance of the truth of the above-mentioned articles, to affix their own seals, and the seals of the different towns, to these presents.

And we Jane, by the grace of God duchess of Luxembourg, Brabant, and Limbourg; and we duke Albert of Bavaria, bailiff, regent, and heir to the countries of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and lordship

of Friezeland: we William, eldest son to the earl of Namur and lord of Sluys; Hugh, lord d'Antoing and warden of Ghent, John, lord de Guistelles and de Harues, Henry de Bruges, lord de Dixmude and de Havre, John, lord de Gonuseberge and de la Jentoise, Arnold de Jouste, lord d'Estournay, Philip, lord d'Axalle, Louis de la Hasle, bastard of Flanders, Girard de Rasenhen, lord de Baserode, Walter, lord de Halun, Philip de Hamur, lord d'Eque, John Villain, lord de St. Jean d'Outre, warden of Ypres, Lewis, lord de Lambres knight: and we the burgomasters, with the sheriffs of the towns of Bruges and Ypres: we Philip de Redehen and de Montferrant, sheriffs: Montfranc de Montamar knight, sheriff of the Franconate, in the name of that territory, which has no common seal: and we, the council of the towns of Mechlin and Antwerp—have at the aforesaid request, for the good of the peace, and for the greater security and truth of all the forementioned articles, and every one of them, caused to be affixed our seals and the seals of the aforesaid towns to these presents. Executed at Tournay the 18th day of December, in the year of grace 1385.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

PETER DU BOIS, AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE PEACE, RETIRES TO ENGLAND WITH THE LORD BOURCHIER, GOVERNOR OF GHENT.

When all these ordinances and treaties of peace had been engrossed and sealed, they were published before the parties: the duke of Burgundy had one part, and the deputies from Ghent the other. Francis Atremen and the deputation with him most humbly took leave of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and of the duchess of Brabant, thanking them repeatedly, and offering their services to them for ever. The good lady of Brabant returned their thanks, and kindly entreated them firmly to maintain the peace, and induce others to do the same, and desired them never to rebel against their lord and lady, for they had seen with how much difficulty peace had now been brought about. They thanked her heartily, and the conference broke up, and each retired to his home.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy went to Lille, where they staid some time, and the deputation returned to Ghent. When Peter du Bois saw peace so firmly established that there was not a possibility of any future disturbance or rebellion, he was greatly cast down: he doubted whether to remain in Ghent, considering that now everything had been pardoned under the seal of the duke, so that none were afraid, or whether to accompany the lord Bourchier and the English to England. Having paid due attention to all circumstances, he did not think he could venture to trust himself in Ghent. True it is, that Francis Atremen, when he mentioned his intentions of quitting Ghent, said, "Peter, everything is pardoned; and you know, by the treaties made and sealed with my lord of Burgundy, that no one can suffer for what has passed." "Francis," replied Peter, "real pardons do not always lie in letters patent: one may pardon by word of mouth, and give letters to the same effect, but hatred may still lie in the heart. I am but a man of low birth, and little consequence in the town of Ghent, and yet have done all in my power to maintain its rights and privileges. Do you think, that in two or three years hence, the people will remember it? There are persons of high birth in the town; Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who were enemies to my master John Lyon, will return, and will never view me but with evil eyes; as will also the relations of sir Gilbert Gente and sir Symon Bete, who were slain by me: never can I trust myself safely in this town. And will you venture to remain among such traitors, who have broken their faith with the king of England? I swear, that you yourself will in the end suffer." "I know not what may happen," answered Francis; "but I have such faith in the treaty, and in the promises of my lord and lady of Burgundy, that I shall certainly stay here."*

Peter du Bois made a supplication to the sheriffs, deacons, council, and governors of Ghent, saying, "My fair gentlemen, I have served the good town of Ghent to the very utmost of my power: many times have I hazarded my life for it: and for all these services the only reward I ask is, that you would have me and mine, my wife and children, escorted in safety with the lord Bourchier, whom you have ordered to England." Those present unanimously complied with his wish; and I must say, that Roger Cremin and James d'Ardembourg, by whom the peace had been made, were more glad than sorry at his departure; as were likewise the principal persons in Ghent, who wished peace and love to all. Peter du Bois made his preparations, and left Ghent in company with lord Bourchier and the English, carrying with him his whole fortune; for, in truth, he was well provided with gold, silver, and jewels. Sir John d'Elle escorted them, under a passport from the duke of Burgundy, as far as the town of Calais, and then returned to Ghent. The lord Bourchier and Peter du Bois made as much haste as possible to England, where he was presented to the king and his uncles, to whom he related everything which had happened in the affairs of Ghent, and the means by which peace had been concluded with the duke of Burgundy. The king, the duke of Lancaster, and his brothers entertained him handsomely, and were well pleased that he had come to them. The king retained him in his service, and instantly gave him one hundred marcs yearly revenue, assigned on the wool-staple of London. Thus did Peter du Bois remain in England, and the good town of Ghent in peace. Roger Cremin was appointed deacon of the pilots of Ghent, which is a most profitable office when commerce is uninterrupted; and James d'Ardembourg was made deacon of the small crafts, which is likewise an office of great trust in the town of Ghent.

* Atremen was afterwards assassinated

Although the present edition is divided into two volumes only, such being the most convenient arrangement of the work in its present form, yet the importance of retaining the original divisions of the Author has not been lost sight of, and they have accordingly been preserved. Froissart produced each of his volumes at some considerable interval from the preceding. "When," says M. de St. Palaye in his life of our author, "our historian finished one of the parts of his History, he brought it down to the time when he was writing: and toward the end he related the events as they were passing; from whence it happens, as it seems to me, that there is much confusion, often omissions and mistakes, which he has been obliged to correct or alter in the following parts." This is exemplified in the third volume, which was not begun until 1390, two years after the completion of the second; in it he returns to events which had happened since 1382, and gives a fuller account of them from the more correct information he had subsequently obtained. It would cause still greater confusion if the separate accounts were combined in an undistinguished train of chapters, and the cause of such repetitions was thus left without explanation. The third volume, which was finished in the year 1392, was written by the order and at the expense of the celebrated Gaston Phœbus Count de Blois, at whose court Sir John Froissart was then resident.—Ed.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

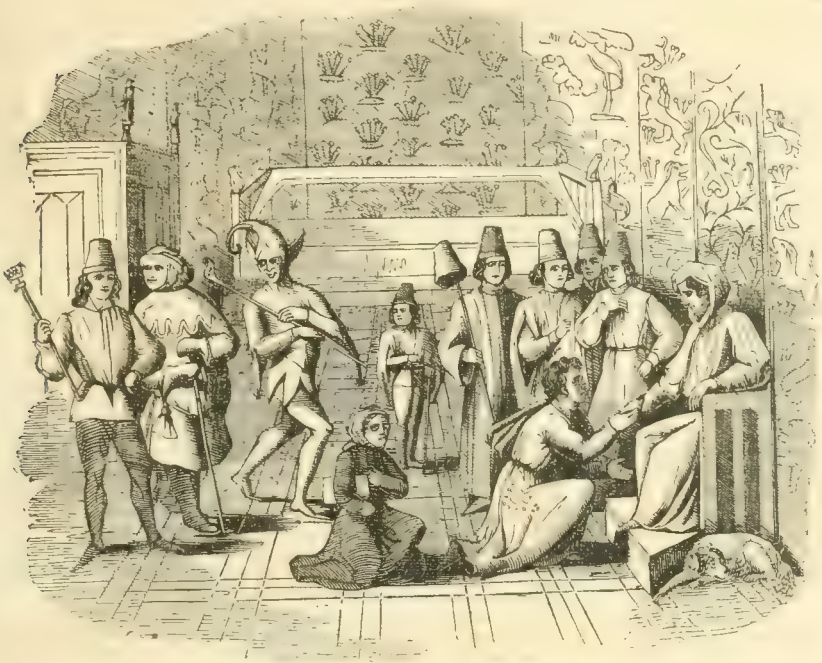
CHAPTER I.

FROISSART GIVES HIS REASONS FOR VISITING THE COUNT DE FOIX.

I have been a considerable time without speaking of the affairs of distant countries. Those nearer home were at the moment so fresh in my memory, and so much more agreeable, that I have delayed mentioning others. Such valiant men, however, as were desirous of advancing themselves, whether in Castille, Portugal, Gascony, Rouergue, Quercy, Limousin, or in Bigorre, did not remain idle, but employed themselves underhand against each other, in the wish to perform deeds of arms that might surprise and conquer towns, castles, or fortresses. And for this reason, I, sir John Froissart, having undertaken to indite and chronicle this history at the request and pleasure of that high and renowned prince, Guy de Châtillon, count of Blois, lord of Avesnes, Beauvois, Estonnehonne, de la Geude, my good and sovereign master and lord, considered in myself that grand deeds of arms would not fall out for a long space of time in the marches of Picardy and the country of Flanders, since there was peace in those parts; and it was very tiresome to me to be idle, for I well know, that when the time shall come, when I shall be dead and rotten, this grand and noble history will be in much fashion, and all noble and valiant persons will take pleasure in it, and gain from it augmentation of profit. And moreover, since I had, God be thanked, sense and memory, and a good collection of all past things, with a clear understanding to conceive all the facts of which I should be informed, touching my principal matters, and since I was of an age and constitution of body well fit to encounter difficulties, I determined not to delay pursuing my subject. And in order to know the truth of distant transactions, without sending upon the inquiry any other in place of myself, I took an opportunity of visiting that high and redoubted prince Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix and de Béarn; for I well knew, that if I were so fortunate as to be admitted into his household, and to remain there in quiet, I could not choose a situation more proper to learn the truth of every event, as numbers of foreign knights and squires assembled there from all countries, attracted by his high birth and gentility. It fell out just as I had imagined.

I told this my intention to my very renowned lord the count de Blois, and also the journey I wished to undertake, who gave me letters of recommendation to the count de Foix. I began my journey, inquiring on all sides for news, and, through the grace of God, continued it, without peril or hurt, until I arrived at the count's residence, at Orthès in Béarn, on St. Catherine's day in the year of grace 1388. The count de Foix, as soon as he saw me, gave me a hearty welcome, adding, with a smile and in good French, that he was well acquainted with me, though he had never seen me before, but he had frequently heard me spoken of. He retained me in his household, and by means of the letters which I had brought, gave me full liberty to act as I pleased as long as I should wish to remain with him. I there learnt the greater part of those events which had

happened in the kingdoms of Castille, Portugal, Navarre, Arragon, even in England, in the Bourbonnois, and everything concerning the whole of Gascony: he himself, when I put any question to him, answered it most readily, saying, that the history I was employed on would in times to come be more sought after than any other; "because," added he, "my fair sir, more gallant deeds of arms have been performed within these last fifty years, and more wonderful things have happened, than for three hundred years before."



FROISSART AT THE COURT OF THE COUNT DE FOIX.—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

I was thus received by the count de Foix in his hotel, and entertained according to my pleasure. My wish was to inquire after news relative to my history, and I had at my option, barons, knights, and squires, who gave me information, as well as the gallant count de Foix himself. I will therefore illustrate, in good language, all I there learnt, to add to my materials, and to give examples to those worthies who wish to advance themselves in renown. If I have heretofore dwelt on gallant deeds, attacks and captures, of castles, towns, and forts, on hard-fought battles and skirmishes, many more will now ensue; all of which, by God's grace, I will truly narrate.

CHAPTER II

A SHORT REPETITION OF WHAT IS CONTAINED IN SOME OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS, FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF THE WAR BETWEEN KING JOHN OF CASTILLE AND THE BASTARD OF PORTUGAL, BROTHER TO THE LATE KING DON FERNANDO.

You have before seen in this history,* that Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of the late king of England, had departed from Portugal, and embarked with his army at Lisbon, notwithstanding he had betrothed his son John to the lady Beatrice, daughter of don Fernando king of Portugal. The earl was discontented with Fernando, because he had remained for fifteen days encamped with his army before king John of Castille, without any engagement, and had entered into a treaty with the Castillians against his opinion. This had greatly displeased him; and, when the treaty was negotiating, he thus spoke: "Sir king, take good heed what you do; for we are not come into this country to eat, drink, and to rob, but to make war on this son of a bastard who calls himself king of Castille and count of Transtamare, to conquer our lawful inheritance, which this John de Transtamare holds and possesses. You well know, that by marriage with the heiresses of the kingdom of Castille, daughters of don Pedro, who was your cousin-german, my brother and myself have the claims of right; and you have offered to assist in the recovery of this kingdom (for every good lord ought to lean to the lawful right, and not to its opposite,) by your knight who here stands, and whom you sent to England to say, that if we would bring into this country two thousand lances, and from two to three thousand archers, with the aid you would give us, you had great hopes that we might regain our inheritance. I am therefore come hither, not indeed with as many in number as you wrote for; but those I have are well inclined, and bold enough to abide the event of a battle, if joined by your army, against the force which the count de Transtamare has at this moment: and we shall be much dissatisfied with your conduct if a battle do not take place." Such were the words spoken by the earl of Cambridge to the king of Portugal, before his departure, who distinctly heard them; but, nevertheless, he dared not to offer battle to the Castillians, although they were within sight of each other. There were none of his council who did not say, "Sir, the army of the king of Castille is at this moment too powerful; and if, by accident, you lose the day, you will lose your crown, without a chance of recovering it: you had better, therefore, endure much, than do anything wherein is such great peril and risk." The earl of Cambridge, finding he could not gain anything, returned to Lisbon, ordered his vessels to be made ready, and took leave of the king of Portugal. When he embarked, he would not leave his son John with the king and the damsel that was to be his wife, but sailed for England, leaving none behind. Such was the end of the Portuguese armament at this season.

The earl of Cambridge, on his arrival in England, represented to his brother, the duke of Lancaster, how the king of Portugal had acted, and the state of the country. The duke became very thoughtful, for he saw the conquest of Castille was very distant and doubtful: besides, his nephew king Richard, had in his council those who were unfriendly to him, more especially the earl of Oxford, who had the sole management of the king. This lord did everything in his power to make a breach between the king and his uncles. He said to him, "Sir, if you wish to support your two uncles, my lords of Lancaster and of Cambridge, in their war with Spain, it will cost you the whole revenue of England, and they will not at last gain anything. It will be more prudent to keep at home men and money, than that they should be scattered abroad without any profit to yourself: you had better guard and defend your own inheritance, which is invaded on all sides from France and Scotland, than employ your men elsewhere." The young king was well inclined to follow this advice of the earl, for he loved him with his whole heart, they having been brought up together. The earl of Oxford was connected with several English knights, and never acted without the advice of sir Simon Burley, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury and sir Michael de la Pole: sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Elmham were also named among his advisers. From these differences between the king and his uncles, and the nobles with the commonalty, many serious ills befel England, as I shall hereafter relate in the course of this history.

Not long after the departure of the earl of Cambridge from Portugal, king Fernando fell ill. His disorder, after oppressing him with languor for a year, caused his death. He had no other children but the queen of Spain. The king of Castille received information that the realm of Portugal was now fallen to him, as the rightful successor to the deceased king. Many councils were holden on this occasion; but, when they spoke to him on the subject, he replied, "The Portuguese are an obstinate race: I shall never gain them but by conquest."

The Portuguese, finding themselves without a king, took counsel together, and resolved to send a deputation to a bastard-brother of king Fernando, a valiant and wise man called Denis;* but he was a monk, and master of the order of Avis. They declared they had much rather be under the government of this valiant man, than of the king of Castille; for, in the eyes of God, he who acted well was no bastard. The grand-master was exceedingly rejoiced on hearing the universal good will the four principal cities in Portugal bore him; and that the affection of Lisbon and the others was so strong, they were desirous of crowning him their king. He secretly wrote to his friends, and went to Lisbon, which is the principal town in Portugal. The townsmen received him joyfully, and demanded, should they

See p. 300.

* Froissart mistakes one brother for another. Peter the Severe had three children by Inés de Castro: Denis, the eldest, was confined at this time in the prisons of Spain. John, the person meant in the text, was the son of Peter by Theresa Lamezzo, and surnamed the Father of his Country. He was grand-master of the order of Avis; and, after the death of his brother Ferdinand, was chosen king, to the prejudice of Beatrice, only child of Ferninand. Pope Urban, by dispensation, freed him from his religious vows in 1387. He married Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, by Blanche of Castille, by whom he had several children.—MORERI—*Art de Verifier les Dates.*

crown him king, would he be good and loyal, and preserve the country in its privileges? He answered, that he would, and be the best king they ever had. Upon this, the citizens of Lisbon wrote to those of Coimbra, Oporto and Ourique, which are the keys of the realm, that for their mutual advantage, they were desirous to crown king the grand-master Denis, who was wise and valiant, of good conduct, and brother to king Fernando; for that the kingdom of Portugal could no longer remain without a head, as well for fear of the Castillians, as of the infidels at Granada and Bugia, who bordered on the country. These four principal towns, and the land proprietors of Portugal, excepting a few great barons and knights, were inclined to favor his election; but some barons said, it was not right a bastard should be crowned king, if he were not of the best dispositions. The towns replied, that he was so qualified, and that it was a case of necessity, for they had no other choice; that he was a man of sense and of courage in arms; and there was a precedent in Henry of Transtamare, who had been crowned king of all Castille, by the choice of the country, for its common advantages, even during the lifetime of don Pedro.

The election, whether the nobles would or not, took place: and Denis was crowned king in the cathedral church of Coimbra, with the unanimous consent of the commonalty of Portugal. He swore to administer justice honestly, to maintain the people in all the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed from former times, and which they were entitled to have preserved to them. This gave great satisfaction to all. When news of this was carried to the king of Castille, he was wroth for two reasons: one, because his queen was the legal heiress of Portugal; the other, that the people had crowned a king of Portugal by election. He therefore made this a pretext for war, and demanded from the town of Lisbon two hundred thousand florins, which king Fernando had promised him when he espoused his daughter. He sent as embassadors to Portugal the count de Tierme and de Rebede, and the bishop of Burgos, with a grand suite of attendants. When arrived at Santarem, the last town of Castille toward Lisbon, they sent a herald to the king and citizens of Lisbon, to demand passports for the security of their coming and returning. These were instantly granted. The council of the town were assembled to hear explained the cause of their embassy; at the end of their harangue they said: "You Lisboners should properly understand this matter, and not be surprised if our king, in his anger, demands so large a sum from you, which you are bound to pay him, since you have thought proper to give the noble crown of Portugal to a clerk, a monk, and a bastard. This act is not to be suffered: for, by rightful election, it belongs to our king, as the natural lord and true heir: besides, you have acted contrary to the opinion of the nobility of the kingdom: therefore, he now declares by us, that you have been guilty of a high misdemeanor, and if you do not hasten to make every reparation, he is resolved to make war upon you." Don Ferdinand Gallopes de Villasons, a noble citizen and of great weight in Lisbon, thus answered: "My lords, you greatly reproach us for our election, but your own is in the same predicament, for you have crowned in Castille a bastard, the son of a Jewess. The fact is universally known. With regard to the justice of your election, there is none; for your king has no right to the crown of Castille: it belongs to the daughters of don Pedro, Constance and Isabella, who are married to the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, to their children, and to their husbands for them. You may, therefore, depart when you please, and tell him that sent you, that our election is good, and shall be upholden; for that we will not have any other king as long as the present one shall choose to be so. With regard to the sum of money you demand from us, we say that we are no way obliged to pay it: you must therefore call upon those who bound themselves to the payment, and who had all the advantage of it." The king of Portugal was not present at this assembly, though he well knew what answer his people were to make. The embassadors from the king of Castille, perceiving they should gain nothing from the Portuguese, took leave, as was becoming them, set out and returned to Seville, where they had left the king and his council. Having related all that you have just heard to the king, he summoned a council to deliberate on what was to be done. It was determined to send defiances to the king of Portugal and his partisans, and that the king of Castille had just reasons for declaring war against them. After these defiances had been sent to Portugal, the king of Castille issued a special summons for raising an army, declaring he would lay siege to Lisbon, and not depart thence until he had gained it, for the insolent replies that had been made to his embassadors, so that they should pay dearly if they were obliged to sue for mercy. The king of Castille advanced to Santarem with his whole force, that being the place of rendezvous. About this period, a knight of Castille, of the name of Navaret, was expelled that court; and, if the king in his anger had caught him, he would have had him beheaded. The knight, however, had timely notice, for he had friends on the watch, and, quitting the kingdom of Castille, came to Lisbon to the king of Portugal, who was much pleased at his arrival, retained him in his service, and made him captain of his knights. He afterwards did much harm to the Castillians.

The king of Castille marched from Santarem with his whole army, to Lisbon, which he besieged, inclosing within it the king. This siege lasted upward of a year. The count de Longueville was constable of the army, and sir Reginald de Limousin marshal of it. This sir Reginald was a Limousin knight, whom sir Bertrand du Guesclin had carried into Castille during the wars of king Henry; he had conducted himself so faithfully that the king had given him a fair estate and a handsome lady to his wife, by whom he had two sons, Reginald and Henry: he was much esteemed throughout Castille for his prowess. With the king of Castille, at this siege, were Daghenes Mandat, sir Digho Perçement, don Peter Roçerment and don Marich de Versaux,* Portuguese, who had turned to the Castillians. The grand-master of Calatrava, with his brother, a young knight called don Dighemeres,† Peter Goussart de Seville, John Radigo de Hoyex, and the grand-master of St. Jago. The army before Lisbon amounted to upward of thirty thousand men: many were the skirmishes and gallant deeds of arms performed on each side.

The Castillians knew well the king of Portugal would not be supported by the nobles, for the commonalty had elected him against their will; for which reason there were great dissensions between them;‡ and the king's intentions were to conquer Lisbon and the whole country before he returned, for no assistance, except from England, could come to them. This only he feared; but, having considered that the English were at a great distance, and that the king of England and his uncles were not on good terms with each other, he carried on the siege with security. The army was so plentifully supplied with every sort of provision, there was not a town or market in all Castille where was more abundance.§ The king of Portugal remained with his people in Lisbon, much at his ease, for they could not be deprived of the advantage of the sea. His council advised him to send able embassadors to England, to the king and duke of Lancaster, to renew the alliance which had subsisted between the king of England and his brother Ferdinand; to charge the embassadors to ask his daughter Philippa from the duke of Lancaster, who would willingly give her to him for his queen; to offer, under the strongest terms, a perpetual alliance between the two countries, and to declare he would exert himself so effectually, if the duke would come thither with two or three thousand combatants, and as many archers, that he should recover the kingdom of Castille, which was his lawful inheritance. Two knights of his household, sir John Rodriguez and sir John Testedor, with a clerk of laws called Marche de la Figgiere, archdeacon of Lisbon, were nominated to go as embassadors to England. Having provided themselves with all things necessary, they embarked with a favorable wind, and left the harbor of Lisbon, steering for the coasts of England.

On the other hand, the king of Castille, during his siege of Lisbon, was advised to write to France and to Gascony, for assistance of knights and squires, as the Spaniards naturally imagined that the king of Portugal would apply to England, for succors to raise the siege: he was not willing, therefore, to be unprepared, nor that his army should not be in sufficient strength to resist the united forces of the Portuguese and English. The king, in consequence of this advice, sent letters and messengers to many knights who were anxious to display their courage, more particularly to those of Béarn and the county of Foix: for in these countries were many good knights, who wished for opportunities of showing their love of arms, but could not find them, as the count de Foix at this period was at peace with the count d'Armagnac. These looked-for allies of the kings of Spain and Portugal were not so soon ready, nor near at hand. Hostilities still continued to be carried on in Auvergne, the Toulousain, Rouergue, and in the country of Bigorre. We will now leave the affairs of Portugal, and speak of others.

CHAPTER III.

THE COUNT DE FOIX, AT THE ENTREATY OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES, REMITS THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC SIXTY THOUSAND FRANCS OUT OF HIS RANSOM OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND. THE ENGLISH GARRISON AT LOURDE‖ GOVERNS THE ADJOINING COUNTRY.

Between the county of Foix and Béarn lies the county of Bigorre, which belongs to France, and is bounded on the one side by the Toulousain, and on the other by Comminges, and Béarne. In this country of Bigorre is situated the strong castle of Lourde, which has always been regarded as English since the country was given up to the king of England and the prince, as part of the ransom for king John of France, according to the treaty of peace made at Bretigny near Chartres, and afterwards ratified at Calais, as it has already been mentioned in the former part of this history. When the prince of Wales left England to take possession of the duchy of Aquitaine, (which the king his father had given him to hold as a fief and inheritance under him, in which were two archbishopricks and twenty-two bishopricks,) accompanied by the princess of Wales, they resided at Bordeaux about a year. They were entreated by John count d'Armagnac to come to the handsome city of Tarbes, in the county of Bigorre, to see and visit that part of the country, which the prince

* These names are probably very much disfigured, but I am unable to rectify them. [Diego Mendoza, Diego Perez Sarmiento, Don Peter Ruiz Sarmiento, Manriquez D'Aversaula.]—Ed.

† Don Diego Merlo.—Ed.

‡ *i. e.* The nobles and commonalty.

§ The plague broke out in the army, and obliged them to abandon the siege.—Ed.

‖ "Lourde," capital of the valley of Lavidan, in Gascony, diocese of Tarbes, near Bagneres.

had never yet done. The count d'Armagnac imagined, that the count de Foix would pay his respects to the prince and princess during the time they were in Bigorre; and, as he was indebted to him two hundred and fifty thousand francs for his ransom, he thought he would try to prevail on them to request the count de Foix to release him from a part, if not the whole of it. The count d'Armagnac managed so well, that the prince and princess of Wales came with their court, which at that time was very numerous and splendid, into Bigorre, and fixed their residence at Tarbes. Tarbes is a handsome town, situated in a champaign country, among rich vineyards: there is a town, a city, and a castle, all separated from each other, and inclosed with gates, walls, and towers: the beautiful river Lisse, which rises in the mountains of Béarn and Catalonia, and is as clear as rock-water, runs through and divides the town. Five leagues from thence is situated the town of Morlans, in the county of Foix, at the entrance into Béarn and under a mountain. Six leagues distant from Tarbes is the town of Pau, which belongs also to the count de Foix. During the time the prince and princess were at Tarbes, the count was in his town of Pau, erecting a handsome castle adjoining to the outskirts of the town, and on the river Gave.*

As soon as he was informed of the arrival of the prince and princess at Tarbes, he made his preparations and visited them in great state, accompanied by upward of six hundred horse and sixty knights. They were much pleased at his visit, and entertained him handsomely, as he was well deserving of it, and the princess paid him the most engaging attentions. The count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth was present, and the prince was entreated to request the count de Foix to release the count from all, or part of what he was indebted to him for his ransom. The prince being as prudent as well as a valiant man, having considered a while, said, he would not do so, and added: "Count d'Armagnac, you were made prisoner by fair deeds of arms, and in open battle: you put our cousin the count de Foix, his person and his men, to the hazard of the fight; and, if fortune has been favorable to him and adverse to you, he ought not to fare the worse for it. Neither my lord and father nor myself would have thanked you, if you had entreated us to give back what we had honorably and fortunately won at the battle of Poitiers, for which we return thanks to the Lord God." The count d'Armagnac, on hearing this, was quite thunderstruck: and, notwithstanding he had failed in his expectations, he made a similar request to the princess, who cheerfully entreated the count de Foix to grant her a boon. "Madam," replied the count, "I am but a small gentleman, and an insignificant bachelor; therefore, I cannot make large gifts: but, if the boon you request do not exceed sixty thousand francs, I grant it." The princess was anxious to gain the whole; but the count, being a wary man, paid much attention to all his personal affairs: besides, he suspected this boon regarded the ransom of the count d'Armagnac: he therefore continued, "Madam, for a knight like me, who am building towns and castles, the gift I offer you ought to suffice." When the princess found she could not gain more, she said, "Count de Foix, I request and entreat you would forgive the count d'Armagnac." "Madam," answered the count, "I ought to comply with your request. I have said, that if the boon you solicited did not exceed sixty thousand francs, I would grant it; the count d'Armagnac owes me two hundred and fifty thousand, and at your entreaty I give you sixty thousand of them." Thus ended the matter; and the count d'Armagnac, by the princess's entreaty, gained sixty thousand francs. The count de Foix, shortly afterwards, returned to his own country.

I, sir John Froissart, make mention of all these things, because when I visited Foix and Béarn, I travelled through Bigorre, and made inquiry after all that had passed, and what I had not heard before. I there learnt that the prince of Wales, during his residence at Tarbes, had a great desire to see the castle of Lourde, three leagues distant, among the mountains. When he had fully examined that castle and country, he was much pleased, as well with the strength of the place, as its situation on the frontiers of several countries; for those of Lourde can overrun the kingdom of Arragon to a great extent, and as far as Barcelona in Catalonia. The prince called to him a knight of his household, named sir Peter Arnaut, of the country of Béarn, who had loyally served him, and in whom he had great confidence: he was an expert man-at-arms, and cousin to the count de Foix. "Sir Peter," said the prince, "I nominate and appoint you governor and captain of Lourde, and regent of the country of Bigorre: now, guard well this castle, so as to give a good account of it to my lord and father, and to myself." "My lord," replied the knight, "that I will cheerfully do;" and he instantly did homage and pledged his faith, when the prince put him in possession of it.

Now, you must know, that when the war was renewed between the kings of France and England, as had been before related,† the count Guy de St. Pol, and sir Hugh de Chastillon, master of the crossbows in France, besieged and took the town of Abbeville, and the whole country of Ponthieu: about the same time, two great barons of Bigorre, whose names were sir Arnaut Barbasan and the lord d'Anchin, turned to the French interest, and seized the town and castle of Tarbes, for they were weakly guarded. The castle of Lourde was under the command of sir Peter Arnaut, of Béarn, who would not surrender on any terms, but carried on a sharp contest against France. He sent to Upper Gascony, and Béarn, for some knight adventurers to assist him in the war; and many able men came to him. He had six captains, each of whom had fifty lances or more under his command: his brother, John de Béarn, a gallant squire, Peter d'Anchin de Bigorre, brother-german to the lord d'Anchin, who would never turn to the French, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, Ernauton de Montagu, de Sainte Basile, and le bourg de Carnela. These captains made many excursions into Bigorre, the Toulousain, the Carcassonois, and on the Albigeois; for the moment they left Lourde they were on enemy's ground, which they overran to a great extent, sometimes thirty leagues from their castle. In their march they touched nothing, but on their return all things were seized, and sometimes they brought with them so many prisoners, and such quantities of cattle, they knew not how to dispose of, nor lodge them. They laid under contribution the whole country except the territory of the count de Foix; but there they dared not take a fowl without paying for it, nor hurt any man belonging to the count, or even any who had his passport; for it would have enraged him so much that they must have been ruined.

These companions in Lourde had the satisfaction of overrunning the whole country wherever they pleased. Tarbes, which is situated, as I have said, hard by, was kept in great fear, and was obliged to enter into a composition with them. Between Tarbes and their castle is a large village, with a handsome abbey, called Guyors, to which they did much mischief, but they also compounded with them. On the other side of the river Lisse is a goodly inclosed town called Bagneres, the inhabitants of which had a hard time of it; for they were much harassed by those of Malvoisin, which is situated on a mountain, the river Lisse running at the foot of it, in its course toward Tournay, an inclosed town. This town of Tournay was the common pass for those of Lourde and Malvoisin, to which they did no harm, because they had a free passage, and the townspeople had good bargains of their pillage: they were, therefore, forced to dissemble with them, if they were desirous of living, for they did not receive aid or succor from any one. The governor of Malvoisin was a Gascon, called Raymonet de l'Espée, an able man-at-arms. Those of Lourde and Malvoisin, put under contribution the merchants of Arragon and Catalonia equally with those of France.

* "Gave," in the patois of the country signifies a river, and that at Pau is thus called, "Le Gave de Pau."—Ed.

† In 1369—Ed.

CHAPTER IV.

SIR JOHN FROISSART, IN HIS JOURNEY TOWARD BEARN, IS ACCOMPANIED BY A KNIGHT ATTACHED TO THE COUNT DE FOIX, WHO RELATES TO HIM HOW THE GARRISON OF LOURDE TOOK ORTINGAS AND LE PALLIER, ON THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR IN GUYENNE, AFTER THE RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF BRETIGNY.

At the time I undertook my journey to visit the count de Foix, reflecting on the diversity of countries I had never seen, I set out from Carcassone, leaving the road to Toulouse on the right hand, and came to Monteroral, then to Tonges, then to Belle, then to the first town in the county of Foix; from thence to Maisieres, to the castle of Sauredun, then to the handsome city of Pamiers,* which belongs to the count de Foix, where I halted, to wait for company that were going to Béarn, where the count resided. I remained in the city of Pamiers three days: it is a very delightful place, seated among fine vineyards, and surrounded by a clear and broad river, called the Liege. Accidentally, a knight attached to the count de Foix, called sir Espaign du Lyon, came thither, on his return from Avignon: he was a prudent and valiant knight, handsome in person, and about fifty years of age. I introduced myself to his company, as he had a great desire to know what was doing in France. We were six days on the road travelling to Orthez. As we journeyed, the knight, after saying his orisons, conversed the greater part of the day with me, asking for news; and when I put any questions to him, he very willingly answered them. On our departure from Pamiers we crossed the mountain of Cesse, which is difficult of ascent, and passed near the town and castle of Ortingas, which belongs to the king of France, but did not enter it. We went to dine at a castle of the count de Foix, half a league farther, called Carlat, seated on a high mountain. After dinner, the knight said: "Let us ride gently, we have but two leagues of this country (which are equal to three of France) to our lodging." "Willingly," answered I. "Now," said the knight, "we have this day passed the castle of Ortingas, the garrison of which did great mischief to all this part of the country. Peter d'Anchin had possession of it: he took it by surprise, and has gained sixty thousand francs from France." "How did he get so much?" said I. "I will tell you," replied the knight. "On the feast of our lady, the middle of August, a fair is holden, where all the country assemble, and there is much merchandise brought thither during that time. Peter d'Anchin and his companions of the garrison of Lourde, had long wanted to gain this town and castle, but could not devise the means. They had, however, in the beginning of May, sent two of their men, of very simple outward appearance, to seek for service in the town: they soon found masters, who were so well satisfied with them, that they went in and out of the town whenever they pleased, without any one having the smallest suspicion of them.

* "Pamiers"—three leagues from Foix, eighteen from Toulouse.

"When mid-August arrived, the town was filled with foreign merchants from Foix, Béarn, and France: and, you know, when merchants meet, after any considerable absence, they are accustomed to drink plentifully together to renew their acquaintance, so that the houses of the masters of the two servants were quite filled, where they drank largely, and their landlords with them. At midnight Peter d'Anchin and his company advanced toward Ortingas, and hid themselves and horses in the wood through which we passed. He sent six varlets with two ladders to the town, who, having crossed the ditches where they had been told was the shallowest place, fixed their ladders against the walls: the two pretended servants, who were in waiting, assisted them (while their masters were seated at table) to mount the walls. They were no sooner up, than one of the servants conducted their companions toward the gate where only two men guarded the keys: he then said to them, 'Do you remain here, and not stir until you shall hear me whistle; then sally forth and slay the guards. I am well acquainted with the keys, having more than seven times guarded the gate with my master.'

"As he had planned so did they execute, and hid themselves well. He then advanced to the gate, and having listened, found the watch drinking: he called them by their names, for he was acquainted with them, and said, 'Open the door: I bring you the best wine you ever tasted, which my master sends you that you may watch the better.' Those who knew the varlet imagined he was speaking the truth, and opened the door of the guard-room: upon this, he whistled, and his companions sallied forth and pushed between the door, so that they could not shut it again. The guards were thus caught cunningly, and so quietly slain that no one knew anything of it. They then took the keys and went to the gate, which they opened, and let down the drawbridge so gently it was not heard. This done, they sounded a horn with one blast only, which those in ambuscade hearing, they mounted their horses and came full gallop over the bridge into the town, where they took all its inhabitants either at table or in their beds. Thus was Ortingas taken by Peter d'Anchin of Bigorre and his companions in Lourde."

I then asked the knight, "But how did they gain the castle?" "I will tell you," said sir Espaign du Lyon. "At the time the town was taken, by ill-luck the governor was absent, supping with some merchants from Carcassone, so that he was made prisoner, and on the morrow Peter d'Anchin had him brought before the castle, wherein were his wife and children, whom he frightened by declaring he would order the governor's head to be struck off, if they did not enter into a treaty to deliver up the castle. It was concluded, that if his lady would surrender, the governor should be given up to her, with permission to march unmolested away with everything that belonged to them. The lady, who found herself in such a critical situation, through love to him who could not now defend her, in order to recover her husband and to avoid greater dangers, surrendered the castle, when the governor, his wife and children, set out with all that belonged to them, and went to Pamiers. By this means Peter d'Anchin captured the town and castle of Ortingas; and, when they entered the place, he and his companions gained thirty thousand francs, as well in merchandise which they found there, as in good French prisoners. All those who were from the county of Foix or Béarn received their liberty, with their goods untouched.

"Peter d'Anchin held Ortingas for full five years; and he and his garrison made frequent excursions as far as the gates of Carcassone, which is sixteen long leagues distant, greatly ruining the country, as well by the ransoms of towns which compounded, as by the pillage they made. During the time Peter d'Anchin garrisoned Ortingas, some of his companions made a sally, being desirous of gain, and came to a castle a good league off, called le Paillier, of which Raymond du Paillier, a French knight, was the lord. They this time accomplished their enterprise, having before attempted it in vain; and, by means of a scalado, they took the castle, the knight and his lady in bed. They kept possession of it, allowing the lady and the children to depart, but detained the knight four months in his own castle, until he had paid four thousand francs for his ransom. In short, after they had sufficiently harassed the country, they sold these two castles, Ortingas and le Paillier, for eight thousand francs, and then retired to Lourde, their principal garrison. Such feats of arms and adventures were these companions daily practicing.

"It happened likewise at this time, that a very able man-at-arms, one of the garrison of Lourde, a Gascon, called le Mengeant de Sainte Basile, set out from Lourde with twenty-nine others, and rode toward the Toulousain and the Albigeois, seeking adventures. His wishes were to surprise the castle of Penne in the Albigeois, which he was nearly doing, but failed. When he found he was disappointed, he rode up to the gate, where he skirmished, and several gallant deeds were done. At this same hour, the castellan of Toulouse, sir Hugh de Froide-ville, had also made an excursion with sixty lances, and by accident arrived at Penne while this skirmish was going forward. He and his men instantly dismounted, and advanced to the barriers. Le Mengeant would have made off; but, as that was impossible, he fought valiantly hand to hand with the knight: he behaved gallantly, and wounded his adversary in two or three places, but at last was made prisoner; for he was not the strongest; and of his men few escaped being killed or taken. Le Mengeant was carried to Toulouse; and the séneschal had great difficulty to save him from the populace, who wanted to put him to death when they saw him in the hands of their own officer, so much was he hated at Toulouse.

"Fortunately for him, the duke of Berry chanced to come to that city, and he had such good friends that the duke gave him his liberty, in consideration of a thousand francs being paid the séneschal for his ransom. Le Mengeant, on gaining his liberty, returned to Lourde, where he ceased not from his usual enterprises. One time he set out with others, without arms, disguised as an abbot attended by four monks; for he and his companions had shaven the crowns of their heads, and no one would have imagined who saw them but that they were real monks, for they had every appearance in dress and look. In this manner he came to Montpelier, and alighted at the hotel of the Angel, saying he was an abbot from Upper Gascony going to Paris on business. He made acquaintance with a rich man of Montpelier, called sir Beranger, who was likewise bound for Paris on his affairs. On the abbot telling him he would carry him thither free from all expense, he was delighted that the journey would cost him nothing, and set out with le Mengeant attended only by a servant. They had not left Montpelier three leagues when le Mengeant made him his prisoner, and conducted him through crooked and bye-roads to his garrison of Lourde, whence he afterwards ransomed him for five thousand francs." "Holy Mary!" cried I, "this le Mengeant must have been a clever fellow." "Ay, that he was indeed," replied he; "and he died in his armor at a place we shall pass in three days, called Larre in Bigorre, below a town called Archinach." "I will remind you of it," said I, "when we shall arrive at the spot."

CHAPTER V.

SIR JOHN FROISSART AND THE KNIGHT OF FOIX ARRIVE AT CASSERES, WHERE THE KNIGHT RELATES TO HIM THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN BY THE ARMAGNACS, AND ALSO THE RE-CAPTURE OF IT BY THE COUNT DE FOIX; AND, AS THEY JOURNEY, THEY CONVERSE ON DIFFERENT FEATS OF ARMS BETWEEN THE ARMAGNACS AND FOIXIENS.

Thus rode we on to Montesquieu, a good inclosed town belonging to the count de Foix, which the Armagnacs and Labrissiens* took by surprise, but held it only three days; in the morning we left Montesquieu, and rode toward Palaminich, another inclosed town, situated on the Garonne, and belonging to the count de Foix. When we were close to it, and thought of entering it by the bridge over the Garonne, we found it impossible; for the preceding day it had rained so heavily in the mountains of Catalonia and Arragon, that a river, called the Saluz, which rises among them, and falls into the Garonne with great rapidity, was so much swollen as to carry away one of the arches of the bridge, which was of wood. We were therefore forced to return to Montesquieu to dinner, and remain there the whole day.

On the morrow, the knight was advised to cross the Garonne, opposite the town of Casseres, in a boat; we therefore rode thither, and by our exertions the horses passed, and we ourselves afterwards with some difficulty and danger; for the boat was so small that only two horses and their men could cross at a time with those who managed the boat. When we had crossed, we made for Casseres, where we staid the whole day. While our servants were preparing the supper, sir Espaign du Lyon said, "Sir John, let us go and see the town." "Come then," replied I. We walked through the town to a gate which opens to Palaminich, and, having passed it, went near the ditches. The knight, pointing to the walls, said, "Do you observe that part of the walls?" "Yes, sir: why do you ask?" "I will tell you: because it is newer than the rest." "That is true," answered I. "I will relate to you how this happened ten years ago. You have heard of the wars between the count d'Armagnac and the count de Foix, which took place in the country of Béarn, that appertains to the count de Foix: the count d'Armagnac overran it, though at present he is quiet on account of the truces made between them. I must say, the Armagnacs and Labrissiens gained nothing, but had often great losses. On the night of the feast of St. Nicholas, in the winter of the year 1362, the count de Foix made prisoners, near to Montmarsen, the count d'Armagnac and his nephew the lord d'Albreth, and many nobles with them, whom he carried to Orthez, and confined them in the tower of the castle; by which capture he received ten times told one hundred thousand francs.

"It happened afterwards that the count d'Armagnac, father of the present, called Sir John d'Armagnac, set on foot an armament, with which he came and took Casseres by scalado: they were full two hundred men-at-arms, who seemed resolved to keep the place by force. News was brought to the count de Foix, at Pau, that the Armagnacs and Labrissiens had taken his town of Casseres. He, who was a prudent and valiant knight, and prepared for all events, called to him two bastard brothers whom he had among his knights, sir Arnault Guillaume and Sir Peter de Béarn, and ordered them to march instantly to Casseres, telling them he would send men from all parts, and in three days would be there in person. "Be careful, therefore," added he, "that none get out of the town without being

* "Labrissiens," those attached to the family of Labreth, which we call Albreth.—D. S.

fought with, as you will have strength enough; and on your arrival at Casseres, make the country people bring you plenty of large pieces of wood, which you will fix strongly round the gates, and completely bar them up; for I am resolved that those now in the town shall be so shut up in it, that they never pass through the gates: I will make them take another road."

"The two knights obeyed his orders, and marched to Palaminich, accompanied and followed by all the men-at-arms in Béarn. They encamped before the town of Casseres; but those within paid no attention to them, nor observed that they were so completely shut in, they could not pass through the gates. On the third day, the count de Foix came with five hundred men-at-arms, and on his arrival had the town encompassed with fortifications of wood, as well as by his army, that no sally might be made from it in the night. In this state, without making any attack, he blockaded them until their provisions began to fail; for though they had wine in plenty, they had nothing to eat, and could not escape by fording the river, which was then too deep. They therefore thought it better to surrender themselves as prisoners, than shamefully perish with hunger. The count de Foix listened to their offers. He had them informed, that as they could not pass through any of the town-gates, he would make a hole in the wall through which the garrison, one by one, must pass, without arms, in their common dress. They were forced to accept of these terms, otherwise the business was at an end: and, if the count de Foix had not been thus appeased, all within were dead men. He had a hole made in the wall, which was not too large, through which they came out one by one. The count was there, with his forces drawn up in battle array; and as they came out of the town they were brought before him, and sent to different castles and towns as prisoners. He took there his cousin, sir John d'Armagnac, sir Bertrand d'Albreth, sir Manaut de Barbasan, sir Raymond de Benach, sir Benedict de la Corneille, and about twenty of the most respectable, whom he carried with him to Orthez, and received from them, before they gained their liberty, one hundred thousand francs, twice told. For this, my fair sir, was this wall broken down, as a passage for those of Armagnac and Albreth: afterwards it was rebuilt and repaired." When he had finished his history we returned to our lodgings, and found the supper ready.

On the morrow we mounted our horses, and riding up the side of the Garonne, passed through Palaminich, and entered the lands of the counts de Comminges and d'Armagnac. On the opposite side, fronting us, was the Garonne, and the territories of the count de Foix. As we rode on, the knight pointed out to me a town, which appeared tolerably strong, called Marteras le Toussac, which belongs to the count de Comminges; and on the other side of the river, two castles of the count de Foix, seated on a mountain, called Montaural and Monclare. As we were riding among these towns and castles, in a beautiful meadow by the side of the Garonne, the knight said: "Sir John, I have witnessed here many excellent skirmishes and combats between the Armagnacs and the Foixiens; for there was neither town nor castle that was not well garrisoned with men-at-arms, who engaged with and pursued each other. Do you see yonder those ruins? They are the remains of a fort which the Armagnacs raised against these two castles, and which they filled with men-at-arms, who did much damage to the lands of the count de Foix, on the other side of the river; but I will tell you how they paid for it. The count de Foix one night sent his brother, sir Peter de Béarn, with two hundred lances and four hundred peasants, laden with faggots, and as much wood as they could cut from the hedges, which they piled around this fort and set on fire, so that the fort was burnt with all in it, for none received quarter; and since that time no one has dared to rebuild it."

With such conversation did we daily travel, travelling toward the source of the river Garonne, on each side of which were handsome castles and forts. All on the left hand belonged to the count de Foix, and on the other to the count d'Armagnac. We passed Montpesac, a fine strong castle, seated on the top of a rock, below which is the road and the town. On the outside of it, at the distance of a cross-bow, there is a pass called la Garde, with a tower between the rock and the river, and an iron gate: six men could defend this pass against all the world, for only two persons abreast can advance between the rock and river. Upon seeing this, I said to the knight, "Sir, this is a strong pass, and a difficult country." "It is, indeed," answered the knight; "but, strong as it is, the count de Foix and his men once forced it, and advanced to Palaminich, Montesquieu, and even to Pamiers. The pass was very strong, but the English archers greatly assisted him in this conquest. Come and ride by my side, and I will tell you all about it." I then rode by the side of sir Espaing du Lyon, who thus continued his narration:

"The count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth invaded the country of Foix, with upward of five hundred men, and advanced into those parts near Pamiers. It was in the beginning of August, when the corn was harvesting and the grapes ripe: in that year there was great abundance of both. Sir John d'Armagnac and his people were encamped before the town and castle of Sauredun, a short league distant from Pamiers. They made an attack on it, and sent word to Pamiers, that if they did not pay a composition for their corn and wines, they would burn and destroy all. Those of Pamiers were afraid of waiting the event, as their lord was at too great a distance, being then in Béarn, so that they thought it more prudent to pay the ransom, which was settled at five thousand francs; but they demanded a delay of fifteen days, which was granted to them. The count de Foix heard of all this, and, by great haste and sending to all parts for aid, he got into Pamiers through this difficult pass. Assistance came to him from several quarters, so that he found himself at the head of twelve hundred lances: he would have given battle, without fail, to sir John d'Armagnac, if he had waited for it; but they retreated into the country of Comminges, leaving behind the money from Pamiers, as they had no time to stay for it. The count de Foix, however, did not hold them quit, but claimed the ransom, as he said he had deserved it; for he had come to their assistance, and to drive his enemies out of the country. He paid with it his men-at-arms, and remained there until the good people had harvested their corn, finished their vintage, and put all their effects in safety." "By my faith," said I to the knight, "I have heard you with pleasure." Thus discouring, we passed near a castle called la Bretite, and then another castle called Bacelles, all in the county of Comminges.

As I rode on, I saw on the other side of the river a very handsome and large castle, with a town of goodly appearance. I asked the knight the name of this castle. He told me it was called Montesplain,* and belonged to a cousin of the count de Foix, who bears the cows in his arms, named sir Roger d'Espaign. He is a great baron and land proprietor in this country and in the Toulousain, and at this moment is séneschal of Carcassone. Upon which I asked, "What relation was this sir Roger d'Espaign to sir Charles d'Espaign, constable of France?" "He is not of that family," replied the knight; "for sir Lewis and sir Charles d'Espaign, of whom you are speaking, came originally from Spain, and were of Spanish extraction; but by their mothers are of French also, and cousins-german to king Alfonso of Spain. I served in my youth under sir Lewis d'Espaign, in the wars of Brittany: for he was always of the side of St. Charles de Blois against the count de Montfort."

Here ended our conversation on this subject. We came that day to Gouffers, a good town belonging to the count de Foix, and on the morrow to dinner at Moncuil, a strong town also, which belongs to the king of France and is held by sir Roger d'Espaign. After dinner, we mounted and took the road toward Lourde and Malvoisin, and rode over heaths that extend fifteen leagues: they are called Lane-bourg, and are well calculated for those who are evil-inclined. Amid the heaths of Lane-bourg is situated the castle de la Mesere, belonging to the count de Foix, a good league above the town of Tournay and below Malvoisin, which castle the knight showed me, saying, "See, yonder is Malvoisin: have you not inserted in your history (of which you have been speaking to me) how the duke of Anjou, when he was in this country, advanced to Lourde, besieged and conquered it, as well as the castle of Trigalet on the river before us, and which belongs to the lord de la Barde?"

I considered a little, and replied: "I believe I have not mentioned it, nor have I ever been informed of such an event. I therefore pray you relate the business, to which I shall attentively listen; but tell me, lest I forget it, what is become of the river Garonne? for I can no longer see it." "You say truly," answered the knight; "it loses itself between these two mountains. It rises from a spring three leagues off, on the road to Catalonia, below a castle called St. Béart, the last castle of France on the frontiers of Arragon. The governor of it and the surrounding country at this time is a squire named Ernauton, who is called the bastard of Spain, and cousin-german to sir Roger d'Espaign. The moment you see him you will say, he is formed for a downright man-at-arms. This bastard of Spain has done more mischief to the garrison of Lourde than all the knights and squires of this country put together; and I must say, the count de Foix loves him well, for he is his brother in arms. I will not say more of him, for, at the ensuing Christmas, you will see him yourself at the hotel of the count; but I will tell you what the duke of Anjou did when he was in this country."

CHAPTER VI.

FROISSART CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY WITH THE KNIGHT OF FOIX, WHO RELATES TO HIM SEVERAL PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE SIEGES OF BREST AND DERVAL, AND HOW THE DUKE OF ANJOU RECOVERED MALVOISIN AND TRIGALET FROM THE ENGLISH.

We then rode gently, and he began his narration as follows: "At the first renewal of the war, the French conquered back again from the English all their possessions in Aquitaine, and sir Oliver de Clisson, having turned to the French interest, conducted the duke of Anjou, as you know, into Brittany to the estates of sir Robert Knolles and to the siege of Derval; all which, I dare say, you have in your history, as well as the treaty made by sir Hugh Broc, cousin to sir Robert, to surrender the castle, for which he had given hostages, imagining the duke of Anjou to be in such strength that the siege could not be raised; and you probably relate how sir Robert Knolles, having entered the castle of Derval, refused to abide by this treaty." "Truly, sir, I have heard all you have just related." "And have

* "Montesplain"—Montespan, in the diocese of Comminges.

you noticed the skirmish which took place before the castle, when sir Oliver de Clisson was wounded?" "I cannot say," replied I, "that I have any remembrance of it. Tell me, then, what passed at this skirmish and at the siege; perhaps you may know more particulars than I do; and you can return afterwards to the history of Lourde and Malvoisin."

"That is true," said the knight: "I must tell you, however, that sir Garsis du Châtel, a very valiant knight of this country and a good Frenchman, had gone to seek the duke, to conduct him before Malvoisin, when the duke had issued his summons to march to Derval: he made sir Garsis marshal of his army for his valor. It is a truth, as I was informed afterwards, that when sir Garsis found sir Robert determined not to keep the treaty, and the castle of Derval not likely to surrender, he came to the duke and asked, 'My lord, what shall we do with these hostages? It is no fault nor crime in them if the castle be not surrendered; and it will be a great sin if you put them to death, for they are gentlemen, undeserving such punishment.' The duke replied, 'Is it right, then, that they should have their liberty?' 'Yes, by my faith,' said the knight, who had much compassion for them. 'Go,' replied the duke, 'and do with them what you please.' At these words, as sir Garsis told me, he went to deliver them, but in his road met sir Oliver de Clisson, who asked him whence he came, and whither he was going. 'I come from my lord of Anjou, and am going to set at liberty the hostages.' 'To set them at liberty?' said sir Oliver: 'stop a little, and come with me to the duke.' On his return, he found the duke very pensive. Sir Oliver saluted him, and then said, 'My lord, what are your intentions? shall not these hostages be put to death? By my faith shall they, in spite of sir Robert Knolles and sir Hugh Broc, who have belied their faith: and I would have you know, if they do not suffer death, I will not, for a year to come, put on a helmet to serve you; they will come off too cheaply, if they be thus acquitted. This siege has cost you sixty thousand francs, and you wish to pardon your enemies who keep no faith with you.' At these words, the duke of Anjou grew wroth, and said, 'Sir Oliver, do with them as you list.' 'I will, then, that they die; for there is cause for it, since they keep not their faith.' He then left the duke and went to the square before the castle; but sir Garsis never dared to say one word in their favor, for it would have been lost labor, since sir Oliver was determined upon it. He called to him Jocelin, who was the headsman, and ordered him to behead two knights and two squires, which caused such grief that upward of two hundred of the army wept.

"Sir Robert Knolles instantly opened a postern-gate of the castle, and had, in revenge, all his prisoners beheaded, without sparing one. The great gate was then opened, and the drawbridge let down, when the garrison made a sally beyond the barriers to skirmish with the French, which, according to sir Garsis, was a severe business: the first arrow wounded sir Oliver de Clisson, who retired to his quarters. Among the wounded were two squires from Béarn, who behaved themselves well: their names were Bertrand de Barege and Ernauton du Pin. On the morrow they decamped. The duke marched with his men-at-arms from Derval to Toulouse, and from thence to this country, with intent to destroy Lourde, for the Toulousains made great complaints of it. What happened there I will tell you. The duke lost no time in marching his army to the castle of Malvoisin, which we see before us, and laying siege to it. He had in his army full eight thousand combatants, without reckoning the Genoese and the commonalty from the principal towns in that country.

"A Gascon squire and able man-at-arms, named Raymonet de l'Epée, was at that time governor of Malvoisin. There were daily skirmishes at the barriers, where many gallant feats were done by those who wished to advance themselves. The duke and his army were encamped in these handsome meadows between the town of Tournay and the castle, on the banks of the Lisse. During this siege, sir Garsis du Châtel, who was marshal of the army, marched with five hundred men-at-arms, two hundred archers and cross-bows, and full two thousand common men, to lay siege to the castle of Trigalet, which we have left behind us. A squire of Gascony had the command of it, for his cousin the lord de la Barde, and was called le Bastot de Mauléon: he had about forty companions with him, who were lords of Lane-bourg; for no one could march through these parts except a pilgrim to the shrine of St. Jago, without being made a prisoner, and, if not ransomed, put to death. There was another strong place, near to le Mesen, of which thieves and robbers from all countries made a garrison, called le Nemilleux: it is very strong, but always in dispute between the count d'Armagnac and the count de Foix; and for this reason the nobles paid not any attention to it when the duke of Anjou came into the country.

"Sir Garsis, on arriving at Trigalet, had it surrounded on all sides but that toward the river, which they could not approach, and a sharp attack commenced, in which many of each party were wounded. Sir Garsis was five days there, and on every one of them were skirmishes; insomuch that the garrison had expended all their ammunition, and had nothing left to shoot with, which was soon perceived by the French. Upon this, sir Garsis, out of true gallantry, sent a passport to the governor to come and speak with him. When he saw him, he said, 'Bastot, I well know your situation; that your garrison have no ammunition, nor anything but lances to defend themselves with when attacked. Now, if you be taken by storm, it will be impossible for me to save yours or your companions' lives, from the fury of the common people, for which I should be very sorry, as you are my cousin. I therefore advise you to surrender the place, and even entreat you so to do: you cannot be blamed by any one for it, and seeking fortune elsewhere, for you have held out long enough.'

"'My lord,' replied the squire, 'anywhere but here I would freely do what you advise, for in truth I am your cousin: in this instance, I cannot act from myself, for those who are with me have an equal command, though they affect to consider me as their captain. I will return, and tell them what you have said: if they agree to surrender, I shall consent; if they be resolved to hold out, whatever may be my fate, I must, with them, abide the event.' 'This is well said,' answered sir Garsis: 'you may depart whenever you please, since I know your intention.'

"The Bastot de Mauléon returned to the castle, and assembled all his companions in the court-yard, to whom he related what sir Garsis had said, and then demanded their opinions, and what they would do. They debated for a long time: some said they were strong enough to wait the event: others wished to withdraw, saying it was full time for it, as they had no longer any ammunition, and the duke of Anjou was severe, and the whole country of Toulouse and Carcassonne enraged against them for the mischiefs they had done. Everything having been considered, they agreed to surrender the castle, but on condition they should be escorted, themselves and baggage, to château Cullie,* which their friends were in possession of, on the Toulousain frontier. Upon this, Bastot de Mauléon returned to sir Garsis, who granted their demand; for he saw the castle was not easy to win by storm, and it would probably have cost him many lives. They made their preparations to depart, packing up everything they could. Of pillage they had enough, and carried away the best part of it, leaving the rest behind them. Sir Garsis had them safely escorted as far as château Cullie. By this means did the French gain the castle of Trigalet, which sir Garsis gave to the commonalty of the country who had accompanied him, to do with it what they chose. They determined to destroy and raze it, in the manner you have seen, which was so completely done, that no one since has ever thought of rebuilding it.

"Sir Garsis would have marched from thence to castle Nautilleux,† which is situated on the moors near the castle of Lamen,‡ to free it from those companions who had possession of it; but on the road they told him, 'My lord, you have no need to advance further, for you will not find any one in castle Nautilleux: those who were there are fled, some one way, some another, we know not whither.' Sir Garsis, on hearing this, halted in the plain to consider what was best to be done. The séneschal de Nobesen happened to be present, who said, 'Sir, this castle is within my jurisdiction, and should be held from the count de Foix: give it me, I beg of you, and I will have it so well guarded at my costs, that no person who wishes ill to the country shall ever enter it.' 'My lord,' added those from Toulouse who were by, 'he speaks well: the séneschal is a valiant and prudent man, and it is better he should have it than another.' 'I consent to it,' said sir Garsis. Thus was the castle of Nautilleux given to the séneschal de Nobesen, who rode thither, and, having found it empty, had repaired what had been destroyed. He appointed governor a squire of the country named Fortifie de St. Pol, and then returned to the siege of Malvoisin where the duke was. Sir Garsis and his men had already related to the duke their successful exploits. The castle of Malvoisin held out about six weeks; there were, daily, skirmishes between the two armies at the barriers, and the place would have made a longer resistance, for the castle was so strong it could have held a long siege; but, the well that supplied the castle with water being without the walls, they cut off the communication: the weather was very hot, and the cisterns within quite dry, for it had not rained one drop for six weeks; and the beseigers were at their ease on the banks of this clear and fine river, which they made use of for themselves and horses.

"The garrison of Malvoisin were alarmed at their situation, for they could not hold out longer: they had a sufficiency of wine, but not one drop of sweet water. They determined to open a treaty; and Raymonet de l'Epée requested a passport to wait on the duke, which having easily obtained, he said, 'My lord, if you will act courteously to me and my companions, I will surrender the castle of Malvoisin.' 'What courtesy is it you ask?' replied the duke of Anjou: 'get about your business, each of you to your own countries, without entering any fort that holds out against us; for if you do so, and I get hold of you, I will deliver you up to Jocelin, who will shave you without a razor.' 'My lord,' answered Raymonet, 'if we thus depart, we must carry away what belongs to us, and what we have gained by arms and with great risks.' The duke paused a while, and then said, 'I consent that you take with you whatever you can carry before you in trunks and on sumpter-horses, but not otherwise; and, if you have any prisoners, they must be given up to us.' 'I agree,' said Raymonet. Such was the treaty, as you hear me relate it; and all who were in the castle departed, after surrendering it to

* A castle in Auvergne.

† "Nautilleux." ‡ "Lamen." Denys Sauvage adds a marginal note: "Judge whether these two places may not be what he before calls Nemilleux and Mesen." Froissart calls it Natilleux and Nantilleux.

the duke of Anjou, and carrying all they could with them. They returned to their own country, or elsewhere, in search of adventures: but Raymonet l'Epée turned to the French: he served the duke of Anjou a long time, passed into Italy with him, and was killed in a skirmish before the city of Naples.

"Thus, my fair sir, did the duke of Anjou at that time conduct himself, and win the castle of Malvoisin, which gave him great joy. He made governor of it a knight of Bigorre, called sir Ciquart de Luperiere, and afterwards gave it to the count de Foix, who still holds it, and will do so as long as he lives; for it is well guarded by a knight of Bigorre, a relation of his, called sir Raymond de Lane. The duke of Anjou having gained possession of Malvoisin, and freed the country, and all Lane-bourg, of the English and other pillagers, laid siege to the town and castle of Lourde. The count de Foix, seeing him so near his territories, began to be very doubtful what his intentions might be. He therefore issued his summons to his knights and squires, and sent them into different garrisons. He placed his brother, sir Arnaut William, with two hundred lances, in Morlens; his other brother, sir Peter de Béarn, with the same number of lances, in Pau; sir Peter de Cabesten, with the like number, in the city of l'Estrade; sir Mouvant de Novalles in the town of Hertillet, with one hundred lances; sir Crual Geberel in Montgerbiel with the like number; sir Fouquart d'Orterey in the town of Sauveterre,* with the same; and I, Espaing du Lyon, was sent to Mont-de-marsen with two hundred lances. There was not a castle in all Béarn that was not well provided with men-at-arms: he himself remained to guard his florins in the castle of Orthez."

"Sir," said I to the knight, "has he a great quantity of them?" "By my faith," replied he, "the count de Foix has at this moment a hundred thousand thirty times told; and there is not a year but he gives away sixty thousand; for a more liberal lord, in making presents, does not exist." Upon this I asked, "To whom does he make these gifts?" He answered, "To strangers, to knights and squires who travel through his country, to heralds, minstrels, to all who converse with him: none leave him without a present, for he would be angered should any one refuse it." "Ha, ha, holy Mary!" cried I, "to what purpoes does he keep so large a sum? where does it come from? Are his revenues so great to supply him with it? I should like to know this, if you please." "Yes, you shall know it," answered the knight, "but you have asked two questions: if you wish them answered, I must begin with the first. You ask, for what purpose he keeps so large a sum of money: I must tell you, that the count de Foix is doubtful of war between him and the count d'Armagnac, and of the manœuvres of his neighbors the kings of France and of England, neither of whom he would willingly anger; and hitherto he has not taken any part in their wars, for he has never borne arms on either side, and is on good terms with both. I tell you (and you yourself will agree with me when you have made acquaintance with him, and have conversed together, and seen the establishments of his household,) that he is the most prudent prince living, and one whom neither the king of France nor king of England would willingly make an enemy. With regard to his other neighbors, the kings of Arragon and Navarre, he thinks but little of them, for he could instantly raise more men-at-arms (so many friends has he made by his gifts, and such power has his money,) than these kings could ever do. I have heard him say, that when the king of Cyprus was in Béarn and explained to him the intended expedition to the holy sepulchre, he was so anxious to make that valuable conquest, that if the kings of France and England had gone thither, he would have been the most considerable lord after them, and have led the largest army. He has not yet given up this idea, and it is for this reason also he has amassed such wealth. The prince of Wales, likewise, when he reigned in Aquitaine, and resided at Bordeaux, induced him to collect large sums; for the prince menaced him in regard to his country of Béarn, and said he would force him to hold it from him: but the count de Foix declared he would not, for Béarn was free land, and owed no homage to any lord whatever. The prince, who was then very powerful and much feared, said he would make him humble himself; for the count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth, who hated the count de Foix for the victories he had gained over them, poisoned the prince's mind. The expedition of the prince into Spain prevented hostilities; and sir John Chandos, who was the principal adviser and much beloved by the prince, strenuously opposed this intended war. The count de Foix and sir John Chandos loved each other for their gallant deeds.

"The count, however, was suspicious of the prince, whom he knew to be powerful and warlike, and began to amass large sums to aid and defend himself should he be attacked. He imposed heavy taxes on the country and on all the towns, which now exist, and will do so as long as he lives: each hearth pays two francs per annum, one with the other; and in this he has found and finds a mine of wealth, for it is marvellous how cheerfully his subjects pay it. With this, there is not any Englishman, Frenchman, nor pillager, who rob his people of a single farthing: his whole country is protected and justice well administered, for in matters of justice he is the most severe and upright lord that exists." With these words we found ourselves in the town of Tournay, where our lodgings were prepared: the knight, therefore, ceased speaking; and I made no further inquiries, for I had well remarked where he had left off, and could again remind him of it, as we had yet to travel together. We were comfortably lodged at the hotel of the Star. When supper was served, the governor of Malvoison, sir Raymond de Lane, came to see us, and supped with us: he brought with him four flagons of excellent wine, as good as any I drank on the road. These two knights conversed long together, and it was late when sir Raymond departed and returned to his castle of Malvoisin.

* Situated on the Gave of Oleron, seven leagues from Pau.

CHAPTER VII

FROISSART CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY: IN TRAVELLING FROM TOURNAY TO TARBES, THE KNIGHT RELATES TO HIM HOW THE GARRISON OF LOURDE HAD A SHARP RENCOUNTER WITH THE FRENCH FROM THE ADJACENT GARRISONS—WITH SEVERAL PARTICULARS TOUCHING THE SIEGE OF LOURDE, AND THE DEATH OF THE GOVERNOR, WHO WOULD NOT SURRENDER IT TO HIS RELATION THE COUNT DE FOIX.

In the morning, we mounted our horses, set out from Tournay, passed the river Lisse at a ford; and, riding toward the city of Tarbes, entered Bigorre, leaving on our left the road to Lourde, Bagnères, and the castle of Montgaillard. We made for a village called in the country Terra Cimitat, and skirted a wood, which we afterwards entered, on the lands of the lord de Barbasan; when the knight said, "Sir John, this is the pass of Larre: look about you." I did so, and thought it a very strange country, and should have imagined myself in great danger if I had not had the company of the knight.

I recollected what he had said some days before respecting the country of Larre and Mengeant de Lourde, and, reminding him of them, said, "My lord, you promised that when we came to the country of Larre, you would tell me more of Mengeant de Lourde, and the manner of his death." "It is true," replied the knight: "come and ride by my side, and I will tell it you." I then pushed forward to hear him the better, when he began as follows:

"During the time Peter d'Anchin held the castle and garrison of Ortingas, as I have before related, those of Lourde made frequent excursions at a distance from their fort, when they had not always the advantage. You see those two castles of Barbasan and Marteras, which had always considerable garrisons: the towns of Bagnères, Tournay, Montgaillard, Salenges, Benach, Gorre, and Tarbes, were also full of French troops. When they heard that those of Lourde had made any excursion toward Toulouse or Carcassonne, they collected themselves and formed an ambuscade, to slay them and carry off what pillage they should have collected: sometimes several on each side were killed, at others those of Lourde passed unmolested. It happened once, that Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, le Mengeant de Sainte Corneille, with six score lances, good men-at-arms, set out from Lourde, and advanced round the mountains between the two rivers Lisse and Lesse, as far as Toulouse. On their return, they found in the meadows great quantities of cattle, pigs, and sheep, which they seized, as well as some substantial men from the flat countries, and drove them all before them.

"It was told to the governor of Tarbes, a squire of Gascony, called Ernauton Biffete, how those of Lourde were overrunning and harassing the country, and he sent information of this to the lord de Benach and to Enguerros de Lane, son of sir Raymond, and also to the lord de Barbasan, adding, he was determined to attack them. These knights and squires of Bigorre, having agreed to join him, assembled their men in the town of Tournay, through which the garrison of Lourde generally returned. The bourg d'Espaign had come thither from his garrison of St. Béart, and they were in the whole two hundred lances. They had sent spies into the country to see what appearance their enemies made on their return. On the other hand, those from Lourde had likewise spies on the watch, to observe if there were any men-at-arms out to intercept them: both parties were so active, that each knew the force of the other. When those of Lourde heard that the French garrisons were waiting for them at Tournay, they began to be alarmed, and called a council to determine how to conduct their pillage in safety. It was resolved to divide themselves into two parties: one, consisting of servants and pillagers, was to drive the booty, and take bye-roads to Lane-bourg, crossing the bridge of Tournay, and the river Lesse between Tournay and Malvoisin; the other division was to march in order of battle on the high grounds, and to make an appearance as if they meant to return by the pass of Larre below Marteras, but to fall back between Barbasan and Montgaillard, in order that the baggage might cross the river in safety. They were to meet all together at Montgaillard, from whence they would soon be at Lourde. This plan they executed: and the bastard de Carnillac, Guillonet de Harnes, Perot Boursier, John Calemin de Basselle, and le Rouge Ecuyer, collected forty lances, with all the servants and pillagers, and said to them: 'You will conduct our plunder and prisoners by the road to Lane-bourg, and then descend between Tournay and Malvoisin, where you will cross the river at the bridge: follow then the bye-road between Cimitat and Montgaillard: we will go the other road by Marteras and Barbasan, so as to meet all together at Montgaillard.' On this they departed; and there remained with the principal division Ernauton de Resten, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, le Mengeant de Sainte Corneille, and full eighty companions, all men-at-arms: there were not ten varlets among them. They tightened their armor, fixed

their helmets, and, grasping their lances, marched in close order as if they were instantly to engage: they indeed expected nothing else, for they knew their enemies were in the field.

"The French, in like manner as those of Lourde, had called a council respecting their mode of acting. Sir Monant de Barbasan and Ernauton Biscete* said: 'Since we know the men of Lourde are bringing home great plunder and many prisoners, we shall be much vexed if they escape us: let us, therefore, form two ambuscades, for we are enow for both.' Upon this it was ordered, that le bourg d'Espaign, sir Raymond de Benach, and Enguerros de Lane, with one hundred spears, should guard the passage at Tournay, for the cattle and prisoners must necessarily cross the river; and the lord de Barbasan and Ernauton Biscete, with the other hundred lances, should reconnoitre, if perchance they could come up with them. They separated from each other, and the lord de Benach, and le bourg d'Espaign, placed themselves in ambuscade at the bridge between Tournay and Malvoisin. The other division rode to the spot where we now are, which is called the Larre, and there the two parties met. They instantly dismounted, and leaving their horses to pasture, with pointed lances advanced, for a combat was unavoidable, shouting their cries, 'St. George for Lourde!' 'Our lady for Bigorre!'

"They charged each other, thrusting their spears with all their strength, and, to add greater force, urged them forward with their breasts. The combat was very equal; and for some time none were struck down, as I heard from those present. When they had sufficiently used their spears, they threw them down, and with battle-axes began to deal out terrible blows on both sides. This action lasted for three hours, and it was marvellous to see how well they fought and defended themselves. When any were so worsted or out of breath, that they could not longer support the fight, they seated themselves near a large ditch full of water in the middle of the plain, when having taken off their helmets, they refreshed themselves: this done, they replaced their helmets and returned to the combat. I do not believe there ever was so well fought or so severe a battle, as this of Marteras in Bigorre, since the famous combat of thirty English against thirty French knights in Brittany.†

"They fought hand to hand, and Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, an excellent man-at-arms, was on the point of being killed by a squire of the country called Guillonet de Salenges, who had pushed him so hard that he was quite out of breath, when I will tell you what happened: Ernauton de Sainte Colombe had a servant who was a spectator of the battle, neither attacking nor attacked by any one; but, seeing his master thus distressed, he ran to him, and, wresting the battle-axe from his hands, said, 'Ernauton, go and sit down: recover yourself: you cannot longer continue the battle.' With this battle-axe he advanced upon the squire, and gave him such a blow on the helmet as made him stagger and almost fall down. Guillonet, smarting from the blow, was very wroth, and made for the servant to strike him with his axe on the head; but the varlet avoided it, and grappling with the squire, who was much fatigued, turned him round, and flung him to the ground under him, when he said, 'I will put you to death, if you do not surrender yourself to my master.' 'And who is thy master?' 'Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, with whom you have been so long engaged.' The squire, finding he had not the advantage, being under the servant, who had his dagger ready to strike, surrendered on condition to deliver himself prisoner, within fifteen days, at the castle of Lourde, whether rescued or not. Of such service was this servant to his master; and, I must say, sir John, that there was a superabundance of feats of arms that day performed, and many companions were sworn to surrender themselves at Tarbes and at Lourde. Ernauton Biscete and le Mengeant de Sainte Basile fought hand to hand, without sparing themselves, and performed many gallant deeds, while all the others were fully employed: however, they fought so vigorously that they exhausted their strength, and both were slain on the spot. Thus fell Ernauton Biscete and le Mengeant de Sainte Basile.

"Upon this, the combat ceased by mutual consent, for they were so worn down that they could not longer wield their axes: some disarmed themselves, to recruit their strength, and left there their arms. Those of Lourde carried with them the dead body of le Mengeant, as the French did that of Ernauton to Tarbes; and, in order that the memory of this battle should be preserved, they erected a cross of stone on the place where these two knights had fought and died. See, there it is: I point to it." On this, we turned to the right, and made for the cross, when each said an Ave Maria and a Pater-noster for the souls of the deceased. "By my faith," said I to the knight, "I have listened to you with pleasure; and in truth it was a very severe affair for so small a number; but what became of those who conducted the pillage?" "I will tell you," replied he. "At the bridge of Tournay, below Malvoisin, where they intended to cross, they found the bourg d'Espaign in ambuscade, who, on their arrival, sallied out upon them, being in sufficient force. Those of Lourde could not retreat, and were obliged to abide the event. I must truly say, that the combat was as severe and as long, if not longer than that at Marteras. The bourg d'Espaign performed wonders: he wielded a battle-axe, and never hit a man with it but he struck him to the ground. He was well formed for this, being of a large size, strongly made, and not too much loaded with flesh. He took with his own hand the two captains, the bourg de Cornillac* and Perot Palatin de Béarn. A squire of Navarre was there slain, called Ferdinand de Miranda, an expert man-at-arms. Some who were present say the bourg d'Espaign killed him, others that he was stifled through the heat of his armor. In short, the pillage was rescued, and all who conducted it slain or made prisoners; for not three escaped excepting varlets, who ran away and crossed the river Lesse by swimming. Thus ended this business, and the garrison of Lourde never had such a loss as it suffered that day. The prisoners were courteously ransomed, or mutually exchanged; for those who had been engaged in this combat had made several prisoners on each side, so that it behooved them to treat each other handsomely."

"Holy Mary!" said I to the knight, "this bourg d'Espaign, is he so strong a man as you tell me?" "Yes, that he is, by my troth," said he, "and you will not find his equal in all Gascony for vigor of body: it is for this the count de Foix esteems him as his brother in arms. Three years ago, I saw him play a ridiculous trick, which I will relate to you. On Christmas-day, when the count de Foix was celebrating the feast with numbers of knights and squires, as is customary, the weather was piercing cold, and the count had dined, with many lords, in the hall. After dinner he rose and went into a gallery, which has a large staircase of twenty-four steps: in this gallery is a chimney where is a fire kept when the count inhabits it, otherwise not; and the fire is never great, for he does not like it: it is not for want of blocks of wood, for Béarn is covered with wood in plenty to warm him if he had chosen it, but he has accustomed himself to a small fire. When in the gallery he thought the fire too small, for it was freezing and the weather very sharp, and said to the knights around him, 'Here is but a small fire for this weather.' Ernauton d'Espaign instantly ran down stairs; for from the windows of the gallery, which looked into the court, he had seen a number of asses with billets of wood for the use of the house, and seizing the largest of these asses, with his load, threw him over his shoulders, and carried him up stairs, pushing through the crowd of knights and squires who were around the chimney, and flung ass and load, with his feet upward, on the dogs of the hearth, to the delight of the count, and the astonishment of all, at the strength of the squire, who had carried, with such ease, so great a load up so many steps."

This feat of strength did I hear; and all the histories of sir Espaign du Lyon gave me such satisfaction and delight, I thought the road was much too short. While this was relating, we crossed the pass of Larre, and leaving the castle of Marteras, where the battle was fought, passed very near the castle of Barbasan, which is handsome and strong, a league distant from Tarbes. We saw it before us, and had a good road, easy to be travelled, following the course of the river Leschez, which rises in the mountains. We rode at our leisure, not to fatigue our horses; and he pointed out to me, on the other side of the river, the castle and town of Montgaillard, and the road which goes straight to Lourde. It then came into my mind to ask the knight about the duke of Anjou, when the castle of Malvoisin had surrendered to him, and how he had acted on his march to Lourde. He very cheerfully told me as follows:

"When the duke of Anjou marched his army from before Malvoisin, he crossed the river Leschez by the bridge of Tournay, and lodged at Bagnères (where there is a handsome river which runs by Tarbes: for that of Tournay takes a different course, and falls into the Garonne, below Montmillion) in his way to lay siege to Lourde. Sir Peter Arnaut de Béarn, with his brother John, Peter d'Anchin, Ernauton de Restin, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, and le Mengeant, who was then alive, Ferdinand de Miranda, Oliver Barbe, le bourg de Cornillac, le bourg Camus, and the other companions within Lourde, had good information of his arrival, and had much strengthened the place, in all respects, against his coming. Lourde held out, in spite of all the attacks they could make on it, for sixteen days consecutively. Many gallant deeds were done, and much mischief to the town by the machines which the duke brought to bear against it, so that at length it was conquered; but the garrison suffered nothing, nor lost man, woman, nor child, for they had all retreated to the castle, as they knew well the town could not always hold out, being only fortified with palisadoes.

"When the French had won the town of Lourde they were much pleased, and, having fixed their quarters in it, they surrounded the castle, which was impregnable but by a long siege. The duke was there upward of six weeks, and lost more than he gained; for the besiegers could not hurt those within the castle, as it is situated on a perpendicular rock, and can only be approached by ladders, or by one pass. There were at the barriers several handsome skirmishes and deeds of arms, when many squires of France were killed and wounded from having advanced too near. The duke of Anjou, seeing he could not gain the castle of Lourde by force, opened a negotiation with the governor, offering him large sums of money if he would surrender his garrison. The knight was a man of honor, and excused himself by saying, 'the garrison was not his; and that he could neither sell, give, nor alienate the inheritance of the king of

* "Biscete"—before Biffète.

† This celebrated combat took place between thirty English under the command of Bembro (who seems inconsiderately to have engaged in it) and thirty French under Beaumanoir, at the oak half way between Ploermel and Josselin, in the year 1351.—See *note*, *page* 92.

* Before Carnillat.

England, unless he were a traitor, which he scorned to be, and would remain loyal to his natural lord. When the fort was intrusted to him, it was on condition that he swore solemnly on his faith, in the hands of the prince of Wales, to guard and defend the castle of Lourde until death, against every man whatever, unless he were sent to him from the king of England.' No other answer could be had from him, in reply to all the offers and promises they made; so that, when the duke and his council saw they could not gain anything, they broke up the siege of the castle of Lourde; but, on their decamping, they burnt the town to the ground.

"The duke retreated with his army along the frontiers of Béarn toward Montmarsen: he had heard that the count de Foix had reinforced all his garrisons with men-at-arms. This did not displease him so much as that the Béarn men should hold out Lourde against him; but he could never obtain anything satisfactory on this head. The count de Foix, as I have mentioned before, was very suspicious of the intentions of the duke, who did him no harm, though the count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth wished him to act otherwise; but he was not so inclined. While he was encamped between Montmarsen and the high lands of Albreth, he sent sir Peter de Beuil to Orthès, where on his arrival he was handsomely received by the count de Foix and lodged in the castle. He entertained him splendidly, and presented him with fine horses and mules, and to his people gave other gifts: he sent by him to the duke of Anjou four beautiful horses and two Spanish grayhounds, so handsome and good there were none like them. Some secret negotiations passed between the count and sir Peter de Beuil, of which we knew nothing for a long time; but, from circumstances which shortly happened, we suspected what I will now tell you, and by that time we shall arrive at Tarbes.

"Soon after the duke of Anjou had ended his expedition and was returned to Toulouse, the count de Foix sent letters by a trusty messenger to his cousin sir Peter Arnaut de Béarn at Lourde, for him to come to Orthès. The knight on receiving these letters and noticing the bearer, who was a man of high rank, became very thoughtful and doubtful whether to go or not: however, on full consideration, he said he would go, for he was unwilling to offend the count de Foix. When on the point of departure, he called his brother, John de Béarn, and said to him, in presence of the garrison: 'My lord, the count de Foix has sent for me; on what account I know not, but since he is desirous I should come to him, I will go. I suspect very much that I shall be required to surrender this castle; for the duke of Anjou has marched along the frontiers of his country without entering it, and the count de Foix has long wished for the castle of Malvoisin, in order to be master of Lane-bourg and the frontiers of Bigorre and Comminges. I am ignorant if any treaties have been made between him and the duke of Anjou; but I declare, that as long as I live, I will never surrender the castle of Lourde but to my natural lord the king of England. I therefore order you, brother John, should I appoint you to the command of it, that you swear to me, upon your faith and gentility, you will hold it in the same manner as I do, and that you will never fail in so doing for life or death.' John took the oath as his brother required, who then set out for Orthès, where on his arrival he dismounted at the hotel of the Moon.

"When he thought it was decent time to wait on the count, he went to him at the castle, who received him most amicably, made him sit at his table, and showed him every mark of attention. Dinner being over, the count said, 'Peter, I have many things to talk with you upon: therefore, you must not go away without my leave.' The knight answered, 'My lord, I will cheerfully stay until I have your permission to depart.' The third day the count addressed him, in the presence of the viscount de Gousserant, his brother, the lord d'Anchin in Bigorre, and several knights and squires, and so loud that all heard him: 'Peter, I have sent for you, to acquaint you, that my lord of Anjou is very angry with me, on account of the garrison of Lourde which you command. Through the good offices of some friends I have in his army, my territories have narrowly escaped being overrun; and it is his opinion, and others in his company who hate me, that I support you, because you are of Béarn. Now I do not wish to incur the anger of so powerful a prince as the duke of Anjou: I therefore command you, under pain of my displeasure, and by the faith and homage you owe me, to give up the castle of Lourde to me.'

"The knight was thunderstruck on hearing this speech, and thought awhile what answer to make; for he perceived the count had spoken in a determined manner. Having considered, he said, 'My lord, in truth I owe you faith and homage, for I am a poor knight of your blood and country; but, as for the castle of Lourde, I will never surrender it to you. You have sent for me, and you may therefore do with me as you please. I hold the castle of Lourde from the king of England, who has placed me there; and to no other person but to him will I ever surrender it.' The count de Foix, on hearing this answer, was exceedingly wroth, and said, as he drew his dagger, 'Ho, ho! dost thou then say so? By this head, thou hast not said it for nothing.' And, as he uttered these words, he struck him foully with the dagger, so that he wounded him severely in five places, and none of the barons or knights dared to interfere. The knight replied, 'Ha, ha, my lord, this is not gentle treatment: you have sent for me hither, and are murdering me.' Having received these five strokes from the dagger, the count ordered him to be cast into the dungeon, which was done; and there he died, for he was ill cured of his wounds.

"Ha, holy Mary," said I to the knight, 'was not this a great act of cruelty?" "Whatever it was," said he, "so it happened, and ill betide him who angers the count, for then he pardons none. He kept his cousin-german, the viscount Châteaubon, even though he is his heir, eight months prisoner in the castle of the tower of Orthès, and then ransomed him for forty thousand francs." "What, sir," said I, "has not the count de Foix any children?" "Eh, in God's name, not in lawful marriage; but he has two young knights, bastards, sir Jenuain and sir Gracien, whom you will see, and whom he loves as well as himself." "And was he never married?" "Yes, and is so still, but madame de Foix does not live with him." "Where does she reside?" "She lives in Navarre, for the king of Navarre is her brother: she was daughter of king Louis of Navarre."* "The count de Foix, had he never any children by her?" "Yes; a very fine son, who was the delight of his father and of the country: through him the country of Béarn, which is in dispute, would have been settled, for his wife was the sister of the count d'Armagnac." "And pray, sir, may I ask what became of this son?" "Yes," replied he; "but the story is too long at present, for we are, as you see, arrived at the town."

At these words I left the knight quiet; and we soon after entered Tarbes, where we were very comfortable at the hotel of the Star. We remained there the whole of that day, for it was a commodious place, to refresh ourselves and horses, having good hay, good oats, and a handsome river.

CHAPTER VIII.

DURING THE JOURNEY FROM TARBES TO MORLENS, THE KNIGHT OF FOIX RELATES TO FROISSART THE QUARREL AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BERRY AND THE COUNT DE FOIX—AND ALSO THE CAUSE OF THE WAR BETWEEN HIM AND THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC.

On the morrow, after mass, having mounted our horses and left Tarbes, we came to Jorre, a town which has always gallantly defended itself against the garrison of Lourde. We passed by it, and entered Béarn, when the knight stopped in the plain and said, "We are now in Béarn." There were two roads that crossed each other, and we knew not which to take, whether that to Morlens or to Pau: at last we followed that to Morlens.

In riding over the heaths of Béarn, which are tolerably level, I asked, in order to renew our conversation, "Is the town of Pau near us?" "Yes," said he, "I will show you the steeple; but it is much further off than it appears, and the roads are very bad to travel on account of the deep clays,† and it would be folly for any one to attempt going through them that is not well acquainted with the country. Below are seated the town and castle of Lourde." "And who is governor of it now?" "John de Béarn, brother to sir Peter de Béarn that was murdered, and he styles himself sénéschal of Bigorre for the king of England." "Indeed!" said I, "and does this John ever visit the count de Foix?" "Never since the death of his brother; but his other companions, such as Peter d'Anchin, Ernauton de Restin, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, and others, go thither, whenever they have occasion." "Has the count de Foix made any amends for the murder of the knight? or has he ever again been in such passions?" "Yes, very often," replied the knight; "but as for amends, he has never made any, except indeed by secret penances, masses, and prayers; he has with him a son of John de Béarn, a young and courteous squire, whom he greatly loves."

"Holy Mary!" exclaimed I, "since the duke of Anjou was so desirous to gain Lourde, he ought to be well pleased with the count de Foix, who could murder a knight and his cousin, to accomplish the duke's wishes." "By my faith, he was so; for soon after the event of his nephew coming to the crown of France, he sent sir Roger d'Espaign and a president of the parliament of Paris, with fair letters patent engrossed and sealed, of the king's declaration that he gave him the county of Bigorre during his life, but that it was necessary he should become liege man and hold it of the crown of France. The count de Foix was very thankful to the king for this mark of his affection, and for the gift of Bigorre, which was unsolicited on his part; but, for anything Roger d'Espaign could say or do, he would never accept it. He only retained the castle of Malvoisin, because it was free land, and the castle and its dependencies held of none but God, and formerly had been part of his patrimony. The king of France, to please the duke of Anjou, gave it to the count de Foix; but the count swore he would only hold it on condition never to admit into it any one ill inclined to France; and in truth he had it well guarded. The garrison of Malvoisin would have been as much afraid of the English as any other French or Gascon garrison, but they dared not invade the territories of Foix."

I was much pleased with this history of sir Espaign du Lyon, which I have well remembered; for as soon as we dismounted at our

* Ines or Agnes, wife of Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix, was daughter of Joan of Navarre and Philip VI. king of France.—Ed.

† Les graves.—Places situated on the banks of rivers, and covered with moving sands.—Ed.

inns, I wrote all down, whether it was late or early, that posterity might have the advantage of it, for there is nothing like writing for the preservation of events.

We rode this morning to Morlens; but, before we arrived, I again began the conversation by saying, "My lord, I have forgotten to ask you, when you were telling me the history of Foix and Armagnac, how the count de Foix was able to dissemble with the duke of Berry, who had married a daughter and sister to the counts d'Armagnac? and if the duke of Berry made war on him, how he behaved?" "How he behaved?" said the knight: "I will tell you: in former times, the duke hated him mortally; but at this moment, by means which you will hear, when at Orthès, they are very good friends." "My lord, was there any reason for the duke's hatred?" "Father of God! no," replied the knight: "I will tell you the cause of it. When Charles king of France, father to the present king, died, the kingdom was divided into two parties respecting its government. My lord of Anjou, who was impatient to go to Italy, and indeed this he afterwards did, took possession of it, and set aside his two brothers the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The duke of Berry had the government of those parts within the Langue d'Oc, and the duke of Burgundy of the Langue d'Ouy and all Picardy.*

"When the inhabitants of Languedoc heard that my lord of Berry was to govern them, they were much alarmed, especially those of Toulouse and its dependencies; for they knew the duke to be a spendthrift, who would get money any way he could, without caring how he oppressed the people. Some Bretons still remained in the Toulousain, Carcassonnois and Rouergue, whom the duke of Anjou had left, and they pillaged the whole country: it was reported the duke of Berry supported them, in order to be master of the principal towns. The duke himself was not at the time I am speaking of in Languedoc, but attending the king in the wars in Flanders. The citizens of Toulouse, who are a powerful body, perceiving how young the king was and how much occupied with the affairs of his uncle the duke of Burgundy in Flanders, and that they were perpetually plundered by Bretons and other pillagers, so that they knew not how to prevent it, sent to the count de Foix offers of paying him a certain sum monthly, if he would undertake the government and defence of their city and the other neighboring towns. They entreated him very earnestly to comply with their request, because they knew him to be an upright man, a great lover of justice, fortunate in his affairs, and much feared by his enemies. The inhabitants of Toulouse have always borne him great affection, for he has ever been a good neighbor to them.

"He undertook the charge of their government, and swore to hold and defend the country in its right against all who were ill inclined, with the reservation of the rights of the king of France. He instantly ordered considerable detachments of men-at-arms on the different roads the pillagers used to take; and one day he had hanged or drowned upward of four hundred of them, at Robesten in the Toulousain, which gained him so much the love of those of Toulouse, Carcassonne, Beziers, Montpelier and the other towns, that it was reported Languedoc had revolted and chosen for its lord the count de Foix. The duke of Berry, who had the government of it, was ill pleased at this intelligence, and conceived a great hatred to the count de Foix, for interfering so much in the affairs of France, and for his supporting the people of Toulouse in their revolt. He ordered men-at-arms into that country, but they were severely repulsed by the partisans of the count de Foix, and were forced to retreat, or they would have suffered for it. This angered the duke still more; he said the count de Foix was the proudest and most presumptuous man in the world; and he would not suffer his name to be mentioned with praise in his presence; but he did not make war against him, for the count had all his towns and castles so well garrisoned, none dared to invade his territories.

"When the duke of Berry entered Languedoc, the count resigned the government, and would not any way meddle, in prejudice to the duke; but his dislike still continued as great as ever. I will now say a word of the means that established peace between them. About ten years ago,† Eleanor de Comminges (at present countess of Boulogne, a near relation to the count de Foix, and lawful heiress to the county of Comminges, notwithstanding the count d'Armagnac was in possession) came to the count de Foix at Orthès, bringing with her a young girl, three years old. The count entertained her handsomely, inquired her business, whence she came, and whither going? 'My lord,' said she, 'I am going to my uncle and aunt-in-law, the count and countess de Durgueil, in Arragon, there to remain; for I have much displeasure in living with my husband, sir John de Boulogne, son of the count de Boulogne. I expected he would have recovered for me mine inheritance of Comminges from the count d'Armagnac, who not only keeps it, but has confined my sister in prison; but my husband is too soft a knight, whose sole delight is eating and drinking, and enjoying his pleasures; and the moment his father dies, he will sell the greater part of his estates to multiply his luxuries: it is for these reasons I cannot live with him. I have also brought my daughter with me, whom I deliver up to your charge, and appoint you her guardian, to instruct and defend her; for I well know that, from our relationship, you will not disappoint me; and I have the greatest confidence in the care you will take of my daughter Joan. It was with much difficulty I could get her from her father's hands, and out of the country; but as I know the Armagnacs, your adversaries as well as mine, are capable of carrying her off, being the true heiress of Comminges, I deliver her to you; therefore do not fail me in the business, I entreat of you; for I firmly believe, that when my husband shall know I left her under your care, he will be pleased, having frequently said, that this girl would give him much trouble.'

"The count de Foix was delighted to hear his cousin, the lady Eleanor, thus talk, and thought in his own mind (for he has a very fertile imagination,) that this girl was brought to him very opportunely, as by her means he could make a stable peace with his enemies, or marry her so nobly they would fear him. He answered, 'Madame and cousin, I will most cheerfully comply with your request: I am bounden to do it by our relationship. With regard to your daughter, I will defend, and be as careful of her as if she were my own child.' 'A thousand thanks, my lord,' said the lady. Thus did the young lady of Boulogne remain with the count at his house in Orthès, which she has never since quitted, and the lady her mother pursued her journey to Arragon. She has returned to see her two or three times, but has never asked to have her back; for the count acquits himself toward her as if she were indeed his own child. But I must tell you the means by which, if formerly he was in the ill graces of the duke de Berry, he is now on good terms. The duke at this moment is very desirous to marry her; and from what I heard at Avignon from the pope, who spoke to me on the subject, and who is cousin-german to her father, the duke will employ him to ask for him, as he is determined to make her his wife."

"By holy Mary," said I to the knight, "your history has given me much pleasure and done me service: you shall not lose a word you have said, for they shall all be chronicled with everything I say and do, if God grant me health to return again to Valenciennes, of which place I am a native; but I am very angry at one thing." "What is that?" said the knight. "On my faith, it is, that so noble and valiant a prince as the count de Foix should not have any legal heirs by his wife." "Please God he had," replied the knight; "for if his child were now alive, he would be the happiest lord in the world, and his vassals be equally rejoiced." "What!" said I, "will his estates be without an heir?" "Oh, no: the viscount de Châteaubon, his cousin-german, is his heir." "Is he a valiant man-at-arms?" "God help him! no; and for that reason the count de Foix cannot bear him. He will make his two bastard-sons, who are young and handsome knights, his heirs, and intends to connect them very highly by marriage; for he has money enough, which will find them wives to uphold and assist them." "Sir," said I, "all this is very well; but I do not think it just nor decent that bastards should inherit lands." "Why not?" added he, "if proper heirs be wanting. Do not you see how the Spaniards crowned for king the bastard don Henry? and the Portuguese have done the same thing. It has frequently happened, that bastards have gained possession of several kingdoms by force. Was not William the Conqueror bastard-son of a duke of Normandy! He won all England, as well as the king's daughter who then governed, and was himself king, and from him all the kings of England are descended."

"Well, sir," said I, "all this may be well, for there is nothing but what may happen. Surely those of the Armagnac party are too strong, and this country must always be at war. Tell me, my dear sir, the first origin of the wars between Foix and Armagnac, and which had the fairest cause." "That I will, by my faith," answered the knight: "It has, however, been a wonderful war, for each thinks he has justice on his side. You must know, that formerly, I imagine about one hundred years from this time, there was a lord of Béarn called Gaston,* a most gallant man-at-arms: he was buried with great solemnity in the church of the Frères Mineurs, at Orthès, where you will find him and may see of what a size he was in body and limbs, for during his lifetime he had a handsome resemblance made of him, in brass. This Gaston had two daughters;† the eldest of whom he married to the count d'Armagnac of that period, and the youngest to the count de Foix, nephew to the king of Arragon. The counts de Foix still bear those arms (for they are descended from the kings of Arragon,) which are paly or and gules; and this, I believe, you know. It happened that the lord of Béarn

* "It is very probable these two denominations had been in use before the ordinance of Philip le Bel in 1304 and 1305. It is in another ordinance of Charles VI. 1394, which states the crown of France to be divided into Langue d'Oc, and Langue d'Oil. The word Langue was employed anciently for nation or province: in the order of Malta, the term is preserved at present. Guillaume de Nangis, in his chronicle, points out the environs of Paris by the name of Langue d'Oil, in the year 1344, where an epidemical disorder began to desolate the country toward the end of August. In la Salade, by Anthony de la Salle, about 1440, he speaks of an unknown knight, whom he supposes from Languedoc, 'because he and the greater part of his attendants used in their speech, Oc, the language which is spoken at Saint-Jago of Compostella.'

"All these general distinctions ceased from the time of Francis I. There is not any mention after that period, in the treasury receipts, of the Langue d'Oc nor of the Langue d'Oil. The Langue d'Oc was considered as the country south of the Loire, and the Langue d'Oil, or Picarde, to the north of it."—St. Palaye, *Mem. de l'Académie*, vol. xxiv.

† This took place in 1382.—Ed.

* Gaston VII. of the house of Monçada. He began to reign in 1232, and died, April 22, 1290. He built the castle of Orthès.—Ed.

† Gaston VII. had *four* daughters and no heir male. These four daughters were Constance, the eldest, who married the infant of Arragon; Margaret, who married Roger Bernard, count de Foix; Amata, who married the count of Armagnac; and Guillemette, married after the death of her father.—Ed.

had a severe and long war with the king of Castille of that time,* who, marching through Biscay with a numerous army, entered Béarn. Sir Gaston de Béarn, having intelligence of his march, collected people from all quarters, and had written to his two sons-in-law, the counts d'Armagnac and de Foix, to come with all quickness with their forces, to assist him in the defence and preservation of his inheritance.

"On the arrival of these letters, the count de Foix assembled his vassals as speedily as possible, and sent for assistance to all his friends. He exerted himself so effectually, that he collected five hundred knights and squires and two thousand footmen armed with javelins, darts and shields: accompanied by these, he marched into Béarn to assist the lord his father, who was much delighted therewith. This army crossed the river Bane by the bridge of Orthès, and took up their quarters between Sauveterre and l'Hôpital. The king of Castille, with full twenty thousand men, was encamped not far from them. Sir Gaston de Béarn and the count de Foix, expecting the count d'Armagnac, waited for him three days: on the fourth a herald arrived from the count d'Armagnac with letters to sir Gaston, to say he could not come, and that it was not agreeable to him to arm in behalf of the country of Béarn, for at present he had not any interest in it. Sir Gaston, perceiving he was not to have any assistance from the count d'Armagnac, was much astonished, and asked the count de Foix and the barons of Béarn, how he should act: 'My lord,' replied the count de Foix, 'since we are assembled, we will offer battle to your enemies.' This advice was followed, and instantly they all armed: they might be about twelve hundred men with helmets, and six thousand on foot.

"The count de Foix, with the van division, charged the king of Castille and his army in their quarters. The battle was very severe and bloody: upward of two thousand Castillians were slain. The count de Foix made prisoners the son and brother of the king of Castille, whom he sent to sir Gaston de Béarn, who commanded the rear division. The Castillians were completely defeated. The count de Foix pursued them as far as the gates of St. Andero in Biscay, where the king took refuge in an abbey, and put on a monk's frock, otherwise he would have been taken: those saved themselves who could, on board of vessels. The count de Foix on his return to sir Gaston de Béarn, was received by him with much joy, as indeed he had reason, for he had saved his honor and secured the country, which otherwise would have been lost. This battle and defeat of the Castillians, and the capture of the son and brother of the king, induced him to accede to a peace with the lord de Béarn on such terms as he dictated.

"Sir Gaston de Béarn, on his return to Orthès, in the presence of all the knights of Béarn and Foix, took the count de Foix by the hand and said: 'Fair son, you are indeed my son, my loyal son, and have secured for ever my honor and the honor of my country. The count d'Armagnac, who married my eldest daughter, has excused himself from assisting in the defence of my inheritance, in which he was so much interested. I therefore declare, that he has forfeited and shall lose whatever share he may have expected from it in behalf of my daughter. You, count de Foix, shall inherit the whole of my territory of Béarn after my decease, you and your heirs for ever. I entreat and command all my subjects to agree with me, and to seal this gift, which I present to you, my fair son of Foix.' All present answered, 'My lord, we will most cheerfully do so.' Thus did the former counts de Foix become lords of Béarn: they bear the arms and the name, and have the war-cry and profit. However, the Armagnacs have not the less urged their claims, to those rights they say they are entitled to; and this is the cause of the quarrel and war between Armagnac, Foix and Béarn."

"By my faith," said I to the knight, "you have perfectly well explained the matter. I never before heard anything of it, but, since I now do, I will perpetuate it, if God grant that I return to my own country. But there is one thing more I could wish to know: what caused the death of the son of the count de Foix?" The knight became pensive, and said, "It is too melancholy a subject: I therefore wish not to speak of it; but when you are at Orthès, if you ask, you will find many there who will tell you the whole history." I was obliged to content myself with this answer; so we continued our journey until we arrived at Morlens.

CHAPTER IX.

SIR JOHN FROISSART ARRIVES AT ORTHES. AN OLD SQUIRE RELATES TO HIM THE CRUEL DEATH OF THE ONLY SON OF THE COUNT DE FOIX, AND HOW STRANGE DREAMS AFFECTED SIR PETER DE BEARN BASTARD-BROTHER TO THE COUNT.

On the morrow we set out, and dined at Montgerbal, when having remounted, and drank a cup at Ercie, we arrived by sunset at Orthès. The knight dismounted at his own house: and I did the same at the hôtel of the Moon, kept by a squire of the count, called Ernauton du Pin, who received me with much pleasure on account of my being a Frenchman. Sir Espaign du Lyon, who had accompanied me, went to the castle, to speak with the count on his affairs: he found him in his gallery, for a little before that hour he had dined. It was a custom with the count, which he had followed from his infancy, to rise at noon* and sup at midnight.

The knight informed him of my arrival, and I was instantly sent for; for he is a lord above all others who delights to see strangers, in order to hear news. On my entering, he received me handsomely and retained me of his household, where I staid upward of twelve weeks well entertained, as were my horses. Our acquaintance was strengthened by my having brought with me a book which I had made at the desire of Winceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant. In this book, called le Meliador, are contained all the songs, ballads, roundelays and virelays, which that gentle duke had composed, and of them I had made this collection. Every night after supper I read out to him parts: during which time neither he nor any one else spoke, for he was desirous I should be well heard, and took much delight in it. When any passages were not perfectly clear, he himself discussed them with me, not in his Gascon language, but in very good French.

I shall relate to you several things respecting him and his household, for I tarried there as long as I could gain any information. Count Gaston Phœbus de Foix, of whom I am now speaking, was at that time fifty-nine years old; and I must say, that although I have seen very many knights, kings, princes and others, I have never seen any so handsome, either in the form of his limbs and shape, or in countenance, which was fair and ruddy, with gray and amorous eyes, that gave delight whenever he chose to express affection. He was so perfectly formed, one could not praise him too much. He loved earnestly the things he ought to love, and hated those which it was becoming him so to hate. He was a prudent knight, full of enterprise and wisdom. He had never any men of abandoned character with him, reigned prudently, and was constant in his devotions. There were regular nocturnals from the Psalter, prayers from the rituals to the Virgin, to the Holy Ghost, and from the burial service. He had every day distributed as alms, at his gate, five florins in small coin, to all comers. He was liberal and courteous in his gifts; and well knew how to take when it was proper, and to give back where he had confidence. He mightily loved dogs above all other animals; and during the summer and winter amused himself much with hunting. He never liked any foolish works nor ridiculous extravagancies; and would know every month the amount of his expenditure. He chose from his own subjects twelve of the most able to receive and administer his finances: two of them had the management for two months, when they were changed for two others; and from them he selected one as comptroller, in whom he placed his greatest confidence, and to whom all others rendered their accounts. This comptroller accounted by rolls or written books, which were laid before the count. He had certain coffers in his apartment, from whence he took money to give to different knights, squires or gentlemen, when they came to wait on him, for none ever left him without a gift; and these sums he continually increased, in order to be prepared for any event that might happen. He was easy of access to all, and entered very freely into discourse, though laconic in his advice and in his answers. He employed four secretaries to write and copy his letters; and these secretaries were obliged to be in readiness the moment he came out from his closet. He called them neither John, Walter, nor William, but his good-for-nothings, to whom he gave his letters after he had read them, either to copy, or to do anything else he might command.

In such manner did the count de Foix live. When he quitted his chamber at midnight for supper, twelve servants bore each a lighted torch before him, which were placed near his table, and gave a brilliant light to the apartment. The hall was full of knights and squires; and there were plenty of tables laid out for any person who chose to sup. No one spoke to him at his table, unless he first began a conversation. He commonly ate heartily of poultry, but only the wings and thighs; for in the day-time, he neither ate nor drank much. He had great pleasure in hearing minstrels, as he himself was a proficient in the science, and made his secretaries sing songs, ballads and roundelays. He remained at table about two hours; and was pleased when fanciful dishes were served up to him, which having seen, he immediately sent them to the tables of his knights and squires.

In short, everything considered, though I had before been in several courts of kings, dukes, princes, counts, and noble ladies, I was never at one that pleased me more, nor was I ever more delighted with feats of arms, than at this of the count de Foix. There were knights and squires to be seen in every chamber, hall and court, going backwards and forwards, and conversing on arms and amours. Everything honorable was there to be found. All intelligence from distant countries was there to be learnt; for the gallantry of the count had brought visitors from all parts of the world. It was there I was informed of the greater part of those events which had happened in Spain, Portugal, Arragon, Navarre, England, Scotland, and on the borders of Languedoc; for I saw, during my residence, knights and squires arrive from every nation. I therefore made inquiries from them, or from the count himself, who cheerfully conversed with me.

I was very anxious to know, seeing the hôtel of the count so spacious and so amply supplied, what was become of his son Gaston,

* This was probably about the year 1383.—Ed.

* "Que il se couchoit et levoit à haute nonne," that is to say, he took his morning meal at that hour.—Ed.

and by what accident he had died, for sir Espaign du Lyon would never satisfy my curiosity. I had made so many inquiries, that at last an old and intelligent squire informed me. He thus began his tale:

"It is well known that the count and countess de Foix are not on good terms with each other, nor have they been so for a long time. This dissension arose from the king of Navarre, who is the lady's brother. The king of Navarre had offered to pledge himself for the lord d'Albreth, whom the count de Foix held in prison, in the sum of fifty thousand francs. The count de Foix, knowing the king of Navarre to be crafty and faithless, would not accept his security, which piqued the countess, and raised her indignation against her husband: she said, 'My lord, you show but little confidence in the honor of my brother, the king of Navarre, when you will not trust him for fifty thousand francs; if you never gain more from the Armagnacs and Labrissiens than you have done, you ought to be contented: you know that you are to assign over my dower, which amounts to fifty thousand francs, into the hands of my brother: therefore you cannot run any risk for repayment.' 'Lady, you say truly,' replied the count; 'but if I thought the king of Navarre would stop the payment for that cause, the lord d'Albreth should never leave Orthès until he had paid me the utmost farthing. Since, however, you entreat it, it shall be done, not out of love to you, but out of affection to my son.' Upon this, and from the assurance of the king of Navarre, who acknowledged himself debtor to the count de Foix, the lord d'Albreth recovered his liberty: he turned to the French interest, and married a sister of the duke of Bourbon. He paid, at his convenience, to the king of Navarre the sum of fifty thousand francs, according to his obligation; but that king never repaid them to the count de Foix.

"The count on this said to his wife, 'Lady, you must go to your brother in Navarre, and tell him that I am very ill-satisfied with him for withholding from me the sum he has received on my account.' The lady replied, she would cheerfully go thither, and set out from Orthès with her attendants. On her arriva at Pampeluna, her brother the king of Navarre received her with much joy. The lady punctually delivered her message, which when the king of Navarre heard, he replied, 'My fair sister, the money is yours, as your dower from the count de Foix; and, since I have possession of it, it shall never go out of the kingdom of Navarre.' 'Ah, my lord,' replied the lady, 'you will by this create a great hatred between the count de Foix and me; and, if you persist in this resolution, I shall never dare return, for my lord will put me to death for having deceived him.' 'I cannot say,' answered the king, who was unwilling to let such a sum go out of his hands, 'how you should act, whether to remain or return; but as I have possession of the money, and it is my right to keep it for you, it shall never leave Navarre.'

"The countess de Foix, not being able to obtain any other answer, remained in Navarre, not daring to return home. The count de Foix, perceiving the malice of the king of Navarre, began to detest his wife, though she was no way to blame, for not returning after she had delivered his message. In truth, she was afraid; for she knew her husband to be cruel when displeased with any one. Thus things remained. Gaston, the son of my lord, grew up, and became a fine young gentleman. He was married to the daughter of the count d'Armagnac, sister to the present count and to sir Bernard d'Armagnac; and by this union peace was insured between Foix and Armagnac. The youth might be about fifteen or sixteen years old: he was a very handsome figure, and the exact resemblance of his father in his whole form.

"He took it into his head to make a journey into Navarre, to visit his mother and uncle; but it was an unfortunate journey for him and for this country. On his arrival at Navarre, he was splendidly entertained: and he staid some time with his mother. On taking leave, he could not prevail on her, notwithstanding his remonstrances and entreaties, to accompany him back; for, the lady having asked if the count de Foix, his father, had ordered him to bring her back, he replied, that when he set out, no such orders had been given, which caused her to fear trusting herself with him. She therefore remained, and the heir of Foix went to Pampeluna to take leave of his uncle. The king entertained him well, and detained him upward of ten days: on his departure, he made him handsome presents, and did the same by his attendants. The last gift the king gave him was the cause of his death, and I will tell you how it happened. As the youth was on the point of setting out, the king took him privately into his chamber, and gave him a bag full of powder, which was of such pernicious quality as would cause the death of any one that ate of it. 'Gaston, my fair nephew,' said the king, 'will you do what I am about to tell you? You see how unjustly the count de Foix hates your mother, who being my sister, it displeases me as much as it should you. If you wish to reconcile your father to your mother, you must take a small pinch of this powder, and when you see a proper opportunity, strew it over the meat destined for your father's table; but take care no one sees you. The instant he shall have tasted it, he will be impatient for his wife, your mother, to return to him; and they will love each other henceforward so strongly they will never again be separated. You ought to be anxious to see this accomplished. Do not tell it to any one: for, if you do, it will lose its effect.' The youth, who believed everything his uncle the king of Navarre had told him, replied, he would cheerfully do as he had said; and on this he departed from Pampeluna, on his return to Orthès. His father the count de Foix received him with pleasure, and asked what was the news in Navarre, and what presents and jewels had been given him; he replied, 'Very handsome ones,' and showed them all, except the bag which contained the powder.

"It was customary, in the hotel de Foix, for Gaston and his bastard brother Evan to sleep in the same chamber: they mutually loved each other and were dressed alike, for they were nearly of the same size and age. It fell out, that their clothes were once mixed together; and, the coat of Gaston being on the bed, Evan, who was malicious enough, noticing the powder in the bag, said to Gaston, 'What is this that you wear every day on your breast?' Gaston was not pleased at the question, and replied, 'Give me back my coat, Evan: you have nothing to do with it.' Evan flung him his coat, which Gaston put on, but was very pensive the whole day. Three days after, as if God was desirous of saving the life of the count de Foix, Gaston quarrelled with Evan at tennis, and gave him a box on the ear. The boy was vexed at this, and ran crying to the apartment of the count, who had just heard mass. The count, on seeing him in tears, asked what was the matter. 'In God's name, my lord, replied Evan, 'Gaston has beaten me, but he deserves beating much more than I do.' 'For what reason?' said the count, who began to have some suspicions. 'On my faith,' said Evan, 'ever since his return from Navarre, he wears on his breast a bag of powder: I know not what use it can be of, nor what he intends to do with it; except that he has once or twice told me, his mother would soon return hither, and be more in your good graces than ever she was.' 'Ho,' said the count, 'hold thy tongue, and be sure thou do not mention what thou hast just told me to any man breathing.' 'My lord,' replied the youth, 'I will obey you.' The count de Foix was very thoughtful on this subject, and remained alone until dinner-time, when he rose up, and seated himself as usual at his table in the hall. His son Gaston always placed the dishes before him, and tasted the meats. As soon as he had served the first dish, and done what was usual, the count cast his eyes on him, having formed his plan, and saw the strings of the bag hanging from his pourpoint. This sight made his blood boil, and he said, 'Gaston, come hither: I want to whisper you something.' The youth advanced to the table, when the count, opening his bosom, undid his pourpoint, and with his knife cut away the bag. The young man was thunderstruck, and said not a word, but turned pale with fear, and began to tremble exceedingly, for he was conscious he had done wrong. The count opened the bag, took some of the powder, which he strewed over a slice of bread, and, calling a dog to him, gave it him to eat. The instant the dog had eaten a morsel his eyes rolled round in his head, and he died. The count on this was very wroth, and indeed had reason: rising from table, he would have struck his son with a knife; but the knights and squires rushed in between them, saying, 'For God's sake, my lord, do not be too hasty, but make further inquiries before you do any ill to your son.' The first words the count uttered were in Gascon; 'Ho, Gaston, thou traitor! for thee, and to increase thy inheritance which would have come to thee, have I made war, and incurred the hatred of the kings of France, England, Spain, Navarre, and Arragon, and have borne myself gallantly against them, and thou wishest to murder me! Thy disposition must be infamously bad: know therefore thou shall die with this blow.' And leaping over the table with a knife in his hand, he would have slain him: but the knights and squires again interfered, and on their knees said to him with tears, 'Ah, ah! my lord, for Heaven's sake, do not kill Gaston: you have no other child. Let him be confined and inquire further into the business. Perhaps he was ignorant what was in the bag, and may therefore be blameless.' 'Well,' replied the count, 'let him be confined in the dungeon, but so safely guarded that he may be forthcoming.' The youth was therefore confined in this tower. The count had many of those who served his son arrested, but not all; for several escaped out of the country: in particular, the bishop of Lescar,* who was much suspected, as were several others. He put to death not less than fifteen, after they had suffered the torture; and the reason he gave was, that it was impossible but they must have been acquainted with the secrets of his son, and they ought to have informed him by saying, 'My lord, Gaston wears constantly on his breast a bag of such and such a form.' This they did not do, and suffered a terrible death for it; which was a pity, for there were not in all Gascony such handsome or well-appointed squires. The household of the count de Foix was always splendidly established.

"This business went to the heart of the count, as he plainly showed; for he assembled at Orthès all the nobles and prelates of Foix and Bearn, and others the principal persons of the country. When they were met, he informed them of the cause of his calling them together, and told them how culpable he had found Gaston; insomuch that it was his intention he should be put to death, as he thought him deserving of it. They unanimously replied to this speech: 'My lord, saving your grace's favor, we will not that Gaston be put to death: he is your heir and you have none other.' When the count thus heard his subjects declare their sentiments in favor of his son, he hesitated, and thought he might sufficiently chastise him by two or three months' confinement, when he would send him on

* "Lescar"—a city in Bearn, about one league from Pau.

his travels for a few years, until his ill conduct should be forgotten, and he feel grateful for the lenity of his punishment. He therefore dissolved the meeting; but those of Foix would not quit Orthès until the count had assured them Gaston should not be put to death, so great was their affection to him. He complied with their request, but said he would keep him some time in prison. On this promise, those who had been assembled departed, and Gaston remained a prisoner in Orthès. News of this was spread far and near, and reached pope Gregory XI. who resided at Avignon: he sent instantly the cardinal of Amiens, and his legate, to Béarn, to accommodate this affair; but he had scarcely travelled as far as Beziers, when he heard he had no need to continue his journey, for that Gaston the son of the count de Foix was dead. I will tell you the cause of his death, since I have said so much on the subject. The count de Foix had caused him to be confined in a room of the dungeon where was little light: there he remained for ten days. He scarcely ate or drank anything of the food which was regularly brought to him, but threw it aside. It is said, that after his death, all the meat was found untouched, so that it is marvellous how he could have lived so long. The count would not permit any one to remain in the chamber to advise or comfort him: he therefore never put off the clothes he had on when he entered his prison. This made him melancholy and vexed him, for he did not expect so much harshness: he therefore cursed the hour he was born, and lamented that he should come to such an end. On the day of his death, those who brought him food said, 'Gaston, here is meat for you.' He paid not any attention to it, but said, 'Put it down.' The person who served him, looking about, saw all the meat untouched that he had brought thither the last days: then, shutting the door, he went to the count and said, 'My lord, for God's sake, look to your son: he is starving himself in his prison. I do not believe he has eaten anything since his confinement; for I see all that I have carried to him lying on one side untouched.' On hearing this, the count was enraged, and, without saying a word, left his apartment and went to the prison of his son. In an evil hour, he had in his hand a knife, with which he had been paring and cleaning his nails; he held it by the blade so closely that scarcely the thickness of a groat appeared of the point, when, pushing aside the tapestry that covered the entrance of the prison, through ill luck, he hit his son on a vein of his throat, as he uttered, 'Ha, traitor, why dost thou not eat?' and instantly left the room, without saying or doing anything more. The youth was much frightened at his father's arrival, and withal exceedingly weak from fasting. The point of the knife, small as it was, cut a vein, which as soon as he felt he turned himself on one side and died. The count had barely got back again to his apartment when the attendants of his son came and said, 'My lord, Gaston is dead.' 'Dead!' cried the count. 'Yes, God held me! indeed he is, my lord.' The count would not believe it, and sent one of his knights to see. The knight, on his return, confirmed the news. The count was now bitterly affected, and cried out, 'Ha, ha, Gaston! what a sorry business has this turned out for thee and me! In an evil hour didst thou go to visit thy mother in Navarre. Never shall I again enjoy the happiness I had formerly.' He then ordered his barber to be sent for, and was shaven quite bare: he clothed himself, as well as his whole household, in black. The body of the youth was borne, with tears and lamentations, to the church of the Augustin friars at Orthès, where it was buried. Thus have I related to you the death of Gaston de Foix: his father killed him indeed, but the king of Navarre was the cause of this sad event."

My heart was much affected at this recital of the squire of Béarn relative to the death of Gaston; and I was truly sorry for the count his father, whom I found a magnificent, generous, and courteous lord, and also for the country that was discontented for want of an heir. I then took leave of the squire, after having thanked him for the pleasure his narration had given me. I saw him frequently afterwards in the hôtel de Foix, when we had always some conversation. I once asked him about sir Peter de Béarn, bastard-brother to the count, who seemed to me a knight of great valor, and if he were rich or married. "Married indeed he is," replied he, "but neither his wife nor children live with him." "For what reason?" said I. "I will tell you," replied the squire.

"Sir Peter de Béarn has a custom, when asleep in the night-time, to rise, arm himself, draw his sword, and to begin fighting as if he were in actual combat. The chamberlains and valets who sleep in his chamber to watch him, on hearing him rise, go to him, and inform him what he is doing: of all which, he tells them, he is quite ignorant, and that they lie. Sometimes they leave neither arms nor sword in his chamber, when he makes such a noise and clatter as if all the devils in hell were there. They therefore think it best to replace the arms, and sometimes he forgets them, and remains quietly in his bed." I again asked, if he had a large fortune with his wife. "Yes, in God's name had he," says the squire; "but the lady keeps possession of it, and enjoys the profits, except a fourth part, which sir Peter has." "And where does his lady reside?" "She lives with her cousin the king of Castille: her father was count of Biscay and cousin-german to don Pedro, who put him to death. He wanted also to lay hands on this lady, to confine her. He seized her lands, and as long as he lived she received nothing from them. It was told her, when, by the death of her father, she became countess of Biscay; 'Lady save yourself; for if don Pedro lay hands on you, he will put you to death, or at least imprison you, for he is much enraged that you should say he strangled his queen, sister to the duke of Bourbon and the queen of France, in her bed; and your evidence is more readily believed than any other, for you were of the bed-chamber.' For this reason, the countess Florence de Biscaye quitted the country with few attendants, as one naturally wishes to fly from death, passed through Biscay and came hither, when she told my lord her history.

"The count, who is kind and affectionate to all ladies and damsels, had compassion on her, detained her at his court, and placed her with the lady de la Karasse, a great baroness of this country, and provided her with all things suitable to her rank. Sir Peter de Béarn, his brother, was at that time a young knight, and had not then this custom of fighting in his sleep, but was much in the good graces of the count, who concluded a marriage for him with this lady, and recovered her lands from don Pedro. She has a son and daughter by sir Peter, but they are young, and with her in Castille, for she would not leave them with their father; and she has the right of enjoying the greater part of her own lands."

"Holy Mary!" said I to the squire, "how came the knight to have such fancies, that he cannot sleep quietly in bed, but must rise and skirmish about the house! this is very strange." "By my faith," answered the squire, "they have frequently asked him, but he knows nothing about it. The first time it happened, was on the night following a day when he had hunted a wonderfully large bear in the woods of Béarn. This bear had killed four of his dogs and wounded many more, so that the others were afraid of him; upon which sir Peter drew his sword of Bordeaux steel, and advanced on the bear with great rage, on account of the loss of his dogs: he combated him a long time with much bodily danger, and with great difficulty slew him, when he returned to his castle of of Languedudon, in Biscay, and had the bear carried with him. Every one was astonished at the enormous size of the beast, and the courage of the knight who had attacked and slain it. When the countess of Biscay, his wife, saw the bear, she instantly fainted, and was carried to her chamber, where she continued very disconsolate all that and the following day, and would not say what ailed her. On the third day she told her husband, 'she should never recover her health until she had made a pilgrimage to St. James's shrine at Compostella. Give me leave, therefore, to go thither, and to carry my son Peter and my daughter Adrienne with me: I request it of you.' Sir Peter too easily complied: she had packed up all her jewels and plate unobserved by any one; for she had resolved never to return again.

"The lady set out on her pilgrimage, and took that opportunity of visiting her cousins the king and queen of Castille, who entertained her handsomely. She is still with them, and will neither return herself nor send her children. The same night he had hunted and killed the bear, this custom of walking in his sleep seized him. It is rumored, the lady was afraid of something unfortunate happening, the moment she saw the bear, and this caused her fainting; for that her father once hunted this bear, and during the chase, a voice cried out, though he saw nobody, 'Thou huntest me: yet I wish thee no ill; but thou shalt die a miserable death.' The lady remembered this when she saw the bear, as well that her father had been beheaded by don Pedro without any cause; and she maintains that something unfortunate will happen to her husband; and that what passes now is nothing to what will come to pass. I have told you the story of sir Peter de Béarn," said the squire, "in compliance with your wishes: it is a well-known fact; and what do you think of it?"

I was pensive at the wonderful things I had heard, and replied, "I do believe everything you have said: we find in ancient authors how gods and goddesses formerly changed men into beasts, according to their pleasure, and women also into birds. This bear, therefore, might have been a knight, hunting in the forest of Biscay, when he, perchance, angered some god or goddess, who changed him into a bear, to do penance, as Acteon was transformed into a stag." "Acteon!" cried the squire: "my good sir, do relate it, for I shall be very happy to listen to you." "According to ancient authors, we read that Acteon was a handsome and accomplished knight who loved dogs and the chase above all things. He was once hunting a stag of a prodigious size: the chase lasted the whole day, when he lost his men and his hounds; but, eager in pursuing the stag, he came to a large meadow, surrounded by high trees, in which was a fountain, where the goddess of Chastity and her nymphs were bathing themselves. The knight came upon them so suddenly that they were not aware of him, and he had advanced so far he could not retreat. The nymphs, in their fright, ran to cover their mistress, whose modesty was wounded at thus being seen naked. She viewed the knight over the heads of her attendants, and said, 'Acteon, whoever has sent thee hither has no great love for thee: I will not, that when thou shalt go hence, thou brag of having seen me naked, as well as my nymphs; and for the outrage thou hast committed, thou shalt perform a penance. I change thee, therefore, into the form of the stag thou hast this day hunted.' He was instantly transformed into a stag, who naturally loves water. Thus it may have happened with regard to the bear whose history you have told me, and the countess may have had some knowledge or some fears which at the moment she would not discover: she therefore ought to be excused

for what she has done." The squire answered, "It may perchance be so;" and thus ended our conversation.

CHAPTER X.

THE COUNT DE FOIX HOLDS SOLEMN FESTIVALS ON THE FEAST OF ST. NICHOLAS AND AT CHRISTMAS; DURING WHICH FROISSART BECOMES ACQUAINTED WITH BASTOT DE MAULEON, WHO RELATES TO HIM, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HOW SEVERAL OF THE CAPTAINS OF THE FREE COMPANIES WERE DEFEATED BEFORE THE TOWN OF SANCERRE. HOW HE SURPRISED THE TOWN OF THURIE IN THE ALBIGEOIS, AND HOW ONE OF THE NAME OF LIMOUSIN REVENGED AN OUTRAGE COMMITTED AGAINST HIM BY LOUIS RAIMBAUT.

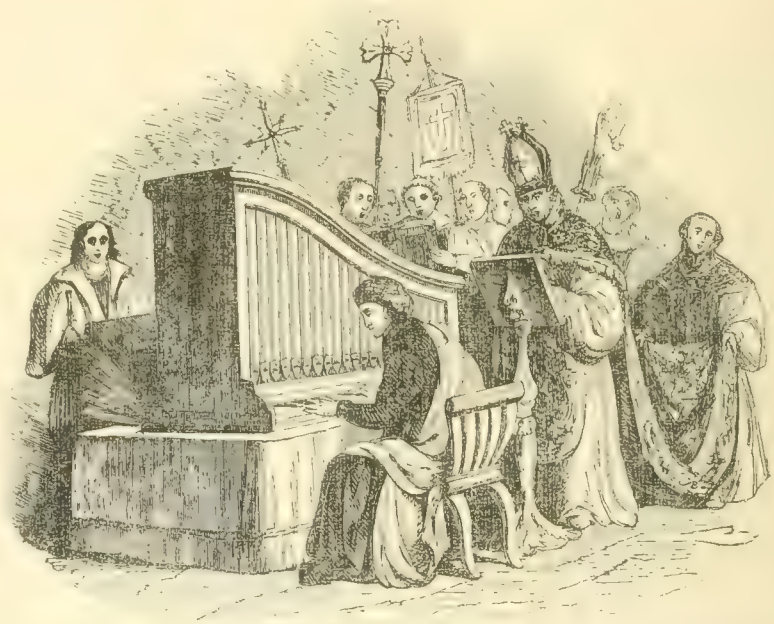
Among the solemnities which the count de Foix observes on high festivals, he most magnificently keeps the feast of St. Nicholas, as I learnt from a squire of his household the third day after my arrival at Orthès. He holds this feast more splendidly than that of Easter, and has a most magnificent court, as I myself noticed, being present on that day. The whole clergy of the town of Orthès, with all its inhabitants, walk in procession to seek the count at the castle, who on foot returns with them to the church of St. Nicholas, where is sung the psalm "Benedictus Dominus, Deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prœlium, et digitos meos ad bellum," from the Psalter of David, which, when finished, recommences, as is done in the chapels of the pope or king of France, on Christmas or Easter days, for there were plenty of choristers. The Bishop of Pamiers sang the mass for the day; and I there heard organs play as melodiously as I have ever heard in any place. To speak briefly and truly, the count de Foix was perfect in person and in mind; and no contemporary prince could be compared with him for sense, honor, or liberality. At the feasts of Christmas, which he kept with great solemnity, crowds of knights and squires from Gascony waited on him, to all of whom he gave splendid entertainments. I saw there the bourg d'Espaign, of whose surprising strength sir Espaign du Lyon had told me, which made me more desirous to see him, and the count showed him many civilities. I saw also knights from Arragon and England; which last were of the household of the duke of Lancaster, who at that time resided at Bordeaux, whom the count received very graciously, and presented with handsome gifts.

I made acquaintance with these knights, and by them was informed of several things which had happened in Castille, Navarre, and Portugal, which I shall clearly detail in proper time and place. I saw there also a Gascon squire, called le Bastot de Mauléon, an expert man-at-arms, and about fifty years old, according to his appearance. He arrived at the hôtel of the Moon, where I lodged with Ernauton du Pin, in grand array, having led horses with him like to a great baron, and he and his attendants were served on plate of gold and silver. When I heard his name, and saw how much respect the count de Foix and all the others paid him, I asked sir Espaign du Lyon, "Is not this the squire who quitted the castle of Trigalet, when the duke of Anjou lay before Mauvoisin?" "Yes," replied he; "and he is as able a captain and as good a man-at-arms as any existing." Upon this I besought his acquaintance, as he was lodged in the same hôtel as myself, with a cousin of his, a Gascon, called Arnauton, governor of Carlat in Auvergne, whom I well knew, and who assisted me in it, as did also the bourg de Copaire.*

One night, as we were sitting round the fire chatting and waiting for midnight, which was the hour the count supped, his cousin began a conversation relative to his former life, and asked him to tell his adventures and success in arms, without concealing loss or profit, as he knew he could well remember them. Upon this he said, "Sir John, have you in your chronicle what I am going to speak of?" "I do not know," replied I: "but begin your story, which I shall be happy to hear; for I cannot recollect every particular of my history, nor can I have been perfectly informed of every event." "That is true," added the squire, and then began his history in these words:

"The first time I bore arms was under the captal de Buch, at the battle of Poitiers: by good luck I made that day three prisoners, a knight and two squires, who paid me, one with the other, four thousand francs. The following year I was in Prussia with the count de Foix, and his cousin the captal, under whose command I was. On our return, we found the duchess of Normandy, the duchess of Orleans, and a great number of ladies and damsels, shut up in Meaux in Brie. The peasants had confined them in the market-place of Meaux, and would have violated them, if God had not sent us thither: for they were completely in their power, as they amounted to more than ten thousand, and the ladies were alone. Upward of six thousand Jacks were killed on the spot, and they never afterwards rebelled.

"At this time there was a truce between the kings of France and England, but the king of Navarre continued the war on his own personal quarrel with the regent of France. The count de Foix returned to his own country, but my master and self remained with the king of Navarre and in his pay. We made, with the help of others, a severe war on France; particularly in Picardy, where we took many towns and castles in the bishoprics of Beauvois and Amiens: we were masters of the country and rivers, and gained very large sums of money. When the truce expired between France and England, the king of Navarre discontinued his war, as peace had been made between him and the regent. The king of England crossed the sea with a large army, and laid siege to Rheims, whither he sent for the captal, who at that time was at Clermont in Beauvoisis, carrying on the war on his own account. We joined the king of England and his children. But," said the squire, "I fancy you must have written all this, and how the king of England broke up his siege through famine, and how he came before Chartres, and how peace was made between the two kings." "That is true," replied I: "I have all this, as well as the treaties which were then concluded." Upon this Bastot de Mauléon thus continued his narration:



Bishop of Pamiers singing the Mass at the Festival of St. Nicholas, held by the Count de Foix. The Organ drawn from Harl. MS. 3469, and the Costume from a MS. Froissart of Fifteenth Century.

"This treaty of peace being concluded, it was necessary for all men-at-arms and free companies, according to the words of the treaty, to evacuate the fortresses or castles they held. Great numbers collected together, with many poor companions who had learnt the art of war under different commanders, to hold councils as to what quarters they should march, and they said among themselves, that though the kings had made peace with each other, it was necessary for them to live. They marched into Burgundy, where they had captains of all nations, Germans, Scots, and people from every country. I was there also as a captain. Our numbers in Burgundy, above the river Loire, were upward of twelve thousand, including all sorts; but I must say, that in this number, there were three or four thousand good men-at-arms, as able and understanding in war as any could be found, whether to plan an engagement, to seize a proper moment to fight, or to surprise and scale towns and castles, and well inured to war; which indeed we showed at the battle of Brignais, where we overpowered the constable of France, the count de Forêts, with full two thousand lances, knights, and squires. This battle was of great advantage to the companions, for they were poor, and they then enriched themselves by good prisoners, and by the towns and castles which they took in the archbish-

* i. e. he assisted him

opric of Lyons on the river Rhone. They carried on their warfare until they had gained the Pont du St. Esprit: and the pope and cardinals would not have been freed from them until they had destroyed everything, if they had not thought of a good expedient, by sending to Lombardy for the marquis de Montferrat, who was a gallant knight, and at that time at war with the lord of Milan. On his arrival at Avignon, the pope and cardinals had a conference with him: and he negotiated with the English, Gascon, and German troops for their services, for sixty thousand francs, which the pope and cardinals paid to different leaders of these companies: such as sir John Hawkwood, a valiant English knight, sir Robert Bricquet, Carsuelle, Naudon le Bagerant, le bourg Camus, and many more. They marched into Lombardy, having surrendered the Pont du St. Esprit, and carried with them six parts of the companies; but sir Sequin de Batefol, sir John Jewel, sir James Planchin, sir John Amery, le bourg de Perigord, Espiote, Louis Raimbaut, Limousin, James Trittel, and myself, with several others, remained behind. We had possession of Ance, St. Clement, la Barrelle, la Terrare, Brignais, le Pont St. Denis, l'Hôpital d'Ortifart, and upward of sixty castles in the Maconnois, Forêts, Velay, and in Lower Burgundy on the Loire. We ransomed the whole country, and they could only be freed from us by well paying. We took, by a night-attack, la Charité, which we held for a year and a half. Everything was ours from la Charité to Puy in Auvergne (for sir Sequin de Batefol had left Ance, and resided at Brioude in Auvergne, where he made great profit, and gained there and in the adjacent country upward of one hundred thousand francs,) and below Loire as far as Orleans, with the command of the whole river Allier. The archpriest, who was then a good Frenchman, and governor of Nevers, could not remedy this; but, being our old acquaintance, we sometimes complied with his entreaties to spare the country. The archpriest did great good to the Nivernois, by fortifying the city of Nevers, which otherwise would have been ruined several times: for we had in the environs upward of twenty-six strong places, as well towns as castles, and no knight, squire, nor rich man, dared to quit his home unless he had compounded with us; and this war we carried on under the name and pretext of the king of Navarre. At this time happened the battle of Cocherel,* where the captal de Buch commanded for the king of Navarre, and many knights and squires went from us to assist him: sir James Planchin and sir John Jewel carried with them two hundred lances. I held at this period a castle called le Bec d'Allier, pretty near to la Charité, on the road to the Bourbonnois, and had under me forty lances, where I made great profit from the country near Moulins, and about St. Pourçaint and St. Pierre‡ le Moustier. When news was brought me that the captal, my master, was in Constantin, collecting men from all parts, having a great desire to see him, I left my castle with twelve lances, with whom I joined sir James Planchin and sir John Jewel, and without accident or adventure we came to the captal. I believe you must have all this in your history, as well as the event of the battle." "Yes, I have," said I: "how the captal was made prisoner, and sir James Planchin and sir John Jewel killed." "That is right," added he: "I also was made prisoner; but good luck befell me, for it was to my cousin: he was cousin to my cousin now by my side the bourg de Corraire: and his name was Bernard de Turide: he was killed in Portugal, at the affair of Aljubarrota. Bernard, then under the command of sir Aymemon de Pommiers, ransomed me in the field for a thousand francs, and gave me a passport to return to my fort of Bec d'Alliers. Instantly on my arrival, I counted out to one of my servants a thousand francs, which I charged him to carry to Paris, and to bring me back letters of acquittance for the payment, which he did. At this same season, sir John Aymery, an English knight, and the greatest captain we had, made an excursion down the Loire toward la Charité: he fell into an ambuscade of the lords de Rougement and de Vendelay, with the men of the archpriest. They were the strongest, and overpowered him: he was made prisoner, and ransomed for thirty thousand francs, which he instantly paid down. He was, however, so much vexed at being captured, and with his loss, that he swore he would never reënter his fort until he had had his revenge. He collected, therefore, a large body of companions, and came to la Charité on the Loire, and entreated the captains, such as Lamit, Carsuelle, le bourg de Perigord, and myself (who were come thither for our amusement,) to accompany him in an expedition. We asked him, 'Whither?' 'By my faith,' replied he, 'we will cross the Loire at port St. Thibaut, and scale the town and castle of Sancerre.§ I have made a vow, that I will never reënter my own castle until I shall have seen the boys of Sancerre; and if we could conquer that garrison, with the earl's children within it, John, Louis, and Robert, we should be made men, and masters of the whole country. We may easily succeed in our attempt, for they pay no attention to us, and our remaining longer here is not of any advantage.' 'That is true,' we answered, and promised to accompany him, and went away to make ourselves ready.

"It happened," continued le Bastot de Mauléon, "that our plot was discovered, and known to the town of Sancerre. A valiant squire from the lower part of Burgundy, called Guichart d'Albigon, was at the time governor of the town, who took great pains to guard it well. The earl's children, who were all three knights, were with him. This Guichart had a brother, a monk in the abbey of St. Thibaut, near Sancerre, who was sent by the governor to la Charité, with the composition-money that some of the towns in the upper districts owed. They were careless about him, and he discovered, I know not how, our intentions and what our numbers were, as well as the names of the captains of the different forts near la Charité, with the strength of their garrisons, and also at what hour and in what manner we were to cross the river at Port St. Thibaut. Having gained this information, he hastened to disclose it to his brother and the young knights of Sancerre. They made instant preparations for their defence, and sent notice of the intended attack to the knights and squires of Berry and the Bourbonnois, and to the captains of the different garrisons in the neighborhood, so that they were four hundred good lances. They placed a strong ambuscade, of two hundred spears, in a wood near the town.

"We set out at sunset from la Charité, and rode on briskly, in good order, until we came to Prully, where we had collected a number of boats, to pass us and our horses over the river. We crossed the Loire, as we had intended, and were all over about midnight: our horses crossed, also, without accident; but, as daybreak was near, we ordered a hundred of our men to remain behind to guard the horses and boats; and the rest advanced with a good pace, passing by the ambuscade, which took no notice of us. When we had gone about a quarter of a league, they sallied forth upon those at the river side, whom they instantly conquered, for all were slain or made prisoners; the horses were captured, and the passage of the river secured, when, mounting our horses, they stuck spurs into them, and arrived at the town as quick as we did. They shouted on all sides, 'Our lady for Sancerre!' for the count himself was in the town with his men, and sir Louis and sir Robert had formed the ambuscade. We were thus completely surrounded, and knew not which way to turn ourselves: the shock of lances was great; for those on horseback instantly dismounted on their arrival, and attacked us fiercely; but what hurt us the most, was the impossibility of extending our front, for we were inclosed in a narrow road, with hedges and vineyards on each side, with our enemies before and behind us. They knew well the country, and had posted a body of their men and servants in the vineyards, who cast stones and flints that bruised us much: we could not retreat, and had also great difficulty to approach the town, which is situated on a hill.

"We had very hard work: sir John Aymery, our captain, who had led us thither, was dangerously wounded by Guichart d'Albigon, who, exerting himself to save him, pushed him into a house in the town, and threw him on a bed, telling the master to take great care of his prisoner, and make haste to have his wounds dressed, for his rank was such, that if his life were saved, he would pay twenty thousand francs. On saying this, Guichart left his prisoner and returned to the battle, where he showed himself a good man-at-arms.

"Among others, the young knights of Sancerre had come to defend the country, with sir Guichart Dauphin, the lord de Marnay, sir Gerard and sir William de Bourbon, the lords de Cousant, de la Pierre, de la Palice, de Neutey, de la Croise, de la Sicete, and many more: I must say it was a very hard-fought and murderous battle; we kept our ground as long as we were able, insomuch that several were slain and wounded on both sides. By their actions they seemed more desirous to take us alive than to kill us: at last they made prisoners of Carsuelle, Lamit, Naudon, le bourg de Perigord, le bourg de l'Esparre, Angerot, Lamontgis, Phillip du Roc, Pierre de Corthon, le Pesat de Pamiers, le bourg d'Armesen; in short, all our companions who were in that neighborhood. We were conducted to the castle of Sancerre in great triumph: and the free companies never suffered such loss in France as they did that day. Guichart d'Albigon, however, lost his prisoner through negligence, for he bled so much that he died: such was the end of John Aymery. By this defeat, which happened under the walls of Sancerre, la Charité sur Loire surrendered to the French, as well as the garrisons thereabout, by which means we obtained our liberties, and had passports given us to quit the kingdom of France, and go whithersoever we pleased. Fortunately for us, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lord de Beaujeu, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, and the count de la Marche, at this moment undertook an expedition into Spain, to assist the bastard Henry against don Pedro. Before that time, I was in Brittany at the battle of Auraye, where I served under sir Hugh Calverley, and recovered my affairs; for the day was ours, and I made such good prisoners, they paid me two thousand francs. I accompanied sir Hugh Calverley with ten lances into Spain, when we drove from thence don Pedro; but when treaties were afterwards made between don Pedro and the prince of Wales, who wished to enter Castille, I was there, in company with sir Hugh Calverley, and returned to Aquitaine with him.

"The war was now renewed between the king of France and the prince: we had enough to do, for it was vigorously carried on; and great numbers of English and Gascon commanders lost their lives: however, thanks to God, I am still alive. Sir Robert Briquet was slain at a place called Olivet, in the Orleannois, situated between the

* Battle of Cocherel, 1364.

† St. Pourçain de Melcheres and St. Pourçain sur Vesbre, villages of Bourbonnois, near Moulins.

‡ "St. Pierre le Moûtier"—a town of Nivernois, seven leagues from Moulins.

§ "Sancerre"—an ancient town in Berry, near the Loire, eight leagues from Bourges.

territories of the duke of Orleans and the country of Blois, where a squire from Hainalt, a gallant man-at-arms, and good captain, called Alars de Doustiennes, surnamed de Barbazan, for he was of that family, met him, and conquered both him and his company. This Alars was at that time governor of Blois and its dependencies, for the lords Lewis, John, and Guy de Blois; and it chanced that he met sir Robert Briquet and sir Robert Cheney at Olivet, when both were slain on the spot, and all their men, for none were ransomed. Afterwards, at the battle of Niort, Carsuelle was killed by sir Bertrand du Gueşclin, and seven hundred English perished that day. Richard Ellis and Richard Heline, two English captains, were also killed at St. Severe: I know but few, except myself who have escaped death. I have guarded the frontiers, and supported the king of England; for my estate is in the Bordelois; and I have at times been so miserably poor that I had not a horse to mount; at other times rich enough, just as good fortune befell me. Raymonet de l'Espee and I were some time companions: we held the castles of Mauvoisin, Trigalet, and Nantilleux, in the Toulousain, on the borders of Bigorre, which were very profitable to us. When the duke of Anjou came to attack them with his army, Raymonet turned to the French; but I remained steady to the English, and shall do so as long as I live. In truth, when I lost the castle of Trigalet, and was escorted to castle Cuillet, after the retreat of the duke of Anjou into France, I resolved to do something which should either make me or ruin me. I therefore sent spies to reconnoitre the town and castle of Thurie in the Albigeois, which castle has since been worth to me, as well by compositions as by good luck, one hundred thousand francs. I will tell you by what means I conquered it. On the outside of the town and castle, there is a beautiful spring of water, where every morning the women of the town come to fill their pails or other vessels; which having done, they carry them back on their heads. Upon this, I formed my plan; and, taking with me fifty men from the castle of Cuillet, we rode all day over heaths and through woods, and about midnight I placed an ambuscade near Thurie. Myself, with only six others, disguised as women, with pails in our hands, entered the meadow very near the town, and hid ourselves in a heap of hay; for it was about St. John's day, and the meadows were mown and making into hay. When the usual hour of opening the gates arrived, and the women were coming to the fountain, each of us then took his pail, and having filled it placed it on his head, and made for the town, our faces covered with handkerchiefs so that no one could have known us. The women that met us, said, 'Holy Mary, how early must you have risen this morning!' We replied in feigned voices, and passed on to the gate, where we found no other guard but a cobbler, who was mending shoes. One of us sounded his horn, as a notice for the ambuscade to advance. The cobbler, who had not paid any attention to us, hearing the horn, cried out, 'Hola! who is it that has blown the horn?' We answered, 'It is a priest who is going into the country: I know not whether he be the curate or chaplain of the town.' 'That is true,' replied he: 'it is sir Francis, our priest, who likes to go early to the fields in search of hares.' Our companions soon joined us, when we entered the town and found no one prepared to defend it. Thus did I gain the town and castle of Thurie, which has been to me of greater profit and more annual revenue than this castle and all its dependencies are worth. At this moment, I know not how to act: for I am in treaty with the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin d'Auvergne, who have been expressly commissioned by the king of France to buy all towns and castles from the captains of the free companies, wherever they may be, in Auvergne, Rouergue, Limousin, Agen, Quercy, Perigord, Albigeois, and from all those who have made war under the name of the king of England. Several have sold their forts, and gone away; and I am doubtful whether or not to sell mine." Upon this, the bourg de Copaire said, "Cousin, what you say is true; for I also have had intelligence since my arrival at Orthès, from Carlet, which I hold in Auvergne, that the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, will soon be here: he is now incognito at Tarbes, as I have heard from those who have seen him."

They now called for wine, of which when brought we all drank, and Bastot de Mauléon said to me, "Well, sir John, what do you say? Have I well told you my life? I have had many more adventures, but of which I neither can nor will speak." "Yes, that you have, by my faith," added I: and, wishing him to continue his conversation, I asked what was become of a gallant squire, called Louis Raimbaut, whom I had met once at Avignon. "I will tell you," replied he. "At the time when sir Sequin de Batefol, who had possession of Brioude in Vélay, ten leagues from Puy in Auvergne, after having carried on the war in that country with much success, was returning to Gascony, he gave to Louis Raimbaut and to a companion of his, called Limousin, Brioude and Ance on the Saone. The country at that time was so desolated and harassed, and so full of free companies in every part, that none dared to venture out of their houses. I must inform you, that between Brioude and Ance, the country is mountainous, and the distance from one of those towns to the other twenty-six leagues. However, when Louis Raimbaut was pleased to ride from one of these places to the other, he made nothing of it; for he had several forts in Forêts and else where, to halt and refresh himself. The gentlemen of Auvergne Forêts, and Vélay, had been so oppressed by ransom to regain their liberty, they dreaded to take up arms again; and there were no great lords in France who raised any men. The king of France was young, and had too much to do in various parts of his kingdom; for the free companies had quartered themselves everywhere, and he could not get rid of them. Many of the great lords of France were hostages in England; during which time their property and vassals were pillaged, and there was not any remedy for this mischief, as their men were too dispirited even to defend themselves. Louis Raimbaut and Limousin, who had been brothers in arms, at length quarrelled, and I will tell you why. Louis Raimbaut had at Brioude a very handsome woman for his mistress, of whom he was passionately fond; and, when he made any excursions from Brioude to Ance, he intrusted her to the care of Limousin. Limousin was his brother in arms, and in him did he put his whole confidence; but he took such good care of the fair lady that he obtained every favor from her, and Louis Raimbaut had information of it. This enranged Louis Raimbaut against his companion; and, in order to insult him as much as possible, he ordered him to be seized by his servants and marched naked, all but his drawers, through the town, and then flogged with rods: at every corner of a street, trumpets sounded before him, and his action was proclaimed: he was then, in this state, and with only a plain coat on, thrust out of the town, and banished as a traitor. Louis Raimbaut thus insulted Limousin; but he was so much hurt at it, he vowed revenge whenever he should have an opportunity, which he afterwards found.

"Limousin, during the time he was in command at Brioude, had always spared the lands of the lord de la Voulte, situated on the Rhône, in his different excursions to Ance, and in the country of Vélay, for he had been kind to him in his youth. He therefore resolved to go to him, entreat his mercy, and beg he would make his peace with France, for that he would henceforward be a loyal Frenchman. He went therefore to Voulte, being well acquainted with the roads, and entered a house, for he was on foot: after he had inquired what hour it was, he went to the castle to wait on its lord. The porter would not at first allow him to enter the gate; but, after many fair words, he was permitted to come into the gateway, and ordered not to stir further without permission, which he cheerfully promised. The lord de la Voulte, in the afternoon, came into the court to amuse himself, and advanced to the gate: Limousin instantly cast himself on his knees, and said, 'My lord, do you not know me?' 'Not I, by my faith,' replied the lord, who never imagined it was Limousin; but, having looked at him some time, added: 'Thou resemblest very much Limousin, who was formerly my page.' 'On my troth, my lord, Limousin I am, and your servant also.' He then begged his pardon for what had passed, and told him exactly everything that had happened to him, and how Louis Raimbaut had treated him. The lord de la Voulte said, 'Limousin, if what thou hast told me be true, and if I may rely on thy assurance that thou wilt become a good Frenchman, I will make thy peace.' 'By my faith, my lord, I have never done so much harm to France as I will henceforward do it service.' 'I shall see,' replied the lord de la Voulte. From that time he retained him in his castle, and did not allow him to depart until he had made his peace everywhere. When Limousin could with honor bear arms, the lord de la Voulte mounted and armed him, and conducted him to the sêneschal de Vélay, at Puy, to make them acquainted with each other. He was there examined as to the strength and situation of Brioude, and also respecting Louis Raimbaut; at what times he made excursions, and whither he generally directed them. 'I know by heart the roads he takes, for with him and without him I have too often traversed them; and, if you will collect a body of men-at-arms for an expedition, I will forfeit my head if you do not take him within a fortnight.' The lords agreed to his proposal, and spies were sent abroad to observe when Louis Raimbaut should leave Brioude for Ance in the Lyonois. When Limousin was certain he had left Brioude, he told the lord de la Voulte to assemble his men, for that Raimbaut was at Ance and would soon return, and that he would conduct them to a defile through which he must pass. The lord de la Voulte collected his men, and made him the leader of the expedition, having sent off to the baliff of Vélay, the lord de Montclare, sir Guerrot de Salieres, and his son, sir Plouserat de Vernet, the lord de Villeneuve, and to all the men-at-arms thereabout: they were in the whole full three hundred spears; and when assembled at Nonnay, by the advice of Limousin, they formed two ambuscades. The viscount de Polignac and the lord de Chalençon commanded one, and the lords de la Voulte, de Montclare, de Salicres, and sir Louis de Tournon, the other. They had equally divided their men; and the viscount de Polignac and his party were posted near St. Rambut in Forêts, at a pass where Louis Raimbaut would be forced to cross the river Loire at the bridge, or higher up at a ford above Puy.

When Louis Raimbaut had finished his business at Ance, he set out with his forty lances, not expecting to meet with any one, nor suspecting anything from Limousin, as he was the farthest from his thoughts. I must tell you, that he was accustomed never to go and return by the same road: he had come by St. Rambut. On his return, he went over the hills above Lyons, and Vienne, and below the village of Argental,* and then straight toward le Monastier,

* "Argental," a village of Forêts, diocese of Vienne.

three short leagues from Puy; and after passing between the castles of Menestrol and Montfaucon, he made a circuit toward a village called le Batterie, between Nonnay and St. Julien. There is a pass in the wood there that cannot be avoided by any of those who take this road, unless they go through Nonnay; and there was posted the ambuscade of the lord de la Voulte, with about two hundred spears. Louis Raimbaut, suspecting nothing, was surprised; and the lord de la Voulte and his men knowing what they were to do, lowered their lances, and shouting their cry of 'La Voulte!' instantly charged him and his companions, who were riding much at their ease. On the first shock, the greater part were unhorsed: and Louis Raimbaut was struck to the ground by a squire of Auvergne, called Amblardon, who, advancing on him, made him his prisoner; the remainder were either killed or taken; not one escaped; and they found in a private trunk the sum of three thousand francs, which he had received at Ance as the composition of the villagers near, which gave much pleasure to the captors, for each had a share.

"When Limousin saw Louis Raimbaut thus caught, he showed himself, and said reproachfully, 'Louis, Louis! you should have been better accompanied. Do you remember the insult and shame you made me undergo at Brioude, on account of your mistress? I did not think that for a woman you would have made me suffer what you did; for, if it had happened to me, I should not have been so angry. To two brothers in arms, such as we were then, one woman might have occasionally served.' The lords laughed at this speech, but Louis had no such inclination. By the capture of Louis Raimbaut, those of Brioude surendered to the sénéschal of Auvergne; for, after the loss of their leader and the flower of their men, they could not keep it. The garrisons at Ance and in the other forts in Vélay and Forêts did the same, and were glad to escape with their lives.

"Louis Raimbaut was carried to Nonnay and imprisoned; information was sent the king of France of the event, who was much rejoiced thereat; and soon after, as I have heard, orders came for him to be beheaded at Villeneuve, near Avignon. Thus died Louis Raimbaut: may God receive his soul! Now, my fair sir," said Bastot de Mauléon, "have not I well chatted away the night? and yet all I have said is true." "Indeed you have," answered I, "and many thanks for it: I have had great pleasure in listening to you, and it shall not be lost; for, if God permit me to return to my own country, all I have heard you say, and all I shall have seen worthy to be mentioned, in the noble and grand history which the gallant count de Blois has employed me on, shall be chronicled, through God's grace, that memory of such events may be perpetuated."

On saying this, the bourg de Copaire, whose name was Ernauton, began to speak, and, I could perceive, would willingly have related the life and adventures of himself and his brother, the bourg Anglois; and how they had borne arms in Auvergne and elsewhere, but there was no time; for the watch of the castle had sounded his horn, to assemble those in the town of Orthès, who were engaged to sup with the count de Foix. The two squires then made themselves ready, and having lighted torches, we left the inn together, taking the road to the castle, as did all the knights and squires who lodged in the town.

Too much praise cannot be given to the state and magnificence of the count de Foix, nor can it be too much recommended; for, during my stay there, I found him such, as far to exceed all that I can say of him, and I saw many things which gave me great pleasure.

On Christmas-day were seated at his table four bishops of his own country, two Clementists and two Urbanists. The bishops of Pamiers and Lescar, Clementists, were seated at top, and next to them the bishops of Aire and Rou, on the borders of the Bordelois and Bayonne, Urbanists: the count de Foix sat next, then the viscount de Roquebertin, a Gascon, the viscount de Bruniquel, the viscount de Gousserant, then an English knight called sir William Willoughby, whom the duke of Lancaster, at that time residing at Bordeaux, had sent thither. At another table were five abbots and two Arragonian knights, called sir Raymond de Montflorentin and sir Martin de Ruane. At another table were seated knights and squires from Gascony and Bigorre: first, the lord d'Anchin, then sir Gaillard de la Motte, sir Raymond de Châteauneuf, the lord de Chaumont, Gascons, the lords de Copaire, de la Lanne, de Montferrat, sir William Bernard, sir Peter Courton, the lord de Valenchin, and sir Aingale, surnamed le Basele. At other tables were many knights from Béarn. Sir Espaign du Lyon, sir Siquart du Bois Verdun, sir Nouvans de Nouvailles, and sir Peter de Vaux, in Béarn, were chief stewards of the hall. The count's bastard-brothers, sir Ernaut Guillaume and sir Peter de Béarne, waited; and his two bastard-sons, sir Evan de l'Eschelle placed the dishes, and sir Gracien served him with wine. There were very many minstrels in the hall, as well those belonging to the count, as to the strangers, who, at their leisure, played away their minstrelsy. This day the count gave to the minstrels and heralds five hundred francs among them; and he clothed the minstrels of the duke de Touraine, who were there, with cloth of gold trimmed with ermine, which dresses were valued at two hundred francs. The dinner lasted until four o'clock in the afternoon. I willingly like to talk of the handsome establishment of the gallant count de Foix, for I was twelve weeks of his household, and generously treated, in all respects. During my residence at Orthès, it was my own fault if I did not collect information from every country, for the gentle knight, sir Espaign du Lyon, with whom I had entered the country, and to whom I told all my wants, made me acquainted with such knights and squires as were well able to inform me justly of all the things I was desirous of knowing. I there learnt much concerning Portugal and Castille: how their affairs were going on, and the battles which these two kings and their allies had fought, of which I will give a true account.

CHAPTER XI.

A SHORT RECAPITULATION OF WHAT HAS BEEN BEFORE SAID, OF THE WAR BETWEEN KING JOHN OF CASTILLE AND JOHN OF PORTUGAL. THIS SUBJECT CONTINUED.

You may remember, that I have before related, how don John of Castille had besieged the master of Avis, whom the principal towns had crowned king for his valor, though in truth he was a bastard, in the city of Lisbon. You have also heard how this king had sent special embassadors to the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge for succor, as they had married his cousins. The embassadors were two knights, sir John Radinghos and sir John Testa-d'oro, with a professor of law, who was also archdeacon of Lisbon: they continued their voyage with a favorable wind, and arrived at Southampton, where they disembarked, and staid a day to recover themselves: they then hired horses, for they had not brought any with them, and took the great road to London. It was in the month of August, when the king was in Wales hunting and taking his pleasure. The duke of Lancaster and the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham were also at their seats in the country. This gave the embassadors the more pain; but they went first to the duke of Lancaster, who resided at Hertford, twenty miles from London. The duke graciously received them: he opened their credential letters, and read them over three times, the better to comprehend them, and then said: "You are welcome to this country: but you could not have come at a more unfortunate season in the whole year to obtain speedy assistance, for the king and my brothers are all scattered abroad in different parts, so that you cannot have any answer before Michaelmas, when the parliament will assemble at London, and the king return to Westminster. But as this business more particularly affects my brother and myself, I will write to him; and we will shortly be in London, and then consider with you how it will be best for us to act in this affair. You will return to London, and I will let you know when my brother and myself are there." The embassadors from Portugal were well satisfied with this answer, and leaving the duke of Lancaster, returned to London, where they lodged themselves and remained at their ease.

The duke of Lancaster was not forgetful of his promise, and instantly wrote private letters to the earl of Cambridge, containing an account of what you have heard. When the earl had perused them attentively, it was not long before he set off for Hertford, near Ware, where the duke of Lancaster resided. After consulting on this business three days together, they came to London, according to the duke's promise to the Portuguese, where on their arrival they dismounted at their houses. These two lords had many and long consultations with the Portuguese embassadors; for the earl of Cambridge was very ill-pleased with the conduct of don Ferdinand, the late king of Portugal, saying he had carried on the war in too cowardly a manner, and had made peace with the Spaniards contrary to the will of the English. The earl, therefore, very much doubted if, in the ensuing parliament, the king's council would assent to an expedition to Portugal; for the one that had been sent thither had cost the nation a large sum, not less than one hundred thousand francs, and had nothing done.

The Portuguese embassadors readily comprehended what the earl said, and replied, "My lord, those times are passed, and it is now otherwise. Our late king, God pardon his soul! was marvellously afraid of the chances of war; but the present king is full of enterprise and valor, for were he to meet his enemies in the field three times more in number than himself, he would combat them, whatever might be the consequences; and we can most loyally assure you, that this is fact. My lords, it is very clear that you are interested in this quarrel; for it is your business to make war on Castille, and conquer it, as by right it belongs to you as the heritage of your wives. Now, to obtain this conquest, you cannot have any entrance into Castille like that through Portugal; for you will have all that country for your friends. Therefore, exert your influence, that one of you may go thither with such a powerful force, that joined to those you will find there, you will be enabled to keep the field!"

The duke of Lancaster replied, "It does not depend on us, but on the king and the nation, and you may be assured we will do everything we possibly can." Thus ended these conferences. The Portuguese remained in London waiting for the meeting of parliament, and the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge went to their estates in the north of England.

About Michaelmas, when the parliament was to meet at Westminster, the king was on his return toward London, and had arrived at Windsor; from thence he came to Chertsey and to Richmond. He was accompanied wherever he went by the queen, his whole court, and the earl of Suffolk, for his favor was such, nothing was done without his approbation. At the period I am now speaking

of, the wars in Flanders were going on between the duke of Burgundy and the Ghent men. The bishop of Norwich, sir Hugh Calverley, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Trivet and the others, were just come back to England, whom the king of France had surrounded at Bourbourg, as has already been related in this history.

Truces had been concluded between the Flemings, French, English, and Scots, to last until Michaelmas in 1384: notwithstanding which, the English had so much on their hands that they knew not which way to turn; for, besides the business of Portugal, the council of Ghent was in London, to request as governor, to assist and direct them, one of the king's brothers, or the earl of Salisbury. There were in this parliament many debates, as well respecting the Flemings as the Portuguese and the Scots; for the war still continued in those parts by the truce not having been proclaimed. The duke of Lancaster, in particular, labored hard to obtain the command of a large body of men-at-arms and archers to carry to Portugal, and explained to the prelates, barons, and commoners of the realm, how they were bound to assist him and his brother in the recovery of their inheritance, which they had sworn and engaged to do when their nephew the king was crowned, as was apparent by deeds then sealed. The duke complained bitterly of the wrongs that had been done him and his brother by delaying the matter; and that in truth, when the earl of Cambridge had gone thither on the faith of their promising him everything necessary for such an expedition, they had meanly fulfilled their engagements: he was to have had two thousand lances and as many archers sent to him, but they never were ordered, which had caused the settlement of the dispute for their just rights and inheritances to be so much the longer delayed.

This speech of the duke of Lancaster was attentively heard, and some of the most able in the council declared he was in the right; but, the necessities of the kingdom being more pressing, they must be first attended to. Some were for instantly agreeing to his request: others remonstrated by saying, it would be wrong to weaken the kingdom by sending two thousand men-at-arms and four thousand archers to such a distance as Portugal. Besides, so long a voyage was dangerous, and the climate of Portugal hot and unhealthy; and, if such a considerable force were sent, the kingdom might suffer an irrecoverable loss. Notwithstanding these arguments and doubts of what might be the consequences, it was settled that the duke of Lancaster should cross the sea in the summer with seven hundred men-at-arms and four thousand archers, and that they should all receive pay for one quarter of a year in advance: it was, however, reserved, that should anything in the mean time fall out inimical from France or Scotland, the expedition to Portugal was to be deferred. The duke of Lancaster assented to this, for he could not gain more.

You have before seen in this history, that after the duke of Lancaster had collected his men and stores at Southampton, ready to embark for Portugal, and though the embassadors had returned thither with information of the speedy arrival of the duke and the number of his forces, which gave the Portuguese much pleasure, an event was found to have happened in England that forced him to retard it for some time. The admiral of France, sir John de Vienne, with a thousand good men-at-arms, had embarked at Sluys, and landed in Scotland; from whence he had made war on England, which obliged the whole force of that kingdom to march against him, as has been before related. I do not wish, therefore, to mention it twice, but return to the siege of Lisbon and the king of Spain, that I may narrate all I have heard. While the king of Spain was before Lisbon, news was brought him, by some Spanish merchants returned from Flanders and Bruges, of the large armament the duke of Lancaster was collecting to raise the siege of Lisbon. The intelligence was believed; for the Spaniards well knew how anxious the duke was to renew the war with Castille, as he claimed a share of it. Notwithstanding this information, the king continued the siege, and sent letters and messengers to France for assistance: he had in particular written to Béarn; so that from the territories of Foix and Béarn there came to him, in less than four days, upward of three hundred lances, the flower of the chivalry of that country. Sir John du Ru, a Burgundian, and sir Geoffry de Partenay, had already passed through Orthès from France, in their way to Castille, to serve the king; each of whom had his own company.

I will name the principal knights of Béarn who prepared for this expedition: first, a great baron, companion to the count de Foix, the lord de Lingnach, sir Peter Lier, sir John de Lepres, the lord des Bordes, sir Bertrand de Barege, the lord de Marciage, sir Raymond d'Aussac, sir John de Sallegre, sir Mouvant de Sarmen, sir Peter de la Robiere, sir Stephen de Valentin, sir Raymond de Rarasse, sir Peter de Hanefane, sir Ogerot de Domesson, and many others. Sir Espaignolet d'Espaign, eldest son of sir Roger d'Espaign, cousin to the count de Foix, joined this company of Béarn men. These barons and knights fixed their rendezvous at Orthés and in that neighborhood; and I heard, from those who saw them march away, they were the handsomest and best equipped knights who had for a long time left Béarn.

When the count de Foix found that they really intended to go to Castille, he was greatly vexed and pensive, though at the first he had consented they should receive pay from the king of Castille, for he was afraid his country would be too much weakened by their departure. He sent, therefore, to the barons and knights above-mentioned, two knights of his household, sir Espaign du Lyon and the lord de Cabestan, to request they would come to the castle, for he was desirous to give them a dinner, by way of wishing them a good journey. The knights, as was natural, accepted the invitation, and the count de Foix received them most graciously. After mass, he led them into his cabinet, and thus addressed them: "My fair sirs, are you indeed resolved to leave my country and assist the king of Castille in his wars, while I have on hand my dispute with the count d'Armagnac? Your departure makes me very uneasy." "My lord," replied they, "it is really so; for we are obliged to it, as we have received pay from the king of Castille; but this war between Spain and Portugal will be soon ended, when we hope, if it please God, to return in good health to you." "Soon ended!" exclaimed the count: "not so soon, for it is now but beginning. There is a new king in Portugal, and they have sent to England for support. This dispute in which you are about to engage is of a nature to last a long time, and keep you in the field; for you will not be fought withal until the arrival of the duke of Lancaster and his reinforcements, so that your pay will cost you dear enough." "My lord," they answered, "since we have gone so far, we must conclude the business." "God help you," said the count; "but come, let us go now to dinner, for it is time."

The count, with his barons and knights, entered the hall where the tables were laid, and dined magnificently and at their leisure, for they were served with all things becoming such a day. The count, after dinner, conducted his knights into his galleries, where he was used to solace himself in the afternoons, and, again addressing them, said: "Indeed, my good gentlemen, I am much vexed that you leave my country; not that I am sorry for your advancement and honor, for on every occasion I would attend to it and exalt it; but I am sorry on your own account, for you are the flower of chivalry of Béarn, and are going into a foreign land. I will advise you, and have before said so, to give up this expedition and leave the kings of Spain and Portugal to fight their own battles, for you are by no means interested about them." "My lord," replied they, "under favor of your grace, we cannot thus act, and you know it better than you say: if you would be pleased to consider, that as we have received pay from the king of Castille, we must in consequence do something for it." "Well," answered the count, "that is true enough, but I will tell you what will happen to you in this expedition: you will either return so very poor and naked the lice will eat you up and grow between your nails (showing them by his gestures of rubbing the two palms of his hands together what he meant,) or you will be slain or made prisoners."

The knights burst out into laughter, and said, "My lord, we must indeed try our fortunes." The count then quitted this subject, and, conversing with them on the manners of the Spaniards, said they were nasty and lousy, and envious of the good fortune of others, advising them to be on their guard. After some other conversation, he called for spices and wine, of which all drank who were present. He then took his leave of them shaking each by the hand, recommending them to the care of God, and entered his closet. The knights mounted their horses at the gate of the castle, as their men and the equipages had already set out for Sauvetere,* where they lodged that night. On the morrow they departed, entering Biscay; and following the road to Pampeluna, they passed everywhere in safety, for they regularly paid for whatever they had occasion for.

CHAPTER XII.

THE INHABITANTS OF SANTAREM† REBEL AGAINST SOME OF THE MEN-AT-ARMS OF CASTILLE. THE KING OF CASTILLE HAVING RAISED THE SIEGE OF LISBON, MARCHES TOWARD THAT TOWN, WHEN IT MAKES ITS PEACE.

During the time the king of Castille lay before Lisbon (and he had been there about a year,) the town of Santarem rebelled against him and closed its gates, declaring, that neither Frenchmen nor Spaniards should enter it, for the great oppressions it had suffered. Some say it was the fault of the party under the command of sir Geoffry Ricon and sir Geoffry de Partenay, composed of Bretons, who took or destroyed everything they could lay hands on, paying no attention to friends or foes. The citizens therefore possessed themselves of the town and the two castles, declaring they would defend them against all who wished to harass them. On the day they rebelled, they killed upward of sixty Bretons, who were pillaging; and would have slain sir Geoffry de Partenay, but he escaped over the wall which joined his house. Upon this the French and Bretons there quartered fought one whole day with those of Santarem, and made a grand attack on the place, but they lost more than they gained, without damaging the town.

Intelligence was brought to the king of Castille that Santarem had turned to the Portuguese, and was ready to surrender its town and castles, which the citizens had gotten possession of, to the king of Portugal. The king, on hearing this, was very melancholy, and, calling his marshal, sir Reginald de Limousin, said: "Take one or

* "Sauvetere"—seven leagues from Pau.

† "Santarem"—a handsome town on the Tagus, thirty five leagues from Lisbon.

two hundred spears, and see what they are doing at Santarem: why the inhabitants of that town have rebelled; and what could have caused them to act as they have done." Sir Reginald replied, "he would punctually obey." He took under his command two hundred lances, and, following the road to Santarem, arrived there, but sent before him a herald, to announce his coming, who parleyed with the inhabitants at the barriers, and delivered his message. They answered, "We know well sir Reginald de Limousin for a gentleman and a valiant knight, and that he is marshal to the king: he is perfectly welcome hither, and may enter the town, but unarmed." This was the answer the herald brought back to sir Reginald, who said, he was not come thither to do them any harm, but solely to know what their intentions were. It is indifferent to me whether I enter armed or disarmed, provided I speak with them and learn their will. He quitted the place where he then was, and rode on unarmed, with five others only, and dismounted at the barriers, leaving his men behind. When those on guard saw the manner in which he had arrived, they opened the barriers, and received him handsomely. The inhabitants were assembled in a square of the town, when he thus addressed them: "Ye men of Santarem, listen to what I am about to say: I am sent hither with orders to demand from you the reasons why you have rebelled, have shut your gates, and slain the king's allies who were coming to assist him. Know that the king is violently enraged against you; for he has been informed you have taken possession of the two castles of the town, which are his inheritance, and are willing to surrender them to his enemies of Portugal." "May it please your grace, sir Reginald, we wish not to surrender them, nor deliver them up into any other hands than those of the king of Castille, from whom we hold them, but let him govern us in peace and with justice. What we have done has been caused by these pillaging Bretons who were quartered in the town, and from their outrages; for, had we been Saracens, or worse people, they could not have more wickedly behaved, in forcing our wives and daughters, breaking open our coffers, destroying our casks of wine, and ill-treating and wounding us whenever we complained of their conduct. You ought not, therefore to be surprised, when we suffered such outrages ourselves, and witnessed the same on those whom we were bound to defend, that we were much enraged, for smaller things will cause that. You may, therefore, if you please, tell the king this, and that we have unanimously resolved, whatever may be the event, never to acknowledge nor receive any Frenchman nor Breton, nor any other than the king's person himself, or such as he may depute hither to treat us kindly."

When sir Reginald heard these words, he was well satisfied, and did not think they had been so much to blame in driving their enemies out of the town. He thus replied: "My good people, I have now heard what you had to say; and you shall remain quiet, for I will return to the king and tell it to him, and in good truth I will do everything I can to serve you." "We thank you, my lord, most heartily; and we trust, that whatever wrong information concerning us may have been given the king, you will rectify it." On this sir Reginald mounted his horse, and departed to his men, who were waiting for him in the plain, and then rode for Lisbon. After dismounting at his quarters, he waited on the king, and told him all he had seen and heard at Santarem. The king, on learning the truth of what had passed, said, "By my faith, they have acted like wise men, since they could not trust these pillagers." Sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry de Partenay, and their companions, finding they could have no redress from Santarem, and that the king was dissembling with them, were much angered, and said among themselves, "We are well used for having left France to come to this country, to serve the king of Spain, when we are thus debased before a set of low fellows, against whom we cannot obtain justice. There will shortly come a large body of knights from Gascony: we will not notice this until their arrival, when we will inform them of what has passed, and they will help us to revenge ourselves for those companions who have been killed." Information was carried to the king and his council, that the Bretons threatened much those of Santarem, boasting that, when the Gascons should arrive, they would make them pay dearly for what they had done. The king was advised to break up the siege of Lisbon, and march to Santarem, to recruit himself, and put everything on a proper footing, and wait there for the Gascons, who were on their march, to the amount of about four hundred spears, good men-at-arms. He did not wish they should find the kingdom in confusion, when such numbers were to be provided for.

Orders were given by the king to break up the siege and march to Santarem, which was instantly obeyed. When the town of Santarem learnt the king was coming thither, they deputed twelve of the principal inhabitants on horseback, to meet the king and to know his pleasure. They rode on until they met the army about two leagues from Santarem, and learnt that the king was dismounted and had retired from the great heat under the shade of some olive-trees. Sir Reginald de Limousin, marshal of the army, was with the king and had had information of their arrival, who, when they were come near, cast themselves on their knees and said, "Most renowned lord and noble king of Castille, we are deputed hither by the poor commonalty of your unhappy town and castlewicks of Santarem, who have been given to understand that you are much angered with them; and should this be true, most renowned lord, the fault has not been with them, but in the injuries and oppressions they have suffered from the Bretons when they were in your and our town. Now, as all their evil deeds could not be known, we do not blame their knights, squires and captains, but only such as have committed them; and it would be incredible, were all the infamous acts of these Breton pillagers told. They kept for a long time the town and castlewicks of Santarem under their subjection, of which many complaints were made to us; but, in spite of this they broke open our coffers with their hatchets, took our money, and violated our wives and daughters before our eyes; which when we complained of, we were beaten, wounded, and some murdered. In this miserable condition were we for upward of two months; for which reason, most redoubted lord and noble king, we supplicate, that if we have angered you for this or any other cause, you would be pleased to do us justice, and take such loyal information concerning us, that we may be judged legally, as you promised and swore to us when you first entered Santarem as king, and the possession of it and its dependencies devolved and rested on you. You will do an act of charity; and, since you are coming thither, we have that confidence in you and in your council, that you will find the gates open. Your poor people, who are crying for redress for the injuries they have sustained, beg your royal majesty will grant them mercy and remission of all offences."

The king remained for a while silent, when sir Reginald de Limousin, kneeling before the king, said: "Most dear lord, you have heard the complaints of your subjects of Santarem, who have laid before you all they have suffered; condescend to give them an answer." "Reginald," said the king, "we see they have had just cause for what they did: go, and tell them to rise, and return to Santarem to make ready everything proper for us, as we shall sleep there this night, and let them know they shall be carefully defended in their rights." Sir Reginald de Limousin arose and went to the deputies from Santarem, bidding them arise: "The king, our lord, has favorably heard all you have said; and, understanding you only desire justice, he will see that it be done to you. Now go, and make ready the town for his reception; and let it be so well done that he may be pleased, for everything will turn out as you wish, by the good assistance of the friends you have." "My lord" replied they, "we give you our best thanks." They then took leave, returned to Santarem, and related all that had passed with the king, and the answer sir Reginald had made them from their sovereign. They were exceedingly rejoiced at this intelligence, and richly decorated their town against the king's arrival, strewing the streets with fresh herbs. The king made his entry at vespers: he was lodged in the castle called the Lion, and his men in the town; that is to say, as many as could, but the greater part were quartered in the fields and in the adjacent villages.

The king remained there a month; and things were in that state that those who expected to gain by confusion, were greatly disappointed.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SPANIARDS ARE JEALOUS OF THE FRENCH AND BEARNOIS. FIVE HUNDRED ENGLISH ARRIVE TO SERVE THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

During the residence of the king of Spain at Santarem, there arrived a handsome company of men-at-arms from Béarn. Sir Reginald de Limousin rode out to meet them, and received them very politely, as he knew how to do, and conducted them to the king, who was much pleased at their coming, and commanded sir Reginald to see that they were well lodged, and at their ease, for such were his wishes. Sir Reginald acted in a manner to satisfy them. The state of the king's affairs continued the same during the time he remained at Santarem, and while his army was in and near to that town, which consisted of four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand others. He called the barons of France to his council, to consider of the best means to carry on the war; for he had lain a long time, and with great expenses, before Lisbon, and had done nothing. It was imagined, if the Gascons had not by their arrival encouraged the king to proceed, he would have retreated from Santarem to Burgos, or into Galicia, for his men were weary with being so long in the field.

When the knights of France and Béarn were admitted to the council, the king thus addressed them: "My fair sirs, you are intelligent and active in war: I therefore wish to have your advice how I may most advantageously continue my war against the Portuguese and Lisboners: they have maintained their ground against me upward of a year, and I have done nothing. I was in hopes to have drawn them out of Lisbon, and have fought them, but they would not accept my challenge. My friends have advised me to dismiss my army, and permit every man to return to his home. I therefore wish to know what your opinions may be on this subject." The knights from France and Béarn, being just arrived at the army, were eager for battle; for, though they had as yet been idle, they were desirous of deserving the pay they had received; and replied, "Sir, you are a great and powerful prince, and it little matters to you to pay the expenses of your army, especially when it is in its own country. We will not say, but that, if it had been in a foreign land

and deprived of provisions, the advice which has been given you would have been good: we see, however, that it is as comfortably situated here as if every man were at his own home. We therefore say (not indeed as a resolution of council, for your wisdom and prudence will enable you to choose the best opinion) you ought to keep the field, which may easily be done until Michaelmas, when perhaps your enemies will march out to meet you when you least expect them, and thus they may be combated. We are very anxious for conquest, for our equipment has cost us very considerable, and we have had many difficulties before we could come hither: we therefore never shall be of the opinion of your counsellors, for we wish to see the enemy." "By my head," said the king, "you speak well and loyally, and in this and on other occasions I will henceforward take your advice, for my late lord and father as well as myself have always found your opinions fair and honorable. May God have pity on the soul of sir Bertrand du Guesclin! he was a good and loyal knight, and through his means we gained many important victories."

This conversation between the king of Castille and the foreign knights, as well as the advice they had given, was soon known to the Spanish barons: they were much vexed for two reasons; one, because they imagined the king had greater confidence in these strangers than in his own liege subjects who had crowned him; and because the French knights had advised the king to keep his ground, while they were tired of the war. They therefore privately caballed together, and said, "The king knows not how to carry on a war but by the French, as his father did before him." They now conceived a hatred to the French, which their servants and foragers soon made manifest. They had quartered all the French together, but when they sent out parties for forage, the Spaniards being more numerous, took their forage from them, and beat and wounded several, insomuch that complaints were made to the king. The king much blamed sir Reginald de Limousin, his marshal, for not having prevented this. The marshal excused himself, by saying, "As God might help him, he knew nothing about it; but that he would instantly provide a remedy, by ordering men-at-arms into the field, to attend carefully that the French collected their forage in security." He also issued a proclamation for all who had provisions, or other necessaries, to bring them to the army at Santarem, when a reasonable price would be given for them. The foreigners were amply supplied, for, by the king's orders, they were to be served before any others, which increased the hatred of the Spaniards.

It happened, that the same week the king of Castille broke up the siege of Lisbon, three large ships, having on board English men-at-arms and archers, entered the port: they might amount, in the whole, to about five hundred; but three parts of them were adventurers, under no command and without pay, from Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, and Montaigne in Poitou, who, hearing of the war between Castille and Portugal, had assembled at Bordeaux, and said, "Let us go seek adventures in Portugal: we shall there find some one to receive and employ us." Sir John Harpedane, who at that time was sénéschal of Bordeaux, had strongly advised them so to do; for he was not willing that they should remain in arms in the Bordelois, as they might do more harm than good, being adventurers who had nothing to lose.

Of all who thus arrived at Lisbon I heard of no knights, only three English squires, who were their leaders: one was called Northberry, the other Morberry, and the third Huguelin de Hartsel; and not one of them was more than fifty years old, good men-at-arms, and well accustomed to war. The Lisboners and the king of Portugal were much rejoiced at the arrival of the English. As he wished to see them, they were conducted to the palace, and received handsomely by the king, who asked if the duke of Lancaster had sent them. "By my faith, sir," replied Northberry, "it is a long time since he has known anything of us, or we of him: we are people from different countries, who come to seek the chance of arms and adventures: there are some of us who have even come from the town of Calais to serve you." "On my troth," said the king, "you and they are very welcome: your arrival gives us much joy; and know, that we shall very shortly employ you. We have been, for a time, shut up here, which has tired us much; but we will take the advantage of the field, as the Spaniards have done." "We desire nothing better," answered the captains; "and entreat we may speedily see our enemies."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL ISSUES HIS ORDERS FOR HIS ARMY TO MARCH TOWARD SANTAREM. THE KING OF CASTILLE QUITS THAT PLACE TO MEET HIM.

The king of Portugal had these new-comers to dine in the palace of Lisbon, and ordered them to be well lodged in the city, and their pay to be advanced them for three months. The king made his secretaries draw up letters, which he sent throughout the realm, commanding all persons, capable of bearing arms, to come instantly to Lisbon, under pain of his displeasure. Few paid any obedience to these letters, and too many remained at home; for three parts of the kingdom were on bad terms with the Lisboners, because they had crowned a bastard for king, and abused them much behind their backs. The king of Castille and his council, knowing of this difference of opinion in Portugal, had thus advanced, with the intent of conquering it; for they said it would be the affair of only one battle, when, if the Lisboners were conquered, the rest of the country would be rejoiced, and the grand-master of Avis would be overthrown and slain, so that the kingdom would fall to Spain, for the queen was the right heiress to it. King John of Castille, however, would willingly have avoided this war; but his subjects would not permit it, as they said he had just cause for it, and thus emboldened him.

When the king of Portugal found his summons so little attended to, and disobeyed by those on whose services he had counted, he was very pensive. He assembled the principal persons of Lisbon, and the knights of his household who had been most active in crowning him, and who had served under king Ferdinand; such as sir John Radighos, sir John Testa d'Oro, the lord de la Figuire, sir Gomme de Tarbeston, Ambrose Condrich, Peter Condrich his brother, sir Monges de Navaret, a knight of Castille whom, having been banished thence by the king, the king of Portugal had made captain of his knights. At this council the king explained several things, and said, "My fair sirs who are here assembled, I know I may depend on your friendships, for you have made me king; but you must perceive that great numbers of my subjects refuse me their assistance in this time of need, and will not take the field. I must own I should have been truly happy to have seen them as well disposed as myself to meet our enemies; but alas! it is otherwise, for they draw back and dissemble. I solicit your advice on this business, how I had best act, and beg of you to give me your opinions." Sir Gomme de Tarbeston, a Portuguese knight, then spoke: "Sir, I advise, for your own honor, that you instantly take the field, with as many men as you can collect, and hazard the event: we will assist you until death, for we hold you king and lord of this town; and if there be any rebels or discontented persons in Portugal, it is, I say (and in this I am joined by many in the town,) because you have never yet attacked nor showed yourself to your enemies. You have had hitherto the renown of being a valiant man-at-arms, but on this occasion you have not acted like one. This has encouraged your enemies, and checked the ardor of your subjects; for, when once you show courage and resolution, they will fear you, as well as your enemies." "By my head," said the king, "sir Gomme, you speak well: and now order our men to be made ready, and every other preparation to hasten our march, for we will meet our enemies, and gain all or lose all."

"My lord," replied the knight, "it shall be done: if God send you good success, and the day is ours, you will reign king of Portugal, and be prized and honored in all countries wherever you shall be known. You can only have the complete government of this kingdom by a battle; and I give you as an example king don Henry, your cousin, the father of don John of Castille. He gained all his inheritances by the sword, and would never otherwise have succeeded; for you know how the power of the prince of Wales replaced don Pedro on the throne, when afterwards by the event of the battle before Montiel, he forfeited his life, and don Henry regained possession of the kingdom. He in that day risked his own person as well as that of his friends; and you must do the same if you wish to live with honor." "By my head," said the king, "you say well; and I will not ask other advice, but follow this, which is much to my advantage." The council now broke up; and orders were given for the army to march in three days' time, to choose a proper position to wait for the enemy. The gates of Lisbon were kept so closely shut, that no person whatever was allowed to quit the town; for the king and the inhabitants would not that the Spaniards should know their intention nor their numbers.

The English were much pleased when they learnt they were to march toward Santarem, where the king and his army lay. Every one now prepared his arms; the archers their bows and arrows each according to his rank. On a Thursday, in the afternoon, the king with his army marched out of Lisbon, and encamped that day on the banks of a small river two leagues from the town, with their front toward Santarem: they said they would never return before they had seen their enemies, and that it was much better they should offer battle than for the enemy to come to them. They had remarked the difference between those who sought and those who waited for a battle, and that inferior numbers had frequently gained the day: for in almost all the victories the English had obtained over the French, they had been the first to offer battle; and they observed, that an attacking army is naturally more courageous than one on the defence. This was the opinion of the inhabitants of Lisbon when they marched out of the town, and they thus continued their conversation: "Some of us were with the men of Ghent when they marched to Bruges and offered battle to the count of Flanders and his army in that town; and we well know, that Philip Von Artaveld, Peter du Bois, John Cliqueriel, François Atremen and Peter le Nuitre, the leaders of the Ghent-men, had not under them more than seven thousand men; but they fought the battle, and defeated eleven thousand. This is a known fact, for there was not any treachery: fortune was favorable to Ghent on the day of battle, which was fought on a Saturday, a long league distant from Bruges, as we were informed on the morrow when they had conquered that city." They comforted

themselves that there was as good a chance to win as to lose, and that, if they wished to succeed in arms they must act boldly. Such were the conversations of the Lisboners among themselves on the Thursday, as they continued their march. When the king heard how resolutely they discoursed, he was much pleased.

When the trumpets of the king's army sounded on the Friday morning, all made themselves ready, and marched on the right, following the river and the flat country, on account of the baggage and provision which followed them, and advanced four leagues. News was brought, on this Friday, to the king of Castille at Santarem, that the Portuguese, under the command of the master of Avis, whom the Lisboners had crowned king, were advancing to meet him. This intelligence was soon spread through the army; and it gave the Spaniards, French, and Gascons much joy: they said, "These Lisboners are valiant fellows, thus to come and fight with us: let us hasten to the field, and surround them if we can, that we may prevent their return: for, if we can help it, not one of them shall see Lisbon again." It was proclaimed through the army, by sound of trumpet, for every one to be ready, both horse and foot, on Saturday morning, as on that day the king would march to combat his enemies. Every one was prepared and showed great joy at the orders, and at the event likely to happen.

On the Saturday morning, all the trumpets in the Castille army sounded. The king heard mass in the castle, then drank a cup, as did his attendants, and mounting their horses, they marched into the plain in handsome order: sir Reginald de Limousin, marshal of the army, led the van. Scouts were ordered to examine the appearance of the enemy, where they were, and what might be their numbers. Two squires were ordered on this duty by the French; one a Burgundian, and the other a Gascon. The Burgundian was called William de Montigny, and of the company of sir John de Rue: the Gascon came from Béarn, and his name was Bertrand de Barege. They were both on that day made knights, and with them a lord of Castille, an able man-at-arms, called sir Pedro Fernando de Medina; he was mounted on a light genet that had wonderful speed. While these three knights were exploring the country on all sides, in search of the Portuguese, their main army, which consisted of full two thousand lances, knights, and squires, Gascons, Burgundians, French, Picards and Bretons, as well equipped and mounted as men-at-arms could be, and twenty thousand Spaniards, all on horseback, marched at a foot's pace, and had not advanced the distance of a bow-shot when they halted. The king of Portugal had also sent three scouts to observe the countenance and order of the Spaniards, two of whom were English squires and expert men-at-arms, whose names were James d'Hartleberry and Philip Bradeston, and with them a Portuguese called Fernando de la Gresse. They were all well mounted, and rode so far, that from an eminence where they were hid by the leaves of the trees, they examined carefully the whole Spanish army. They then returned to the king of Portugal and his army, which they found drawn up in the plain, and related what they had seen. "Sire, we have advanced so far as to have fully reconnoitred your enemies: they are very numerous, thirty thousand horse at least: therefore consider well the business." The king asked, "Do they march in one body?" "No, sir: they are in two battalions." The king turned about, and said aloud, "Now all of you attend to what I say, for here must be no cowardice: we shall soon engage our enemies, who are on their march and eager to meet us: this they will do, for we can neither fly nor return to Lisbon. We have left that town: therefore act well and sell your lives dearly. You have made me your king: this day I shall see whether the crown is to be peaceably mine; for be assured I will never fly, but abide the event." They replied, "God assist us! we will all stand by you."

Northberry and Hartsel were then called, with others the most experienced in arms, and men who had seen the greatest number of battles, when they were asked their opinion, as to the best mode of acting, to wait the event of a battle; for they were likely to be forced to fight, as the enemy was advancing fast, and in such numbers that they were at least four to one. The Englishmen said, "Since we must have a battle, and they are superior to us in numbers, it is an unequal chance, and we cannot conquer them but by taking advantage of the hedges and bushes: let us therefore fortify ourselves in such manner, and you will see they will not so easily break us as if we were in the plain. The king replied, "You speak wisely, and it shall be done as you recommend."

CHAPTER XV.

THE PORTUGUESE FORTIFY THEMSELVES, NEAR THE CHURCH OF ALJUBAROTA,* BY THE ADVICE OF THE ENGLISH. KING JOHN OF CASTILLE, THROUGH THE COUNSEL OF THE FRENCH AND BEARNOIS, RESOLVES TO FIGHT THEM. THE HATRED AND JEALOUSIES OF THE CASTILLIANS STILL CONTINUE AGAINST THE FOREIGNERS.

THE Portuguese and Lisboners approved the advice of the English, and gave their opinion whither they should march. They were then near Aljubarota, a large village, to which place they had sent their stores, sumpter-horses and baggage, as the situation in which they had intended lodging that night, battle or not. About a quarter of a league without the village is a considerable monastery, whither the inhabitants go to hear mass. The church is on a small eminence, a little beside the road, surrounded by large trees, hedges, and bushes, which, with some little assistance, might be made a strong post. This was then told the king and his council: but he would have the English called, for, though they were very few in number, he wished to follow their advice. They said: "Sire, we know not any spot near, more favorable than the monastery of Aljubarota, situated as it is among trees: it is now a strong position, but may be much strengthened by art." Those who knew the country agreeing to the truth of this, the king said, "Let us march thither, and form ourselves in such a manner as good men-at-arms should do; so that our enemies, when they advance, may not find us unprepared." This was instantly done: they marched slowly to Aljubarota, and came to the square before the church, when the English and sir Monges de Navarét, with other valiant Portuguese and Lisboners, attentively examined the place and the environs. The English said, "This spot can be made sufficiently strong, and we may securely wait here the event." They cut down the trees fronting the plain, and laid them across, so that the cavalry could not pass them, leaving one entry not too wide, on the wings of which they posted all their archers and cross-bows. The men-at-arms were on foot, drawn up beside the church, where the king was: and they had already displayed the king's standard and banners.

When they saw themselves thus drawn up they were much contented, saying, if it pleased God, they were in a situation to hold out for a long time and to gain the advantage by it. The king addressed them: "My fair gentlemen, show your valor this day, and think not of flight; for that will be of no avail, as you are too distant from Lisbon; and besides, there is no safety in flight, for three good men will overpower and slay twelve runaways. Prove that you are men of courage and offer yourselves vigorously to your opponents: consider, should the day be ours, which it will be, if it please God, how much we shall be honored and praised in the different countries where news of it shall be carried; for the victors are always exalted, and the conquered abased. Consider also, you have made me your king, which should strengthen your courage; for be assured, that as long as this battle-axe in my hand shall hold, I will continue the fight: and should it break or fail me, I will get another, and show I am determined to guard and defend the crown of Portugal for myself, and for the right I have to the succession of my lord and brother, in which, on my soul, I declare and say they oppose me wrongfully, and that the quarrel is personal."

Those of his countrymen who had heard him, replied: "My lord and king, you have graciously admonished and greatly advised us to be men of valor, and to support you in defending what we have given to you and the same time acknowledged to be your own. Know, then, that we will remain with you steadily, and never leave the field alive, until we gain the battle, or be carried away. Have it proclaimed to your men, for they have not all heard you, that none dare, on his life, think of flying; and if there should be any whose courage fails, so that he fear to await the battle, let him come forward, and he shall have leave to depart (for one faint heart discourages a dozen of good men-at-arms,) or have his head struck off as an example to others." The king said it should be done, and two knights were ordered by him to examine the army and admonish it, and see if any symptoms appeared among them of fear. The knights, on their return, reported to the king, that wherever they had visited, and they had examined all the different companies, they had found every one resolute and determined to await the event of the battle. "So much the better," said the king. He issued orders to the army, if any persons were desirous of knighthood, to come forward, and he would confer on them the order of knighthood in the name of God and St. George. From the information I had, it seems that sixty new knights were created, which pleased the king much; and placing them in front of the army, he said, "My fair sirs, the order of chivalry is more exalted and noble than imagination can suppose; and no knight ought to suffer himself to be debased by cowardice or any villainous or dirty action; but when his helmet is on his head, he should be bold and fierce as a lion when he sees his prey; and because I wish you to show your courage this day when it will be needful, I order you to the front of the battalion, where you must exert yourselves, that we may both obtain honor, otherwise your spurs will not become you." Each new knight answered in his turn, as he marched by, "Sire, we will, with God's grace, do so, that we shall gain your love and approbation." In this manner were the Portuguese drawn up, and fortified near the church of Aljubarota. None of the English were desirous to be knighted this day: they were requested by the king to be so, but excused themselves for that time.

We will now return to the king of Castille, and to the knights, squires and men-at-arms from France and Gascony with him, and speak of the appearance of the Spaniards, and how they were drawn up. The knights they had sent out to reconnoitre, had returned, and said: "Sir king, and you barons and knights present, we have leisurely examined our enemies: we do not believe their whole amount is more than ten thousand men: they have marched to the abbey of Aljubarota, where they have halted, and are drawn up in order of

* "Aljubarota," a village in Estremadoura in Portugal, four leagues from the town of Leiria.

battle; and there they may be found by whoever chooses to seek for them." Upon this the king summoned a council, to which, in particular, the barons and knights of France were invited: they were asked, what was best to be done, when they instantly replied, "Sir, it is proper they should be fought with: we see nothing else to be done; for, from the report of our scouts, they are alarmed for the event, as they find themselves distant from any fortress whither they may retreat, and Lisbon is six leagues off; they cannot, therefore, easily run thither, even if they should take advantage of the night, without being overtaken on the road. We therefore, sir, advise, since we know where they are, that we be drawn up in battle array, and march to combat them, while your men are in a good disposition to behave well."

The king then asked his countrymen their opinions, such as Don Gonzales Nunez de Gusman, don Diego de Mendoza, Peter Gonzales de Mendoza, Peter Lopez d'Ayala, and the grand-master of Calatrava, who replied: "My lord, we have well heard the French knights advise you to march instantly against your enemies; but we wish you and them to know, that before we can arrive thither it will be night, for the sun is now on the decline, and we have not yet arranged our order of battle. It would be better to wait until morning, and approach them so near that we may discover by our scouts, whom we can spread over the plain, in what manner they have posted themselves; and if they should incline to march away during the night, we might also decamp, when they cannot escape, for the country is quite open, and there is not any strong place except Lisbon, so they must fall an easy prey to us. This is the advice we give."

The king, on hearing this, was silent, and looked first on the ground and then on the foreigners; when sir Reginald de Limousin, marshal of the army, thus spake (in order to please the French) in Spanish, that he might be heard and understood by all, for he spoke that language fluently, so long had he resided among them, addressing himself to the Spaniards who were near the king, and who had given him the last advice: "How can you, my lords, (calling each of them by name, for he was well acquainted with them all) pretend to have more knowledge of battles or more experience in war than the valiant knights and squires here present? how can you imagine you can devise any plan superior to theirs, or even that could be of any value? For their whole life has been employed in travelling from one kingdom to another, in search of adventures. How can you dare offer any other opinion, or thus detract from what they have so nobly said in the defence of the honor of the king and country; in which you are more interested than they are, for you have therein your properties as well as your persons, while they have only their persons. They have offered a proof of their attachment, by requesting of the king to be posted in front of the battalions, which his majesty has disapproved. Consider how disinterested they must be, when they made this offer. It would appear to some persons as if you were envious, and wished not that any honor or profit might accrue to them, or that the king should gain the victory over his enemies. Honorable men-at-arms, who seek perfection, should be above low jealousies and such base passions, and always be of one and the same way of thinking. Besides, through your advice, has the king been thus long and expensively kept at the siege of Lisbon, without having an opportunity of a battle, until now when the master of Avis (who signs himself king of Portugal, though he can have no such right, being a bastard) has taken the field. He is at Aljubarota at this moment with all the force he can muster, but it is not any way great: if it should therefore happen that he make his escape from us, and avoid a battle, you will run the risk of the people rising and slaying you; or the king, considering you as traitors, will have you beheaded, and your estates confiscated. I therefore see no better means for you than being silent, and agreeing with those who have been actors in more matters of this sort than you ever have been engaged in, or ever will be."

As sir Reginald ended this speech, the king raised his eyes from the ground, and seemed highly pleased with what he had heard: the Spaniards on the contrary, were thunderstruck, and thought, at the moment, they had done worse than they really had; for, notwithstanding the marshal had thus opposed and reproved them, they had wisely and prudently advised the king, for he could not have had better counsel; but his valor and frankness made him speak as follows, in compliance with the French and the strangers present, who were eager for battle. Every one was silent, when the king said: "In the name of God and my lord St. James, I will that we combat our enemies, and that those who desire knighthood, may advance, and receive the order of chivalry in honor of God and St. George." Many squires of France and Béarn came forward, and were knighted by the king's hand; such as sir Roger d'Espaign, and his son Edmund: from the county of Foix, sir Bertrand de Barege, sir Peter de Salbiere, sir Peter de Valentin, sir William de Quer, sir Angiers de Sollenaire, sir Peter de Vaud, sir William de Mondigy, with many more; in all, one hundred and forty, who willingly accepted the order of knighthood. Some barons of Béarn first displayed their banners with several of Castille and sir John de Rue.

You might have seen these young knights, full of vigor and gallantry, carrying themselves so handsomely that it was a pleasant spectacle to see; and they were, as I have said, a large battalion of themselves. The lord de Lingnach then approached the king, accompanied by all those who had come from different countries, and whom the Castillians called indiscriminately Frenchmen, completely armed except their helmets, and said: "My lord king, we are come from distant countries with the best disposition to serve you: grant us, we beg of you, that we may form the van battalion." "I grant it," replied the king, "in the name of God, St. James, and my lord St. George, and may they be with you!" Upon this, the Spaniards whispered one to another, "See, for God's sake! see how our king confides wholly in these foreigners: he has not any trust in others. They have obtained the honor of the van, and hold us so cheap they will not invite us to make a part. They are now drawing themselves up separately. Well, we will do the same on our part, and, by God, let them combat and fight by themselves. Have they not already boasted they are sufficient to vanquish the Portuguese? Be it so, then: we are contented; but it will be right we ask the king if he choose to remain with us or go with the Frenchmen." They were murmuring a long time, whether they should put such a question to the king or not, for they were much afraid of the reprimands of sir Reginald de Limousin. Having fully considered, they thought there would not be any harm in asking the question. Six therefore of the principal nobles, employed about his person, advanced, and, with many obeisances, thus spoke: "Most noble king, we perceive plainly that this day there will be an engagement with your enemies. God grant you may have the victory and honor! as we sincerely wish it; but we are anxious to know your pleasure, whether you will remain with us or march with the Frenchmen?" "By no means," replied the king: "my fair sirs, if I have determined on battle, in consequence of the advice of the knights and squires from France who have come to serve me, and who are men of great valor and abilities, I do not renounce you, but will remain among you, and you will therefore help in defending me." The Castillians were delighted with this answer; and said, "That, my lord, will we do, and never fail you as long as we live; for we have sworn to do so, and pledged our faith on the day you were crowned: we had besides so great an affection for the good king your father, that nothing shall ever make us desert you." The king of Castille remained with the Castillians, who amounted to full twenty thousand horse all covered with armor. Sir Reginald de Limousin was in the first battalion, that post being his right as marshal.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BATTLE OF ALJUBAROTA, IN WHICH THE FRENCH AND BEARNOIS, IN THE INTEREST OF CASTILLE, ARE DEFEATED AND SLAIN BY THE PORTUGUESE, FROM NOT BEING PROPERLY SUPPORTED BY THE CASTILLIANS, WHO WERE JEALOUS OF THEM. THEY AFTERWARDS MEET THE SAME FATE.

This Saturday had been a fine clear day, but the sun was now declining, and it was about the hour of vespers, when the first battalion of the Castillian army came before Aljubarota, where the king of Portugal and his men were drawn up in battle array. The French knights amounted to two thousand, as gallant lances as could be seen. The moment they perceived the enemy they formed in close order, like men of resolution who knew their business, and advanced within bow-shot. This attack was very sharp; for those who were eager after glory, and to perform feats of arms, assaulted the place which the English had fortified. The entrance having been made narrow caused a great pressure of the assailants against each other, and much mischief was done by the English archers, who shot so vigorously and quick that the horses were larded, as it were, with arrows, and fell one on the other. The few English men-at-arms and the Lisboners now came forward, shouting their cry of "Our Lady for Lisbon!" They were armed with well steeled Bordeaux lances, with which they pierced through everything, and wounded knights and squires. The lord de Lingnach of Béarn was unhorsed, his banner taken, and himself made prisoner, and numbers of his men slain or taken. On the other hand, sir John de Rue, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry de Partenay, with difficulty, had entered the fort with their men; but their horses were so wounded by the archers, they fell down under them. The men-at-arms on their side were in great danger, for one could not assist the other, nor could they gain room to exert themselves, while the Portuguese, seeing the ill success which had attended the first assailants, were as fresh and as active as ever for the combat. The king of Portugal was mounted on a tall courser decorated all over with the arms of Portugal, and his banner set up before him: he was much pleased at seeing the defeat of his enemies, and to encourage his men, and for his own pleasure he laughed aloud, crying out; "Go on, my good fellows: defend yourselves well, for, if there be no more than what I see, we shall not make much of them; and if I have any knowledge of war, these men must remain with us."

Thus did the king of Portugal encourage his men, who fought valiantly, and, having inclosed the first comers within their fort, they were putting numbers of them to death. True it is, that this first battalion of which I am speaking, under the command of knights from France and Béarn, expected to have been more quickly and better supported by the Castillians than they were; for if the king of Castille with the main army, which consisted at least of twenty

thousand men, had advanced to check the Portuguese in another quarter, the day must have been theirs; but they did nothing, for which they suffered much loss and blame. It is also true, that the battle began too soon; but they did so to acquire greater honor, and to make their words good which they had said in the presence of the king. On the other hand, as I have heard, the Castillians made no great haste to advance, for the French were not in good favor with them, and they had said; "Let them begin the fight, and tire themselves: they will find enough to do. These Frenchmen are too great boasters, and too vainglorious, and our king has not any perfect confidence but in them. Since he wishes that they should have the honor of the day, it shall be so; for we will have it our own way, or not at all." Conformably to this resolution, the Spaniards kept in a large body, twenty thousand at least, in the plain, and would not advance, which vexed the king much; but he could not help it, for they said; "My lord, it is all over, (though none had returned from the battle:) these French knights have defeated your enemies: the honor and victory of the day are theirs." "God grant it may be so!" replied the king; "but let us advance a little." They advanced about a bow-shot, and halted again. It was truly a fine sight to view their appearance, so well and handsomely were they armed and mounted. During all this time the French were fighting; and those knights and squires who had been able to dismount performed many gallant deeds, for, when their lances were broken, they used their battle-axes, and with them gave such desperate blows on the helmets of all who opposed them, that wounds, if not death, were the consequences. Whoever is engaged in such-like combats as this at Aljubarota must abide the event, if safety be not sought in flight: but in flight there is more danger than in the heat of the battle, for, when any one flies a pursuit is made, and, if overtaken, he is slain: when in a battle, if the chance turn unfortunate, he surrenders, and is well taken care of as a captive.

It cannot be denied but that the knights and squires from France, Brittany, Burgundy and Béarn, fought valiantly: they were overpowered at the first onset, from the advice the English had given to fortify the place: besides, in this attack, the Portuguese were superior in numbers. They therefore were at their mercy, and all were slain or taken, for few escaped. At this beginning they made a thousand knights and squires prisoners, which gave them much joy. They did not expect any further battle that day, and entertained their prisoners handsomely, saying to them; "Do not be cast down: you have valiantly fought and have been conquered fairly: we will behave to you as generously as we should wish to be dealt with ourselves, were we in your situation. You must come and recruit yourselves in the good city of Lisbon, where you shall have every comfort." Those to whom such speeches were made, replied by returning thanks. Some were ransomed on the spot, and others said they would wait the event, for they did not imagine things would remain as they then were, but that the king of Spain would come with the main army and deliver them.

As the king of Castille and his people were drawing near to Aljubarota, news of what had happened speedily came to them from the runaways (for unfortunate indeed is the battle whence no one escapes,) who cried aloud and with much fear; "Sir king, advance; for your whole van battalion are either slain or made prisoners, and there is no hope of deliverance but from you." When the king heard this he was much enraged, and with reason, for it too nearly concerned him: he instantly gave orders to march, saying, "March, banners, in the name of God and St. George: let us hasten to the rescue of our friends who have been captured, for they have need of us." The Castillians began to quicken their march in close order: it was now past vespers, and the sun was setting, when some of them said, it would be better to wait for the morning, as it would soon be night, when they would be unable to perform any good deeds of arms. But the king was determined to advance, and was in the right; for he said, "How can we think of thus deserting our friends, who are fatigued and in distress? whoever gives such advice neither loves me nor regards my honor." They continued therefore to advance, with trumpets sounding and drums beating, and making a great noise to frighten their enemies.

I will now relate how the king of Portugal and his army had employed themselves. As soon as they had defeated the van division and taken care of their prisoners, as has been before said, they did not confide in this first victory, though they saw not any appearance of reinforcements, but ordered six men-at-arms, the best mounted, to reconnoitre, and bring them intelligence, if they were to expect another battle. Those who had been sent on this expedition, saw and heard the army of the king of Castille, which was at least twenty thousand men on horseback, and approaching very near to Aljubarota: they returned full gallop to their friends, and said aloud, "My lords, take care of yourselves, for hitherto we have done nothing: the king of Castille is advancing with his whole army, of twenty thousand horse, for not one has remained behind." On hearing this they held a short council, as the necessity of the case obliged them, and came to a pitiless resolution; for it was commanded, under pain of death, that whoever had taken a prisoner should instantly kill him, and that neither noble, nor rich, nor simple, should be exempted. Those barons, knights and squires, who had been captured, were in a melancholy situation, for entreaties would have been of no avail. They were scattered about disarmed in different parts, considering themselves in safety, for their lives at least; but it was not so, which was a great pity. Each man killed his prisoner, and those who refused, had him slain before their eyes: for the Portuguese and English, who had given this advice, said, "It was better to kill than to be killed; and if we do not put them to death they will liberate themselves while we are fighting, and then slay us, for no one ought to put confidence in his prisoner." By this order were killed the lord de Lingnach, sir Peter de Salbiere, the lords de Lespre, de Béarn, des Bordes, sir Bertrand de Barege, the lord de Moriane, sir Raymond Donzack, sir John Afolege, sir Manaut de Saremen, sir Peter de Salibieres, sir Stephen de Valentin, sir Raymond de Courasse, sir Peter de Hausane, with full three hundred squires from Béarn. Of Frenchmen, there were sir John de Rue, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry de Partenay, and many more. This was a very unfortunate event to the prisoners, as well as to the Portuguese; for they put to death, this Saturday, as many good prisoners as would have been worth to them, taking one with another, four hundred thousand francs. When they had thus cleared the place, by putting every one to death (for none escaped but those who had been carried to the village of Aljubarota, where the baggage and stores were,) they again formed themselves in the same position and place as when the van battalion commenced their attack.

The sun was now setting, when the king of Castille advanced in puissant array, with banners displayed, and on barbed horses, shouting out "Castille!" and entered the fortified pass. They were received with lances and battle-axes, and the first flight of arrows grievously wounded their horses, threw them into confusion, and many were wounded or slain. The king of Castille, ignorant of the unfortunate fate of the van, imagining they were only prisoners, was anxious to deliver them, as you have heard. The battle raged with violence: many were thrown to the ground, and the Portuguese had not the advantage: they were forced to fight most valiantly, or they would have been overpowered: they owed their safety to the impossibility of being attacked but in one place. The king of Portugal dismounted, and, taking his battle-axe, placed himself at the pass, where he performed wonders, knocking down three or four of the stoutest of the enemy, insomuch that none dared to approach him. I must not omit to notice the manner in which the Spaniards generally act in war. It is true they make a handsome figure on horseback, spur off to advantage, and fight well at the first onset; but as soon as they have thrown two or three darts, and given a stroke with their spears, without disconcerting the enemy, they take alarm, turn their horses' heads and save themselves by flight as well as they can: this game they played at Aljubarota; for they found their enemies obstinate, and as fresh as if they had not had an engagement, which astonished them much; and their surprise was increased by not hearing anything of the van battalion.

The Spaniards had a hard afternoon's work, and the fortune of war was greatly against them: all who through courage, or a wish to distinguish themselves, had entered the fort of the Lisboners, were cut to pieces; for they could not ransom any, whether poor or noble, (such had been their orders) nor encumber themselves with prisoners. Very many of the nobles of Castille were there slain: among the greatest barons who suffered, were sir Dangommes Neudrich, sir Diego Parsament, don Pedro de Rourmont, sir Marc de Versaux, the grand-master of Calatrava, and his brother, who was that day created a knight, and called sir Diego Moro, sir Peter Goussart de Modesque, don Pedro Goussart de Seville, don John Roderigo de la Rousselle, with upward of sixty barons and knights of Spain. There were not even at the battle of Najara, when the prince of Wales defeated the king, don Henry, so many nobles of Castille killed, as at this battle of Aljubarota, which was on a Saturday, the feast of our Lady, August, 1385.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE KING OF CASTILLE, AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT ALJUBAROTA, RETREATS TO SANTAREM. THE KING OF PORTUGAL RETURNS TO LISBON. A TRUCE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THEM.

When king Henry perceived that his army was defeated, the van battalion having been totally destroyed, that sir Reginald de Limousin, his marshal, was slain, and that the flower of his own chivalry, as well as that of France, which had come so willingly to serve him, were dead or disabled, he was mightily cast down, and knew not how to act. He saw his men flying in all directions, and heard them crying to him, "My lord, march away: it is time for you: the battle is over: you alone cannot conquer your enemies, nor repair your losses: your men are running away on all sides, for every one now looks to himself: you know, also, it will be prudent, at this moment, to follow their example, and if fortune is now against you, another time she may be more favorable." The king of Castille followed this advice: he changed his horse, and mounted a fresh one that had not been rode that day, and which had great speed. The king stuck spurs into him, turned his back to his enemies, and made for Santarem, whither all the runaways, who wished to save themselves, followed.

The king of Castille had that day ordered a knight of his house-

hold, called sir Peter Harem, to bear his helmet. This helmet was encircled with gold, and might be worth twenty thousand francs. The king intended wearing it at the battle, and had so ordered it the morning he marched from Santarem, but did not do so; for, when the army was forming, there was so great a crowd round the king, the knight could not come near, and, not hearing himself called, he ceased to attempt it. Shortly afterwards, he heard that the Portuguese had gained the day, and saw his own army flying in all directions: fearful of losing so rich a jewel as the king's helmet, that was valued so highly, he put it on his own head, not to lose it nor have it stolen from him by meeting the enemy, and fled: he did not follow the road to Santarem, but took another, like to people thunderstruck and discomfited; but the greater part made for Santarem, where the king arrived in the evening, confounded and cast down.

After the defeat of the Spaniards at Aljubarota, the Portuguese and Lisboners kept the field of battle: the slaughter was great, and would have been more if they had pursued the enemy; for the English seeing the enemy turn their backs, called aloud to the king of Portugal, "Sir king, let us mount our horses, and set out on the pursuit, and all these runaways shall be dead men." "I will not," replied the king: "what we have done ought to satisfy us. Our men are fatigued, and have fought hard this evening: it is now so dark we shall not know whither we are going, nor how many are flying. Their army was very numerous, and perhaps this may be a stratagem to draw us out of our fort, and the more easily conquer us. We will this day guard the dead, and to-morrow call a council and consider how we shall next act." "By my faith," replied Hartsel, an Englishman, "the dead are easily guarded: they will do us no harm, nor shall we have any profit from them, for we have slain our rich prisoners. We are strangers, come from a distance to serve you, and would willingly gain something from these calves that are flying without wings, and who drive their banners before them." "Fair brother," said the king, "all covet, all lose: it is much better that we remain on our guard, since the honor and victory are ours, through God's grace, than run any risk where there is no necessity for it. Thanks to God, we have enough to make you all rich." Nothing more was said on the subject. Thus, as I have related, happened the battle of Aljubarota, which the king of Portugal completely gained. There were slain about five hundred knights, and full as many, if not more, squires, which was a great pity, and six or seven thousand other men: God have mercy on their poor souls!

The king of Portugal and his men remained all night under arms, at their post without stirring, until about six o'clock on Sunday morning. They ate a morsel standing or sitting, and quaffed a cup or so of wine, which was brought to them from the village of Aljubarota. At sunrise, the king of Portugal ordered twelve knights to mount their horses, and scour the country, to see if there were any bodies of men assembled together. When they had rode far and near, on their return, they said they had seen nothing but dead men. "Of them we have no fear," said the king, who gave orders for the army to march to the village of Aljubarota, where they were to halt the rest of the day and that night until Monday morning. Upon this they decamped, leaving the church of Aljubarota, and quartered themselves in the village the whole of Sunday and the following night.

On Monday morning, it was ordered in council that they should return to Lisbon, and the trumpets sounded to decamp. They then formed themselves in handsome array, and took the road to Lisbon. On the Tuesday, the king entered the city, amid an immense concourse of people, with great glory and triumph, and was conducted by a numerous company of minstrels, and a long procession of churchmen, who had come out to meet him as far as the palace. As he rode through the streets, all the people, and even the children, paid him the greatest respect and reverence, shouting out, "Long live the noble king of Portugal! to whom God has been gracious in giving victory over the potent king of Castille, the gain of the field and discomfiture of his enemies." By this fortunate victory which the king of Portugal had over don John of Castille, as I have just related, he won so much the affections of all Portugal, that those, who before this battle had dissembled their sentiments, now came to Lisbon, took the oaths, and paid their homage to him, saying, he was worthy to live, and God must love him when gave him the victory over a king more powerful than himself, and that he deserved to wear a crown. Thus did the king acquire the love of his subjects, more especially of the whole commonalty of the kingdom.

We will now say something of the king of Castille, who, after his defeat, retreated to Santarem, regretting and bewailing the loss of his men, and cursing the hard fate he had had, when such numbers of noble knights of his kingdom, as well as those from France, lay dead on the field. At the time he entered the town of Santarem, he knew not the greatness of his loss, but was made acquainted with it on the Sunday, when he sent his heralds to examine the field of battle, having imagined the greater part of those barons and knights whom they found lying dead, had been prisoners to the Portuguese. He was so much enraged when the heralds returned, on learning the names of those who had fallen, and the certainty of their deaths, that he could not be appeased or comforted. He declared with an oath, he should never again taste joy, for the loss of so many noble knights, who had perished through his fault.

At the end of the three days the king had passed at Santarem, his knight, sir Martin Harene,* came into the town, bringing with him his majesty's helmet, which was estimated at twenty thousand francs, on account of the rich jewels with which it was ornamented. Much had been said on this subject in the king's household, and some had declared he had fraudulently carried it off, and would never more return. When the knight came before the king, he cast himself on his knees, and made such fair excuses that the king and council held him blameless. Things remained in this state, and the king of Castille returned to Burgos, the twenty-fifth day after his arrival at Santarem, having dismissed his whole army. Negotiations were now entered on between the kings of Castille and Portugal, and a truce was made between them and their allies, as well on land as at sea, from Michaelmas until the first day of May. The bodies of the barons and knights who had been slain at Aljubarota, were buried in that and in the neighboring churches: the bones of many were carried by their servants to their own countries.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COUNT DE FOIX IS RAPIDLY, AND IN A SECRET MANNER, INFORMED OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED AT ALJUBAROTA. FROISSART, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THIS, RELATES A STORY WHICH HAD BEEN TOLD HIM OF A FAMILIAR SPIRIT, CALLED ORTHON, WHO SERVED THE LORD DE COURASSE IN THE LIKE MANNER.

A FACT I am about to relate will astonish my readers, if they consider and pay any attention to it. It was told me in the hotel of the count de Foix, at Orthès, and by the same person who had informed me of the battle of Aljubarota, and the event of that day. I will therefore narrate it; for, ever since the squire related it to me, I have much thought on it, and shall do so as long as I live. It is a fact, as the squire assured me, that the count de Foix was informed, the day after the battle of Aljubarota, of everything that had there happened, the same as I have related it, which surprised me exceedingly how this could possibly have been.

The whole days of Sunday, Monday, and the following Tuesday, he was in his castle of Orthès, and made such poor and melancholy meals that not one word could be drawn from him; nor would he, during that time, quit his chamber, nor speak to knight or squire, however nearly they were related by blood, unless he had sent for him; and it also happened, that he even sent for some, to whom he never opened his lips during these three days. On the Tuesday, in the evening, he called his brother Arnold William, and said to him in a low voice, "Our people have had a desperate battle, which has vexed me very much, for it has happened to them just as I had foretold at their departure." Arnold William, who was a wise man and a prudent knight, well acquainted with the temper of his brother, was silent. The count, anxious to cheer up his courage, for he had too long nurtured in his breast this sad news, added, "By God, sir Arnold, it is just as I have told you; and very soon we shall have news of it. Never has the country of Béarn suffered so severely for these hundred years past, as it has now at this battle in Portugal." Many knights and squires who were present, and heard the words of the count, were afraid to speak, but commented within themselves on them.

Within ten days, the truth was known from those who had been in the battle, and they first told the count, and all who wished to hear them, everything relative to their disputes with the Castillians and the event of the battle at Aljubarota. This renewed the grief of the count, and of those persons belonging to the country, who had lost brothers, relations, children, or friends. "Holy Mary!" said I to the squire, "how was it possible for the count to know, or even to guess at it, on the morrow after it had happened?" "By my faith," replied he, "he knew it well enough, as it appeared afterwards." "Is he a wizard, then," said I, "or has he messengers who ride on the winds? for he must have some secret art." Upon this, the squire began to laugh, and said, "In truth, he must have known it by means of necromancy. We indeed are ignorant in this country, how he manages, but we have our suspicions." Upon this, I said to the squire, "Now do have the goodness to tell me what your suspicions are, and I shall be very much obliged to you. If it be necessary to keep it secret, I will be silent, and never open my mouth on the subject as long as I live or remain in this country." "I must entreat that of you," replied the squire, "for I would not have it known that I had told it to you; for we only speak of it secretly when among our friends." Upon this, he drew me aside to a corner of the vault of the chapel of Orthès, and thus began his tale:

"About twenty years ago, there lived a baron in this country, called Raymond, lord of Corasse. You must understand, that Corasse is a town seven leagues distant from Orthès. This lord of Corasse had a suit at Avignon, before the pope, for the tithes of his church, against a priest of Catalonia: this priest was very learned who claimed these tithes, which were worth a hundred florins a year. He proved his right so clearly that pope Urban V. in full consistory, gave a definitive judgment in favor of the priest, condemning the knight to costs of suit. The priest obtained a copy of this sentence, and hastened to Béarn, where showing it, and his bulls from

* His name is not mentioned in the printed copies until now, but he is called in my MSS. Peter Harem.

the pope, he obtained possession of the tithes. The lord de Corasse, being doubtful of the priest and of his designs, went to him and said: 'Master Peter, or master Martin (according as he was called,) do you think I will lose my inheritance through the papers you have brought hither? I do not believe you will be bold enough to collect anything belonging to me; for if you do, your life shall pay for it. Go elsewhere and seek for benefices, for you shall not have anything from my estates; and, once for all, I forbid you to take any tithes.' The clerk was fearful of the knight, as he knew him to be a cruel man, and dared not persevere, but resolved to return to Avignon, which he did. Before he set out, he came again to the lord de Corasse, and said to him: 'By force, and not by justice, you deprive me of the rights of my church, for which, in conscience, you behave exceedingly ill. I am not so powerful in this country as you are; but know, that as soon as I possibly can, I will send you a champion that you will be more afraid of than you have hitherto been of me.' The lord de Corasse, not alarmed at his menaces, replied: 'Go, in God's name go: do what thou canst: I fear thee neither dead nor alive; and for thy speeches I will not lose my property.' The clerk then departed, and went I know not whether to Catalonia or to Avignon, but did not forget what he had told the lord de Corasse on leaving him; for, about three months after, when the knight least thought of it, and was sleeping in his bed with his lady, in his castle of Corasse, there came invisible messengers, who made such a noise, knocking about everything they met with in the castle, as if they were determined to destroy all within it: and they gave such loud raps at the door of the chamber of the knight, that the lady was exceedingly frightened. The knight heard it all, but did not say a word, as he would not have it appear that he was alarmed, for he was a man of sufficient courage for any adventure. These noises and tumults continued, in different parts of the castle, for a considerable time, and then ceased. On the morrow, all the servants of the household assembled, and went to their lord, and said: 'My lord, did you not hear what we all heard this night?' The lord de Corasse dissembled, and replied, 'What is it you have heard?' They then related to him all the noises and rioting they had heard, and that the plates in the kitchen had been broken. He began to laugh, and said, 'it was nothing: that they had dreamed it, or that it had been the wind.' 'In the name of God,' added the lady, 'I well heard it.'

"On the following night, the noises and rioting were renewed, but much louder than before; and there were such blows struck against the door and windows of the chamber of the knight, that it seemed they would break them down. The knight could no longer desist from leaping out of his bed, and calling out, 'Who is it that at this hour thus knocks at my chamber door?' He was instantly answered, 'It is I.' 'And who sends thee hither?' asked the knight. 'The clerk of Catalonia, whom thou hast much wronged: for thou hast deprived him of the rights of his benefice: I will, therefore, never leave thee quiet, until thou hast rendered him a just account, with which he shall be contented.' 'What art thou called,' said the knight, 'who art so good a messenger?' 'My name is Orthon.' 'Orthon,' said the knight, 'serving a clerk will not be of much advantage to thee; for, if thou believest him, he will give thee great trouble: I beg thou wilt therefore leave him and serve me, and I shall think myself obliged to thee.' Orthon was ready with his answer, for he had taken a liking to the knight, and said, 'do you wish it?' 'Yes,' replied the knight; 'but no harm must be done to any one within these walls.' 'Oh no,' answered Orthon: 'I have no power to do ill to any one, only to awaken thee and disturb thy rest, or that of other persons.' 'Do what I tell thee,' added the knight: 'we shall well agree; and leave this wicked priest, for he is a worthless fellow, and serve me.' 'Well,' replied Orthon, 'since thou wilt have it so, I consent.'

"Orthon took such an affection to the lord de Corasse, that he came often to see him in the night-time; and, when he found him sleeping, he pulled his pillow from under his head, or made great noises at the door or windows; so that, when the knight was awakened, he said, 'Orthon, let me sleep.' 'I will not,' replied he, 'until I have told thee some news.' The knight's lady was so much frightened, the hairs of her head stood on end, and she hid herself under the bedclothes. 'Well,' said the knight, 'and what news hast thou brought me?' Orthon replied, 'I am come from England, Hungary, or some other place, which I left yesterday, and such and such things have happened.' Thus did the lord de Corasse know by means of Orthon all things that were passing in different parts of the world; and this connection continued for five years; but he could not keep it to himself, and discovered it to the count de Foix, in the manner I will tell you. The first year, the lord de Corasse came to the count de Foix at Orthès, or elsewhere, and told him, 'My lord, such an event has happened in England, in Scotland, Germany, or some other country;' and the count de Foix, whe found all this intelligence prove true, marvelled greatly how he could have acquired such early information, and entreated him so earnestly, that the lord de Corasse told him the means by which he had acquired his intelligence, and the manner of its communication. When the count de Foix heard this, he was much pleased, and said, 'Lord de Corasse, nourish the love of your intelligencer: I wish I had such a messenger: he costs you nothing, and you are truly informed of everything that passes in the world.' 'My lord,' replied the knight, 'I will do so.' The lord de Corasse was served by Orthon for a long time. I am ignorant if Orthon had more than one master; but two or three times every week he visited the knight, and told him all the news of the countries he had frequented, which he wrote immediately to the count de Foix, who was much delighted therewith, as there is not a lord in the world more eager after news from foreign parts than he is. Once, when the lord de Corasse was in conversation on this subject with the count de Foix, the count said, 'Lord de Corasse, have you never yet seen your messenger?' 'No, by my faith, never; nor have I ever pressed him on this matter.' 'I wonder at that,' replied the count: 'for had he been so much attached to me, I should have begged of him to have shown himself in his own proper form; and I entreat you will do so, that you may tell how he is made, and what he is like. You have said, that he speaks Gascon as well as you or I do.' 'By my faith,' said the lord de Corasse, 'he converses just as well and as properly; and, since you request it, I will do all I can to see him.'

"It fell out, when the lord de Corasse, as usual, was in bed with his lady (who was now accustomed to hear Orthon without being frightened,) Orthon arrived, and shook the pillow of the knight, who was asleep. On waking, he asked who was there? Orthon replied, 'It is I.' 'And where dost thou come from?' 'I come from Prague in Bohemia.' 'How far is it hence?' 'Sixty days' journey,' replied Orthon. 'And hast thou returned thence in so short a time?' 'Yes, as may God help me: I travel as fast as the wind, or faster.' 'What, hast thou got wings?' 'Oh, no.' 'How, then canst thou fly so fast?' 'That is no business of yours.' 'No!' said the knight. 'I should like exceedingly to see what form thou hast, and how thou art made.' 'That does not concern you to know,' replied Orthon; 'be satisfied that you hear me, and that I bring you intelligence you may depend on.' 'By God,' said the lord de Corasse, 'I should love thee better if I had seen thee.' 'Well,' replied Orthon, 'since you have such a desire, the first thing you shall see to-morrow morning, in quitting your bed, shall be myself.' 'I am satisfied,' said the knight; 'you may now depart: I give thee thy liberty for this night.'

"When morning came, the knight arose, but his lady was so much frightened she pretended to be sick, and said she would not leave her bed the whole day. The lord de Corasse willed it otherwise. 'Sir,' said she, 'if I do get up, I shall see Orthon; and, if it please God, I would neither see nor meet him.' 'Well,' replied the knight, 'I am determined to see him;' and, leaping out of his bed, he seated himself on the bedstead, thinking he should see Orthon in his own shape; but he saw nothing that could induce him to say he had seen him. When the ensuing night arrived, and the lord de Corasse was in bed, Orthon came and began to talk in his usual manner. 'Go,' said the knight; 'thou art a liar: thou oughtest to have shown thyself to me this morning, and hast not done so.' 'No!' replied Orthon; 'but I have.' 'I say, no.' 'And did you see nothing at all when you leaped out of bed?' The lord de Corasse was silent, and, having considered awhile, said, 'Yes; when sitting on my bedside, and thinking of thee, I saw two straws which were turning and playing together on the floor.' 'That was myself,' replied Orthon, 'for I had taken that form.' The lord de Corasse said, 'That will not satisfy me; I beg of thee to assume some other shape, so that I may see thee and know thee.' Orthon answered, 'You ask so much that you will ruin me and force me away from you, for your requests are too great.' 'You shall not quit me,' said the lord de Corasse; 'if I had once seen thee, I should not again wish it.' 'Well,' replied Orthon, 'you shall see me to-morrow, if you pay attention to the first thing you observe when you leave your chamber.' 'I am contented,' said the knight; 'now go thy ways, for I want to sleep.' Orthon departed. On the morrow, about the hour of eight, the knight had risen and was dressed; on leaving his apartment, he went to a window which looked into the court of the castle. Casting his eyes about, the first thing he observed was an immensely large sow; but she was so poor, she seemed only skin and bone, with long hanging ears all spotted, and a sharp-pointed lean snout. The lord de Corasse was disgusted at such a sight, and, calling to his servants, said, 'Let the dogs loose quickly, for I will have that sow killed and devoured.' The servants hastened to open the kennel, and to set the hounds on the sow, who uttered a loud cry and looked up at the lord de Corasse, leaning on the balcony of his window, and was never seen afterwards; for she vanished, and no one ever knew what became of her.

"The knight returned quite pensive to his chamber, for he then recollected what Orthon had told him, and said, 'I believe I have seen my messenger Orthon, and repent having set my hounds on him, for perhaps I may never see him more: he frequently told me, that if I ever angered him, I should lose him.' He kept his word, for never did he return to the hôtel de Corasse, and the knight died the following year. Thus have I related to you the history of Orthon, and how for a time he supplied the lord de Corasse with intelligence."

"That is true," said I to the squire; "but, with what intent have you told it? Does the count de Foix make use of such a messenger?"

"In good truth, that is the real opinion of several of the inhabitants of Béarn; for there is nothing done in this country or elsewhere but what he instantly knows, when he sets his heart on it, even when it

is the least suspected. Thus it was respecting the intelligence he told us of our good knights and squires, who had fallen in Portugal. The reputation and belief of his possessing this knowledge is of great service to him, for there would not be lost a gold or silver spoon, or anything of less value, in this country, without his instantly knowing of it." I then took my leave of the squire, and joined other company, with whom I chatted and amused myself. However, I kept in my memory every particular of the tale he had told me, as is now apparent. I will leave for a while the affairs of Spain and Portugal, and speak of those of Brittany, Languedoc, and France.

CHAPTER XIX.

SIEGE IS LAID TO BREST. ST. FORGET AND SEVERAL OTHER ENGLISH GARRISONS IN THE ENVIRONS OF TOULOUSE ARE RECOVERED BY THE FRENCH.

During the time these matters were passing in Castille and in distant countries, sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, ordered a blockhouse to be built before the castle of Brest in Brittany, which the English held, and had done so for a considerable time, and would not quit it, neither for the king of France nor for the duke of Brittany, to whom it belonged. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the king's council, had frequently written on this subject to the duke of Brittany; for at that time, as you know, the young king of France was under the government of his uncles. They had entreated the duke of Brittany to exert himself to conquer the castle of Brest, which being held by the English was much to his discredit. The duke, in compliance with their entreaties, as well as knowing himself to be the lord of Brest, had once besieged it, but had not pushed it forward: when he marched away, he said nothing could be done: at which several knights and squires of Brittany murmured behind his back, saying that he feigned and dissembled, as those who held it were his great friends, and that he would not on any account wish it even in his own possession, nor in that of the king of France; for, if the French had it, he would not be the master, but be much weakened by it; and, as long as the English held it, the French would not dare to anger him.

The constable of France, having considered the whole business, thought that, if the duke of Brittany were indifferent as to the recovering the town and castle of Brest from the hands of the enemies of France, it would be dishonorable to him and to the nobles of Brittany. He therefore ordered it to be besieged, and sent thither great numbers of knights and squires, under the command of the lord de Malestroit, the viscount de la Belliere, Morfonace, and the lord de Rochederrien. These four valiant men laid their siege as near to Brest as was possible, and erected a large and fair blockhouse of wood, surrounding also the place with palisadoes and walls, so that the garrison was shut up from all communication but by sea: on that side it was not possible for them to surround them. There were frequent skirmishes before Brest; for those companions who were fond of arms advanced gayly to the barriers, where they called out the garrison and fought with them until some were killed or wounded, and then they retired: scarcely a day passed without some warlike deeds being done.

At this period there was in the Toulousain a valiant knight from France, called sir Walter de Passac: he was an expert captain and excellent man-at-arms, and born in Berry, on the borders of Limousin. Before his arrival, sir Hugh de Froideville, séneschal of Toulouse, and sir Roger d'Espaign, séneschal of Carcassonne, had written to the king and council of the state of Toulouse and Rabastens;* that several gallant companions from the garrisons of Lourde and châtel Cuillet had made war successfully for the English; and having possession of Saint Forget, la Bassere,† le Mesnil, Pomperon, Convalle, Rochefort, Jullians,‡ Navarêt, and some other forts, they had surrounded the good city of Toulouse, so that the inhabitants could not quit it, nor the farmers labor their vineyards or gardens but with great risk, for there was neither truce nor any composition entered into between them. They were commanded by an able man from Biscay, called Espaignolet, who performed wonders and took by scalado the castle of Ermaille, while its master, sir Raymond, was absent at Toulouse, and kept possession for upward of one year. During this time, he dug a mine that, after passing under the apartments, opened to the fields, which, when finished, was so well covered, that no one would imagine there was a subterraneous passage under the castle. When about this, the lord of Ermaille was treating with Espaignolet respecting the sum for which he would surrender to him his castle; and, on the mine being completed, he yielded the castle to sir Raymond for two thousand francs, who, having again possession, had it repaired and strengthened. Not fifteen days passed before Espaignolet advanced with his men to the mouth of this mine, which they entered about midnight, gained the castle, and took the knight in his bed, whom he again ransomed for two thousand francs, and then allowed him to depart: but Espaignolet kept possession of the castle, which he strongly garrisoned, and much harassed the country from thence with others of his companions.

For these and such like causes was sir Walter de Passac sent into Languedoc, with full powers over all the troops in that district, and to free the country from these pillagers and robbers. Having sent letters to sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Hugh de Froideville, and other leaders, they came to serve under him with all their men. Sir Roger brought sixty lances and one hundred men with shields; and the séneschal of Rouergue, with sir Hugh de Froideville, joined him with as many, if not more. When they were all assembled, they amounted to four hundred spears, and upward of one thousand armed with shields, including lusty varlets. The son of the lord d'Esterach was there, with a handsome company; and also the lord de Barbasan, sir Benedict de Faignolles, and sir William Conderom, a Breton, with his rout. They marched from Toulouse straight to St. Forget, where they halted. It was then commanded by a Béarnois, called le bourg de Taillesac, a grand marauder. When these lords had drawn up their troops, the attack commenced, and the cross-bowmen shot so briskly, scarcely any of the garrison dared to show themselves in its defence for fear of the arrows; but the French did not gain it at this first assault. In the evening they retired to repose and refresh themselves, as they had brought plenty of everything with them.

On the morrow, the trumpets sounded for a renewal of the attack, when the lords, with their men, gallantly marched to the foot of the ditches. Whoever had seen them thus advancing, their heads covered with shields, with their lances measuring the depth of the water in the ditches, would have had much pleasure. When the first ranks had passed through, the others did not delay following, or they would have been greatly blamed for remaining behind. This second party carried pick-axes and iron crows to batter the walls; and, in so doing, they fastened their shields on their heads, to ward off the stones and other things that were thrown at them from the battlements: but they suffered little from this, as the cross-bows posted on the banks, by their alertness in shooting prevented many from appearing. They shot so well, as hardly ever to miss what they aimed at; and several on the walls were mortally struck on their heads by the small bolts, which caused many in the garrison to dread their blows. The attack was so long and successfully continued that a large breach was made in the wall. This alarmed those within, who offered to surrender on having their lives spared; but they were not listened to, and fell into such good hands that every one was put to death, for sir Walter had ordered no quarter to be given. Thus did the barons and knights of France regain the castle of St. Forget, which sir Walter gave up to its proper owner, who had lost it last year from neglect of well guarding it, as several other castles in France had been formerly lost in like manner. When the knight was repossessed of his castle, he had it repaired where wanted; for the French had done much damage by their attack.

The French then marched to the castle of la Bassere, of which Ernauton de Batefol was captain. He had strongly fortified it, in expectation of the visit the French intended him. On their arrival, they reconnoitred it on all sides, to see where they could better make their attack, and with the least loss to their men: having carefully examined it, they posted themselves opposite the weakest part. The cross-bowmen were ordered to advance before those intended for the assault, and they did their duty so well that few dared to appear on the battlements. Ernauton de Batefol was at the gate where the attack was the sharpest, performing such wonders in arms that the French knights cried out, "Here is a squire of great valor, who becomes his arms well, and makes excellent use of them; it would not be amiss to treat with him to surrender the castle, and seek his fortune elsewhere: let him be informed, that if sir Walter de Passac conquer it by storm, no power on earth can save him; for he has sworn to put to death, or have hanged, all whom he may find in any castle or fort." The séneschal de Toulouse then charged a squire from Gascony, named William Aliedel, who was well acquainted with Ernauton, they having formerly borne arms together, to talk with him on the subject. He willingly undertook it; for he would have been very sorry if Ernauton had suffered loss of honor or death, as other things could be remedied.

William stepped forward, and made signs to Ernauton that he wanted to speak to him on what nearly concerned him, to which his friend assented; and the assault was at that place discontinued, though not elsewhere. "Ernauton," said William, "you are risking too much: our leaders have compassion on you, and send me to tell you, that should you be taken, sir Walter de Passac has strictly ordered you to be instantly put to death, as he has done to those who were in St. Forget. It is, therefore, much better for you to surrender the place, as I would advise, than to wait the event; for I can assure you, we shall not depart before we be masters of it." "I know very well," replied Ernauton, "that, although you now bear arms against me, you would never advise anything disgraceful to my honor; but if I do surrender, all who are with me must be saved likewise; and we must carry away with us as much as we can, excepting the provisions, and be conducted in safety to the castle of Lourde." "I am not commissioned," answered William, "to go so far, but I will cheerfully mention it to my commanders." On this, he returned to the séneschal of Toulouse, and related what you have heard. Sir Hugh de Froideville said, "Let us go and speak with sir Walter; for I know not what his intentions may be, although I have advanced so far in the treaty; but I fancy we shall make him agree to it."

* "Rabastens"—a town of Upper Languedoc, twelve leagues from Toulouse.
† "La Bassere"—a village near Tarbes. ‡ "Jullians"—a village near Tarbes.

When they came to sir Walter, they found him engaged in assaulting another part of the castle; the sénéschal addressed him, "Sir Walter, I have opened a treaty with the captain of the castle, who is willing to surrender the place as it is, on condition that himself and garrison be spared and escorted to Lourde, and that they carry away everything but the provision: now, what do you say to this? We should lose more, if any of our knights or squires were killed by arrows or stones: and you would have more sorrow than profit, even should you win it and put all to death; but that is not yet done; it will cost us many lives; for it will not be so easily conquered as St. Forget." "That is true," added the séneschal of Carcassonne, who was present: "it is impossible but in such attacks there must be many killed and wounded." Sir Walter de Passac then said, "I am willing to consent: order the attacks to cease. We have still farther to march; and, by little and little, we shall gain all these castles from the pillagers; if they escape from us cheaply at this moment, they will fall into our hands again some time hence, when they shall pay for all. Ill deeds bring the doers to an ill end. I have hanged and drowned in my time more than five hundred such scoundrels, and these will at last come to the same fate."

William Aliedel and others then returned to the gate, where Ernauton was waiting for them, to conclude the treaty. "By my troth, Ernauton," said William, "you and your companions ought to give many thanks to God and to sir Hugh de Froideville, for he has obtained for you your own terms of surrender. You and your garrison may depart hence, taking with you all you are able to carry, and will be escorted to Lourde." "I am satisfied," replied Ernauton, "since it cannot be otherwise; but know, William, I am very sorry to quit my castle, which has been of infinite service to me since my capture at the bridge of Tournay, below Mauvoisin, by the bourg d'Espaign, who made me pay two thousand francs for my ransom; indeed, to say the truth, I have more than repaid myself the loss since I have been here. I have been so long in this part of the country that I like it well; and whenever I wished to make an excursion, I always was fortunate in meeting with prey, that fell into my hands, from some merchant from Rabastens, Toulouse, or Rodais." "Ernauton," answered William, "I readily believe you; but if you will turn to the French, I will obtain your pardon, and put a thousand francs into your purse besides: and will pledge my honor that you be steady to the French interest, when once you have sworn so to do." "Many thanks," said Ernauton; "but I like not your party, and will remain firm to the English; for, as God may help me, I do not think I can ever be a good Frenchman. Return now to your army, and say that we shall employ this day in packing up; but we will surrender the place to-morrow and depart: you will therefore order an escort to conduct us to Lourde."

The attacks on la Bassere had ceased, and the French retired to their quarters, where they refreshed themselves at their ease, for they had wherewithal so to do. On the morrow, by eight o'clock, the army was drawn out, and those who were to escort the garrison selected. Sir Walter then sent the sénéschal of Toulouse to take possession of the castle, where he found Ernauton with his companions and their baggage packed, and all ready to set out. He ordered a knight of Lourde, called Sir Mouvant de Salenges, to escort them, which he undertook to do safely; and I believe kept his word. This castle was given to Bertrand de Montesquieu, a squire of that country to guard, as well as the territory adjacent. The army then marched away, and came before a castle called Pulpiron; it was in the possession of marauders, under the command of Angerot and le petit Meschin, who had done much damage to the country round about.

Sir Walter de Passac had sworn by the soul of his father, that in return for the mischief they had done, he would never grant them mercy, but hang them the moment he could lay hands on them. The army laid siege to this castle, which is seated on a rock, whence the view is extensive and pleasant. On forming the siege, sir Walter again swore he would never depart until he had gained it, and taken all within, who should not be allowed to surrender and go away, if they even wished it. Many attacks were made: but the French failed in all, as it was ably defended. "I know not," said sir Walter, "how things may turn out; the king of France is rich enough to keep up the siege, and if I remain here a whole year, I will not leave it until I be the master." What he had said was attended to, and all things necessary for a long siege were done.

The two captains in the castle, seeing the French were determined not to depart without having gained it, cost what it would, began to feel alarmed, and thought it advisable to leave it, whether their enemies would or not. They could easily do so at their pleasure, for there was a subterraneous passage, that had an outlet half a league from the castle, of which the French had not any suspicion. When Angerot noticed how the besiegers had posted themselves, and seemed resolved to have them by famine or otherwise, he said to his companions, "Gentlemen, I find the lord de Passac hates us mortally, and that by a blockade he will starve us. He may easily do it, if he erect a small fort and garrison it with only one hundred lances; for we shall then be prevented quitting the castle. I therefore propose, that we this night pack up all we can carry, and sally through the mine, which is wide enough and opens into a small wood hard by. We shall thus be out of all danger before any one knows what is become of us; for there is not one man in the army that is acquainted with this mine." His proposal was agreed to: and that same night, having packed up their all, they entered the subterranean passage with lighted torches, and issued out in a wood half a league from the castle. There were those with them able to conduct them through by-roads to other fortresses in Limousin and Rouergue. Some, however, the moment they were out of danger, departed different ways, saying, they would not carry on the war longer. Angerot, with four others, went to a castle in Perigord, called Mont Royal, where the lord of it received them handsomely; for he and his dependents were entirely English, and would never turn French when others did so, and many were of his way of thinking. Thus did the garrison of Pulpiron escape, not leaving a single varlet behind; and, before it was known to the army, they had arrived at the different places whither they intended going.

On the third day after the garrison were gone away, the commanders of the army ordered an assault. They had made a large machine, four stories high, and each story would hold twenty cross-bows. When this machine was completed, which they called a Passavant, it was moved to what they thought the weakest place of the walls, and Genoese cross-bowmen were posted in it. The cross-bows began shooting, but as no one appeared on the battlements, they imagined the castle was empty, and ceased to shoot, for they were unwilling to lose their bolts and arrows. They left the machine, and surprised their captains by their sudden return. They said: "My lords, the garrison have certainly quitted the castle; for there is not a man within it." "How can you know this?" replied sir Walter. "We know, that notwithstanding our shooting, not one showed himself." Ladders were upon this ordered to be affixed to the walls, and lusty varlets, proper for the business, to ascend them. They mounted without opposition, for the castle was empty; and having passed the walls and ascended into the court, they found near the gate a large bunch of keys, among which was that of the gate. They, with some difficulty, opened it and the barriers.

The lords were much surprised; but more especially sir Walter de Passac, who thought it must have been by enchantment they had been able thus to escape, and asked his knights how it could have been done. The séneschal of Toulouse replied: "That if they were gone, it must have been through some subterraneous passage." The castle was searched, and this passage discovered in the cellars, with the door wide open. The lords would examine it; and sir Walter said to the séneschal of Toulouse: "Did not you know of this passage, sir Hugh?" "By my faith," he replied, "I certainly have heard that such a thing was in this castle; but I forgot it, and never imagined they would have made use of it." "But in God's name they have done so," answered sir Walter, "as is very clear. Have all the castles in this country similar mines and passages?" "Sir," said sir Hugh, "there are many castles which have been built in the same manner, particularly all those that belonged to Reginald de Montauban; for when he waged war against king Charlemagne of France, he had them so well built, by the advice of Maugis his cousin, that when the king was besieging them with his whole power, and resistance would have been vain, they made use of their tunnels, and departed without taking leave." "By my troth," said sir Walter, "I admire the thought. I know not if any king, duke, or neighbor I have, will make war upon me; but on my return home I will have instantly built, at my castle of Passac, just such a passage." Here ended this conversation. They took possession of the castle, and, having placed a good garrison therein to guard it, they began their march toward the town and castle of Convalle,* in which were Espaignolet de Papercau, a Biscayan, and a number of pillagers.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CASTLE OF CONVALLE IS STORMED BY THE FRENCH. SOME OTHER FORTRESSES TURN TO THE FRENCH INTEREST.

Sir Walter de Passac, with his army, came before Convalle, and surrounded it on all sides. Having called to him the séneschal of Toulouse, he said: "Was this one of sir Reginald de Montauban's castles?" He answered, that it was. "Then it has a subterraneous passage like his others." "Ay, in God's name truly there is one; for by means of this passage did Espaignolet take the castle a second time and the lord within it." "Order the knight to whom it belongs, and who is with us, to come hither; for it will be proper," added sir Walter, "that we first get information from him." On sir Raymond de Convalle appearing, he was asked concerning the strength of the place, and if there were a subterraneous passage like that of la Bassere. He replied, that it was by such means he had been captured; that he had long ago stopped it up as useless; "but these robbers who keep possession of my castle have repaired it, and entered the castle through it." "And do you know its issue?" "Yes, my lord: it opens into a wood not far hence." "It is well, by God," said sir Walter, and was then silent. At the end of four days, sir Walter was conducted by sir Raymond to the opening of the mine in the wood, accompanied by two hundred of the country peasants well

* This place is called before "Ermaille." Sala calls it "Crimaille."—*Marginal note*, D. Sauvage.

armed. When arrived at the entrance, he had all the earth and thorns cleared away from before it, and a number of torches lighted, and said to those with him: "Enter this passage, which will lead you to the hall of the castle: when you come to the door, break it open, for you are sufficiently strong to do it, and to combat all you shall find in the castle." They replied, they would cheerfully obey.

Having entered the passage, they came to the steps that lead to the door of the hall, and began to make use of their axes and hammers in battering the door. As it was about night-fall, the garrison kept a good watch, and heard them working in the mine to enter the castle. They instantly informed Espaignolet of it; he was going to bed, but he advised them to place benches, stones, and other things in the doorway, to embarrass it so much that they might not enter. This was instantly done, and no better defence could have been made; for although their opponents had cut the door into a thousand pieces, they found their difficulties so increase upon them, they gave it up, and returned about midnight to tell their lords, how the garrison, having heard them, had blocked up the passage, making it impossible to gain entry by that way. Upon this the passavant was ordered from la Bassere, which being taken to pieces, was brought on carts to Convalle, and remounted on its wheels, fit for immediate service. When all was ready, sir Walter de Passac, impatient to win this castle, ordered his trumpets to sound, and the host to arm and advance in proper array. The sénéschal of Toulouse was on one side, with all his séneschalship; on the opposite sir Roger d'Espaign, in like manner, with his men from Carcassonne; there were the lord de Barbazan, sir Benedict de Faignolles, the lord de Benoch, the son of the count d'Estarac, sir Raymond de l'Isle, and the knights and squires of the country, each with his company, drawn up in good array. The attack and defence now seriously commenced: the garrison defended themselves valiantly; indeed it behooved them so to do, for they found themselves hard pressed; and knowing that sir Walter would show them no mercy, if taken, were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The Genoese cross-bows behaved well, and shot so truly with their bolts, that the boldest was afraid of them; for whomsoever they struck on the head, it was over with him.

Sir Walter de Passac was in the front acting wonders in arms, and crying out: "How, my lords! shall such a stinking crew keep us here all the day? If they were good men-at-arms, I should not wonder; for in them is much more vigor than in such fellows as we are attacking; it is my intention to dine in the castle, and it will depend on you that I accomplish my purpose." Those who were desirous to obtain his favor advanced eagerly to the attack, and fixed several ladders to the walls, near where the large machine was placed, which they mounted under protection of the cross-bows, who prevented the garrison from showing themselves. The French thus entered the castle of Convalle sword in hand; they pursued their enemies, killing great numbers, and the remainder they made prisoners. Sir Walter, having entered by the gates, was asked what he would have done with the prisoners. "By St. George, I will they be all hanged." His orders were instantly obeyed, and Espaignolet suffered the first. The lords dined in the castle, and the men-at-arms in the town, where they remained the whole day. Sir Walter gave to the lord de Convalle his town and castle, and then made preparations to continue his march.

After the conquest of Convalle, the army marched for a fort, called Mastulle, which, with the others, had done much mischief to the country. On their arrival, they began an attack, which was bravely resisted at first; but it lasted not long, for the place was taken by storm, and all within slain or hanged. When those of Roix, Rochefort, and other castles in possession of these pillagers, heard that sir Walter de Passac was on his march, and that, whatever places he took, he had hanged the garrisons, they were doubtful whether they might not come to the same end, and in consequence, left their forts in the night time, by subterranean passages or otherwise; for Roix and Rochefort have mines, having formerly belonged to sir Reginald de Montauban, so that when the French arrived they found them both empty. Having taken possession, they re-garrisoned and revictualled them, and then marched toward Toulouse to enter Bigorre, for there were in that country two castles on the borders of Tarbes, called Jullians and Nazareth,* held by these marauders, who much harassed Tarbes and its neighborhood, as well as the territory of the lord d'Anchin.

Sir Walter de Passac and his army, having refreshed themselves in Toulouse, took the road toward Bigorre, and seated themselves before Jullians, saying they would never depart until they had delivered the country from its oppressors. Sir Walter was joined by the séneschal of Donnezan,† who represented the count de Foix, according to the summons of sir Walter to come to his aid in driving the pillagers out of the country; for they made, when opportunity offered, as free with the country of Donnezan as they did elsewere. It was for this reason the séneschal had come, and with the approbation of the count, otherwise he would not have dared to have done it.

They were fifteen days before they could gain the castle of Jullians, for it was strong, and the captain a Gascon squire, called Bruyer de Brunemote, of great skill and valor. He had quitted la Bassere in the manner before mentioned; and at last, finding they could not take it by storm, they consented to a capitulation, agreeing to spare the lives of the garrison and to conduct them to Lourde. A squire, called Bertrand de Montdighen, escorted them thither. When the French had possession of the castle of Jullians, they debated whether to keep or to raze it; at last they determined to demolish it on account of its vicinity to Lourde, for that garrison, the men being traitors, might, after they had left it, regain possession by stratagem or open force. It was therefore razed; and the stones to this day remain in heaps, without the expectation of its being rebuilt.

The army then came before Nazareth, a strong place, of which some adventurous companions had kept possession for more than a year. When they heard that those of Jullians had retreated, they also withdrew, having obtained a passport, and went to Lourde, where they knew they would not seek them, unless they wished to lose their labor, for Lourde is so strong it is impossible to be conquered. The French, finding Nazareth empty, razed it to the ground, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Tarbes, as they had received many injuries from it. They then marched to the castle of Auch, in Bigorre, situated among the mountains on the borders of Béarn. They remained there about fifteen days, but only conquered the lower court with all the horses within it, though very many attacks were made: the great tower, being seated on a high rock, they could not win, for it is impregnable. The lords seeing they were laboring in vain, and that William Morenton, the captain, would neither surrender nor listen to any treaty whatever, marched away, and returned to Tarbes. Sir Walter de Passac then disbanded his army, with liberty for them to return to their homes. Those who had served in this army received their pay in money or in promissory notes, at their option: he himself retired to recruit himself at Carcassonne, and in that neighborhood.

During his residence at Carcassonne, he received orders from the king of France to go to Bouteville in Saintonge, on the borders of Poitou and the Bordelois, which was under the command of a Gascon called Sainte-Foy, as it had been reported that sir John Harpedane, sénéschal of Bordeaux, was collecting a large force at Libourne on the Dordogne, to march thither and attack such forts as the Poitevins and saintongers had raised before it. Sir Walter, as was natural, obeyed the king's orders, and took with him sixty lances and one hundred Genoese cross-bows. On leaving Carcassonne, he marched through Rouergue and Agen, skirted Perigord, and arrived at Bouteville, where he found the séneschals of la Rochelle, Poitou, Perigord, and Agen, with numbers of men-at-arms.

CHAPTER XXI.

A SHORT DIGRESSION ON THE MANNERS OF THE ENGLISH AND GASCONS IN THE TIME OF FROISSART.

FOREIGN countries may well wonder at the noble realm of France, how finely it is situated, and what numbers of cities, towns, and castles it possesses, as well in the distant parts as in the heart of the country. There are, in travelling from Toulouse to Bordeaux, the underneath rich towns, situated on the Garonne, called Gironde at Bordeaux: Grenade, Verdun, St. Nicholas, Auvillas, Valence, Leirac, Agen, Porte St. Maria, Aguillon, Tonnéins, Marmande, St. Basile, la Réole, St. Macaire, Langon, Cadillac, Rions, Castres. Then ascending the Dordogne, which falls into the Garonne, are the following castles: St. André, Libourne, Castillon, St. Foy, Bergerac, la Linde, Limeul, St. Cyprian, Dommes, Soulliac. Some of these being English and others French, carried on a war against each other: they would have it so; for the Gascons were never, for thirty years running, steadily attached to any one lord. True it is, that the whole of Gascony submitted to king Edward and to his son the prince of Wales, but the country afterwards, as has been clearly shown in this history, revolted from those English masters. King Charles, son to king John of France, gained by his wisdom, prudence, kind treatment, and great gifts, the affections of their principal barons, such as the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, and others, whom the prince of Wales lost through his pride.

I, the author of this history, was at Bordeaux when the prince of Wales marched to Spain, and witnessed the great haughtiness of the English, who are affable to no other nation than their own; nor could any of the gentlemen of Gascony or Aquitaine, though they had ruined themselves by their wars, obtain office or appointment in their own country; for the English said they were neither on a level with them nor worthy of their society, which made the Gascons very indignant, as they showed on the first opportunity that presented itself. It was on account of the harshness of the prince's manners that the count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth, with other knights and squires, turned to the French interest. King Philip of France, and the good John his son, had lost Gascony by their overbearing pride; and in like manner did the prince. But king Charles, of happy memory, regained them by good humor, liberality, and humility. In this manner the Gascons love to be governed. King Charles, the more firmly to strengthen the connection, married his sister, the lady Isabella de Bourbon, to the lord d'Albreth; by whom he had two fine children, which causes love to endure the longer.

* "Nazareth"—a small town in the Condomis, diocese of Condom.

† "Donnezan"—a small country in the government of Foix, contiguous to Catalonia, about three miles square. Quengut is the chief place.

True it is, that when I lived among these lords at Paris, I once heard the lord d'Albreth use an expression that I noted down. I believe it may have been said in joke: however, it contained, in my opinion, much truth and good sense. A knight from Brittany, who had borne arms for him, inquired after his health, and how he managed to remain steady to the French: when he thus answered; "Thank God, my health is very good; but I had more money at command, as well as my people, when I made war for the king of England, than I have now; for, whenever we took any excursions in search of adventures, we never failed meeting some rich merchants from Toulouse, Condom, la Réole, or Bergerac, whom we squeezed, which made us gay and debonair; but now all that is at an end." The knight, on hearing this, burst into laughter and replied, "In truth, that is the life Gascons love: they willingly hurt their neighbor." On hearing this, I concluded that the lord d'Albreth heartily repented his having turned to the French, in the same manner as the lord de Mucident, who, when made prisoner at Yurac, swore to the duke of Anjou, he would set out for Paris and become ever after a good Frenchman. He did go to Paris, where the king handsomely received him; but he was not treated to his satisfaction, so that he slunk away from the king, and left Paris without taking leave, to return to his own country, where he again became an Englishman, and broke all his engagements with the duke of Anjou. The lords de Rosem, de Duras, and de Langurant, did the same.

Such are the Gascons: they are very unsteady, but they love the English in preference to the French, for the war against France is the most profitable; and this is the cause of their preference.

English and Gascon Lords at Bordeaux.—From an old Black Letter History of Bertrand du Guesclin.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ARRIVAL OF LEON, KING OF ARMENIA, IN FRANCE; ON WHICH OCCASION FROISSART DESCRIBES THE STATE OF GENOA IN HIS TIME, AND RELATES THE DEATH OF THE KING OF CYPRUS.

About this period Léon, king of Armenia,* arrived in France; not indeed with a king-like state, but as one driven from his throne and kingdom, which had all been conquered from him by the Turks, except a castle, situated on the sea-shore, called Courth.† This castle is the key or entrance into Alexandria and the territories of the sultan. The Genoese carry their commerce everywhere, by means of the duties they pay, even to the farther India, and the realm of Prester John:‡ they are universally well received on account of the gold, silver, and rich merchandise they bring from Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, or from the Saracens. It is thus the world is supplied, for what is not in one country is in another: but all this is well known. The Genoese are the most adventurous navigators, and are much superior to the Venetians as lords of the sea, being more feared by the Saracens than any others, and are excellent and determined seamen, and one Genoese galley would attack and probably conquer four galleys of the Saracens.

If the Turks and Tartars have frequently hurt Christendom, the Genoese felt it not; for, being masters of the sea, they could attack the infidels, and had always fifty galleys and large ships guarding the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Candia, and the shores of Greece, as far as Turkey, where they possess the handsome town and castle of Pera, situated on the sea-shore opposite to Constantinople, which is garrisoned at their expense, and supplied with provision and stores three or four times a year. The Turks and Tartars have often attempted to win it, but have always failed, and have lost more than they have gained; for Pera is seated on a rock, with only one entrance, and this the Genoese have well fortified. The Genoese have also Jaffa, which is a strong place, profitable both to them and to all Christendom; for did they not possess Jaffa, and Rhodes, the infidels would invade Naples, and attack Gaietta and Rome: but the strong garrisons of men-at-arms in these two places and their galleys on the sea, hold them in check.

These reasons prevented the infidels making any excursions, except from Constantinople, toward Hungary; but if that noble king of Cyprus, Peter de Lusignan, had longer lived, he would have found the Sultans and Turks more employment than they had met with since the days of Godfrey of Boulogne. Having conquered the cities of Alexandria and Satalia, the infidels, knowing his prowess and enterprise, and fearful of further losses from him, bargained with his brother Jacquet to have him put to death; who himself slew the gallant king in his bed.* It was an infamous act thus to assassinate the valiant king of Cyprus, whose thoughts were solely occupied, day and night, on the means of conquering the holy land, and driving out of it the infidels.

Philip de Mesieres,† being chancellor to the king of Cyprus, had engraven on a monument he erected to him,‡ in the chapter-house of the Celestins at Paris, as follows: "Peter of Lusignan, fifteenth Latin king of Jerusalem, since Godfrey of Boulogne, and king of Cyprus, by his magnanimous prowess and enterprise, conquered in battle, with an army supported at his own cost, the cities of Alexandria in Egypt, Tripoli in Syria, Layas in Armenia, Satalia in Turkey, with several other cities and towns, from the enemies of the faith of Jesus Christ.

"*Anima ejus requiescat in pace.*"

When the Genoese, who were much attached to him, and with reason, heard of his melancholy end, they armed seven galleys, and sent them to Famagousta, which they took by storm and Jacquet in it. They overran the greater part of the island, and would have destroyed the whole had they not feared the consequences; but, the towns being strong and on the frontiers of Turkey, they left them in the hands of the natives. They kept possession of Famagousta, where they amassed great wealth from its plunder, which they carried to Genoa, and also Jacquet, who had murdered his brother, that that the state might determine on his destiny. The late king of Cyprus had a son, whose marriage the Genoese procured, after which they crowned him king.§ Jacquet, though suffered to live, was closely confined in prison. They did not yield up Famagousta; but I am ignorant if they have it at this day. The king of Cyprus died in his bed, and without heirs, to the great grief of the Genoese. I

* In tom. vii. p. 494, of the Fœdra, we find Richard II. had settled a pension of 1000*l.* yearly on Leon, the Christian king of Armenia, who had been driven from his kingdom by the Turks. In former reigns, there had been frequent collections made in England, as well as elsewhere, for supporting those Christian kings against the Turkish power, which, however, at length swallowed them up.—Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, &c. vol. i. p. 213. The Grandes Chroniques de France place the arrival of the king of Armenia in 1835.

† "Whatever may be the name of this castle, and wherever situated, I have no doubt but those who are acquainted with the two Armenias, will think what our author hereafter says very strange. It is not for me to gainsay him: I am satisfied, if he be consistent with himself."—*Marginal note by* D. Sauvage.

‡ The Dalai Lamas was formerly denominated Prester John; and Thibet was the country of Prester John.

* He was assassinated by two lords of his country whom he had offended. Peter tarnished, by his debaucheries and cruelty, the last years of his life, and even the glory he had acquired by his former exploits.—*Art de Verifier les Dates.*

† For further particulars respecting Philip de Mesieres, see a memoir on this subject by M. le Bœuf, in the 17th vol. of les Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c., and also the first vol. pp. 460, 461, of les Antiquités de Paris, par M. Sauval.

‡ *i. e.* The king of Cyprus. In the original it stands, first ecrite du dit Roy de Cipre *sur sa tombe* qui est au chapitre des Celestins, &c.

§ Peter II. or Petrin, ascended the throne in 1372, when twelve years of age, under the regency of his uncles James and John, to the exclusion of his mother. The day of his coronation, there arose a dispute between the bailiffs of Venice and the consuls of Genoa for precedency; and, the court having declared in favor of the Venetians, the Genoese revenged themselves for this affront, in 1373, by conquering the whole island. Only two places made any resistance, Famagousta and Chérines. The first surrendered the 10th October, and was pillaged during three days; the second submitted about the middle of March following. The king was made prisoner, but recovered his liberty by the cession of Famagousta, and the promise of one million of ducats to the Genoese.

In the year 1375, at the solicitation of his mother, he caused his uncle John to be assassinated in his presence, to revenge the death of his father, in which this prince had been a principal actor. Peter died on the 17th of October, 1382, aged twenty-six, without leaving any children by his queen, Valentine, daughter of Bernabo Visconti.

know not who now reigns there; but the year I was in Béarn the lord de Vadenchin, a knight of that country, told me the Genoese had a great share in its government, being masters of Famagousta, and that they had crowned Jacquet* king, in default of heirs. I know not how the devil he escaped from prison, nor out of the hands of the Genoese.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE KING OF ARMENIA RELATES MANY STORIES OF THE TURKS AND TARTARS.

THE king of Armenia, on his first arrival in France, was well entertained by the king and his lords, as was proper, for he had come from a far country. They gained from him information respecting Greece and Constantinople; for he was well questioned concerning the power of the Turks and Tartars, who had driven him out of his kingdom. To their questions he answered, that the cham of Tartary had always made war upon him, and had at last overpowered him. "And this cham of Tartary, is he so powerful?" "That he is indeed; for he has, with the assistance of the sultan, conquered the emperor of Constantinople." The lords then asked if Constantinople were under the law of the Tartars. "Oh no," replied the king: "the cham and sultan having continued the war on Constantinople for a long time, it was at length agreed (for otherwise the emperor would not have had peace) that the emperor of Constantinople, who was son of Hugh de Lusignan and Mary of Bourbon, should give his son in marriage to the cham; but notwithstanding this union, he was to enjoy his laws and privileges.† He was then asked what the count Verd de Savoye had done with his gallant company of knights, squires, and men-at-arms. He replied: "That when the count de Savoye had come to Hungary, he had carried his war as far as he could into Turkey, but had made no great progress into the country; but by his prowess he had conquered the large town of Gallipoli and Limonia:‡ in the last, he left a sufficiency of men to guard it, and, during the life of the king of Cyprus, he had always kept possession of it. The moment the sultan and cham of Tartary heard of the king's death, they were no longer afraid of the emperor of Constantinople, but raised an army of one hundred thousand men, which they marched to Constantinople, and from thence laid siege to Gallipoli, took it by storm, and slew all the Christians within it. They made so deadly a war on the emperor, that he would have lost everything, if it had not been for the attachment the son of the cham had for his daughter, whom he afterwards married. This is a melancholy prospect for the time to come, for the officers of the cham are already in Constantinople, and the Greeks only live there as it were by sufferance from them; if therefore, the princes of the west do not apply a speedy remedy, the Turks will conquer all Greece, and bend it to their faith and laws. They already boast that they will do so; and only laugh at the two popes, one at Rome and the other at Avignon, saying, 'The two gods of Christendom are waging war against each other, by which their government is weakened and easier to be destroyed:' adding, 'that those who ought to attend to this, act with such indifference as to leave it to its own ruin.'"

The king of Armenia was next asked if the sultan of Babylon and the cham of Tartary were the most powerful princes among the infidels, known to the Greeks, on the other side of the mountains. "By no means," he replied; "for the Turks have always been looked to as the most wise and potent in war, as long as they are under an able chief; and this they have had for these last hundred years: although the cham completely governs the emperor of Constantinople, the Turkish chief keeps him also under subjection. The name of their present leader is Amurat, a prudent and able man both in arms and council, of whom, to say the truth, I have not any cause of complaint, for he has never injured me, having carried his war against the king of Hungary." "This Amurat, of whom you speak, is he then of such consequence and power, and so much renowned and feared?" "Yes," replied the king of Armenia; "and even more than I say; for, if the emperor of Constantinople and the king of Hungary are afraid of him, the caliph of Babylon and the cham of Tartary equally dread him. It was supposed, indeed I have heard it from the Tartars, that the cham would have been more hard on the emperor of Constantinople and that country, had he not been afraid of Amurat. He is well acquainted with his jealous temper; and that, the instant he finds any one more powerful than himself, he never rests until he shall have lowered him, and brought him under his subjection. It was the knowledge of this that prevented the cham from doing all he could have done against the emperor of the east."

"Does Amurat keep on foot a large army?" "Yes; he was not thirty years of age before he had an army of one hundred thousand horse, which he always kept in the field, never quartering himself in any large town: besides, he had ten thousand Turks to serve and defend his person. Wherever he marches, he carries his father with him." "How old is he?" "He is full sixty years old, and his father is ninety. Amurat loves the French language, and those who come from France: he says he would rather see the king of France and his state than all the other potentates of the earth. He is greatly pleased when any one talks to him on this subject, and in favor of the lords of that country." "Why does Amurat remain on terms with the cham, since he is so great a conqueror?" "Because the cham is afraid of him, and dares not make war: there are, also, certain ports and towns in Tartary which pay Amurat heavy duties: they are both of the same faith, and will not destroy their law. It has been a great matter of wonder to him that Christians should make war on each other; and he has frequently had an inclination to enter Christendom and conquer all before him. It would have been to my advantage if he had conquered me, rather than the cham of Tartary." They asked the king of Armenia, why it would have been to his advantage, who replied: "Amurat is a man of noble birth; and, were he thirty years younger, is formed to make conquests wherever he should please to march his army. When he conquers any country or town, he only insists on the payment of a tax, leaving every one to follow his own religion; and he has never taken any man's inheritance from him, only requiring the supreme government of the country. It is for these reasons, I say, that if he had conquered Armenia, instead of the Tartars, he would have left me my kingdom and religion, and remained in peace, on my acknowledging him as lord paramount, like other great barons on his frontiers, Greeks and Thracians, who thus acknowledge him, to free themselves from all danger from the caliph of Babylon and the grand cham." "What are the names of these barons?" "I will tell you," answered the king: "first, there is the lord de Satalia, the lord de la Palice, and the lord de Haute-loge: these lords and their territories, by means of the tax they pay to Amurat, remain in peace, and there is neither Turk nor Tartar that dares injure them."* They then asked the king, if Armenia was so totally lost that there were no means of recovering it. "Yes, indeed," he replied, "unless a force superior to the Turks and Tartars cross the mountains and conquer Greece; for excepting the town of Courth, which is the entrance to my kingdom, and as yet remains to Christendom, the infidels have possession of all the rest: and, where the churches used to be, they have placed their idols and their mahomets." "And this town of Courth, is it strong?" "Ay, in God's name is it," said the king of Armenia: "it is not to be taken unless by treachery or a very long siege; for it is situated in a dry spot on the sea-shore, and between two rocks that cannot be approached. Should the Turks or Tartars gain it, and another good town not far distant, called Adelphe,† all Greece must inevitably be lost, and Hungary besides in a short time afterwards." The king of Armenia was asked if Hungary were on the frontiers of the Turks and Tartars. He said it was; but nearer to the Turks and the territories of Amurat than to any other potentate. "It is very extraordinary," they replied, "that Amurat, who is so valorous, and such a conqueror, should leave so near a neighbor in peace." "In God's name," answered the king, "he has not for some time even pretended to keep peace with Hungary, but made such exertions, to the injury of that kingdom, that if an unfortunate accident had not befallen him, he would at this moment have been far advanced in that country." "And what was that accident?" "I will tell you," replied the king.

CHAPTER XXIV.‡

CONTINUATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE WHICH THE KING OF ARMENIA RELATES TO THE BARONS OF FRANCE.

"WHEN Amurat saw that all the adjoining princes feared him, and that the shores of the sea as far as Hungary bounded his dominion, he determined, as the kingdom of Hungary had, by king Frederick's death, devolved on the queen, to declare war and conquer it. He therefore issued a particular summons to his vassals throughout Turkey, which being obeyed, he began his march and encamped in the plains of Satalia, between la Palice and Hauteloge, to strike more fear into his enemies. It was his intention to enter the kingdom of Hungary, notwithstanding it is a country inclosed with high rocks and mountains which make it so much the stronger. He sent before him embassadors and heralds, with a mule laden with a grain called millet, telling them, 'Go you into Hungary, to the count de

* James I. constable of Cyprus, was a hostage at Genoa when his nephew Peter II. died. He was sent home at the demand of his countrymen, who crowned him king. He died in 1398, and was succeeded by Anne of Bavaria, his queen, John, his successor to the throne of Cyprus. Hugh, married to the sole heir of Navarre. Philip, constable of Cyprus. Henry, prince of Galilee. Mary, married to Louis sirnamed Le Grand, king of Naples. Isabella, married to Peter of Cyprus. Cleo died unmarried, 1383.—*Art. de Vérifier les Dates.*

† From art must have been misunderstood, for I see by Anderson's Royal Genealogies, that John Paleologus must have been emperor of Constantinople at this time. He was routed by Cantacuzenus, and restored by the Genoese, to whom he gave Lesbos. He afterwards made peace with Cantacuzenus, made him his colleague, and married his daughter. He died 1386, having reigned forty-six years.

‡ Lemonia is a small island in the Archipelago, near Rhodes, between that island and Stan[illegible].

* Sauvage, in a marginal note, says he would willingly tell where those territories are, but he has not been able to find them out, and thinks there must have been some mistakes in their names.

† "Adelphe." Q. If not meant for Delphos.

‡ Denys Sauvage complains that he cannot understand this chapter, nor the accounts from the Levant. There was not any king of Hungary at that period of the name of Frederick. Lewis the Great reigned in 1342, and his daughter Mary succeeded him 1382. I find myself therefore obliged, like Sauvage, to leave it as I find it.

Lazaran,* whose territories lie among the mountains of Melcabre and Robée, through which we mean our army to pass, and tell him we order and command, if he wish for him-elf and country to remain at peace, that he come and render us obedience, as he knows the lords de Satalia, de la Palice and de Haute-loge have done, and lay open his country for us to pass through. If he should refuse to obey and appear rebellious, tell him from us, that we will pour into his territories, to destroy them, as many heads as you will show you have grains of millet in your bags.' The embassadors instantly departed on receiving these instructions, and arrived in the territory of the count de Lazaran in Hungary: they found him at one of his castles called Archiforme. He received the embassadors from Amurat kindly, and handsomely entertained them, but was much surprised when he saw the mule enter his court laden with he knew not what. He at first imagined it might be gold or precious stones, which Amurat had sent to seduce him to his party, and to bribe him to allow a passage for his army through his country; but he had resolved, that he would never submit to be corrupted by any presents whatever.

"When the embassadors had their audience, they spoke as follows: 'Lord de Lazaran, we are sent hither by that high and mighty prince, our redoubted sovereign, Amurat, lord of Turkey and of all its dependencies: and we tell you from him, that he orders you to place yourself under his obedience in the same form and manner as you know the lords de Satalia, de la Palice and de Haute-loge have done, and that you delay not coming to perform your homage to him, in like manner as your neighbors have done. You will open your country to his army, if you wish to have peace, and by so doing you will greatly enjoy his good favor: but, should you refuse and prove rebellious, we are commanded to say, that our sovereign lord, Amurat, will pour more heads into your country, to destroy it, than there are grains of millet in this bag.' Having said this, he opened the bag to show him its contents. The lord de Lazaran was advised to return a temperate answer, and not discover his thoughts at once. He replied, 'Tie up your bag; I see what is within it, and I have heard from you what Amurat's intentions are: within three days you shall have an answer, for these demands require deliberation.' They replied, 'You say well;' and, in confidence of having an answer, they tarried three days. I will now tell you what the count de Lazaran did during these three days: he got collected and brought to his castle ten thousand head of poultry of all sorts, which he caused to be shut up without any food whatever. On the day appointed for the embassadors to receive their answer, he conducted them to a gallery which overlooked a court, bidding them lean over the rail, and, before he gave them his answer, he would show them something new: they, not thinking what he was about, did as he ordered. Two doors were instantly opened, when all his poultry who had been starving for two days rushed out; and the millet bag being opened, and its contents scattered about, the whole was devoured in less than half an hour, and more would have been eaten if they could have had it. The count de Lazaran then, turning toward the embassadors, said: 'My fair sirs, you have seen how the millet you have brought hither, from your master, with many menaces, has been destroyed by this poultry, who would have destroyed more had they had it?' 'Yes,' replied they, 'but wherefore do you mention it?' 'Because you have your answer in what you have witnessed and in the fact you have seen. Amurat threatens that, unless I obey him, he will pour into my country men-at-arms without number, to destroy it: tell him from me, I wait for him, and that with whatever force he come, he shall be destroyed in the same manner as the fowls have destroyed your millet.' The embassadors, on receiving this answer, became quite pensive. They took leave of the count, and travelled by short days' journeys, until they came to where Amurat and his army lay. They related to him all that the count de Lazaran had done and said, and that he seemed to hold his menaces very cheap. Amurat was very wroth on hearing this answer, and swore that things should not remain as they were; but that he would enter the territories of the count whether he would or not, and lay waste all his lands, in revenge for his insolent answer.

"I will now tell you what the count de Lazaran did, since war had been denounced against him, which he knew would be speedily followed otherwise than by words. He instantly made preparations of stores and provision, and sent expresses to inform his knights and squires, and all those capable of bearing arms, that Amurat was about to invade Hungary, and to order them to guard valiantly all the passes into the country, and join him as speedily as may be, for there was no time for delay. Amurat remained with his army on the plains of Haute-loge. As it was to defend Christendom, all the knights to whom the count had written obeyed his orders and came to him, as did many more to whom he had not sent, but who had heard it accidentally, to support the faith and destroy the infidels. The count had the forests cut down and thrown across the roads Amurat was to pass, which he expected would have a great effect in checking the Turks on their march. The count, accompanied by ten thousand Hungarians and as many cross-bows, intrenched himself and men on each side of a pass through which he knew Amurat must march. He had also with him two thousand peasants, armed with axes and wedges, to fell the timber and block up the road on a signal given. When everything was prepared, the count said: 'Without doubt Amurat will come hither, for he has sent me word he would do so; be therefore steady and valiant in defending this pass, for, should it be won by the Turks, all Hungary is in danger of being conquered. We are strongly posted, and one man here is equal to four. It will be more for our honor to perish in the field, defending the faith of JESUS CHRIST, than to live in bondage under these dogs of infidels, notwithstanding the courage and ability of Amurat.' 'Sir,' replied they unanimously, 'we will with you abide the event: let the Turks come when they will, we are ready to receive them.' The Turks were quite ignorant of all this; for the count, fearful lest his plans should be discovered by Amurat's spies, and revealed to him, had posted some of his most confidential friends between him and the enemy, to prevent any communication whatever between the two armies.

"Amurat was not forgetful of his menace, but declared he would visit the territories of the count de Lazaran, in such a manner that he should remember it; for he was unwilling to be thought a liar in breaking his promise. Having selected sixty thousand men, for he had two hundred thousand men in his camp, he gave the command of them to four captains attached to his household and faith; their names were, the duke Mansion of Mecca, the governor of Damietta, Alphalory de Samarie, andthe prince de Corde, surnamed Brachin, to whom he said, on their leaving him, "You will march these men, whom I put under your command, a number sufficient to open a passage into Hungary, to the lands of the lord de Lazaran, which you will completely destroy by fire and sword. As soon as I shall be informed of your arrival there, I will follow with the remainder of my army; for I am resolved to have Hungary under my obedience, and afterwards the empire of Germany. The wizards of my country, and the diviners of Egypt, have pronounced that I am destined to be king of all the world; but the place that I would most willingly visit is Rome; for, in ancient times, it formed part of our inheritance: and our predecessors have conquered and governed it several times. I will lead with me le Galifre de Baudas, the cham of Tartary, and the sultan of Babylon, who shall there crown me.' The captains, who were on their knees, replied, they would cheerfully obey his commands, and then marched off with the sixty thousand men. Among them were twenty thousand of the most able and best armed men of the Turkish army, who formed the van battalion. When they came to the mountains on the frontiers of Lazaran, the van, finding no one to oppose them, entered them, under the command of the duke of Mecca, and the governor of Damietta, and passed the ambuscade of the count de Lazaran. As soon as the count and the Hungarians saw they had entrapped their foe, they began to work, by cutting down the forest trees and laying them across the road, so that it was quite impossible for the Turks to retreat or advance, for the passage was entirely blocked up.

"Thus were twenty thousand Turks inclosed, who were so vigorously attacked by the Hungarians from each side of the forest, and with such good effect, that all were slain. Not one escaped death, not even the two commanders. Some attempted to fly, but were pursued through the wood and killed. The rear division, unable to advance through the fallen forest, returned to Amurat, and related the unfortunate event which had happened to his army. He was very pensive on hearing it, and summoned his council to consider what was to be done, as he had lost the flower of his army." The king of Armenia, having thus finished his history of the defeat of the Turks, resumed the account of his own melancholy situation, to the king of France and his uncles. They took compassion on him, because he had come from such a distant part of the world as Greece to seek aid and comfort; and being a king driven out of his realm, without any means of keeping up his state, or even supporting himself, as his complaints evidently showed. The king of France, young as he was, said: "We will, that the king of Armenia, who has come to us in hopes of assistance, have allowed him wherewithal to maintain his dignity, suitable to his rank, as he is a king like ourself; and when we are able, he shall have men-at-arms to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom; for we have a very good inclination to do so, being bound to support the Christian faith."

The speech of the king was applauded by all. His uncles and council were willing to fulfil these commands; and a proper allowance was ordered to be paid to the king of Armenia monthly, from the chamber of accounts, to keep up his state. The sum allowed was six thousand francs yearly; and he had five thousand presented him, to provide himself with plate and other smaller necessaries. The palace of St. Ouen, near St. Denis, was likewise given to him for his residence. Such assistance did the king of Armenia receive on his first arrival in France, which was constantly increasing. He was at times much with the king, particularly at all the grand festivals.*

* Sauvage says in a note, "According to Paul Jovius and father Anthony Geoffrai, his proper name was Lazarus, despot or lord of Servia, formerly called by the Romans Missia Inferior."

This probably is the person called by Froissart the lord de Lazaran.

"Servia made formerly part of Mœsia, Illyria and Pannonia. At the fall of the Roman empire, it belonged to the Servians, who had come thither from Sarmatia in Asia. It had afterwards its own despots, some of whom depended on the kings of Hurgary. The last had the misfortune to be captured in battle, and his army cut to pieces by Amurat I. in the 14th century."

See Servie, in the Encyclopédie par Ordre des Matières

* Sauval, in his Antiquities of Paris, copies Froissart in the account of the reception of the king of Armenia by the court of Charles VI.; but adds, from Juvenal des Ursins, that this prince was not so wretched in his fortune, having saved many jewels, and even some of his treasure, when he fled from the Tartars. He was a fruitless negotiator of

CHAPTER XXV.

DURING THESE WARS OF THE TURKS, DISSENSIONS CONTINUE BETWEEN THE TWO POPES, URBAN VI. AND CLEMENT VII. FRIAR JOHN DE LA ROCHE-TAILLARD DELIVERS A GOOD APOLOGUE, RESPECTING THE PAPACY, TO THE CARDINALS.

About this period, Otho of Brunswick came to pope Clement at Avignon, to receive his pay for the war he had carried on for the pope and church against the Romans and Bartholomew Prignano, who styled himself pope Urban VI. as you have before seen in this history. He remonstrated with the pope and cardinals on various topics, to which they attentively listened; but, as for his pay, he could not obtain one penny, the treasury being so empty that the cardinals were unable to get what was their due. Sir Otho, therefore, left them much discontented; but, before he set out for Avignon, they gave him one thousand francs, which he held cheap, and the war of the pope was greatly weakened, for sir Otho would not henceforward concern himself about it. Besides, Margaret de Duras, duchess of Anjou,* who resided at Gaietta, sent for his assistance against the Neapolitans. Sir Otho balanced for a time, not knowing which side to take; some of the council advising him to aid Margaret in the defence of her realm, and take her to wife, as she had not any objection and was of noble birth, and by this means they told him that he might become king of the country: but others advised the contrary, lest it might have an unfavorable issue; for her children by the duke of Anjou, who had been crowned king in Bari, were young, and had many relations and friends, especially in the king of France their cousin-german, who would certainly support their claims, as well as the lady Jane, duchess dowager of Anjou, who would have great weight. Sir Otho was so long doubtful between the two parties that at length neither had him.

About this time, the forces subsidized by pope Clement, under the command of the lord de Moetroye, a right valiant knight from the country of Geneva and Savoy, sir Talebert, a knight of Rhodes, and sir Bernard de la Salle, had shut up pope Urban in the city of Perugia. He was much straitened, and on the point of being made captive. I was told it depended only on the payment of twenty thousand crowns; for count Conrad, a leader of a large body of Germans, would have delivered him up to pope Clement for that sum. Sir Bernard de la Salle was sent to Avignon to inform the pope, and to remonstrate with him and the cardinals on the subject, but in vain with regard to the money, for the court was so poor that he could not obtain anything, and returned, very discontented, to the siege of Perugia. The siege was slackened on both sides, and Urban escaped from this danger to Rome, where he remained.

I know that in times to come, these things will be wondered at, and it will be a matter of astonishment how the church could fall into such troubles, and those of so long a duration. It was a punishment sent by God, to make the clergy feel and consider the great pomp and superfluities they possessed: but many paid no attention to it, being so swollen with pride and arrogance, that each would imitate his superiors, and thus was religion little regarded; and if the Holy Spirit, who enlightens the hearts of the devout, had not kept them steady, and in unison, it would have been severely shaken, if not lost. The great proprietors of land, who at the first were such noble benefactors to the church, now make a joke of it, even at the time I was writing and chronicling this history, in the year of grace 1390; at which the commonalty were much surprised, and wondered why such great lords as the kings of France and Germany, and the other great princes of Christendom, did not provide a remedy for it. But, to satisfy the people and excuse the great barons, I must say, that as there cannot be a yolk of an egg without its white, nor a white without the yolk, so neither the clergy nor the lords can exist independently of each other; for the lords, not being ruled by the clergy, would degenerate into beasts.

I will say, that in my time I have for certain seen much of mankind; whether for my own amusement, or in travelling to learn the history of what passes in the world relative to deeds and adventures in arms, which are described in this book; but I have never met with any lord, except the count de Foix, who had not his minions, pages, and jesters, most honorably entertained. The count de Foix had none such; for he was naturally grave, and of great good sense, which was of more value than anything they could have afforded him. I do not say, that those lords who are attended by minions* are mad; they are worse than mad, for they are blind having two eyes.

When information of this disputed choice was first brought to king Charles of France, of happy memory, he paused, and left it to his clergy; who, having considered the matter, resolved that pope Clement had been truly elected. To this opinion the kings of France, Castille, and Scotland assented; and, notwithstanding the schism which was caused in the church, these three kings, being allied together, remained steady to Clement; but the kings of England and Portugal were of a contrary way of thinking. The earl of Flanders had formed his creed as you have heard in this history; for he would acknowledge pope Clement, because he had, at the first conclave, voted for the cardinal of Bari, and because, while cardinal of Geneva, he had written to the earl to say Urban had been legally elected pope, for which reason the earl of Flanders considered his as the true one as long as he lived. The emperor and all Germany, with the king of Hungary, acknowledged Urban.

While writing of these dissensions that happened in my time both in the state and in the church (which was somewhat shaken thereby,) and it is to be understood that the great landed proprietors were acting like hypocrites, it comes to my remembrance how in my young days, during the reign of pope Innocent, at Avignon, there was confined in prison a learned clerk, called Friar John de la Roche-taillade. This friar, as I have been told by several privately, for it was never talked of in public, foretold, while in prison, many of the great events which would happen shortly in the world, more especially those that related to France. He prophesied the capture of king John of France, and the misfortunes that were to befal the church from the pride and arrogance of those who governed it. It was said, that during his imprisonment he was brought to the pope's palace, when the cardinal of Ostia, commonly called cardinal of Arras, and the cardinal of Auxerre, disputed with him on these subjects. Friar John gave them for answer the following apologue: "In former days a bird was hatched without any feathers. When the other birds heard of this, they went to see him, for he was fair and pleasant to look on. Having considered, that without feathers he could not fly, nor without flying live—which, however, they were determined to assist him in, for he was a prodigiously handsome bird—they resolved that every bird should give him some of his feathers. The best feathered gave most, so that he was soon enabled to fly. The other birds took much pleasure in seeing him. When this bird saw himself thus in feather, and that all the birds paid him great honor, he grew proud, and not only held those cheap who had made him so, but pecked and drove them from him. The birds held an assembly to consider how they should act, in consequence of the treatment they received from this bird whom they had clothed, and who now despised them. The peacock said, 'He is too finely dressed in my feathers: I will take them from him.' 'In God's name,' said the falcon, 'so will I mine.' The other birds said they would do the same, and immediately began to unfeather him. The bird, on seeing this, humbled himself greatly, and acknowledged the honors and wealth he had received; and that his fine feathers were not his own, for he had come into the world naked and featherles; and those who had feathered him might, if they chose, retake them. He cried out for mercy, and promised, henceforward, never to risk, by pride or presumption, the loss of his feathers. The gallant birds who had plucked him, seeing him thus humbled in his deportment, restored his feathers; but said, on giving them back, 'We will gladly see thee fly among us, as long as thou shalt bear thyself meekly, for so it becometh thee; but if ever thou shalt act arrogantly, we will pluck thee bare, and leave thee in the naked state we found thee.' Thus, my fair sirs," said friar John to the cardinals, "will it happen to you. The emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, have given you wealth, and power, and possessions, that you may serve God; but you expend it in pomp, luxury, and all extravagances. Why do you not read the life of St. Silvester,* the first pope who succeeded St. Peter, and weigh well the conditions on which the emperor Constantine gave the tithes to the church? St. Silvester did not travel with two or three hundred attendants on horseback, but lived simply and retired at Rome, solely with his churchmen, when the angel, through God's grace, appeared to announce that the emperor Constantine, then an infidel and unbeliever, had sent for him. It had likewise been revealed to the emperor, by the angel of the lord, that Silvester would put him in the way of being cured of his leprosy; for he was so ill of that disorder, his limbs were rotting. On his arrival, he pointed out to him his cure,

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peace between England and France, and was sent to Boulogne, with others on this subject. He died in 1383, in the palace of Tournelles, situated in the street of St. Anthony, opposite the royal hôtel of St. Pol, where the kings of France usually resided. He was buried in the church of St. Celestins, after the manner of his own country, his friends clothed in white, carrying torches of white wax: his body, dressed in royal robes of the the same color, was laid upon a white bed of state, and his head encircled with a crown of gold. At this funeral ceremony, many of the princes and great lords assisted, and crowds of common people.—*Antiquités de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 251.

Holingshed says, Leo, king of Armenia, came to England and received a pension of £1000 from Richard II.; the object of his visit was to make peace between the two countries of France and England.

* The text which Mr. Johnes here follows is essentially different from that of D. Sauvage and more recent French editions, and lord Berners, and is moreover not consonant to the truth. Margaret of Duras was not duchess of Anjou, but widow of Charles Duras, king of Naples, the competitor of Louis, duke of Anjou, for that kingdom. According to D. Sauvage, &c., the passage should run as follows: "Besides Margaret of Duras, who resided at Gaietta, and was opposed to the queen of Naples, widow of king Louis duke of Anjou, begged his assistance to make war on the Neapolitans. Sir Otho balanced for a time, not knowing which side to take. Some of his council advised him to take part with Margaret of Duras, who was heiress of Naples and Sicily, and assist her to defend and keep her heritage, and to take her to wife, as she was very willing to have him for a husband, he being of noble and high lineage; and he would thus become king and lord of the countries which she claimed. Others advised him to the contrary; for the children of king Louis, who had been crowned in the city of Bari, were young and had numerous friends and relations, especially the king of France, who were willing to assist them; and their lady mother, queen Joan, duchess of Anjou and Maine, was a woman of great intrigue. All these doubts were laid before him by his council. Sir Otho held back and hesitated so long that he lost both parties." We should here observe, that Margaret of Duras was not heiress of the kingdom of Naples, but regent during the minority of her son Ladislas.—Ed.

* *Marmousets.*

† Silvester was the thirty second pope, reckoning St. Peter as the first.—*Art de vérifier les Dates.*

by means of baptism. He was baptized and cured, which so strongly impressed his mind with the goodness of God, that he believed, and made his empire believe also. He gave to Silvester and to the church all tithes, which he had before held himself, with many other rich gifts and territories, for the augmentation of our faith and church. It was his intention that these should be prudently and properly governed, and not with pomp and pride as is now done; for which the Lord is wroth, and his anger will be much increased against you in times to come. Should the nobles excuse themselves from giving support to the church, and grow cold in their devotions, and perhaps retake what they have given, it must speedily be destroyed."

Thus spoke friar John to the cardinals, who were much astonished thereat, and would have put him to death, but they could not find out any just cause for it. They suffered him to live, but confined him a close prisoner; for he proposed such deep questions, and examined so closely the Scriptures, that he might perhaps, had he been at liberty, have led the world astray. However, many things were seen to happen, which he had foretold in prison, and which he proved from the apocalypse. His proofs saved him sometimes from being burnt, and some of the cardinals took compassion on him, and did not oppress him as they might have done.

We will now leave these narrations and return to the principal matters of this history, the affairs of Spain, Portugal, France, and England, and say what events were passing there worthy of being recorded.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REASONS WHY THE PORTUGUESE PREFER THE GRAND MASTER OF AVIS FOR THEIR KING TO DON JOHN, KING OF CASTILLE, WHO HAD MARRIED BEATRICE, DAUGHTER OF DON FERDINAND, LATE KING OF PORTUGAL.

You have before heard how don John, son of don Pedro, king of Portugal, and bastard brother to the late king, had gained possession of the crown, through the boldness of four of the principal towns in Portugal; for the nobles and knights ought not to be inculpated in the matter, as they had ever borne themselves loyally to don John of Castille, who had married Beatrice, the daughter and heiress of don Ferdinand. Many, however, were of opinion she was a bastard, being the daughter of a Portuguese lady, whose husband, a knight of Portugal, was still living.* The king of Portugal having seized his wife, married her; and the knight left the country and resided with the king of Castille: he never returned to Portugal, notwithstanding his noble birth, through fear of the king.

This opinion of her being a bastard was the more extraordinary, as don Ferdinand considered her as legitimate, having received dispensations from pope Urban VI. to that purpose. When peace was concluded between the kings of Castille and Portugal, don John Ferdinand Audère, who ruled the Portuguese council, proposed a marriage between the daughter of his king, and don John, king of Castille, who was at that time a widower. The council of Castille, when this union was proposed, had mentioned their doubts of the legitimacy of the lady's birth; and to satisfy the king of Castille, don Ferdinand made his principal barons and nobles of Portugal swear, that after his decease, they would consider her as their queen, and would unite their kingdom to Castille. He had also forced the principal towns to promise the same, and to acknowledge the king of Castille as their king, under a penalty of two hundred thousand francs. The Lisboners, having put to death don Ferdinand Audère, because he had interfered in this business, and exerted himself, at the king of Portugal's death, to have it confirmed, elected the master of Avis, and would have no other king. They said, that were Portugal to be turned topsy-turvy, they would never submit to Castille, nor to the Castillians, so greatly did they hate each other. The Lisboners were the great instigators of this dispute; they said the lady Beatrice could not be their queen, for she was a bastard, a thorough bastard; and, during the life-time of don Ferdinand, and now when he is dead, Lorenzo d'Acunha, the husband of her mother, still exists. For this reason, the four cities of Lisbon, Coimbra, Ourique, and Oporto, elected don John, and crowned him king of Portugal. They would have a king from among themselves, and noticed the great affection the commonalty had for the master of Avis.

One of the chief causes for this hatred of the Portuguese to the Castillians, was, that after the marriage had been concluded between the king of Castille with don Ferdinand's daughter, and it had been agreed that Portugal should, after the death of don Ferdinand, revert to Castille; wherever the Castillians met the Portuguese, they mocked them, and said, they should return under their obedience whether they would or not; that they would keep them in subjection and slavery, and teach them, like Jews and slaves, to obey their wills. The Portuguese replied, they would never be under theirs nor the subjection of any men in the world. Owing to such reproaches, they elected the grand-master of Avis king, who was bastard son to don Pedro, king of Portugal. Don Ferdinand, during his reign, paid no attention to his brother, nor ever imagined the Portuguese would, after his decease, choose him their king, to the disparagement of his daughter; but so they did; and don Ferdinand Audère was in the right, when he advised the king to have him put to death, for the people had too great an affection for him. The king would never consent to this, saying that the people had no power over the nobility of the realm; and that his son-in-law, the king of Castille, was powerful enough to punish any rebellion that might break out; that he had no just cause to imprison him nor put him to death; and besides, his brother was of a religious order, and possessed great wealth, without thinking of the crown of Portugal. These were the reasons why he escaped death.

All these are well-known facts; for I, the author of this history, was told them by the nobles of Portugal. It was certainly strange they should choose a bastard for their king: but they found none nearer in blood to the crown; for they declared that the queen of Castille, daughter of the lady Leonora d'Acunha, being a bastard, should never possess the crown of Portugal, nor should any of her descendants. The count de Foix was of a similar opinion, as he told the knights when he gave them an entertainment on leaving his country for Portugal; for he is perfectly well informed, though he resides at Orthès, of everything that passes in Castille or Portugal. When his knights departed, he said: "Gentlemen, you have not any business to interfere in the disputes between Castille and Portugal; for the queen of Castille, daughter of don Ferdinand king of Portugal, has no claim to that crown. This war is begun foolishly, and with much bitterness: you may therefore, as well as those who first stirred it up, heartily repent when it is too late." They replied, "that having received earnest of pay from so great a lord as don John of Castille, they were bound to serve him." He then suffered them to go: but, as I have before related, the greater part never returned home again.

* Ferdinand, at the conclusion of the war between him and Henry de Trastamare king of Castille, engaged to marry Henry's daughter. This he did not perform, married Leonora Tellez, the wife of Lorenzo d'Acunha.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROISSART TRAVELS TO MIDDLEBURGH IN ZEALAND, TO MAKE INQUIRIES FROM A KNIGHT, WHO IS GOING TO PRUSSIA, OF THE AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL.

We will not yet quit the affairs of Portugal, as they ought not to be forgotten; but the grand feats of arms which took place there should be chronicled, that those who come after our time may find them related and written down. It would be pity they were annihilated: and it was by means of clerks of former days, who enregistered histories, that facts are now known, for there is no memory equal to writing. In truth, I must say, and I wish those who in after times shall come may know the fact, that I have taken infinite pains to seek out the truth of what was passing in my day, and have travelled through many a kingdom and over many countries for this purpose. I have been personally acquainted with many valiant men, as well in France, England, Castille, Portugal, as in the duchies and countries adjoining, and with their companions in war, from whom I have never failed asking many questions for my information; and I have never willingly neglected, after having heard any fact, making every possible inquiry to know the truth of it.

During the time I resided with the gallant count Gaston de Foix at Béarn, I heard many of the transactions which happened in Portugal; but on my return home to Valenciennes in Hainault, having rested myself a while, my passion for the history I had begun was renewed, and I bethought myself that I could not impartially continue it, having only heard that side of the question which related to the king of Castille. It was proper therefore, if I wished to avoid partiality, to hear what the Portuguese had to say, as I had listened to the Gascons and Spaniards in the castle of Foix, and upon the road in going thither and in returning. Indifferent as to bodily fatigue, I set out for Bruges, expecting to meet some Portuguese and Lisboners, as many of that nation are generally there: I was most fortunate in my journey, for it was told me, and I since found it true, that if I had considered for seven years, I could not have come more opportunely to Bruges than at that moment. I had only to go to Middleburgh in Zealand, where I should find a valiant knight of Portugal, and of the king's council, called don Juan de Portelet, who would give me a true account of the events that had passed in Portugal

a party concerned in all of them: he was but lately arrived, intending to embark for Prussia, whither his valor had led him. This intelligence rejoiced me much, and I set out from Bruges in company with a Portuguese well acquainted with the knight. On our arrival at Sluys, we embarked, and, thanks to God, arrived safely at Middleburgh. I made myself acquainted, through my companion, with the knight, whom I found prudent, honorable, gracious and pleasant. I remained with him about

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er good people of Middleburgh. In his company was one son of the count de Novaire,* in

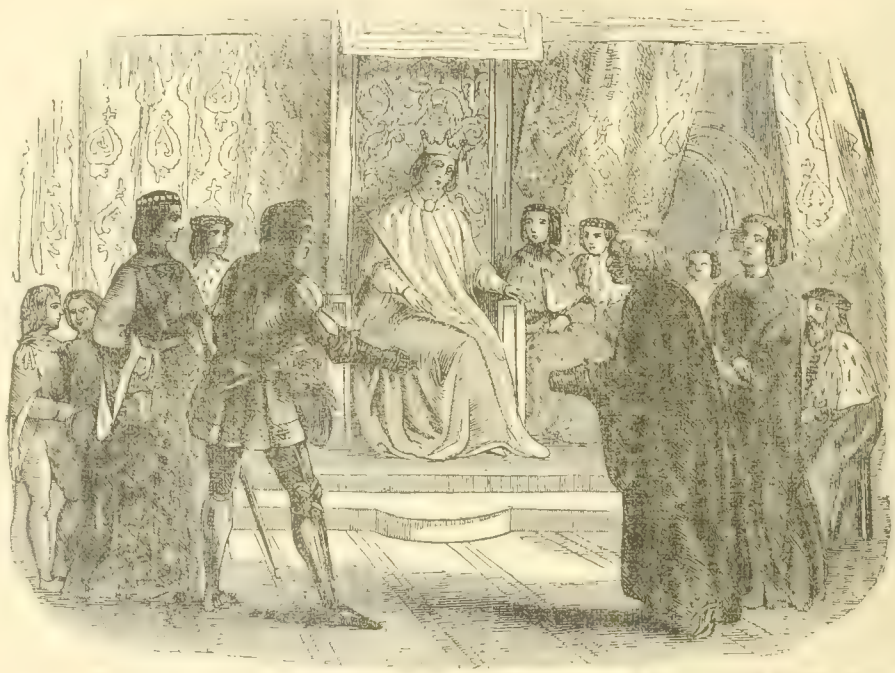
* Ferreira.—Ed.

Portugal, and other knights and squires from those parts: but greater respect was paid to don Juan than to any of the others: and certainly from what I saw, he was very deserving of it, for he was a handsome well-made man, formed for vigorous exploits. I returned thence, through Bruges, home, where I chronicled all I had heard from don Juan Fernando de Portelet, relative to what had passed in the realms of Portugal and Castille until the year of our Lord 1390.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PORTUGUESE, AFTER THE BATTLE OF ALJUBAROTA, SEND EMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND, TO INFORM THE KING AND HIS NOBLES OF THAT EVENT.

After don John had defeated the Spaniards at the battle of Aljubarota, which took place, as we have heard, near the monastery of Alcobaçar, whereat were slain such numbers of knights and squires from France, Gascony, and Castille, he returned triumphant to Lisbon, his head crowned with laurel, like the Roman conquerors of old. The Portuguese highly honored him for his courage and victory; and, after many grand festivals, a parliament was held by the barons, knights, and magistrates from the principal towns, on the state of the kingdom, and on the means by which they could best persevere in what they had been so fortunate in commencing. The wisest among them said, now was the time to strengthen themselves, so that they might be enabled to withstand the power of the king of Castille, and enjoy with honor to themselves the fruits of their victory. This conference was holden in the cathedral church of St. Dominick, at Lisbon, where many proposals were made, but not such as were worth recording. It was at last determined to send to the duke of Lancaster, who claimed the crown of Castille, in right of the lady Constance, his duchess, eldest daughter to don Pedro the Cruel, and indite letters to him in such words as these: That if ever he wished to claim the kingdom of Castille, and not surrender his right, which had been some time in suspense and nearly lost, now was the time for him to hasten to Portugal, well accompanied by men-at-arms and archers.



EMBASSADORS OF PORTUGAL the Grand Master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse, presented to Richard II. by the Duke of Lancaster. Designed from contemporary sculptures and illuminations.

The count de Novaire,* constable of Portugal, thus spoke at the conference: "Since we have determined to send to the duke of Lancaster, from whom we hope to have counsel and assistance, and it is the wisest measure we can take to make us feared by our enemies, let us select the best informed and properest persons to carry our message to England, so that the duke may be induced to come hither with such a force as may enable him, with what he receives from us, to oppose and conquer his enemy. We may well suppose the king of Castille will call for aid from the king of France, and the French, as they know not where to seek adventures, for there is truce between France and England until St. John the Baptist's day, and peace is now established between France and the Flemings, who have found them full employment for several years past."

This speech of the constable was much applauded, and his advice followed. It was then ordered that the grand-master of the order of St. James, in the kingdom of Portugal, and Lawrence Fongasse, an able and prudent squire, and who understood and spoke the French language well, should set out for England; for, according to the opinion of the king's council, there could not be found abler men to execute this business. Letters were drawn up in French and Latin, addressed to the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, and his uncles of Cambridge and Buckingham. When they had been fairly engrossed, they were read to the king and his council, who, finding them properly done, had them sealed and delivered to the envoys, the grand-master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse, who engaged to carry them to England, if God permitted, and if they should escape from enemies and robbers; for there are as many, if not more, on the sea than on land.

Having freighted a vessel called a lin, which keeps nearer the wind than any other, they took leave of the king, the bishop of Coimbra, and the council of Portugal, and embarked for England. The wind was favorable, and they were three days without seeing anything but sky and water; on the fourth they discovered the land of Cornwall. By God's aid, and favorable winds, from which their mariners knew how to profit, they arrived in safety at Southampton, where they anchored. When they disembarked, to refresh themselves in the town, they were summoned before the bailiff, who demanded whence they came and whither they were going. On answering that they were from Portugal, and sent by the king and his council, they were made very welcome. After they had allowed themselves some rest, they were provided with horses for their own use and that of their attendants, and with guides to conduct them to London, for they were quite ignorant of the country and roads. On leaving Southampton, they continued their journey until they arrived in London, where they dismounted in Gracechurch, at the hotel of the Falcon, kept by Thomelin de Winchester, and then sent back their horses and guides to Southampton

Fortunately for them, the king and his court were at the time at Westminster, which rejoiced them much. Being arrived at London, about nine o'clock they sat down to dinner; when that was over, having selected their letters for the duke and duchess of Lancaster, they waited on them. The duke and duchess were desirous to see them, as they were anxious for news from Portugal. They had indeed heard some rumors from that quarter, but had not believed them, as they had not received any letters which tended to confirm the report. The grand-master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse, were conducted into their presence, and the latter, on account of his facility in the French language, was the spokesman. After his salutations, he gave the duke the letters he had brought from Portugal, who, opening them, gave the duchess that which was addressed to her. Having each read them, the duke said, "You are welcome, gentlemen, to this country: we will to-morrow attend the king, and you shall have assistance, as it is but reasonable you should." The duchess, taking Lawrence apart, asked the news of Castille and Portugal, and what was going on in those parts. Lawrence, having made exact answers to all the lady's questions, the duke ordered wine and spices, of which the envoys partook, and then returned to their hotel. On the morrow, by six o'clock, they again waited on the duke, who had heard mass, and entering a large barge, rowed up the Thames to Westminster, where the king and the greater part of his council resided.

The duke of Lancaster made them enter the council-chamber, and addressing the king, said, "My lord, here is the grand-master of St. James in Portugal, who brings you letters: will you please to see them?" "Willingly," replied the king. Upon which, the two

* Nuño Alvarez Pereira. He was created constable of Portugal by the master of Avis, to whom he rendered essential services in aiding him to obtain the crown. Nuño Alvarez is celebrated in Portuguese history as the [illegible] time.—Ed.

embassadors, kneeling, presented the letters, which the king having taken, he made them rise, and then opened and read them. They also gave letters to the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham.

The king replied very graciously to the embassadors, saying, "You are welcome to this country, and your coming has given us much pleasure. You will not immediately return, nor without having letters to your satisfaction. Make my fair uncles acquainted with your business, who will attend to it, and not allow it to slip their memories." They answered on their knees, "Very dear lord, we will cheerfully so do." They then quitted the council-chamber, and amused themselves in the palace, waiting for the duke of Lancaster, who remained in conference until high noon. When the parliament rose, the duke carried his two brothers, with the embassadors, in his barge to dine with him. The earl of Cambridge was well acquainted with the grand-master and Lawrence Fongasse, as he had known them in Portugal. After dinner he began a conversation with them in the presence of his brothers, and asked about the marriage of the lady Beatrice, who was to have been his daughter-in-law, and how she went on. The embassadors gave such answers as satisfied the company.

Before the arrival of these embassadors, the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge had held frequent conferences respecting Castille; for the earl, as you have heard, was greatly displeased with the late king of Portugal, for having remained fifteen days with his army in sight of that of Castille without coming to an engagement. The earl had pointedly remarked this fault, by saying, "I have only with me, sir king, one hundred lances and a thousand archers; but I would have you and your barons know that we have unanimously resolved to risk a battle with our enemies, and abide whatever be the event God may please to ordain." King Ferdinand replied, that neither himself nor council thought it advisable to offer battle. Upon this, the earl of Cambridge left the country, carrying his son John with him to England.* When he was departed, the king of Portugal offered his daughter to the king of Castille, to strengthen the peace, by the advice of don Fernando Audère, in whom alone he put confidence. The king of Portugal asked his daughter whom she would prefer for her husband, the king of Castille or John of Cambridge: she answered, "The last." The king demanded, "Why?" "Because he is a handsome youth, of her own age, and because she wished to avoid being united to the king of Castille," who, she plainly said, was not to her liking. The king, notwithstanding, to preserve peace, as their kingdoms adjoined each other, married her to the king of Castille.

The earl of Cambridge was also much dissatisfied with don Fernando Audère, who had taken great pains to conclude a peace on the grounds of this match. He had told his brother that he much suspected the Portuguese would rebel against the lady Beatrice, after her father's death; for the majority of the people, although the king had espoused the lady Eleanora d'Acunha, considered her as a bastard; and, when he was there, great were the murmurs about it, and this is one reason why he had so hastily brought his son thence. The duke of Lancaster, whom these circumstances affected more nearly, having married the old heiress of the late king of Castille, by whom he had a daughter called Constance, was anxious to learn as much as possible respecting the affairs of Castille, and not suffer his claim to remain longer in a state of suspense. He perceived that he never could have a more convenient entrance into that country than through Portugal; more especially as king John was so desirous for him to come thither, and the king of England and his council had consented thereto. He looked on don John as valiant and wise, and honored him much for the victory he had won over the Castillians. That he might gain more information as to the real state of Portugal, together with the claims the lady Beatrice had on that crown, and the reasons why the commonalty had elected the grand-master of Avis their king, he invited the embassadors to a private dinner; when it was over, he ordered all the attendants out of his apartment, and called the grand-master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse most kindly to him, and began to converse on the affairs of Portugal; but, as Lawrence spoke French so fluently, he addressed himself to him, saying, "Lawrence, I entreat you will relate to me everything that has happened in Portugal since my brother left it; for the king of Portugal writes me word, that no one can give me such exact information as yourself; and by so doing you will very much oblige me." "My lord," replied the squire, "your pleasure shall be obeyed;" and he immediately began to this effect.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LAWRENCE FONGASSE, ONE OF THE EMBASSADORS FROM PORTUGAL TO ENGLAND, RELATES TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER THE EVENTS WHICH HAD HAPPENED IN PORTUGAL SINCE THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE HAD LEFT IT.

"The kingdom of Portugal has been in great trouble since the departure of the earl of Cambridge; but, thanks to God, all has turned out well, and affairs are now on a steady footing. If the Lord had not interfered, matters must have ended badly, and all from the fault of don Fernando our last king, as was generally reported, and believed by the more sensible part of the nation. King Fernando fell desperately in love with the wife of one of his knights, called Lorenzo d'Acunha, and was so much enamored he would have her by force: the lady made the best defence she could, but at length he succeeded, and told her he would make her queen of Portugal, for that, if he was smitten with her charms, it was not to lower her, but on the contrary to exalt and marry her. 'Ah, my lord!' replied the lady, with tears and on her knees, 'I beg your grace's pardon: I can never have the honor of being queen of Portugal; for you know, as well as all the world, that I have a husband, to whom I have been married these five years.' 'Leonora,' said the king, 'that shall not prevent it; for I will never have any other woman to wife since I have enjoyed you; but I will have you divorced from your husband before I make you my bride.' The lady could not obtain any other answer, and related all that had passed to her husband. The knight on hearing it was very melancholy, and bethought himself what was to be done; he resolved at first never to quit his wife; but, suspecting the king's designs, he set out from Portugal toward Castille, where he was well received by king Henry and appointed of his household, which appointment he held during his life, and was continued in the same by his successor don John.

"The king of Portugal, to gratify his foolish passion, sent for the lady and her husband; but the knight was gone. He then sent for the bishop of Coimbra, who was chancellor of the kingdom and of his council, and told him of his intention of marrying Leonora d'Acunha. The bishop was silent through fear, knowing the violence of the king's haughty temper; but sir Fernando Audére, who was the king's bosom friend and counsellor, in order to please the king, said, 'Bishop, you may very well do it, and my lord will make atonement once for all.' The bishop united them, and they lived together. This lady was crowned queen of Portugal, with as much pomp and magnificence as ever queen of Portugal was; and the king begot on her the lady Beatrice, now queen of Spain. True it is that king Fernando, in his lifetime (it was before the earl of Cambridge came with his army to Portugal,) summoned all the nobles, prelates, principal citizens of his realm to Lisbon, and made them all swear obedience to his daughter Beatrice, then only five years old; and pledge themselves that they would acknowledge her as heiress of the kingdom after his decease. He made them take this oath, as he had ordered, whether they would or not. The greater part knew well his daughter was a bastard, and born in adultery; for the husband of her mother, don Lorenzo d'Acunha, resided in Castille, and has outlived the king of Portugal. I believe, my lord, that, had this child been a boy, the commonalty would have been more inclined toward him; for they declare they would rather die than live under subjection to Castille: Portugal and Castille can never be thoroughly united, for the natives of both countries hate each other, and carry on their wars with as much bitterness as the English and Scots."

The duke of Lancaster was much delighted with this conversation, and with Lawrence Fongasse's manner. He said, "Lawrence, at the time you were talking of, where was don John, the present king?" "By my faith, my lord," answered the squire, "he was in Portugal, at the head of a noble establishment of gentlemen, who bear an order of chivalry from beyond sea. There are full two hundred knights of this order, who are dressed in white mantles with red cross on them; he is the chief, and called the master of The king gave him this appointment, but thought nothing about him; nor, indeed, did he any way concern himself, or meddle with the affairs of Portugal, nor ever form any intrigue the crown. Certainly, had the king guessed that he could have what he is now, the love he bore lady Lenora and her daughter have made him put him privately to death: but, seeing him quietly with his brother knights, without interfering in anything, he suffered him to go on without interruption.

"With regard to the quarrel between the Castillians and Portuguese, if I say the truth, I must own the Castillians have alone been to blame." "How so?" asked the duke. "I will tell you," replied the squire. "When they saw the king of Portugal give his daughter in marriage to the king of Castille, it seemed to them as if he had done so by way of buying a peace for them, and that we were afraid of them. Upon this they grew proud and arrogant, and made use of such speeches as follow, which the Portuguese were forced to hear: 'Oh now, ye Portuguese, who are as savage as beasts, the time is coming when we shall have a good bargain of ye, for ye are our slaves. We will treat you like Jews, who only exist by our having granted them a truce, and ye shall be like them subjected to us. This ye cannot deny, since our king of Castille will become yours also.' With such like speeches did the Castillians show their rancor, whenever any of the two nations met, during the reign of don Fernando; and this caused so great a hatred of the Portuguese to the Castillians, that when our king lay at the point of death, the citizens of the principal towns murmured much, and said, 'It were better to suffer anything than be under the subjection of Castille.'

"After the death of Fernando,* who was buried in the church of St. Francis, by the religious of that order in Lisbon, the chief towns and castles had closed their gates. The Lisboners, being acquainted

* In October, 1382.—Ed.

* He died 22nd Oct., 1383.—Ed.

with the intentions of the other three towns, Coimbra, Oporto, and Ourique, sent for don John, the present king, and said to him, 'Master of Avis, we will make you our king, although you be a bastard: we think the lady Beatrice, your niece, and queen of Castille, is more of a bastard than you; for the first husband of the lady Leonora is now living. Since the crown is fallen between two bastards, we will choose the one who will be to our greatest advantage: the more sensible part of the nation is inclined to you; for never shall a woman bear the crown of Portugal, nor will we ever be under the obedience of Castille. We had rather give up all to you, that you may defend us, than have the Castillians our masters. Accept, therefore, this crown as our gift, for we will have it so.' The master of Avis did not, however, accept it at this, nor at a second offer; but replied, 'My good people, I know well your affection for me: you offer me the crown and realm of Portugal—a noble offer—by declaring I have a better right to it than my niece Beatrice the queen of Castille; in truth she is a bastard, the mother's first husband being now in Castille; but there is one point you have forgotten, which is, that you alone cannot act in this matter: it is necessary that the nobles of the kingdom join you.' 'Ha,' said the Lisboners, 'we are sure of them: for several have opened to us their minds on this subject, as well in this city, as in those of Coimbra, Oporto, and Ourique.' Don John replied, 'Well, be it so, then; I am willing to comply with your desires. You know that the lady Leonora, who styles herself queen of this country, is in the town, and with her grand adviser, don Fernando Audère, who will want to preserve the crown for the queen of Castille and her descendants; for he broke off the marriage with the son of the earl of Cambridge, to give her to the king of Castille, and patch up a peace. He will send, or perhaps has already done so, to the king of Castille, to hasten hither with a sufficient force to overpower us. I know that don Fernando has in part acted as I say, and he will still more exert himself on the day of the obsequies of my late king and brother, which will shortly be performed in this town, when all the nobility of the kingdom, unless they send excuses, must be assembled.' Those present answered, that he did not surprise them by what he had said, for they well knew it was so; but, should they hear don Fernando say anything contrary to his interest, they would that day provide a remedy against it. Upon this the meeting broke up.

"Not long after, the obsequies of the late king were performed in the church of the Franciscans at Lisbon, where he lies, and the ceremony was attended by great numbers of the nobility, according to the invitations they had received from the queen, and don Fernando Audère who governed her. The grand-master of Avis was present, and many from the towns of Coimbra, Oporto, and Ourique, who had assented to what had been proposed at Lisbon. When the ceremony was over, don Fernando Audère entreated the nobility, who had assisted in behalf of the queen, not to leave Lisbon for a day or two, that he might have a conference with them, on the means he should use to send to king John of Castille, as his queen was now become his legal heiress of Portugal. Many of the nobles paid no attention to what he said; for they were afraid of the people then present, as they had heard them declare they would only have the master of Avis for their monarch; and this likewise was heard by don Fernando. He begged the nobles to support him steadily in his attempts to bring the people to his way of thinking; but they all left him. As soon as the funeral was ended and the queen had returned to her palace, they called for their horses, which the majority mounted, and set out from Lisbon. Some few attached to the grand-master might remain, but they retired to their houses, and kept within, expecting the event to happen which I am about to relate.

"The citizens of Lisbon, Coimbra, Ourique, and Oporto, after the funeral, went to the cathedral, which is dedicated to St. Dominick, instead of going to their homes, and the grand-master with them, where they held a short conference. 'My good people,' said don John, 'If you wish to have me for your king, which I think my just right, and are resolved to persevere in it, you must now bestir yourselves, and begin by acting to show your strength. You have seen how Fernando Audère is working on the nobles to send for the king of Castille, to whom he says the crown of Portugal now belongs in right of my niece; but I maintain that it shall, if you assist me, be mine; for I have a much better claim to it in every way. I am a man, and the son of the good don Pedro who so gallantly reigned over you. My niece, the queen of Castille, it is true, is daughter to don Ferdinand, but not in legal marriage.' The Lisboners replied, 'What you say is true: we will have you for our king; no one else; and we will make you such, let who will urge us to the contrary. Now, swear before us that you will be good and merciful, and maintain strict justice, without flattering the strong more than the weak; and that you will defend, with heart and hand, in conjunction with our aid, the rights and privileges of Portugal.' The king replied, 'My good people, I now heartily swear to follow what you have said; but let us hasten to the mint, where John Fernando Audère resides with Leonora d'Acunha; for I must have him put to death, as he has acted contrary to our interests, in supporting the claims of others than those you wish well to.' 'We will do so,' they answered; 'for in truth he has behaved to you like a rebel, and shall die for it, that those who are your enemies may take example.'

"On saying this, the Lisboners left the church of St. Dominick, in the whole about fifteen hundred, headed by their new king, and marched through the town toward the mint, where the queen and Fernando Audère, with their attendants, lived. On their arrival, they broke open the doors, and entered the lady's apartment by force. Leonora, much alarmed on seeing this crowd enter her chamber, threw herself on her knees before don John, and with uplifted hands begged his mercy for that she was not guilty of any misdeeds; and, as for the crown or inheritance of Portugal, she had never made any claim to them, as many present knew, if they would be pleased to remember. 'I entreat, therefore, you and all the company to recollect, that it was contrary to my will and wish that don Ferdinand exalted me to be his wife and queen of Portugal.' 'Lady,' replied don John, 'fear nothing, for not the least harm shall be done you: we are not come hither with such intent, but to seek that traitor John Fernando Audère, and put him to death; and then the king of Castille may revenge it if he can, for he has been his advocate too long in this country.' Those who had been ordered to do so sought the knight, whom they discovered and slew: after this, no person was injured; but they all returned peaceably to their homes, and the king retired to the palace.

"After the death of Fernando, the lady Leonora, who had been queen of Portugal, was desirous of quitting Lisbon and retiring to her daughter in Castille; for she had been so much alarmed by the murder of Fernando, that she had almost died through fear. She would not therefore remain longer in Lisbon, where she had neither peace nor respect, but sent to ask leave of the king to depart, who readily granted her request, adding, she was in the right to go away. The lady set off with her attendants, and continued her journey until she came to Seville, where the king and queen of Spain resided. She found almost all the nobility of Spain assembled there in Parliament, on the subject of Portugal: for king John declared that kingdom was now fallen to him by the death of don Ferdinand, who had so settled it when he married the lady Beatrice; and, the states of the country having likewise agreed to it, he wanted their advice how to act.

"The lady Leonora was received with joy by the king and her daughter, and many inquiries were made relative to what was passing in Portugal. She told them truly everything she knew, and added, that the people would assuredly crown the master of Avis king, if not prevented; for that, don Fernando Audère having been always a zealous friend to the rights of Castille, they had murdered him. They readily believed what she said, as every appearance testified its truth. Some knights and barons of Portugal, from affection to the daughter of their late king, and to keep the solemn engagements they had entered into at her marriage, quitted their country, and joined the king of Castille at Seville, leaving behind their wealth and properties. Among them were, don Pedro Alvarez Pereyra, grand prior of St. John, don Henriquez Manuel, count of Cintra, Juan Texeda, chancellor to the queen, and about twenty more, which emigration at this time greatly weakened Portugal, and much pleased the king of Spain, who was strengthened thereby.

"The king of Spain issued a special summons throughout his realm for all persons capable of bearing arms, from the ages of fifteen to sixty, to hasten to Seville, for he was determined to enter Portugal with a force sufficient to conquer it and make it his own. His commands were obeyed; and there were assembled before Seville upward of sixty thousand men of every description. Lorenzo d'Acunha, on hearing that his wife, whom the late king of Portugal had ravished from him and made his queen, was arrived in Castille, waited on some of the king's council by whom he was beloved, and asked their advice in the following terms: 'My lords and assured friends, have I any means to obtain possession of my wife, who has left Portugal and is now in Seville? I know that Ferdinand took her by force, and against her inclinations. He is, as you know, dead; and in justice, therefore, I ought to have back my wife; tell me, then, how I should act.' They replied, 'Lorenzo, there is not any chance of your ever having her again; for you would risk too much, and debase the honor of the lady, as well as that of the queen of Castille, and establish her bastardy. You see that our king is determined to conquer Portugal, and add it to his crown, as appertaining to him in right of his queen. Take care not to muddle more by your claims what is already troubled enough, for you will be put to death if you persevere. You may judge yourself what may be expected, if you prove the queen a bastard, which we maintain in this country to be false, and that she was born in legal marriage by a dispensation in due form from the pope.' 'What had I best do, then?' said Lorenzo. 'The best way for you to act is to set out instantly for your estate in Portugal, and leave the lady Leonora with her daughter; we see no other means of safety for you.' 'On my troth, I believe you advise me like real friends,' answered Lorenzo. He only staid three days after this conversation in Castille, and having secretly packed up all his things, rode off in haste to Portugal, where he waited on the master of Avis, saying he was coming to serve under him, for he acknowledged him his king. Don John was rejoiced at this, made him governor of Lisbon, and restored to him all his property. Thus, as I have related to you, my lord, was the fortune of Lorenzo d'Acunha restored to him."

The duke of Lancaster took great pleasure in this conversation with Lawrence Fongasse, for he spoke French well, and the matter

concerned him nearly. He was anxious to learn as much as possible, and, with great kindness, said: "Lawrence, speak out boldly: I have not these two years heard any foreigner so explicit, and all you say appears truth itself. Continue, therefore, I beg of you; for the king of Portugal writes me word, you are the only person who can give me the fullest information of what has happened in that country." "My lord," returned the squire, "there have been few deeds of arms done in Castille and Portugal, but on occasions when I have been an actor in them; and, since it pleases you that I continue my narration, I will do so.

"King John of Castille assembled his forces as speedily as he could, and marched with a great power before Lisbon, prior to the coronation of the king, in order to alarm the inhabitants and make good his claim to the kingdom. He advanced to Santarem, which is on the borders, and halted there two days. The garrison and townsmen, alarmed at his numbers, opened their gates, and surrendered themselves to him. When he had taken possession and regarrisoned the place, he marched to Leyria,* which is a very strong town, and surrounded it. Leyria was attached to the Spanish interest, for the town formed part of queen Leonora's dower; and, at the first attack of the king of Castille, it instantly surrendered. Having left there a strong body of men-at-arms, he advanced to Valenza d'Alcantara, and laid siege to it. He sent to tell the townsmen to humble themselves before him and receive him as their lord. The citizens replied, by advising him to march away to Lisbon, adding, that as soon as they should know he had gained that town by affection or force, they would send him the keys of Valenza. This answer being agreeable to the king of Spain, he marched away. Another town called Serpa, which the king wished to gain, made a similar answer. Other towns did the same, so that he took the road to Lisbon; for he imagined, if he could conquer that city, he would soon master the remainder of the country. Wherever the king marched, he carried his queen with him, to show the Portuguese that it was in her right he claimed the crown, and that he had a just cause for so doing. Don John of Castille arrived with his whole army before Lisbon, and by his manner of forming the siege plainly showed he would not break it up until he had it in his power. He menaced the master of Avis, who was within the town, that if he could take him, he would put him and all the other rebels to an ignominious death.

"The army of don John was very numerous; and the Castillians and the French, who had come to his assistance, had so closely surrounded Lisbon, that no one could come out or go in without danger of being taken. When any Portuguese were made prisoners by the Castillians in a skirmish or otherwise, their eyes were torn out, their legs, arms, or other members were cut off, and in such maimed state they were sent back to Lisbon, and bid tell their townsfolk that they had been so treated in despite of the Lisboners and their master of Avis, whom they were so eager to crown king; and that they would keep the siege until they had won the town by storm or famine, when they would show mercy to none, but put all to death, and give up the city to fire and flame. The Lisboners, however, did not revenge themselves so cruelly; for, whenever they made any prisoners, their king afforded them every comfort, and did not send them back with hurt of any sort. They made many of the army say, he was a gallant fellow thus to return good for evil.

During this siege of Lisbon, which lasted upward of a year, there were every week two or more skirmishes, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. The town was besieged by sea as well as by land; and the besiegers had plenty of all things, for provisions came to them from different parts of Spain. The Spaniards made one course up to the very gates of Lisbon; when Lorenzo d'Acunha sallied forth out of the barriers with his pennon, having the arms of Acunha borne before him, accompanied by many gallant friends, and excellent deeds of arms were then done with lance and dart."

"By my faith, Lawrence," said the duke of Lancaster, "of all the arms the Castillians and your countrymen use, I love the dart the best, and like to see it used: they are very expert at it; and I must say, that whoever they hit with it, unless strongly armed, he will be pierced through." "Indeed, my lord, you say truly: for I saw more bodies transfixed at these assaults than I ever witnessed before in my life. We lost one whom we much regretted. Lorenzo d'Acunha was struck with a dart that passed through his plates, his coat of mail, and jacket, though stuffed with silk, and his whole body, so that he was felled to the ground. The skirmish ceased on account of the dead knight; and thus was the lady Leonora made a widow, in one year, of both her husbands. Lorenzo d'Acunha was much lamented, my lord, for he was valiant in arms, and prudent in council. After his death, his cousin, called la Pouvasse d'Acunha, was appointed governor of Lisbon. He made three or four sallies on the Spaniards, in which he was victorious.

"The siege of Lisbon was continued to the great dismay of the inhabitants; for no succor seemed to come to them from any quarter. When their hopes began to fail of help from England, the king was advised to embark for that country, as their embassadors had brought intelligence thence that assistance would be sent; and that your grace would bring reinforcements." "In God's name, that is very true," replied the duke of Lancaster; "for I was on the point of sailing, having everything prepared, when the war in Flanders broke out. The men of Ghent called on England for aid; and they had given to them all, or at least the greater part, of those troops which I was to have led into Portugal. The bishop of Norwich carried them with him beyond sea, and thus retarded the expedition to Portugal." "I vow to God, my lord," said the squire, "we in Lisbon thought that there had something happened in England to prevent your coming to us. We managed, however, as well as we could, and bore up against the power of the king of Castille, which was not small; for he has upward of sixty thousand men on sea and land, and menaced daily to destroy us without mercy, and burn Lisbon to the ground. During this siege of Lisbon, a lord of our country, called d'Acosta, did us a noble piece of service, and gained by it great renown. He freighted and armed twenty galleys at Oporto with good men-at-arms and provision, with which he put to sea, and by the grace of God, having a favorable wind to second their exertions, passed through the Spanish fleet, consisting of one hundred great vessels, that were lying at anchor before Lisbon, so opportunely that, whether they would or not, he arrived in the port with all his galleys unhurt, carrying with him four of the enemy's vessels which he had conquered. The inhabitants were very much rejoiced at the success and the arrival of the lord d'Acosta."

"By my faith," said the duke, "this lord d'Acosta did you indeed a great service. Now, Lawrence, relate to me how this siege was raised, for I am well satisfied with your conversation." "My lord," replied the squire, "the siege lasted, as I have said, upward of a year, for the king of Castille had sworn he would never break it up until Lisbon were under his obedience, or until some more powerful prince should force him to it. Considering what happened, the king of Castille religiously kept his vow of not breaking up the siege, unless forced to it by a more powerful lord, as I will explain. A most destructive pestilence burst out in his army, so that persons died suddenly while in conversation with each other. Upward of twenty thousand were carried off by this plague; which so much alarmed the king, that he was advised to break up the siege, and retire to Santarem or elsewhere, and disband his army until the disorder should be checked. He consented to this very unwillingly; for he had solemnly sworn he would never leave the place until he had won it by fair or foul means; but he was forced to it by the principal lords in his army, who pressed him to march to Santarem.

"My lord, we Portuguese have always thought, and have publicly said, that the Almighty, to afford us assistance, had, out of his grace, sent this pestilence among our enemies; for those in the city wherein we were inclosed never felt the smallest attack from any such sickness, nor did we lose a man. Our king, when he saw the Castillians marching away, made the townsmen and garrison of Lisbon arm, and sallying out on horseback, fell on the rear of those who were not in good array, broke their ranks, killed and wounded great numbers, and captured many of their stores. He also issued a proclamation, that no one, under pain of death, should touch or carry into Lisbon any of the provisions the Spaniards had left in their camp, but that everything should be burnt, that the town might not be infected. All the provisions and stores were given up to the flames; but, I believe, wherever any money and plate were found, better care was taken of them.

"The king of Castille, on his arrival at Santarem, which is on the borders of his realm, remained there for some time. He made the most earnest solicitations to France for succor, but more particularly to Gascony, Béarn, and the county of Foix, whither he sent three horses laden with nobles of Castille and florins, as an advance to knights and squires, for he well knew he could not by any other means induce them to quit their castles or country. The courage of the barons and knights of Portugal was much exalted when they found the king of Castille had retired from Lisbon, which he had besieged for upward of a year,* but more especially the commonalties of Oporto, Ourique, and Coimbra. They took counsel together, and instantly determined to crown the master of Avis king; for they had, through their love and good pleasure, already raised him to that honor, saying it was the common wish of the country, and that God would that he should be crowned, for he had displayed his virtues to the Castillians. It was proclaimed throughout the country, that all interested should be at Coimbra on a certain day, when the master of Avis would be solemnly crowned king of Portugal. All those of his party, and, considering the size of the country, it was a numerous body, attended the coronation, which was performed by the bishops and prelates with great pomp, in the cathedral church of Coimbra, dedicated to St. Mary, on Trinity-day, in the year of grace 1384.† The king on that day created sixty knights, as well of his own as from foreign countries. There were magnificent festivals at Coimbra, which lasted for two or three days. The barons, counts, knights, and squires, who held fiefs of the crown, renewed their homage;

* "Leyria." Froissart calls it Tuy; but Tuy is a town of Spain, on the opposite side of the river Minho to Valencia. There must be some mistakes; for the king of Spain, on leaving Seville, marches to besiege Lisbon. He comes to Santarem; so far is well; but from thence he turns off to Leyria and Valenza d'Alcantara; and, when the battle of Aljubarota takes place, the Portuguese march from Guimareans to combat the Spaniards.

* It did not continue more than nine months. It was raised in the month of November of the same year in which it was begun.—Ed.

† 6th April, 1385.—Ed.

and the king swore to govern the realm with justice, and to maintain all their rights. The people swore to obey faithfully the king and his heirs after him, whether male or female, and never to desert him until death. Thus passed the coronation of the king of Portugal.

"The king of Castille, on hearing that the Portuguese, and particularly the commons, had crowned the master of Avis king, and had sworn to him homage and fidelity, was more pensive than before; for he did not imagine they would have been in such haste to crown him, as he had in his army so many of the nobles of Portugal. He said to those near him, 'I see clearly that by fair or foul means I must conquer what is my own, if I wish to possess it; for there never will be any peace between Castille and Portugal until the Portuguese have made amends for what they have done.'

"After the coronation, the king went to Lisbon, where he remained, and attended diligently to the affairs of the kingdom, at the same time endeavoring to acquire the affection of his subjects. He sent knights and squires to all his garrisons on the frontiers of Spain, for the king of Castille was now returned to Seville. The king of Portugal ordered sir John Ferdinand Portelet, an able and valiant knight, full of enterprise, to Treutouse*, and with him two excellent knights, sir Vasco Martin d'Acunha, and his brother, sir Gil Vasco d'Acunha, and two hundred good men at-arms well mounted. Sir John de Pereira was sent with fifty lances to the castle of Leyria, near Aljubarota; sir John Gomez da Silva, to Valença, which is opposite to the town of Tuy; this place had turned to the Spaniards when they marched to Lisbon, and it was a numerous garrison of Castillians and French. Sir Mondech Radigo was ordered to Serpa with fifty spears: to Oporto, Coimbra, and Ourique, the king sent none, for he knew the loyalty and attachment of those cities to his cause. Thus, as I tell you, were all the strong places garrisoned, and there were frequent skirmishes with one or the other; in which, as must happen, sometimes one side gained, sometimes another. There was, in particular, one celebrated skirmish between the garrison of Trancoso and the Castillians."

"Ah, Lawrence," interrupted the duke, "do not pass this over slightly, but tell me all the particulars; for my greatest delight is the hearing of gallant deeds of arms." "My lord," replied the squire, "it is but right I should do so; for I well remember everything that happened, as I was banner-bearer on that day to John Ferdinand de Portelet, governor of Trancoso, who began the skirmish.

"You must know, my lord, that the king of Castille had placed good garrisons in all his towns on the frontier, who, by collecting at times together in one body, overran and much harassed the country. It happened that seven Spanish captains, of high birth and valor, assembled a body of three hundred lances, well mounted, with which they entered Portugal, and made a great booty of pillage and prisoners. They might have returned into Castille had they pleased, but their pride and presumption urged them to boast they would see what the garrison of Treutouse was made of. The whole country fled before them, so that the governor was apprised of the invasion. He called for his arms, on hearing the enemy were in the plain, and had his trumpet sounded to alarm the knights in the town. All armed in haste, and, mounting their steeds, sallied out of their place, when, on mustering themselves, they amounted to full two hundred spears. They drew up in good array, and showed plainly they were in earnest to meet their enemies. On demanding from the runaways, who were hastening to save themselves in Trancoso, where the Castillians might be found, they answered, not far off; as they were only marching at a foot's pace, on account of the quantity of booty they had with them. Sir John Ferdinand Portelet was rejoiced on hearing this, and said to his companions, the brothers d'Acunha; 'My lords, let us advance, I beg of you; for I will never enter town or castle until I have seen our enemies, to offer them battle; and by every means attempt to recover the pillage and the prisoners they are carrying away.' He then added, 'Lawrence, display my banner; for we shall speedily come up with the enemy.' I instantly obeyed this order; and, as we rode on at a good pace, we soon saw the dust the Castillians made. We took advantage of the sun being in our back, and overtook them.

"The enemy, perceiving us, halted and drew up in good array, placing their prisoners and plunder on one side. We were so near each other, that we could speak to them, and noticed three banners and four pennons; and we judged they were full three hundred, all well mounted. I will tell you the names of the captains: there were sir Juan Rodriguez, de Castanheda, a baron of Castille, sir Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz, sir Adiantado de Toledo, Pedro Soarez de Toledo, Adiantado de Caçorla, Juan Rodriguez Pereira, and Diego Earl[illegible] de Tavora.

"When we were thus near to each other, both parties dismounted, and the horses were given to the pages and varlets; but before any blow was struck, there was a parley held by the leaders of each troop; and, being present, I heard everything that was said. Sir John Portelet began by asking them why they had thus invaded Portugal? Sir Adiantado de Toledo replied, that they had a right to invade any country they chose, to chastise rebels; for they had been commanded by their lord, the king of Castille, who was the true lord of Portugal, to enter that country, and plunder it; and, the inhabitants being rebels, they were carrying them away as prisoners. 'You shall not carry them away nor their property neither,' said sir John Portelet; 'for we will take them from you, as you have not any right thus to act. Do you not know that we have a king of our own, who has sworn to govern justly, and punish all thieves and robbers? I therefore order you in his name, to lay down all that you have pillaged in Portugal, or else we shall fight with you, having justice on our side.' Sir Adiantado de Toledo answered; 'As for our prisoners, we will not for certain yield them up; but in regard to other matters, we will consider of it.'

"The Castillian chiefs then withdrew to hold a consultation, and plainly showed, by what followed, that, although they had thus vauntingly advanced to Trancoso, they readily would have been excused a battle. After a short delay, they said that in regard to the cattle, they had determined to give them up, as well as the horses, and other things which would embarrass them on their return, but that they would keep the prisoners. 'Oh, but,' replied the Portuguese, 'it shall not be so: for you must give up all, or fight.' The battle upon this, commenced very sharply, for neither party spared itself: they were both active, and the field of battle was extensive. Javelins were thrown with such force, that whoever they struck, unless well armed, was knocked down. Many gallant deeds were done; and sir John Fernando Portelet made good use of his battle-axe, as did the two brothers d'Acunha make great havoc with theirs. The Castillians, on their part, behaved admirably; and their fighting and pushing lasted upward of three hours, without either side being shaken. It was wonderful how they could remain so long a time under arms, but their anxiety to leave the field with honor supported them; and I must say, that both nations are hardy in fight, more particularly when they feel the necessity of it. They were so long and so equally engaged, that any one who had seen them would not have known which side would be victor. However, thanks to God, no banner nor pennon was damaged in our army; but those of our adversaries began to give way, which greatly encouraged our men, who were now as fresh as ever, and, shouting out 'St. George for Portugal!' broke through the ranks of the Castillians, and began to knock down on all sides. Such deadly strokes were given with battle-axes and leaden mallets, that they were completely defeated. The pages, seeing the discomfiture of their masters, took advantage of their horses and galloped off. Of the seven captains only one escaped, and he was indebted for it to his good page, who, perceiving him hard pressed, brought him a horse, and, having mounted him, led him out of the battle, so that Adiantado de Caçorla that day received a most essential service from his page. All the rest were put to death, for quarter was shown to none. Thus were the Castillians defeated by sir John Fernando Portelet, though there were at least two to one more in numbers, on a Wednesday, in the month of October, near the town of Trancoso, in the year of our Lord 1384.

"When all was over, and the field clear, our men mounted their horses, and gave liberty to all whom the Castillians had captured; they also allowed them to carry away as much of the plunder as they pleased; but the cattle, which amounted to more than eight hundred, were driven to the town, as a supply for the garrison. On reëntering Trancosa we were received with so much joy, that the inhabitants could not make too much of us, for having freed the country of its enemies. All who had heard of this battle praised us most highly for our valor.

"We had another successful engagement in the plains of Seville: but I will first relate the most brilliant success that has for these two hundred years ever happened to a king of Portugal, and which our king had about four months ago, when the enemy were upward of four to one, all of them excellent men-at-arms and of high renown, which makes our victory the more glorious. But I fancy, my lord, you have heard enough of this battle before; and, being now sufficiently tired I had better end the conversation." "Oh, by no means," replied the duke: "continue your narrative, for I shall cheerfully listen to you. In truth, I have in my household a herald called Derby, who was, as he says, present at this battle, and tells us that our countrymen performed wonders; but I doubt it much, for I cannot conceive that any numbers could have been there, as my brother Cambridge, when he left Portugal, brought back all the English and Gascons which had accompanied him. There are many heralds such liars, they exaggerate or depreciate according to their affections or dislikes; and, since these boasted exploits cannot have been forgotten, I shall thank you to be particular about them, whenever you speak of that part of the battle." "On my troth," answered Lawrence, "there were not with our king, at the battle of Aljubarota, more than two hundred foreigners, including English, Gascons, and Germans. The ablest captains among them were two Gascons and a German from the Duchy of Gueldres, whose names were, sir William de Montferrand, and Bernardon, Gascons, and Albert the German. There were a few English archers: but I never heard any name of note except of two squires, Northbury and Hartsel, who assisted at the council whenever the king had it assembled."

"Now relate to me how this famous battle was fought," said the duke. "Willingly," replied the squire, "for it was for this I was sent hither. I have already told you, that before the coronation of our king at Coimbra, the king of Castille had raised the siege of Lisbon, on account of the great mortality in his army, and had retired

* "Treutouse." It is thus in all my copies, MS. and printed, but I cannot correct the mistake otherwise than by supposing it to mean Estremoy.

to Santarem. He was greatly mortified when he heard of the coronation of king John, in opposition to his claim on Portugal in right of his queen, and was advised to send everywhere for men-at-arms, especially to France, as the French had before been their allies in the wars of his father the late king. His council said; My lord, you only want one successful battle over the Portuguese to have them under your subjection; for that kingdom is, as you know, much divided in regard to the person to whom the crown belongs. You have now with you its principal nobles, who have acknowledged your right, which is assuredly of great importance to your war. If you march to combat this bastard of Portugal, whom the commonalty have crowned king, before he be reinforced by the English you will conquer him, and the country be your own; for it is not of that extent but we can soon overrun it. The king of Castille sent envoys to France, Poitou, Brittany, Normandy and many other places where he thought it probable men-at-arms would come to serve him, but more particularly into Béarn, whence indeed numbers of gallant knights and squires did come. From that country there were more than from any other; and the army amounted, when at Santarem, to upward of seven hundred lances and thirty thousand Spaniards, all well mounted, and eager to do us mischief.

"News was soon carried to Portugal of the great power the king of Castille had collected, and that he intended to renew again the siege of Lisbon. The king held a council to consider how he should act, when the nobles declared for marching to meet their enemies, and not shutting themselves up in any town of the kingdom; for if they were inclosed, they must remain so, and the Castillians in the mean time would overrun the country at their ease, and in the end starve them into submission. But if they marched, and posted themselves advantageously to wait the enemy, it would be most advisable; 'for,' added they, 'we know, my lord, that you will never enjoy peaceably the crown we have placed on your head before you have had a battle, and have once or twice defeated your adversary, the king of Castille, and all the force he can bring against you. If we gain the victory, the kingdom is yours; and, should we be overthrown, it will still remain in suspense. It is by far more honorable to seek our enemies than wait to be sought for; and many are the instances where the first have had the advantage over the latter. We therefore advise you to send to all from whom we expect assistance.' 'You say well,' replied the king, 'and I will follow what you recommend.' He issued his summons for his subjects to meet him at Oporto on a fixed day. But you must know that those to whom he had thus written neither obeyed nor paid any attention to his orders; for the country were not unanimous in their choice of a king, and thus dissembled to see which of the two kings would be victorious. Indeed, some of the nobility had even joined the king of Castille, thinking his the juster cause. Notwithstanding this, the king of Portugal assembled all the forces he could muster, at Coimbra. To say the truth, those of the highest birth and of the greatest weight in Portugal were attached to him through personal affection; he had full five and twenty hundred knights and squires, and about twelve thousand infantry. He appointed the count de Novaire constable, and sir Aleyne Pereira* marshal of the army, both of them able and valiant knights, who knew well how to lead an army to battle.

"They left Coimbra, and took the road toward Aljubarota at a gentle pace, on account of their heavy baggage following them. They sent forward their scouts, to observe the disposition of the enemy's army. Sir John Fernando de Portelet had not joined the king, but remained in the castle of Ourem, five leagues from Aljubarota, not knowing, I believe, that an engagement was so near at hand. I can readily suppose the king of Castille had early notice of our march, which gave him and his army, as they showed, much pleasure. He was advised to hasten to meet us and give us battle, especially by the Gascons, who were eager for it, and requested to lead the van, which they obtained. Sir William de Montferrand, who was on our side with forty lances, had told us truly when he said, 'Be assured you will soon have a battle, since you have Gascons opposed to you; for they like nothing better.' The king lodged on the morrow with his whole army at Leyria, two leagues from Aljubarota, where, on the next day, we came and fixed our quarters. The Castillians followed us and encamped on the spot we had left; for they well knew by their scouts our line of march.

"My lord, the Portuguese have always had great confidence in God, and in the good fortune that would attend them at Aljubarota; and it was for this reason they had now there encamped themselves." "Ay," said the duke, "pray tell me why." "Willingly," answered the squire. "In former days, Charlemagne, who was king of France, and emperor of Germany and Rome, and a great conqueror, overthrew, at Aljubarota, seven infidel kings, slaying upward of one hundred thousand of these unbelievers, as it is fully related in all our old chronicles.† By this defeat, he won the city of Coimbra and all Portugal, which he turned to the Christian faith: and in honor of this victory over the infidels, he erected and endowed a large monastery for black monks, the revenues of which they were to receive as long as they should reside in Portugal.

"There was also another celebrated battle at this place, about two hundred years ago, which was won by the brother of a king of Castille, called the count of Portugal:* for at that time there were no kings of Portugal. There fell out a deadly hatred between these two brothers, caused by a dispute in the division of the countries; so that there was not any chance of peace without the event of a battle being first tried. The Portuguese were as warm in the matter as the count, and declared they would rather be put to death than become subject to Castille. They therefore marched, in battle-array, to meet the king at Aljubarota. The king of Castille came thither in such force that his army amounted to more than ten times the Portuguese, whom he held in the utmost contempt. The battle took place on the plains of Aljubarota, and was very bloody; but, in the end, the Portuguese gained the day, defeating the enemy and making their king prisoner. By this capture, the count of Portugal obtained what terms of peace he desired, and the boundaries of the two kingdoms were firmly established. The Portuguese, sensible that their victory was owing to God's mercy, in enabling a few to overcome such numbers, were desirous to illustrate their country, and had their count crowned king by the nobles and prelates, in the city of Coimbra. They carried him in triumph throughout the kingdom, with a crown of laurel on his head, as a token of victory, like to that which kings were used to wear in former times; and ever since that day Portugal has had its king: and know, my lord, that the Portuguese, sooner than be under the subjection of the Castillians, would look for the most distant relation of any of their kings who had died without issue.

"When king John of Portugal was arrived at Aljubarota, all these old stories were told him. While the constable and marshal were arranging their men, sir John Fernando de Portelet arrived with his forty lancemen, having left the castle of Ourem that morning. His coming gave pleasure to all; and he was posted in the division near the king's person. When our army was drawn up in proper array, and we were waiting for our enemies, whose numbers and state the scouts had been sent to observe, the king advanced to the centre, and, having ordered silence, said: 'Gentlemen, you have crowned me your king: now show your loyalty; for, since I am on the plains of Aljubarota, I will never retreat until I have combated our enemies.' The army unanimously answered, 'My lord, we will remain steady to you, and, be assured, will never turn our backs.' The two armies approached, for the Castillians were desirous of battle, as they plainly showed. Our scouts were ordered to examine them narrowly, as to number and order, that we might take measures accordingly. They were more than three hours returning; and we began to fear we had lost them. At last, they came back with particular accounts of the enemy's strength. They said there were in the van battalion at least seven thousand men, armed from head to foot, in the handsomest manner possible; in that of the king, thirty thousand horse, and all well armed. When our men and their leaders heard the numbers of the enemy, and how they were marching, the van battalion being two leagues in advance of the main body with the king—for the Gascons and foreigners were not on good terms with the Castillians—they resolved to keep in a compact body within their intrenchments, and to form two wings with the men-at-arms, who amounted to about twenty-five hundred, in the rear of the wings. You would there, my lord, have witnessed a fine order of battle, and men showing great courage. The king commanded, under pain of death, that no one should be ransomed, if the day were ours, but that all should be put to death. This was wisely done; for our lords said, that if we occupied ourselves in making prisoners, we should think of nothing else, and risk the loss of the day: it will be much better to combat vigorously, than to attend to the dictates of avarice by making prisoners, and sell ourselves like men whose all is at stake.

"Our enemies now were advancing in as close order as possible just before us. They dismounted, and, driving their horses away, laced their plates and helmets very neatly, and, with vizors down and presented lances, marched to us very boldly: in good truth, there were the flower of chivalry and squireship, as was very apparent. Between us was a ditch, not so wide but a knight could leap over it, which was of some advantage to us; for our wings lanched very sharp darts as the enemy attempted to pass it, which wounded several so sorely, they were checked in the attempt. When they had all crossed it, the battle raged; for they imagined the king of Castille, with the main body, were close behind them; but it was not so, and they were all slain before his arrival. The manner of this happening was as follows:

"They were surrounded, as it were, by those called the commonalty of our country, who, coming on their rear, attacked them sharply with axes; while our men-at-arms, that were quite fresh, charged them in front, and drove them back into the ditch they had crossed. In less than half an hour the business was over, and all this body, of four thousand good men-at-arms, were put to death: none were ransomed; for whenever any of ours wished to show quarter to his prisoner, he was slain while in his hands. Thus did this slaughter befal the van battalion: not one escaped. Shortly after, the king of Castille and his army, consisting of thirty thousand men, well mounted, came up: but it was now night, and they were ignorant

* Sir Alvaro Pereira, brother to the Constable Nuño Alvares Pereira.—Ed.

† This is a mistake. Charlemagne never approached Aljubarota. The exploit of Alphonso Henriquez, the founder of the Portuguese monarchy, who defeated five Moorish Kings at the battle of Ourique, is probably the origin of this story.—Ed.

* Count Henry of Burgundy married Theresa, natural daughter of Alphonso VI., king of Castille and Leon.

of the loss of their van. They were desirous of displaying their horsemanship, and, by way of gallantry, more than five hundred leaped over the ditch; but, my lord, not one of them ever returned back again. Among them that were thus slain were some of the highest rank, the most anxious for deeds of arms, and several of those noblemen who had left Portugal to serve under the king of Castille. Our men, on seeing the enemy thus defeated, advanced, and crossed the ditch, now nearly filled with water, from the number of bodies which had choked up the current; they then mounted their horses and pursued the enemy, who had taken flight; but it lasted not long, for it was soon so dark they were afraid of following them rashly, lest they might fall into some ambuscades: besides, they were not so well mounted as the Castillians. Had it been otherwise, they would have suffered more, and their king been either slain or made prisoner; but the obscurity of the night, and the badness of our horses, saved them.

"I will now mention those who fell in this battle: and, to begin with the Portuguese who had changed sides, don John Alphonso Tello, the grand prior of St. John in Portugal, don Alvarez his brother, with several more. Of Spaniards, don Pedro of Arragon, son to the constable; don Juan, son to don Tello, and don Fernando, son to don Sancho, both brothers-in-law to the queen; Diego Manrique, president of Castille; the marshal Carillo; the admiral Juan de Fovar, Pedro Alvarez Pereira, grand-master of Calatrava; the grand-master of St. James, with others. Of French, sir John de Ris; sir Geoffry de Ricon; sir Geoffry de Partenay; sir Espaignolet d'Espaign; sir Reginald de Soulier, surnamed Limousin, marshal of the king of Castille's army. From Gascony and Béarn lay dead, the lord de Béarn; the lord de Mortan; the lord de Brignolles; sir Raymond d'Eurach; sir Berchand de Varuge; sir John Asolme; sir Raymond de Valentin; sir Adam de Mourasse; sir Meuvent de Sarément; sir Peter de Sarembière, and many more, to the amount, in all, of upward of twelve hundred gentlemen, knights, and squires. I will now name the most conspicuous of our party: first, the count de Novaire, constable of Portugal; Galopes Portelet; Peter Portelet, and Agalip Fernando Portelet his brother, who was by the king's side, at his bridle; le Pouuasse d'Acunha; Egeas Toille de Podich d'Assue; Vasco Martin de Melx; his son Vasco Martin, who was killed that day by a dart passing through his body. There were also among the dead, Gousselenas de Merlo; Alve Porie, marshal of the army, an excellent knight; Radighos Pereira; John James de Salve; John Radigos, cousin to the king; Daminondesque; Radigo; Radiges de Valeronceaux, and Mendignes de Valconsiaux."

He was here interrupted by a burst of laughter from the duke; and Lawrence asked, "My lord, what makes you laugh so heartily?" "Why, have I not sufficient cause? for I never in my life heard such a catalogue of strange names as you are repeating." "On my faith," replied the squire, "these are all proper names in my country; and we have some you would think more strange." "I believe it," said the duke; "but, Lawrence, what became of the king of Castille after this defeat? Did he never attempt to rally his men? Did he shut himself up in any of his towns? Did not the king of Portugal pursue him?" "No, my lord, we remained that night on the field of battle, and until noon the next day, when we marched to Leyria, and from thence to Coimbra. The king of Castille fled to Santarem, where he entered a barge, and, followed by fourteen others, embarked on board a large vessel, and went by sea to Seville, where the queen was. His army was dispersed in all directions, so that it was impossible to rally them, for their loss had been great. They will be long before they recover it: indeed they never will, unless succored by the king of France.* It is to counterbalance this alliance that the king of Portugal and his council have sent us hither, to renew and strengthen our connection with the king of England and your lordship." The duke said, "Lawrence, you shall not leave this country without having satisfactory answers to carry back; but tell me about the engagement you hinted at, which the Portuguese had with the Spaniards near Seville; for I love to hear of feats of arms, though I am no great knight myself."

"After the glorious victory which king John had gained at Aljubarota, he returned in triumph to Lisbon, not hearing of the Castillians or French collecting in any bodies to continue the war. The king of Castille, with his queen, left Seville, and went to Burgos, and the remains of his army shut themselves up in different castles and towns. The garrisons of both sides frequently made war on each other. It chanced that the count de Novaire,* constable of Portugal, entered Castille, not far from Seville, having with him about forty spears: he intended riding to Valverde, having heard there were in that town two hundred men-at-arms. When arrived at the barriers, he made a display of his strength, as a signal that he wished for battle; but those within remained still, and seemed to pay no attention to him, though they were secretly arming and preparing themselves.

"Our people having paraded before the place some time in vain, turned about and began their retreat homeward at a foot's pace. They had not marched a country league before they saw the whole garrison of Valverde following them full gallop. They were led by a gallant man-at-arms, Diego de Padilla, grand-master of the order of St. Jago, who brought them handsomely to the charge. The constable and his men instantly dismounted, and gave their horses to the pages and varlets: having grasped their spears, they drew up in a line. The Castillians, who were very numerous, wanted to capture their horses and varlets, saying, 'Let us seize their horses: we cannot more effectually distress them than to make them return on foot;' but the grand-master would not consent. 'We will not do so,' said he: 'if we have the horses, we will have their masters also; for we will fight them; and therefore dismount; they cannot withstand our numbers.' While the Castillians were thus consulting, our men, without paying any attention to their horses, seeing a small brook in their rear, crossed it quietly, and posted themselves on its bank. The enemy, having observed this, repented not having instantly made the attack; but, thinking they could soon defeat them, they began the combat by lanching darts, and whatever else they could lay hands on, so that it lasted from noon to evening. The constable, seeing the enemy had expended all their artillery, and had not wherewithal to fight, crossed the rivulet, with his banner displayed, and attacked them with lances. They were soon broken and in disorder; for, being tired by the weight of their armor, they could not withstand our charge, nor, from weakness, assist each other. They were speedily vanquished: the grand-master, with sixty more, were left dead on the field, and the rest took to flight. We recovered our horses, and many others which the Castillians had rode thither. What is your opinion, my lord? did not our men behave gallantly?" "That they did, by my faith," replied the duke. "By such feats of arms and conquests have the Portuguese entered the career of glory, since the accession of don John to the crown of Portugal. They say God is with them, and is their help in maintaining their rights. Indeed, my lord, they never fail declaring that God is on their side; for, ever since the death of king Ferdinand, in all matters of arms they have been concerned in, whether of consequence or not, victory has been for them. The count de Foix, who at this day is one of the most potent and wise lords, says, as we have been told by those from his country, that fortune sides with Portugal; and that, if his knights would have listened to him, they would never have left Béarn to fight against the king of Portugal.

"My lord, our king is wise and prudent; he fears and loves God, and has an affection for the church, which he exalts as much as is in his power. He is frequently on his knees in his oratory and hearing divine service, and is very strict in never being disturbed while at prayer, whatever may be the business. He is a learned man and understands some little of astronomy; but above all, he will have justice administered impartially in his dominions, and the poor maintained in their rights. I have now, my lord, told you everything, according to your request, relative to our king and country, as I was charged to do when I left it; and you will give me such answers as may be agreeable to you." "Lawrence, I before told you, and I now repeat it, that your coming hither and your conversation have given me great pleasure. You shall not depart without having every point of your demands fully answered." "I thank you, my lord," replied the squire. Upon this, the doors of the apartment were thrown open, and wines and spices were brought in, of which the embassadors having partook, they departed to their hôtel of the Falcon to repose themselves.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE EMBASSADORS FROM PORTUGAL RETURN WITH SATISFACTORY ANSWERS. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER EMBARKS ON AN EXPEDITION TO RECOVER CASTILLE.

Not long after this conversation, the duke of Lancaster had a conference with his brother, the earl of Cambridge, on the affairs of Castille and Portugal. The earl, who had been in the latter country upward of a year, said, that during the reign of don Ferdinand, when he was in Portugal, the canon de Robersac, and sir William Windsor and other knights whom he had led thither, had told him

* Don John, in commemoration of this event, founded the beautiful monastery and church of Batalha. It has been magnificently described by Mr. Murphy; and I copy a note from his publication, page 28.

"The following account is given of this battle by Emanuel de Faria, in his history of Portugal. 'The king of Portugal, understanding the approach of the Castillians, drew together his forces from Coimbra, Oporto, and other places, and marched out of Guimaraens to give them battle. On the morning of the 14th August, 1385, he entered the plains of Aljubarota, where he knighted several gentlemen. The Castillians at first intended to march directly to Lisbon; yet, after some consultation, they resolved to engage. The forces on both sides were very unequal: the Castillians are reported to have been thirty thousand strong, and the Portuguese but six thousand five hundred, besides having some local disadvantages. The sun was setting when these two unequal armies engaged. The Castillians, at the first charge, broke the vanguard of the Portuguese; but the king coming up, his voice and example so reanimated his men, that in less than an hour the multitudinous army were put to the rout. The king of Castille, who headed his troops, being troubled with an ague, was forced to take horse to save himself. Most of the Portuguese who sided with Castille, and who were in front of the army, were put to the sword, for no quarter was given them. The royal standard of Castile was taken; but many pretending to the honor, it could not be decided by whom. The number of the slain is not exactly known, though very great on the part of the Castillians. Of their cavalry, three thousand are supposed to have perished, with many persons of distinction. This is the famous battle of Aljubarota, so called, because it was fought near a village of that name.'"

* Nunez Alvarez Pereira, who was only twenty four years of age when he won the battle of Aljubarota.—Ed.

of the murmurs of the common people relative to the succession, and on this account had pressed him to carry away his son. "In God's name," replied the duke, "the Portuguese squire has informed me most circumstantially of all this matter; and we cannot gain a more convenient entrance to Castille than through Portugal. Arragon is too distant, and, besides, the king of Arragon has always been more attached to France than to us. It is not right, since Portugal asks from us assistance, it should be refused."

A parliament was held at Westminster on this subject, when it was determined that the duke of Lancaster should have, at the public expense, a thousand or twelve hundred lances, all chosen men, two thousand archers, and one thousand lusty varlets, and that they should receive half a year's pay in advance. The king's uncles were well satisfied with this grant: in particular, the duke of Lancaster, to whom, as the matter more nearly concerned him, the command of this army was given. To expedite the embassadors' return to Portugal, who were impatient to set out, the king of England wrote very affectionate letters to the king of Portugal, declaring the strict union and intelligence he wished to subsist between the subjects of each kingdom. He made also magnificent presents to the grand-master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse, who were continually with the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge. The day on which they took leave of the king and his council, they dined with the duke of Lancaster and his brother, and had liberty to depart. I believe the duke mentioned in his letters to the king of Portugal, as well as to his embassadors, his wish that seven galleys, and from eighteen to twenty large vessels, might be sent from Portugal to the port of Bristol, on the confines of Wales, where the duke and his army would embark.

The embassadors, having promised this should be performed, took leave and set out for Southampton, where their vessel was waiting for them. Having embarked, they put to sea with a favorable wind, and, crossing the Spanish main, arrived in five days at Oporto, where fortunately the king was, and much rejoiced at their return. They related to the king all they had seen and heard in England regarding king Richard and his uncles, and, in confirmation, delivered letters from them. The king of Portugal, impatient for the aid of the English to retaliate on the Spaniards, did not delay calling his council, when it was resolved, that don Alphonso Vietat, high admiral of Portugal, should get ready seven galleys and eighteen ships, to sail to England, and bring back the duke of Lancaster and his army. Don Alphonso was soon ready, and, setting sail from Oporto with favorable winds, arrived in six days at Bristol, where he anchored.

The duke was much rejoiced on hearing of his arrival, for he was at the time in Wales, where the king and all his court were: he hastened his preparations, as his knights, squires and archers were near Bristol; he having provided at Bristol two hundred vessels to transport them, under convoy of the Portuguese fleet, to the continent. It was intended by the duke that his duchess and daughters should accompany him to Castille and Portugal, where he proposed nobly marrying them; for he wished not to return very soon, and with reason, as he perceived affairs in England were badly managed, and the young king governed by wicked counsellors. This made him the more desirous of quitting the country. Before his embarkation, and in the presence of his brothers, he appointed his son, Henry early of Derby, his lieutenant for whatever concerned him during his absence, and chose for him a set of able advisers. This Henry was a young and handsome knight, son of the lady Blanche, first duchess of Lancaster. I never saw two such noble dames, so good, liberal, and courteous, as this lady and the late queen of England, nor ever shall, were I to live a thousand years, which is impossible.

When the duke of Lancaster had arranged his affairs in England, and had taken leave of the king and his brothers, he came to Bristol where he tarried fifteen days, until his horses, to the amount of more than two thousand, and his stores, were safely embarked, with ample provision of hay, straw, oats, and fresh water. The duke then entered a handsome galley, having, beside it, a large vessel for his household and the duchess, who had consented, with great courage, to accompany him on this expedition; for she expected, on her arrival in her native country, or at least before her return, to be queen of Castille. She had with her her own daughter Catherine, and two other daughters of the duke by his former marriage, called Isabella and Philippa. Isabella* was married to sir John Holland, constable of the army. The marshal of the host, sir Thomas Moreaux, was also married to another daughter of the duke of Lancaster; but she was a bastard, and mother to the lady Morielle, Demoiselle Marie de St. Hilaire de Hauman.† The lord Percy was admiral of the fleet.

Among the knights who followed the duke of Lancaster were sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Lucy, sir Henry Beaumont, the lord de Pommiers, sir Richard Burley, the lord Talbot, the lord Basset, sir William Windsor, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Hugh Despenser, the lord Willoughby, the lord Bradeston, sir William Farrington, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Worcester, sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Lewis Rochester, sir John Sounder, sir Philip Tickel, sir Robert Clinton, sir Hugh Calverley, David Holgrave, Thomas Allery, Hobequin Beaucester, and many others with pennons, without including the banners. There were more than one thousand lances of knights, squires and good men-at-arms; two thousand archers, and one thousand stout varlets. It was the month of May when they embarked; and they had the usual fine weather of that pleasant season. They coasted the isles of Wight and Guernsey, so that they were distinctly seen from the Norman shores; and a fine sight it was, for there were upward of two hundred sail. It was delightful to observe the galleys, which had men-at-arms on board, coast the shores in search of adventures, as they had heard the French fleet was at sea. In truth, they were out before they showed themselves on the coast of Carentan; but, when they perceived them approaching, they retired into the port of Havre.

* Her name was Elizabeth. Sir John Holland was created earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter. She was, after his death, married to sir John Cornwall, lord Fanhope, but had no issue by him. By sir John Holland she had a son (John) who succeeded his father.

† I cannot explain who this lady is: nor can I find anywhere, but in Froissart, mention made of this natural daughter of John of Gaunt, nor of the marriage with sir Thomas Moreaux.

Stowe says, sir Richard Burghley was constable of the duke's army, and after him sir Thomas de la Moleneaux.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MANY FRENCH KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES OFFER THEIR SERVICES TO THE KING OF CASTILLE.

NOTHING happens but what is known, more particularly if relating to deeds of arms; for knights and squires willingly converse on such topics. The news of the defeat of the king of Castille at Aljubarota was soon spread abroad, and was known in France; for those who had lost their friends or relations loudly lamented them. Castille alone offered a field for deeds of arms, as it was rumored the duke of Lancaster, to support his claim on that crown, had assembled a large army, and would march thither or to Portugal, and without doubt there would be many battles. Some knights and squires, of the interior part of France, consulted together on this, and which was the best road to Castille. Several were of opinion, to march by land, to avoid the dangers of the sea, and of falling into the hands of the English fleet; but others said, the road by land was long, and the intentions of the king of Navarre were not quite clear; for he was not much attached to France: that nation, he said, had robbed him of his lands in Normandy; but I know not if his complaints were just. They were doubtful what road to take; for, should they go round by Arragon, they would never arrive at their journey's end. At length they resolved to embark from la Rochelle, where they freighted eighteen vessels, with their baggage and stores, but did not take many horses with them.

When all was ready, and the wind favorable, they put to sea, and made for the coast of Bayonne; for that was their line of direction. They were three hundred knights and squires who had volunteered on this expedition. Among them were the lord de Coursy, sir John Handoye, the viscount de la Verliere, sir Peter de Vellamines, sir Guy le Baveux, sir John de Châtelmorant, the lord de St. Liger, sir James de Fougeres, the lord de Bellanes, sir Tristan de Langurant, the lord Barrois des Barres, with many more. They arrived without accident, in the port of St. Andero, in Biscay, on the 4th day of May, 1386, where they rested themselves two days, and had their horses and baggage disembarked. When they had laden their horses, they inquired where they could find the king of Castille, and were told that he was then at Burgos, holding a parliament on the affairs of the nation. On leaving St. Andero, they followed the road to Burgos, and waited on the king, who was truly glad to see them, and asked the news from France, and which way they had come. They replied, "By sea from la Rochelle," and that it was rumored in France the duke of Lancaster had raised a very large force of men-at-arms and archers, to lead into Castille or Portugal; that it was not known where he intended to land, but that the king of Portugal had sent to him many ships and galleys.

The king, on hearing this, became pensive, although it was what he expected, and did not at this meeting display his courage; for he perceived, from every appearance, he should have a severe war made on him. However, he entertained the knights very handsomely, and thanked them much for coming. Addressing himself to sir Robert de Braquemont, and his brother, sir John de Braquemont, he said, "I desired you both, when you left me last year, that, on your return, you would bring me from Paris some tennis balls, that we might amuse ourselves at that game; but I believe it would have been better I had desired you to bring good helmets and armor; for I fancy we shall soon have much need of them." "Sire," replied the lord de Braquemont, "we have brought both; for we can neither fight nor play continually." In truth, the king of Castille showed great attention to these knights, feasted them well, and liberally supplied them with everything they wanted. Some of them having vows to perform, wished to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Saint Jago, since they were in the country; and all of them set out in company, having armed themselves as if they were going to battle: it was fortunate for them they had done so; and whoever had advised them showed prudence, as you will see hereafter: but I must now return to to the duke of Lancaster, and his fleet, whom we left coasting Normandy.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IN HIS VOYAGE TO CASTILLE, ATTACKS THE FRENCH BEFORE BREST, AND FORCES THEM TO RAISE THE BLOCKADE.

Just as pilgrim falcons, who have long rested hungry on their perch, are desirous of flight in search of prey, (if I may use the comparison,) were those English knights and squires impatient to try their arms in the field. As they coasted Normandy, they said to each other, "Why do we not disembark in some of these Norman ports, where we shall meet with knights ready to offer us combat?" At last, these speeches reached the ears of the duke, who knew well, before he left England, that sir John de Malestroit, the lord de Malestroit, the lord de Cambor, Morfonace, with a number of other knights and squires from Brittany, had blockaded Brest, under the command of the constable; so that when he learnt the eagerness his knights expressed for some deeds of arms, he ordered his admiral, the lord Thomas Percy, and his constable, lord John Holland, to steer the fleet toward Brittany, for he wished to visit the castle of Brest, and his countrymen who were within it. This order gave great joy to the English; and don Alphonso Vietat, who was admiral-in-chief, and well acquainted with these dangerous seas, took the lead, for the rest of the fleet to follow him. The weather was now delightful, and the sea so calm, it was a pleasure to be on it: the fleet advanced with an easy sail, and arrived at the mouth of Brest harbor, where, waiting for the tide they entered it in safety. The clarions and trumpets sounded sweetly from the barges and the castle. Sir John de Malestroit and his companions were seated at table when the news was brought them of the arrival of the English fleet: they instantly leaped up and armed themselves. They knew that, as soon as the duke of Lancaster had landed, they should have an engagement; for the English were come to raise the blockade.

They were not long in making themselves ready, and amounted to about three hundred men-at-arms, knights, and squires. The English were rejoiced at finding themselves in Brest harbor, and that the Bretons were still guarding their blockhouse; for they were aware an engagement must ensue, and they were thirsty for battle. The duke of Lancaster and his men landed as near as possible to the castle, but left their horses and stores on board their ships. The ladies, however, went on shore to repose themselves. The first day they made no attack, only marched out of their quarters, when some of the lords fixed their tents and pavilions on the harbor side and near the castle, where they remained that day and the following night. On the morrow, the constable and marshal's trumpets sounded for the army to make ready for an assault. When all were armed, they marched in good array toward the castle and blockhouse which had been raised in front of it. This was so solidly built, it would have lasted nine or ten years; for it was surrounded with ditches, and had walls, towers and gates of strong timber.

The English knights, on their arrival, began to skirmish gallantly at the barriers of the blockhouse, and attempted to win them. The knights and squires within, and there were numbers of good ones, vigorously defended themselves; and in order to gain more room, they took away the palisades, which was foolish enough, but they trusted to their skill and valor. Many were the fine deeds of arms and much pushing with lances, and those fared the best who could the longest hold their wind. The English, being so numerous, gave the Bretons full employment, and, by dint of courage, won the barriers: within the court of the blockhouse were upward of one hundred, so that the Bretons were on the point of losing everything. Sir John de Malestroit and the viscount de Cambor, seeing this, shouted their cry, and said, "How, gentlemen, shall we be thus overcome? Advance, advance, and push with vigor, for there must be no sham-fighting here: we have only the choice of death or victory." Upon this they rallied, and, placing the ends of their lances in the ground, made an obstinate resistance to those who had driven them within the barriers. Hard blows were given on each side; but the English, whether they would or not, were forced to retire, and were beaten back out of the court, so that during the day they could not regain it.

On the other side of the blockhouse was a stone tower situated on a rock, which the Bretons had garrisoned. A severe attack was made on it by the English; for, while the fight was going on at the barriers, they had crossed a narrow ditch, and, with pick-axes, advanced up to the walls, where they had began to work and force out the stones. Those within defended themselves well with what they could lay hands on; but the archers shot so sharply that none dared show themselves unless strongly shielded. The pick-axe men continued their work, until the tower, which leaned much on that side (for they had undermined the foundation) opened in two parts. The garrison saved themselves in the ruins of what remained, for one-half fell to the ground. On this, the English set up a grand shouting; but, it being now late, the trumpets sounded the retreat, as they imagined they had done enough for one day. When they marched away, they said to the Bretons, "Gentlemen, keep a good watch to night, and stay where you are, for to-morrow we will visit you again: you see well what situation you are in, and that you have nothing to shelter you from us."

It was fully the intention of the English to return the next day and conquer the blockhouse with its garrison, for it was in their power; and in this idea they passed the night comfortably, as they had wherewithal so to do. There is an old saying, that "John is as wise as his master," which I repeat, because, if the English are subtle in war, the Bretons match them; for they were equally clear-sighted as to what was to their advantage, and what not. They saw, if they wished to avoid death or captivity, there was no time to be lost in packing up their baggage and leaving the blockhouse. They instantly made themselves ready, and, mounting their horses, rode toward Hennebon, which was four leagues distant. They acted wisely; for they were not afraid of a pursuit, as the English had not disembarked any of their horses.

Sir John de Malestroit and his companions arrived safely in Hennebon, the gates of which they found open, without any suspicion of the English being so near. On the morrow, the trumpets sounded for a renewal of the attack, and they were anxious to make up for their forced retreat of the preceding day; but the news was brought that the Bretons had evacuated the blockhouse. The English repented sorely not having laid an ambush, to have prevented the loss of their prey. The lords sent varlets to destroy the blockhouse, and set it on fire. Thus was the siege of Brest raised by the duke of Lancaster. The duke, sir John Holland, and some of the other knights, went to the castle of Brest, carrying the ladies with them, where they had refreshments, and then returned to their quarters. On the morrow, being the third day, they had their vessels watered; and on the ensuing day they embarked and continued their voyage.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER ARRIVES AT CORUNA IN GALICIA. THE FRENCH, IN THE SERVICE OF SPAIN, ENTER THE CASTLE TO OPPOSE HIM. THEY SHORTLY AFTER DEFEAT A PARTY OF HIS FORAGERS.

Before the duke sailed from Brest, he held a council to determine whether they should steer for Lisbon, Oporto, or Coruña. To this council the Portuguese admiral and his captains were called, and it lasted some time. Don Alphonso Vietat said, that he had been ordered to England for their service by the king of Portugal, by whom they would be made heartily welcome, should they land in his country; for he was expecting them, and would be much gratified by their coming. Upon this, they determined to make for Oporto, which is but thirty leagues from Lisbon; but they altered their mind, saying it would be more honorable to land on the enemy's coast, and that by so doing they should the more alarm them. They then steered for Coruña, and, having a favorable wind, were not more than five days sailing thither from Brest: they cast anchor in the road, to wait for the tide, as it was too low water when they arrived to approach near the shore.

I will now speak of the French knights, sir Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châtelmorant, the brothers de Braquemont, and the rest, who had been sent out on a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella. After they had made their offerings and prayers to the shrine of St. James, and were sitting at their inn, news was brought by those who were guarding the coasts, that the English fleet was in sight, and showed a disposition to land at Coruña. Before their baggage was unloaded, or the saddles had been taken from their horses, they mounted again, saying, they must hasten back to Coruña, to defend the port; for, should the English unfortunately gain the castle and town, they would be masters of the whole country. Some of the knights borrowed horses at St. Jago, and made such dispatch as to arrive at Coruña that night, though it was fourteen country leagues distant, and a difficult road to find. They got there very opportunely, just as the English fleet was entering the harbor. The garrisons in town and castle were well pleased at the coming of the French knights, whose baggage and armor followed in the course of the night. It was a fine sight, on the morrow, to view all the ships and galleys enter the port laden with men-at-arms and purveyances, with trumpets and clarions sounding; and those signals were answered, by way of defiance, by the trumpets and clarions of the castle. The English from this knew there were good garrisons in both town and castle, and that the French had possession of the castle.

The lords and their men landed on the shore, but did not approach the town, as it was too well fortified, and seemed filled with men-at-arms. They, however, took up their lodgings in some huts of fishermen and seafaring men on the outside of the walls. They were forced to build other huts, as they were so numerous; and the four first days after their landing they were thus employed, as well as in clearing the vessels of their stores and purveyances, which were in great quantities, and in disembarking their horses. They had been fifteen days on board; and though they were plentifully supplied with hay, oats, and fresh water, yet the rolling of the sea had as much affected them as it had done their masters, which made it needful to walk them about and take every care of them. When the ships had been entirely cleared, the duke was asked his pleasure concerning them. He replied, "Let all the sailors be well paid, and take the ships for their pains: I shall dismiss them, for I wish all the world to know that I shall never recross the sea to England until I be mas-

ter of Castille or die in the attempt." These orders were obeyed; and the sailors being paid to their satisfaction, made sail, some to Portugal, Lisbon, Bayonne, Brittany, or England, as they pleased, but none remained behind. The duke of Lancaster and his army were lodged in huts covered with leaves, or in such houses as they met with, and remained before Coruña upward of a month amusing themselves; for the chief lords had brought hounds for their pastime, and hawks for the ladies. They had also mills to grind their corn, and ovens to bake; for they never willingly go to war in foreign countries without carrying things of that description with them.

The foragers went daily in search of what forage they could find; for, as they were in a poor deserted country, it was not very plentiful, which forced them to seek it at a distance. The French knights at Coruña were eager to meet their enemies; and having learnt how foolishly unguarded the foragers were, said, they would some day or other catch them, and make them pay, once for all, for what they had pillaged. They armed themselves, to the number of about two hundred, and, mounting their horses, were conducted by guides, at night-fall, through woods, and over mountains, until they came to a mountain, called in that country Espinete, by break of day, where they halted; for they had learnt that the English foragers were out in that part. The foragers had been absent from their army two days, collecting as much as they could carry, and were on their return to Coruña: but their only road lay over this mountain of Espinete. The instant they came there, the French knights rushed upon them, shouting out, "Les Barres for the Barrois!" The foragers were thunderstruck; for the greater part were unarmed: there might be six score archers, who gallantly drew themselves up in array, and wounded, with their arrows, both horses and riders. When they had expended their arrows, they flung down their bows, and defended themselves as well as they could with the other arms they had: some fled and hid themselves, in hopes of escaping. Why should I make a long story? Of the three hundred foragers, full two hundred were slain; the rest saved themselves, as well as they could, among bushes and racks, where no horse could venture. The runaways fled to Coruña and related their misfortune, and how sir Barrois des Barres and his company had discomfited them.

The army was much surprised at this; and sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal, had five hundred, or more, instantly armed and mounted, when, taking the pennon of St. George, he galloped off with them toward the mountain of Espinete, to meet the French. When there arrived, he only perceived the slaughtered foragers; for the French had returned by the road they had come; but had they not had good guides, they would never have found it through the inclosures. The English, on their return, when within half a league of their army, saw the French reënter the castle of Coruña, which vexed them much: but help it they could not. The army blamed the marshal for having suffered the foragers to go without an escort of men-at-arms, when the enemy was so near, and in such numbers. The constable and duke of Lancaster were so sharp with him, he was quite ashamed: he said, that they had been caught, to be sure, this once, though they had foraged ten times before without any interruption. "Sir Thomas," said the duke, "be more cautious in future; for such things may fall out in one day or hour as may not happen again in a century."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AFTER REMAINING BEFORE CORUNA UPWARD OF A MONTH, MARCHES HIS ARMY TO SAINT JAGO, WHICH SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

When the duke of Lancaster had remained before Coruña upward of a month, as I have before said, and when his men and horses were quite recovered, he was advised to march toward St. Jago, where there was a richer and more open country for his cavalry. The army dislodged from before Coruña, and marched in three battalions. The marshal led the van, of three hundred lances and six hundred archers; then marched the duke with four hundred spears, accompanied by all the ladies. The rear was composed of four hundred lances and seven hundred archers, accompanied by the constable sir John Holland. They marched very slowly, and were three days in going from Coruña to St. Jago. You must know, that the province of Galicia was much alarmed at the arrival of the duke of Lancaster; for they remembered his power well. When the marshal and the van came before the town of St. Jago de Compostella, where the body of St. James reposes, and which many make such long journeys to visit, he found the gates shut, as might have been supposed. There was no other garrison but its inhabitants; for the French knights refused taking upon them the defence of it, to the last extremity, as it was not strong enough to withstand the force under the duke of Lancaster. The marshal sent forward a herald, to hear what the townsmen would say. The herald found at the barriers the captain of the guard, called don Alphonso Sene, and said to him, "A few paces hence is the marshal of my lord of Lancaster's army, who would wish to speak with you." "I am very agreeable to it; let him advance, and I will parley with him." The herald returned to the marshal with this answer.

The marshal left his army, with only twenty lances, and rode to the barriers, where he found the captain and some of the townsmen waiting. The marshal dismounted, with twelve others, among whom were the lord Basset and sir William Farringdon, and addressed him as follows: "Captain, and you men of St. Jago, the duke, and duchess of Lancaster your queen, (she being the eldest daughter of Don Pedro, your late king,) send me to know how you mean to act: to open your gates and receive them as your legal sovereigns, as good subjects ought to do; or force me to assault your walls, and take your town by storm. But know, that if you suffer the place to be stormed, all within shall be put to the sword, that others may take warning." The captain replied; "We wish to follow the dictates of reason, and acquit ourselves loyally toward those to whom we owe obedience. We know well that the duchess of Lancaster is daughter to don Pedro of Castille; and if that king had reigned peaceably in Castille, she was heiress to his crown; but things are altered; for the whole kingdom turned to the obedience of his brother, king Henry, by the success of the battle of Monteil: we all swore fidelity to him; and he was acknowledged king as long as he lived: after his decease we all swore obedience to don John, his son, who reigns at this moment. Tell us how those of Coruña acted; for it is impossible but that, during the month you lay before that place, some negotiations and treaties were concluded." Sir Thomas Moreaux answered; "You speak truly: we have had indeed negotiations with those of Coruña, otherwise we should not have marched hither, though that town is double the strength of yours. I will tell you what they have done: they have entered into a composition with us, by declaring they will act in the same manner as you do; but, if you force us to the assault, they will not follow that example. If Galicia surrender to my lord duke and his lady, they will surrender also; for which they have given us such pledges as are satisfactory."

"Well," replied the captain, "we will agree to this: there are many large towns and cities in the realm: ride on, therefore, and leave us in peace; for we will act as they shall, and give you good security for our performing it." "Oh, this will never do," said the marshal: "such a treaty will by no means please the duke and duchess; for they are resolved to reside in this town, and keep their state as monarchs should in their own kingdoms. Answer me briefly what you mean to do: surrender, or have yourselves and town destroyed?" "My lord," said the captain, "allow us a little time to consult together, and you shall be speedily answered." "I consent," said the marshal. The captain then withdrew into the town, and assembled the inhabitants at the usual place where public meetings were held, and related to them the conversation that had passed between him and the marshal. I believe the townsmen at last consented to receive the duke and duchess as their monarchs, and to entertain them as such in their town as long as they might please to reside there, if don John, king of Castille, did not, with his power, attack them. But if it should happen that after they had made St. Jago their residence for a year, or a longer time, according to their pleasure, and should depart from the country, for England, Bordeaux or Bayonne, or wherever else they may prefer, the duke must engage to leave behind a sufficient force of men-at-arms to defend them against their enemies, otherwise they would surrender the town to don John of Castille, and hold themselves acquitted of allegiance to the duke. Sir Thomas Moreaux cheerfully accepted these terms, and told them they had well spoken, and to the purpose, and that the duke and duchess wished for nothing better. The marshal returned to his division, and to the duke and duchess, who were waiting for him on the plain; to whom he related all that had passed, and the treaty he had concluded, to which they assented, saying it was well done.

The army was advancing gayly in battle array toward the town of St. Jago: when about two French leagues from the place, they were met by a long procession of the clergy, bearing relics, crosses and streamers, and crowds of men, women and children, and the principal inhabitants carrying the keys of the town, which they presented on their knees, with much seeming good-will, to the duke and duchess (but whether it was feigned or not, I cannot say,) and acknowledged them for their king and queen. Thus they entered the town of St. Jago, and rode directly to the church of St. James, where the duke, duchess, their children and attendants, kneeling, offered up their prayers to the holy body of St. James, and made rich gifts at the altar. It was told me that the duke, duchess, and the ladies, Constance and Philippa, were lodged in the Abbey, and there held their court. Sir John Holland and sir Thomas Moreaux, with their ladies, were lodged in the town: the other barons and knights as they could, and the men-at-arms on the plains round the town. Those who could not find houses, built themselves huts covered with boughs, of which there were plenty in the country, and made themselves comfortable with what they could get. Meat and strong wines were in abundance; of which the archers drank so much that they were for the greater part of their time in bed drunk; and very often, by drinking too much new wine, they had fevers, and in the morning such headaches as to prevent them from doing anything the remainder of the day; for it was now the vintage.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE FRENCH KNIGHTS LEAVE CORUNA AND JOIN THE KING OF CASTILLE. THEY ACQUIRE MUCH WEALTH BY PLUNDERING THE COUNTRY, IN ORDER TO FRUSTRATE THE ENGLISH.

Sir John de Châtelmorant, le Barrois des Barres, and the other French knights who had guarded Coruña, hearing that the duke of Lancaster had been peaceably received in St. Jago, held a council on what they should do, saying, "It does not signify for us to remain here any longer, since we shall meet with no fortunate adventures: let us march to Burgos, where the king is, and learn from him what his intentions are: perhaps he may be going to meet the English; for, if he allow them quietly to establish themselves, by degrees they will be lords of Castille. It will be more for our honor to go to him than to stay here." They accordingly made preparations, and leaving the castle, procured guides to conduct them to Burgos; otherwise they would probably have fallen in with their enemies. They rode through Biscay, and skirted Galicia to Leon, where the king and queen at that time resided. When these knights waited on the king, he received them very kindly, and inquired from them the news, although he knew enough. They told him of their opportune arrival at Coruña, as the English fleet was entering the harbor, wherein they found seven galleys and ships of Biscay, laden with wine, of which the English took advantage; for the merchants were soon eased of the whole. "It is thus in war," replied the king: "they were unwise, when they heard the English fleet were at sea, not to run somewhere else for safety." "In God's name, sir," returned the knights, "they had come thither for security: they said, their cargoes of wine were for Flanders, and having heard from the sailors of Saint Andero that the English were in the Bay of Biscay, and that the king of Portugal had sent them large ships and galleys, it was natural to conclude they would have steered for Portugal; but they did the contrary, as it appears, and landing at Coruña, have entered Galicia." Upon this the king said, "Now, you knights from France, who are so well acquainted with arms, and know more about warlike matters than my subjects, from being so long trained to them, what are your opinions of the English? how do you think they will act this season?" "By my faith," said some, (for all gave their opinions) "we can but ill judge what they will do, for the English are very reserved; and we can only guess how they will act, or whither they will march. We must suppose that the duke of Lancaster will remain all the ensuing winter in St. Jago, and his army thereabouts; whence he will overrun Galicia, conquer some small forts, and lay in stores of provision, until the return of summer, when treaties will be formed between him and the king of Portugal, for them to act in concert. Perhaps a family-alliance may take place; for you will observe that the duke has brought with him his daughters, those that are married as well as the others: now, as there are two unmarried, we imagine the king of Portugal, your adversary, will have one of them." "What would you advise me to do?" said the king. "We will tell you sire," replied the knights; "order all your strongest castles on the borders of Galicia to be well guarded, and destroy the smaller ones. We learn that it is the custom of this country to fortify churches and towers, whereto the inhabitants of the flat countries carry their wealth and stock. This will turn out to their destruction and the confusion of your kingdom; for when the English take the field, these churches and towers will prove no obstacle to them: on the contrary, they will be recruited from the victual they will there find, and continue the war with more vigor, and conquer the remainder. We therefore advise you to destroy all such like forts, while you have time so to do, and to give up all, that is not secured in large and strong towns, by Michaelmas, or at the latest by Andrew's day, to your men-at-arms; for it is better they should have the advantage and profit than your enemy. We advise you, in particular, to send some well-informed embassadors to the king of France, and to his uncles of Berry and Burgundy, that they may be made acquainted with the real state of your country, and that by the return of summer, or sooner if the season permit us to take the field, you may wage such a war as was never before made in Castille. Write pressing letters to the king and his uncles, that they may assist you in this necessity with such numbers of men-at-arms that you may resist your enemies and preserve your kingdom. There is a strong connection between you and the king of France, which was first made by your predecessor and father; and you may be assured, that in your distress neither the king nor realm of France, which can do no more than England and Portugal united, will desert you. Believe us, that as soon as the king and his council shall learn your situation, they will take such steps as will prevent you from receiving any loss in this war; for know, that those French knights and squires, who are desirous of glory, will, at the slightest word, hasten hither to seek it; for at this moment they know not where to employ their arms. We mention this, because there is now a peace between the French and the Flemings, and a truce with the English and French on the other side the Loire until St. John the Baptist's day ensuing. You will therefore see men-at-arms, knights and squires, fly hither from France, as well to advance their own honor as to see this country and meet the English. But, sire, we particularly recommend the destruction of these small forts, if you wish to preserve your country."

The king replied, "You have advised me loyally, and I shall instantly follow your counsel, and order, without further consultation, all such forts to be demolished as are not tenable, and make you a present of whatever may be found in them." The knights said, he had well spoken, that they would attend to that business, and assist him in defending and preserving his realm. This gift of the king of Castille to the knights from France and those about his person, was worth to them two hundred thousand francs, especially to those first-comers, who had thrown themselves into Coruña when the duke of Lancaster had arrived, and pursued his march to St. Jago.

All the small forts, churches, and towers, which had been embattled in Castille, were abandoned and destroyed, and the poor peasants disappointed in their expectations of having therein deposited their wealth and stock in safety; for the knights and squires went thither with their men, and seized on all the wines, corn, and cattle, and drove them to their quarters; but the gold and silver which they found, and the sums they made the peasants pay for their ransoms, or to have their stock back again, went into their own purses, unknown to any one but themselves. Some of the poorer squires, more bold and cunning than the rest (for there are always some of that sort,) who had left their homes miserably mounted or on foot, were so active that they had now fine coursers and genets for pleasure, with five or six silver girdles, and purses with a thousand or two of francs in them. Thus did these companions, who first entered Castille, make fortunes which the flat countries paid; for every place was rifled and devoured even by their own countrymen, who would not that their enemies should be any gainers by their invasion. When it was told in France how poor knights and squires were enriching themselves in Castille, where they spared neither the lands of friends nor those of their foes, their companions were more eager than ever to leave France, in the hopes of being sharers with them.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GREAT PREPARATIONS ARE MADE THROUGHOUT FRANCE FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND. THE DEATH OF FRANCIS ATREMEN.

The king of France, his uncles, and council, had been well informed of the intended expedition of the duke of Lancaster before he had sailed from England (for fame spreads all things abroad,) and that it was meant against Castille. It was for this reason the duke of Burgundy had concluded so easily a peace with the Flemings, and in order that the king of Castille might have assistance; for the king of France was bound to aid him, as he had always succored France, when called upon, with men and ships. Add to this the great desire the young king of France had ever shown to invade England with a powerful army and navy. In this he was joined by all the chivalry of the realm, but especially by the duke of Burgundy, the constable of France, and the count de St. Pol, although he had married king Richard's sister, as well as by the lord de Coucy.

These lords said, "Why should not we, for once, make a visit to England to see the country and its inhabitants, and learn the way thither, as the English have done in France? This year, therefore, 1386, we will go thither, as well to break up the expedition of the duke of Lancaster, and force him to return home, as to give alarm to the English, and see how they will behave." Greater armaments were made in France than had hitherto been done. Heavier taxes were imposed on all the towns and country than for one hundred years, and such sums had never been raised, nor were ever greater preparations made by sea and land. The whole summer, until September, was employed in grinding flour, and making biscuit in Arras, Bethune, Lille, Douay, Amiens, St, Omer, and in all the towns near to Sluys; for it was the plan of the king to embark at Sluys, sail for England, and destroy the whole country. Many of the rich men of France were forced to pay a third or fourth of their property, in order to build vessels of a sufficient size; and the poorer sort were taxed as much as they were worth, to pay the men-at-arms. There was not a vessel of any size from the port of Seville to Prussia, that the French could lay their hands on, but was seized, by fair or foul means, for the king of France. Provisions arrived from all quarters. Very great quantities of wine, salted meats, oats, trusses of hay, onions, verjuice, biscuit, flour, butter, the yolks of eggs in powder, and rammed in barrels, and every other necessary, were sent from Flanders; so that, in future times, those who have not been eye-witnesses will never believe the accounts.

Lords and knights, at great distances, were written to, to request they would accompany the king of France in this expedition; even as far as Germany, Savoy, and the lands of the count d'Armagnac. The earl of Savoy was retained with five hundred lances; as were also the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne; and, because these lords were so distant, they sent before them vast provision of stores: and it was wonderful to see the quantity of costly articles that came to Flanders, by land and sea, through Damme, Bruges and Sluys.

When St. John's day was come, all the great vessels in Holland, Zealand, Middleburgh, Dordrecht, Schoenhoven, Leyden, the Brille, and other places near the sea, were sought for, to carry this army from Sluys; but the Hollanders and the rest said, that if they wanted their vessels or their services, they must pay them down the sums

agreed on, otherwise they would not stir. They were wise in so doing; for they were instantly paid, before they would leave their houses or harbors. Never, since God created the world, were there seen such numbers of large ships as filled the harbors of Sluys and Blanckenburgh: for, when they were counted, in the month of September, this same year, they were twelve hundred and eighty-seven ships. Their masts, on coming from sea, appeared like a thick forest.

The constable's ship was building at Treguier, in Brittany; and the constable had there constructed a town of frame-work, of large timber, which was to be put together, on their landing in England, for the lords to retreat to as a place of safety, and to be lodged therein, to prevent any danger that might arise from nightly attacks. This town was so constructed, that, when they dislodged, it could be taken to pieces, roofs and all; and many carpenters and other workmen, who had been employed on it, were engaged, at very high wages, to attend the properly taking it to pieces and erecting it again. I never heard the name of the duke of Brittany, nor had he laid up in Flanders stores of any kind, nor of the duke of Touraine, the king's youngest brother, nor of the count de Blois, as among the number of those who were to accompany the king on this occasion. But all could not go: it was necessary some should remain behind in France, to guard the realm.

Whoever had been at Damme, Bruges or Sluys, at this time, and had seen how busily all were employed in loading the vessels with hay in trusses, garlic, onions, biscuit in sacks, pease, beans, cheese-bowls, barley, oats, rye, wheat, wax-candles, housings, shoes, boots, helmets, spurs, knives, hatchets, wedges, pick-axes, hooks, wooden pegs, boxes filled with ointments, tow, bandages, coverlids for sleeping on, horseshoe nails, bottles of verjuice and vinegar, iron, stone-ware, pewter and wooden pots and dishes, candlesticks, basins, vases, fat pigs, hasters, kitchen furniture, utensils for the buttery, and for the other offices, and every article necessary for man or beast, would have been struck with astonishment. The eagerness and pleasure were so great in the beholding it, that, had any one had a fever or a toothache, he would have got rid of them by running from one place to another. The conversations which were overheard between the French showed they considered England would be ruined and destroyed beyond resource, the men put to death, and the women and children carried in slavery to France.

The king of England and his council were duly informed of these grand preparations; and it was confidently affirmed and believed that the French would not fail to invade the country, as they had sworn they would do so. It is not strange that such formidable preparations should require the utmost attention, nor would it be matter of much surprise if the English were at first much alarmed; for, immense as these armaments were, they were greatly magnified; and it was not certain whether they were meant to invade England or attack Calais by sea and land; for the English knew well there was not a town the French were more desirous of regaining than Calais. On this account, great stores of corn and other grain, salted meat and fish, wines, and brandies, were sent from England to Calais. Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, sir Hugh Calverley, sir William Elmham, the earl of Angus, sir Walter Warren, sir Walter Paul, sir William Touchet, sir Lewis de Montalban, sir Colars d'Ambreticourt, were ordered thither to defend it, and with them five hundred men-at-arms and as many archers. The earl of Arundel and lord Henry Despenser put to sea with forty large ships, having on board three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers completely armed.

It was, on the other hand, reported in several places in France, Hainault, and Picardy, that this armament was not destined for either England or Calais, but that, when it was completed, it would invest the town of Ghent. I was told, the men of Ghent were seriously alarmed; but they were to blame if they showed any fear; for the duke of Burgundy, their lord, wished them nothing but prosperity, although Francis Atremen, shortly after the peace, was slain at Ghent. The duke was no way implicated in his death, for he bore him no hatred, although, during the war of Ghent, he had performed many gallant deeds in the service of his townsmen, as have been truly related in this history. If Francis Atremen came to such an end, he has nobody to blame but himself; for, had he believed Peter du Bois, this misfortune would not have befallen him. Peter du Bois gave him notice what he might expect at the conclusion of the peace between the duke of Burgundy and Ghent, on their return to Ghent from Tournay. When Peter was making his preparations to accompany the lord Bourchier to England, he said, "Francis, what do you say? will you not go to England with us? for now is the time." "No," replied he, "I will remain in Ghent." "And how," said Peter, "can you suppose you will live there in quiet? for there are many who mortally hate both you and me. I would not remain there for any sum of money; for there is no dependence on the populace. Have you never heard how they murdered Jacob von Artaveld, who had done them much service, and given them such good advice, and had on all occasions assisted them? and yet, from the speeches of a linen-weaver they slew him, without any of the principal inhabitants interfering in his behalf. On the contrary, they dissembled, and in their hearts were rejoiced at his death. Now, Francis, just so it will happen to you, and to me, if I stay; but that I will not, so I bid you adieu." "It will not so happen," replied Francis, "for my lord of Burgundy has pardoned all, and offers me, if I choose to reside with him, to be equerry of his stables with four horses at my command, and shows me, as well as the lord Guy de la Tremouille and the other knights of his household, every mark of affection." "In God's name," said Peter, "I do not speak of my lord of Burgundy, nor of his knights, for they are well inclined to keep peace, but of the Ghent men. There are some to whom you have not always behaved well: have you forgotten the lord de Harzelles, whom you caused to be assassinated, and such and such others? Know, that the revenge of their relations will fall on you within a short time, if you remain: take my advice: rather than live here, accept the duke's offer." "I will consider of this," answered Francis; "but I am determined not to go to England." Thus the conversation ended. Francis Atremen staid in Flanders, and Peter du Bois, as you have before heard, went with lord Bourchier to England. What followed you shall hear. Soon after peace had been declared throughout Flanders, an edict was published in all towns dependent on the duke of Burgundy, forbidding any one whatever to wear armor or swords, or to have arms carried by their followers.

Francis Atremen, during the war of Ghent, had been one of its principal rulers, and one who had the most attention paid him. Whenever he walked the streets, he was followed by thirty or forty varlets, who were well pleased at any orders he chose to give them. He had kept this state so long, that he was loth to give it up, and was desirous of being followed by three or four armed with swords or defensive staves. When this proclamation of the duke of Burgundy was made, he never imagined it in any way concerned him, so much did he fancy himself in favor with the duke and the town: but he was mistaken; for seven or eight days after the publication of the edict, the duke's bailiff came to him and said, "Francis, you seem suspicious and afraid of our lord's officers, or why do you now go armed through the town of Ghent, followed by your varlets, armed also with swords as in times of war? We are much displeased thereat, and command you, in the name of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, that you lay them aside." Francis, who in fact meant no ill, but kept up this state through pomp, replied, "Bailiff, I shall willingly obey your orders, as is right; for, thank God, I bear no malice nor wish evil to any one; but I thought I was so well considered in the town, that I might have had my sword and armor borne after me without its being objected to." "You are mistaken," said the bailiff: "it is the townsmen, to whom you have done so many services, who have interfered, and tell me they are surprised how I suffer it; for it seems to them you want to renew a war, for which they have no inclination. I therefore beg of you, Francis, that you will so act, as that I may hear no more of it, for if you do not observe the edict, I shall look on you as an enemy to the duke and duchess of Burgundy."

The bailiff of Ghent departed. Francis Atremen returned to his house, and ordered his varlets to lay aside their arms. He became melancholy; and, for the greater part of the times he went abroad, it was alone, or having one varlet or a boy attending him. Not long after this conversation with the bailiff, a festival was kept at the monastery of St. Peter, without Ghent, whither Francis went alone, or only attended by a single varlet, neither having swords nor arms. He was watched, and followed by a bastard of the late lord de Harzelles, anxious to revenge his death, in which common fame reported Francis Atremen to have been guilty. The bastard, having provided himself with arms, followed him out of the town, and when at a proper distance, and no one near, he called out to him, "Francis, you are a dead man: you put to death my father, and I will do the like to you." As Francis turned round, the bastard, who was a stout fellow, struck him so violent a blow on the head, that it split his skull to the neck and felled him dead. The bastard walked quietly away, for none pursued him, and no more was said. Francis Atremen came by his death for not following the advice of Peter du Bois. When news of this reached England, and came to the knowledge of Peter du Bois, he but slightly pitied him, saying, "Before I left Ghent, I truly told him what would happen; but he would not mind what I said, and has suffered for it. See if any one will meddle in the matter: certainly none of those who, during the war, seemed such warm friends to him, and honored him so much. It was for fear of such events that I followed the advice of lord Bourchier, and came with him to England."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE FRENCH PUT THEMSELVES TO USELESS EXPENSE ON THEIR MARINE. THE ENGLISH MAKE JUDICIOUS PREPARATIONS TO OPPOSE THEM.

We will return to the preparations going forward at Damme and Sluys, which were so formidable, that the like was never remembered in the memory of man, nor is there any written account of such. Money was no more spared than if it rained gold, or was pumped up from the sea. The great barons of France had sent their servants to Sluys to embark everything they might have occasion for in this expedition; for all were impatient to cross over; and the king, young as he was, showed greater impatience than any. Each

lord strove to have his vessel the best supplied, and the most ornamented with painting and gilding, with their arms emblazoned on them and on the flags. Painters made a good harvest, for they were paid whatever they asked, and even with this there were not a sufficiency. The masts were painted from top to bottom; and some, by way of magnificence, were even covered with sheets of fine gold, above which were emblazoned the arms of the different lords to whom the vessels belonged. It was told me, particularly, that sir Guy de la Tremouille expended such sums in ornamenting and painting his own ship, that they amounted to upward of two thousand francs. Their banners, pennons, and standards, were so very grand, as to surprise all who saw them. No ornament or decoration could be imagined but these lords employed it on their vessels. The poor of France paid for all: the taxes were so grievous in that country, that the rich complained, and the poorer sorts ran away.

All that was going forward in France, Flanders, Bruges, Damme, and Sluys, was known in England, and with many additions to the real truth. The people in several places were exceedingly alarmed, and generally the priests made processions in many towns three times a week; where, with much devotion, they offered up their prayer to God, to avert this peril from them. There were upward of one hundred thousand who were desirous the French should come to England, saying, to comfort the weak-hearted, "Let them come: by God! not a soul shall return back to tell their story." Such as were in debt, and had not any intention of paying, nor wherewithal to do so, were delighted, and said to their creditors, "Hold your tongues: they are coining florins in France, and we will pay you with them:" and thus they lived extravagantly, and expended largely, for credit was not refused them. Whenever they were asked to pay, they replied, "How can you ask for money? is it not better that we spend it, than that Frenchmen should find it and carry it away?" Thus were many thousand pounds sterling foolishly spent in England.

The king of England was during this time in Wales with the earl of Oxford, who governed England, for without his consent nothing was done. The king's privy council consisted of sir Simon Burley, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Robert Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, sir Michael de la Fole, and also the bishop of Norwich and sir William Neville, brother to the lord Neville. These counsellors did with the king as they pleased, and carried him whithersoever they liked; for neither had his uncles of Cambridge and Buckingham been able to retain any influence, nor could they act, without knowing whether it were agreeable to the above-named counsellors. All these discords were the topic of conversation in France, and incited them to hasten their preparations. They wished to force the duke of Lancaster to return from Castille, but would not on that account have given up their invasion. The lords, prelates, and citizens of the principal towns in England, having obtained exact information that the French were nearly ready to put to sea, held an assembly, in which they debated what was proper to be done. The king was written to by his uncles to return to London, as the whole country was much dissatisfied with him and his advisers. The king and his council, not daring to refuse, left Wales, where he and his queen had resided a considerable time. On his arrival at Windsor, he staid some days, and, there leaving his queen, came to his palace of Westminster. Those who had any business to transact went thither to the king; and before the parliament was holden, a council was called to consider how they might appease the great discontents which appeared in the country. In this parliament, which was attended by the king, his uncles, and all the nobles and prelates of the realm, the earl of Salisbury, a prudent and valiant man, spoke as follows: "Your majesty, and my lords present, need not be surprised if our adversary, the king of France, proposes to invade us; for since the death of the most potent and sagacious prince, Edward of happy memory, our sovereign lord, this realm has incurred several risks of being destroyed by its own subjects and the commotions of peasants. It is also perfectly well known in France that we disagree among ourselves, and are torn by faction, which makes them imagine their enterprise cannot fail of success. The danger is indeed great, for he must be weak who fears not his enemy. While we remained united, the king with the people, and the people with the king, we were victorious and powerful, and there were none able to do us any essential injury. It is therefore necessary (and never was anything in England more pressing) for us to act in unity, and reform what may be wrong, if we wish to preserve our honor, as well as for us to inquire into the state of our ports, that such defence may be made that the kingdom be not any way hurt, nor we accused of neglect by the country. This realm has been long in its flower; and you know that what is in flower has greater need of attention than if in fruit. We must therefore act as if it was in flower; for, since these last sixty years, those knights and squires who have gone out of it have acquired more renown than any others of what nation soever. Let us exert ourselves, that our honor be preserved untarnished as long as we live."

This speech of the earl of Salisbury was attentively listened to; and the lords said, it would be right to follow his advice. I will not longer dwell on what was debated at this meeting, for I do not pretend to know everything; but I do know, that after proper care had been taken, as I have already noticed, for the defence of Calais, all the coast of England, where it was thought the French would land, was well guarded. The earl of Salisbury, because his estate was in the Isle of Wight, which lies opposite to the country of Caux in Normandy, was ordered thither to guard and defend it with the men-at-arms and archers of that country. The earl of Devonshire was sent to Southampton with two hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers, to guard that haven. The earl of Northumberland to the port of Rye, with the same number of men-at-arms and archers. The earl of Cambridge was sent to Dover with five hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers. His brother, the earl of Buckingham, to Sandwich, with six hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers. The earls of Stafford and Pembroke to Orwell, with five hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers. Sir Henry and sir Faulx Percy to Yarmouth, with three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers. Sir Simon Burley was appointed governor of Dover castle only.

Every port and harbor from the Humber to Cornwall was well provided with men-at-arms and archers, and watchmen were posted on all the hills near the sea-coasts opposite to France and Flanders. The manner of posting the watches was as follows: they had large Gascony casks filled with sand, which they placed one on the other, rising like columns; on these were planks, where the watchmen remained night and day on the look-out. They were ordered, the moment they should observe the fleet of France steering toward land, to light torches and make great fires on the hills to alarm the country, and the forces within sight of these fires were to hasten thither. It had been resolved to allow the king of France to land, and even to remain unmolested for three or four days: they were first to attack the fleet, and destroy it and all their stores, and then to advance on the king of France, not to combat him immediately, but to harass his army, so that they might be disabled and afraid to forage; for the corn countries were all to be burnt, and England at best is a difficult foraging country; by which plan they would be starved and easily destroyed. Such was the plan laid down by the council of England. Rochester bridge was ordered to be broken down, for a deep river runs under it, which flows through Sussex and Kent, and falls into the Thames, opposite the island of Sheppy. The Londoners would pull this bridge down, for the greater security of their town.

If the taxes were burdensome on towns and persons in France, I must say they were not much lighter in England, and the country suffered from them a long time afterwards; but they were paid cheerfully, that they might be more effectually guarded.* There were at this time ten thousand men-at-arms and one hundred thousand archers in England, although the duke of Lancaster had led so large a force to Castille. I will now speak a little of this duke, and of the interview between him and the king of Portugal, and then return to England, for the matter presses, and I wish to speak of each and of their respective transactions.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL, WHEN INFORMED OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S ARRIVAL AT SAINT JAGO, WRITES HIM FRIENDLY LETTERS. THE KING OF CASTILLE DEMANDS SUCCORS FROM FRANCE. THE TOWN OF ROUELLES IN GALICIA TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.

You have before heard of the arrival of the duke of Lancaster with a large army at Coruña; how that city, but not the castle, had surrendered to him on terms similar to those which were imposed on the other towns in Castille, by which means the city was neither attacked nor hurt; you have also heard how he and his family had taken possession of Saint Jago de Compostella, where he intended to reside, until he should have some intelligence from the king of Portugal. Don John, as soon as he knew the duke to be at St. Jago, was much rejoiced, thinking that, when united, they could carry on an advantageous war against Castille. He ordered the most friendly letters to be written to the duke and duchess, and to be forwarded instantly by special messengers. The receipt of such letters gave much pleasure to the duke and duchess; for they had great dependence on the king of Portugal, and knew that, without his aid, they would never be enabled to do anything effectual against Castille. They, therefore, made rich presents to the messengers, and returned the warmest answers. The duke, in his answer, gave the king to understand, that he should have much pleasure if an interview took place between them, as he wanted to have some conferences with him.

While all these marks of affection were reciprocally tendered and received between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, the king of Castille was strengthening himself by every means in his power. He frequently stated his situation to the court of France, and was urgent in his demands for assistance to defend his realm; for he expected, when the season would allow, that there would be a vigorous war made on him, as the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster would then form a junction, and would be in such force as would

* These concessions between the king and his parliament run high, at this period, the parliament refused to grant supplies, and the king declared that if they were denied he would levy money of the king of France, to whom he would sooner be obliged than his subjects. An accommodation was at length effected. Richard consented to banish his favorite the earl of Suffolk, and supplies were voted to maintain the war against the king of France; their administration was however confided to a body of thirty commissioners.—Ed.

overrun all Castille, unless he could raise an army to oppose them. The king of France and his council, in their answer, desired the king of Castille not to be uneasy; for, before the month of January was passed, they would give the English so much to do at home, as to prevent them from knowing which way to turn themselves; that when England should be completely destroyed, they would come to his aid by sea, through Galicia or Portugal; and if their enemies still remained in that country, they would drive them out of it in a handsome manner, and within the year put an end to all these wars. The king of Castille contented himself with this answer as well as he could: indeed, he could not help himself; for none came to him from France, excepting those who had defended the castle of Coruña. All knights and squires, however great their distance in the kingdom, hastened to Paris, Lille, and Douay: and the whole of that country, to the extent of fourteen leagues, was filled with men-at-arms and their followers. The multitudes were so great, that those who superintended the shipping, notwithstanding the number of vessels, declared they could not be all transported at once, by at least forty thousand men.

It was ordered that no one was to be received on board the transports but true men-at-arms; and no knight was to have more than one varlet, nor any great baron more than two squires. No horses were to be embarked but those of the principal lords; and this was so strictly observed at Sluys that the names of none were written down for the passage, nor received on board, but good men-at-arms. There was such a rascally crew in Flanders, in the country of Tournay, and in the castlewicks of Lille, Douay, and Artois, that they devoured and plundered everything, to the great loss of the poor inhabitants, on whom they lived, though they dared not complain for fear of their lives. They were more destructive than the English would have been if quartered in that country. The king of France and his lords had many fears; for, should they leave these scoundrels behind, they would unite and master the country; and this would have happened, had the invasion taken place, and been unsuccessful.

During the residence of the duke and duchess of Lancaster at St. Jago, several of their knights and squires made excursions into the country, and supported themselves in the best manner in which they were able, on whatever they could find. It fell out that sir Thomas Moreaux, marshal of the army, in company with sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Thierry, and William de Soumain, and about two hundred spears and five hundred archers, when in Galicia, came before the town of Rouelles, seven leagues from Saint Jago. He had heard that the townsmen would not acknowledge the duke of Lancaster for king; and had slain his foragers, who, on their return, had passed by their barriers. They had ruined their roads so much, that the only tolerable one was close to the town; and, when they found a good opportunity, they rushed out, and, like thieves as they were, murdered all passers, whether foragers or not. Complaints had been made of their conduct to the marshal, who was determined to apply a remedy, that being a part of his official duty. He and his companions dismounted, when near the town. The watch had before sounded his horn, which had prepared the inhabitants, and they had closed the gates and mounted the battlements; for it would not have fared well to any one who had remained without the wall. The marshal, seeing from their appearance it must be assaulted, and having mused a while, said to sir John d'Ambreticourt and Thierry de Soumain, "Mount your horses, and ride round the town to see where we may the best make our assault, and with the least loss of our men." Having mounted their horses, they soon rode round the place, for it was of no great circuit, and carefully examined every part of it. On their return to the marshal, who was waiting for them, they said, "Sir, this town has but two gates: you are at one, and the other is directly opposite: these are the two places which seem to us easiest of attack; for the ditches round the town are deep, difficult of descent and ascent, on account of thorns and brambles." "I believe you are right," replied the marshal: "I will remain here with a part of our men, and you Maubrun, shall take the other and commence the attack. I know not what may be the event, but I with joy see those fellows, who, from their battlements, observe all we are doing. Look at them, they are as sulky-looding as monkeys eating pears, which children want to take from them." His companions burst out a laughing at this expression, and casting up their eyes to see the villains (which they had not before thought of,) went away with Maubrun and his pennon. They were about one hundred lances and three hundred archers, who advanced slowly to the opposite gate and halted.

Attacks were made on both gates with great gallantry; but the men of Rouelles, from their battlements, defended themselves with stones and darts, so that the archers and cross-bowmen were unable to act with success, and many were severely wounded. However, as the barriers were defenceless, for all had retired within the walls, the English destroyed the palisades and advanced up to the gates. They battered them so as to make them shake again; but the inhabitants, aware of the mischief which might ensue from their gates being forced, came down from the battlements, and placed against them faggots and large beams of wood. Women and others brought earth and stones, with which they filled casks, and these they arranged against the gates, closing up the whole of the entrances. While this was going on, others on the battlements, over the gateways, threw down large stones and bars of iron, so that none dared venture too near for fear of these things, which killed whomever they hit. Thus did these peasants hold out their town against the English, who suffered indeed no loss until night; but they were forced to retreat to a deserted village, a long league distant, to seek for lodgings, where they remained until the morrow. The spies sent after them brought back word that they had taken up their quarters at the village of Lyrias, but it seemed as if they would, on the next day, renew the attack. The townsmen, on hearing this, said among themselves, "The shortest follies are the best: we can never be blamed for surrendering to the duke of Lancaster, or to his marshal, having, ourselves, held out one whole day against them, without advice or assistance from any gentleman whatever. This we cannot long persist in, and, having begun the attack, the enemy will, of course, renew it, since they know the way. It will, therefore, be better to surrender before they begin an assault; for, if we be taken by storm, we shall lose our lives as well as our money."

All agreed to this: and it was determined that, if the English returned on the morrow, they would go out to meet them, and surrender the town on having their lives and properties spared. In truth, the English made their appearance shortly after sunrise, fresh and eager to renew the attack. When they were observed, four of the principal townsmen were sent out to conclude a treaty. As the marshal advanced under his pennon, casting his eyes around, he perceived these four men, and said, "I believe there are some from Rouelles, who want to parley with us: make them come forward." This was done; and when they were near the marshal, they cast themselves on their knees, and said, "My lord, the inhabitants of Rouelles have sent us to parley with you; will you hear us?" "Yes," replied the marshal; "what have you to say?" "My lord, we come to offer the surrender of our town, if you will take us and all we possess under your protection; and we will acknowledge the duke and duchess of Lancaster for our sovereigns, in like manner as those of Coruña and Saint Jago have done." "I will take you, and all that belongs to you, under my protection," answered the marshal; "but I will not insure your provisions, for men-at-arms must live." The deputies said, "That was reasonable; and the country abounded in provisions of all sorts; but wait here a moment, that we may return to the town and relate what you have said, for we will keep the agreement, and we trust you will do the same." "Yes, on my faith will I," replied sir Thomas; "but make haste back." Upon this the four men returned to the town, to relate how sir Thomas had agreed to accept their terms, except in the article of provisions. They said, "God grant it may be so; for you have succeeded better than we expected." They then disencumbered the gate of the casks, beams, and faggots, and opening it wide, advanced to the barriers with the keys in their hands. When the marshal approached, he and his companions dismounted; and the townsmen on their knees, presenting the keys, said, "My lord, you are sent hither, we learn, by the duke and duchess of Lancaster: we therefore offer you the keys, and surrender our town, as agreed on between you and our men." "Upon these terms I accept the keys," replied the marshal; and he and his men entered the town, where they quartered themselves here and there in the best manner they could. Sir Thomas Moreaux remained there the whole day. On the morrow, before his departure, he said to sir Thomas Maubrun de Linieres, "I give this town up to you and your men: you will make a good garrison of it." "By St. George, and so I will," replied sir Maubrun; "for I like it well."

Sir Maubrun de Linieres remained in garrison in Rouelles, having under him sixty spears and one hundred archers. Sir Thomas Moreaux returned to the duke and duchess at Saint Jago.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE MARSHAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S ARMY ATTACKS AND GAINS BY TREATY THE TOWN OF VILLECLOPE IN GALICIA. THE DUKE SENDS EMBASSADORS TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL TO ARRANGE AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THEM.

Shortly after the marshal's return from Rouelles, he assembled a body of about three hundred spears and six hundred archers, and, thus accompanied, advanced into Galicia a long day's journey from Saint Jago, and came before a town called Villeclope, which was only defended by the common people of the place. The marshal not only examined it himself, but made his companions do so, and then asked if they thought it might be taken by storm. After some consideration, they said it could. Upon this they all dismounted, and gave their horses to the servants to be led to the rear. They divided themselves into three divisions, and gave their orders like able men-at-arms. Sir Thomas Moreaux had the first: he gave the second to sir Evan Fitzwarren, and the third to sir John d'Ambreticourt. Each had under his command eighty spears, and seven score archers, which was thought sufficient for the attack of such a place.

They approached the town, entered the ditch, and gallantly made themselves masters of it, for it was dry, and ascended to the walls well shielded:* the archers were posted on the banks of the ditch,

* Bien targes et pavoises.

and shot so ably that scarcely any dared to show themselves in its defence. Notwithstanding this, the townsmen fought valiantly, and they were very numerous: some lanched darts, others stones, and used long poles shod with iron, which gave such blows that on whomsoever they fell, unless well armed, he was severely wounded or slain. The knights and squires, eager for renown, were busily employed in loosening the wall with pick-axes and crowbars, which they had brought with them, and continued their work in spite of the stones and lime-pots thrown down on their pavisses and basnets. Many gallant deeds were done; and in particular by two squires from Hainault, Thierry and William de Soumain. They, with their assistants, made a breach in the wall, and fought hand to hand with those within. These two brothers gained seven lances, which were pushed at them through the breach, by wresting them out of the enemy's hands. They were under the pennon of sir Evan Fitzwarren.

Sir John d'Ambreticourt made no boy's-play, but showed himself a true knight: he posted himself at the foot of the walls, and his pennon, with his arms of two hamets gules on a field ermine, fixed in the ground before him: he had a pick-axe in his hand, laboring with all his might to batter the wall. One may be surprised the townsmen were not frightened when they saw themselves thus attacked on all sides: but it lasted not long, for there were too many able men employed, and, perceiving what must happen, they resolved to surrender. The bailiff of the town, through whose means the place had held out for the king, came forth, and, having demanded who was the commander, said: "My lord, order a cessation of arms, for the inhabitants wish to enter into a treaty with you." The marshal replied, he would cheerfully do so, and sent a herald round the ditches, who thus spoke to the English: "Cease assaulting until you shall hear the trumpet of the marshal, for there is a treaty going forward with the townsmen." On this speech of the herald, the attack was suspended, and the assailants reposed themselves: indeed, many had need of it, for they had labored hard and were much fatigued. The townsmen, by their bailiff, said they were willing to yield the town on having their lives and fortunes spared, as the other towns in Galicia had done. "Indeed!" said the marshal, "but you will not come off so cheaply; for you have given us much trouble, and wounded our men. You see plainly you cannot hold out longer, and you must purchase your peace from us, or we return to the attack, and take your town by storm." "And what is the sum you expect for our ransom?" "In God's name," said the marshal, "ten thousand francs." "You ask too much," replied the bailiff: "I offer you two thousand, for the town is poor, and has been heavily taxed." "I will not accept your offer," said the marshal; "but take time to consider of it, and do not let the place be lost for three or four thousand francs, for all must be ours. I am already blamed by my companions for having entered into any treaty with you: therefore make haste, and either pay a handsome ransom or take the consequences." The bailiff returned to the town, and, calling the inhabitants together, said, "What will you do? If you suffer the English to renew the attack, they will storm the town, put us all to death, and plunder our wealth. They demand ten thousand francs, and I have offered two, which I know is too little, and they will never take them: we must increase our offer two or three thousand more." Some, who were much alarmed for their lives and fortunes, said: "Bailiff, do not fail making a bargain with them; for, sooner than they shall renew the assault, we will give four thousand francs." "It is well said," answered the bailiff, "and I will again treat with them."

On this, the bailiff came again to the marshal, who was waiting for him; and a ransom was agreed on, which, if I recollect, was six thousand francs. The gates were thrown open to the army, who quartered themselves in the town, and refreshed themselves there two days. The marshal gave the place as a garrison to sir Evan Fitzwarren, who had under him two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers; he held the place upward of eight months: but the ransom-money went to the duke of Lancaster, the marshal retaining one thousand francs.

After this surrender of Villeclope, the marshal returned to St. Jago, which was his head-quarters, for the duke was desirous of having him near his person. At times, he marched to the borders of Castille, to alarm the French: but in general the English did not quit Galicia, whither the king of Castille sent none to oppose them; for he was advised not to attack them with a large army, but to harass them from his garrisons, and to wait for succors from France. The duke's counsellors said to him as follows: "My lord, it is necessary that you and the king of Portugal should have an interview to confer together. You write to each other, but that is not enough; for the French are a subtle race, and see farther into affairs than most other nations. Should they, underhand, make a peace between the king of Portugal and the king of Castille, who has at his court, as we have been informed, several of the great barons of Portugal, either by a marriage or otherwise, so as to prevent you from having any assistance from him, what would become of you? You would be in a much worse condition than ever in this country, and the Castillians would not care anything for us, for you know they are the falsest and most gloomy people in the world. Do you imagine the king of Portugal has not thoroughly examined everything that concerns him? and if the king of Castille would agree to a peace, allowing him for his life to reign in Portugal, and himself to be unmolested in Castille, we doubt not but he would turn his back on you, notwithstanding he has been so pressing to bring you hither. Thus will you be completely ruined. You are well acquainted with the present state of England, that it has enough to do to make head against its old enemies the French and Scots. Make the most, therefore, of the men you now have, and push on the war vigorously; for, if you expect any reinforcements from England, you will be disappointed. You were two years in obtaining what you now have, and the king, your nephew, does not feel for the interests which made you quit the country. He is young, and confides in young counsellors, which has thrown England into much peril. Have an interview, therefore, with the king of Portugal as speedily as may be, and talk to him yourself; for you will gain more in one conversation than by four months' writing."

The duke of Lancaster treasured up these words; for he knew they were the truth, and that they had loyally advised him. He answered, "What would you have me do?" "We wish you would send five or six of your knights to the king of Portugal, and we advise that a baron, at least, be of the number, to remonstrate with him on public affairs; and let it be suggested that you are very anxious to have some personal conferences with him. Those whom you send will, of course, act with prudence; but, by all means, let them press for an immediate interview." The duke consented to this proposal; and the lord Poinings, a great baron in England, sir John Bancel,* sir John d'Ambreticourt, and sir John Sounder, bastard brother to the constable of the army, were ordered to go to Portugal. These lords made themselves ready to set out from Saint Jago, with one hundred spears and two hundred archers; but just as they were on the point of departure, having received their credential letters, there arrived from Portugal a knight and squire, attended by twelve lances. The knight's name was Vasco Martin d'Acunha, and the squire Fernando Martin de Merlo: they were both of the king's household, and the nearest about his person. They were comfortably lodged in Saint Jago, and presented to the duke and duchess, by each of whom they were most graciously received. They delivered their letters to their graces, which being read, they found, that in addition to the strong expressions of friendship and affection, the king of Portugal had sent two handsome ambling white mules, which gave them much pleasure. The English embassy was not for this laid aside; it was only retarded four days. On the fifth day they set out, accompanied by the Portuguese; and the duke, as a token of friendship, sent the king of Portugal two such beautiful pilgrim-falcons as had never been seen, and six English grayhounds, excellently trained for hunting all sorts of beasts.

The English and Portuguese continued their journey through Galicia, without fear of the Castillians, for they were at too great a distance. On the road sir John d'Ambreticourt and Ferdinand de Merlo commenced an acquaintance; for the squire had, in former times, served with sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir John's uncle, and had even been with him when he died in Carentan. They continued in conversation until they arrived at the gate of Coimbra, where the king of Portugal resided. As they were riding gently together, behind the rest of their company, they met a herald and his servant from Coimbra, on the road to the duke and his lords at Saint Jago He was attached to the king of Portugal, who, at the time of his coronation, had given him the name of Coimbra. The herald had already conversed with the lords who were advanced; and when don Ferdinand saw him, he said: "Here comes the king's herald, who has not been long in this country: I will inquire some news from him." When they met, the squire said, "Where have you been for this year past, that I have not seen you?" "In God's name," replied the herald, "I have been in England to the king and his uncles, who have made me very rich. I went thence by sea to Brittany, and was present at the marriage of the duke, and at the grand feasts he gave two months in the town of Nantes on his union with the lady Jane of Navarre.† From thence I returned to Guerrande, and by sea to Portugal."

While he was thus speaking, the squire kept his eyes fixed on an enamelled scutcheon that hung on the herald's breast, on which were emblazoned the arms of the king of Portugal and other knights of Portugal. Pointing with his finger to a coat of arms, he said: "Ah, here are the arms of a gallant knight of Portugal, sir John Portelet, which I am happy to see; for he is a valiant knight, and was once of great service to me, which I ought always to remember." When, taking out of his purse four florins, he gave them to the herald, who returned him thanks. Sir John d'Ambreticourt also examined the scutcheon, and remembering the arms, told me some time afterward, that the arms were two chaudiéres sables on a field argent, with an endenture gules.

When the herald had taken his leave and departed, the squire thus spoke: "Sir John, you noticed those sable chaudiéres, which the knight, to whom I am so much indebted, bore in his arms?" "Yes, I did," replied sir John; "but tell me the cause why you praise him so much: I shall willingly listen to you; for, as we ride on, we shall

* Q. if not lord Burnel. In the latest French edition it is *Buvrelé*; anglice Beverly.—Ed.

† On the decease of the duke of Brittany, she was queen of England, by her marriage with Henry IV.

be at a loss for conversation." "That I will do," replied he; "for such a knight is worth talking of. A little before the battle of Aljubarota, as the king of Portugal was marching through the country from Coimbra, he sent me to seek some of his knights, that they might be present at the engagement. I therefore rode off, attended only by a single page. In my way, I fell in with twenty Gascon lances, and I was suddenly in the midst before I perceived them, when I was made prisoner, and asked whither I was going. I said, 'To the castle du Ront.'* 'What to do there?' 'To seek sir John Fernando Portelet; for the king wishes for his company at Aljubarota.' 'What! is not don Fernando governor of Ront, with your king of Portugal?' 'No,' I replied, 'he is not; but he will hasten thither the moment he hears my message.' 'In God's name,' said they, 'he shall hear it; for we will ride thither.' On saying this, they turned about, and took the road to Ront. When they were within sight, the watch on the battlements sounded his horn, as a signal for the appearance of an enemy.

"Don Fernando asked from what quarter they were coming. 'From the side of Oporto,' replied the watch. 'Ah, ah,' said he, 'they must be Castillians seeking adventures, and on their road to Santarem. I will go and look at them; for they may possibly tell me some news, and where the king is.' Having ordered his horse to be saddled, and his pennon to be unfurled, he set off on a gallop, with only nineteen more, to meet the enemy, who had formed an ambuscade. The Castillian party had sent one of their men to scour over the plain, mounted on a genet, which being perceived by don Fernando, he said to a squire, 'Gallop thy genet, and see who that fellow is prancing on the plain.' The squire, sticking spurs into his horse, soon came up with the horseman, who suffered himself nearly to be overtaken: for his orders were to return instantly to the ambuscade, if followed by any one. When they were hard by, the whole party sallied forth and pursued the squire, who, being well mounted, had turned back. In the chase, they shouted 'Castille!' which convinced don Fernando, who had halted under his pennon, to wait for his squire, whom they were closely pursuing, that they were enemies; and he said, 'I am now sure they must be Castillians: let us shout "Portugal!" for I am resolved to meet them.' At these words he grasped his spear, and came on full speed up to them. The first whom he met he struck to the ground, and the second shared the same fate. Of the twenty-five spears, ten were already lying on the ground; the remainder took to flight; and of them several were likewise slain or wounded. All this I witnessed with great pleasure; for I saw in it my deliverance, and in a few minutes was left alone. I then advanced toward don Fernando, who, on seeing me, recollected me; for I had been formerly acquainted with him, and asked from whence I came, and what I was doing there: I then related to him my adventure, and how the Spaniards had taken me. 'And where is the king? Do you know nothing about him?' 'On my troth, sir, to-morrow he will give battle to the king of Castille; and I was sent to tell this to such knights as were ignorant of it.' 'To-morrow!' said don Fernando. 'Yes, on my faith; and, if you doubt me, ask these Castillians whom you have taken.'

"He went to his prisoners, and inquired from them if there were certainly to be a battle on the morrow. They said, that in truth there would be a general engagement on the morrow between Castille and Portugal, and that each side was making every exertion. The knight was well pleased at this intelligence, insomuch that he said to them, 'For the good news you have told me, I give you all your liberties, but surrender to me my countryman.' Thus did I regain my freedom; and, don Fernando having taken leave of those who captured me, they went their way. We returned to Ourem, where the knight made himself ready, and we set off together about midnight. The distance from Ourem to Aljubarota may be about six leagues; but, to avoid the Castillians and their parties, we lengthened our road. We heard, long before we saw the armies drawn up, that there was to be a battle; and, when we approached, we saw the king of Portugal in array, and the king of Castille opposite to him. At first, the knight could not distinguish the Portuguese from the Castillians, but said, 'I should imagine the largest army must be that of Castille.' We rode so near that we plainly distinguished the enemy drawn up in battle array: some put themselves in motion, in pursuit of us; but I fancy they were foreigners, from Gascony. Don Fernando, observing them, said, 'Here are our enemies: let us hasten away.' The enemy advanced full gallop, shouting, 'Castille, Castille!' but our men, seeing our situation, came to our assistance: the main body, however, did not take any step in consequence. The king received don Fernando with great joy, and he was posted at the bridle of the king's horse, for he was one of our bravest knights. I feel myself under the greatest obligation to him for having delivered me from the hands of mine enemies; otherwise I should not have been present at this famous battle of Aljubarota. Now, did he not do me a great service?" "On my faith, that he did," replied sir John; "and, from what you have said, he must be well acquainted with his business." "Ay, that he is," answered the squire. Upon this, they rode on a little faster to overtake their companions; and they all arrived that night at Coimbra.

* "Castle du Ront."—Q. if not Ourem.

CHAPTER XL.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER HAS AN INTERVIEW WITH THE KING OF PORTUGAL. A MARRIAGE IS AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE KING AND THE LADY PHILIPPA, DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE.

The king of Portugal was well pleased at the arrival of the English knights, and commanded that they should be comfortably lodged. When they were ready, don Martin d'Acunha and don Fernando Martin de Merlo, who were acquainted with the king's habits, introduced them to him. He received them very graciously; and after some conversation, which they knew well how to keep up, they presented the falcons and grayhounds. The king cheerfully accepted them, as he was fond of the chase. They returned the king thanks, on the part of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, for the handsome mules he had given them. The king replied, these were trifles, merely tokens of affection, such as lords desirous of maintaining love and friendship ought to make to each other; but he should soon offer more splendid presents. Wine and spices were now brought, of which the English knights having partaken, they took leave of the king and returned to their lodgings, where they supped. On the morrow, they dined at the palace, and the lord Poinings and sir John Bancel were seated at the king's table. Sir John d'Ambreticourt and sir John Sounder were at another table with the great barons of the kingdom, among whom was Lawrence Fongasse, squire of honor to the king, who was well known to these knights, having been acquainted with them in England; on which account he made them the best cheer in his power, and this he knew well how to do.

The dinner the king of Portugal gave to these knights was very handsome and well served: when over, they adjourned to the council-chamber, and the knights, addressing themselves to the king, the count d'Acunha and the count de Novaire spoke as follows: "Sire, with all the compliments the duke of Lancaster has charged us to pay you, he ordered us to say that he is very desirous of having a personal interview with you." The king replied, he was equally anxious for it, and added, "I beg of you to hasten everything as much as possible, that we may have a conference together." "That will be very proper," said the barons of Portugal; "for until you meet you will never understand each other. You may then confer on the most effectual means of carrying on the war against the king of Castille." "That is true," answered the knights. "Be speedy about it, then," said the king: "for, if the duke wishes to see me, I wish also to see him." They then entered on other conversation; for the council was to determine when and where this meeting should take place, and inform the English knights of it. This was done. It was agreed the king of Portugal should go to Oporto, and the duke of Lancaster advance along the borders of Galicia; and somewhere between them and Oporto the meeting was to be held. When the English knights had remained three days at Coimbra, they departed and followed the same road back to Saint Jago, where they related to the duke and duchess all that had passed. They were, with reason, well satisfied with it, for their affairs seemed now likely to be attended to.

When the day of meeting approached, the duke of Lancaster left his army, under the command of his marshal, at Saint Jago, and attended by three hundred spears and six hundred archers, and sir John Holland, (who had married his eldest daughter,) with many knights, rode toward the frontiers of Portugal. The king of Portugal, hearing that the duke was set out from Saint Jago, left Oporto with six hundred spears, and went to a town called in that country Monçao, the last town of Portugal on that side. The duke came to a town on the frontiers called Melgaço. Between Monçao and Melgaço runs a small river through meadows and fields, over which is a bridge called Pont de More.*

On a Thursday morning, the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster had their first interview at this bridge, attended by their escorts, when they made acquaintance with each other. On the king of Portugal's side had been built a bower, covered with leaves, in which the duke was entertained at dinner by the king. It was a handsome one; and the bishop of Coimbra, the bishop of Oporto, as also the archbishop of Braganza, were seated at the king's table with the duke, and a little below him were sir John Holland and sir Henry Beaumont. There were many minstrels, and this entertainment lasted until night. The king of Portugal was that day clothed in white lined with crimson, with a red cross of St. George, being the dress of the order of Avis, of which he was grand-master.† When the people had elected him their king, he declared he would always wear that dress in honor of God and St. George, and his attendants were all dressed in white and crimson. When it became late, they took leave of each other, with the engagement of meeting again on the morrow. The king went to Monçao, and the duke to Melgaço, which places were only separated by the river and meadows. On the Friday, after hearing the mass, they mounted their horses, and rode over the Pont de More, to the spot where they had met the preceding day. The house which had been erected for this occasion was the fairest and greatest that had been ever seen there. The king and duke had each their apartments hung with cloth and

* "Pont de More."—Q.

† Froissart mistakes the color of the cross: it was green, and borne on the left side.

covered with carpets, as convenient as if the king had been at Lisbon or the duke in London.

Before dinner they had a conference on the state of their affairs, how they should carry on the war, and when they should commence it. They resolved to order their marshals to continue their attacks during the winter, which the king was to pass in Portugal, and the duke at Saint Jago; and it was settled that, early in March, they would unite their forces, and march to combat the king of Castille, wherever he might be, and whoever he might have with him; for the English and Portuguese, when united, would be full thirty thousand men. When this had been determined, the king's council introduced the subject of a marriage with their king; for the country was very desirous he would marry, as it was now time; and by it they would be much strengthened; and they thought he could not make a better choice for himself, nor one more agreeable to them, than by intermarrying with the house of Lancaster. The duke, who saw the attachment the king and the Portuguese had for him, and that he had need of their assistance, as he was come from England to Portugal to regain his kingdom of Castille, replied with a smile, addressing the king: "Sir King, I have at Saint Jago two girls, and I will give you the choice to take which of them shall please you best. Send thither your council, and I will return her with them." "Many thanks," said the king: "you offer me more than I ask. I will leave my cousin Catherine, of Castille; but I demand your daughter Philippa, in marriage, whom I will espouse and make my queen." At these words the conference broke up, as it was dinner-time. They were seated as on the preceding day, and most sumptuously and plentifully served, according to the custom of that country. After dinner, the king and duke returned to their lodgings.

On the Saturday after mass, they again mounted their horses, and returned to Pont de More in grand array. The duke this day entertained at dinner the king and his attendants. His apartments were decorated with the richest tapestry, with his arms emblazoned on it, and as splendidly ornamented as if he had been at Hertford, Leicester, or at any of his mansions in England, which very much astonished the Portuguese. Three bishops and one archbishop were seated at the upper table; the bishops of Lisbon, of Oporto, of Coimbra, and the archbishop of Braganza. The king of Portugal was placed at the middle, and the duke somewhat below him: a little lower than the duke, the count d'Acunha and the count de Novaire. At the head of the second table was the deputy grand-master of Avis: then the grand-master of St. James, in Portugal,* and the grand-master of St. John, Diego Lopez Pacheco, Joao Fernandez Pacheco his son, Lopo Vasquez d'Acunha, Vasco Martin d'Acunha, Lopo Diaz d'Azevedo, Vasco Martin de Merlo, Gonzalves de Merlo, all great barons. The abbot of Aljubarota, the abbot of St. Mary, in Estremadoura, sir Alvarez Pereira, marshal of Portugal, Joao Rodriguez Pereira, Joao Gomez de Silva, Joao Rodriguez de Sa, and many other Portuguese knights, were there seated; for not one Englishman was at the table that day, but served their guests. There were numbers of minstrels, who played their parts well; and the duke gave them and the heralds one hundred nobles each.

When this festival was ended, they took a most friendly leave of each other, until they should meet again. The king returned to Oporto, and the duke to Melgaço, from whence he journeyed toward Saint Jago. The count de Novaire escorted him with one hundred Portuguese lances, until he was out of all danger, when he took leave and returned to Portugal. The duchess was very impatient for the duke's return, to hear how the conferences had passed; of course, you may suppose, she received him with joy. She asked what he thought of the king of Portugal. "On my faith," replied the duke, "he is an agreeable man, and has the appearance of being a valiant one, and I think he will reign powerfully; for he is much beloved by his subjects, who say that they have not been so fortunate in a king for these hundred years. He is but twenty-six years old, and, like the Portuguese, strong, and well formed in his limbs and body to go through much labor and pain." "Well, and what was done in regard to the marriage?" said the duchess. "I have given him one of my daughters." "Which?" asked the duchess. "I offered him the choice of Catherine or Philippa; for which he thanked me much, and has fixed on Philippa." "He is in the right," said the duchess; "for my daughter Catherine is too young for him."

The duke and duchess passed the time as well as they could: winter was approaching, though in Galicia the severity of that season is scarcely felt; for it is always there so warm, that some fruits are eatable, even in March, and beans, peas, and grass, are high and flourishing in February. Their hay-harvest is over before Midsummer-day; and, by that time their corn is, in several places, completely ripe.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S MARSHAL GAINS FOR HIM SEVERAL PLACES IN GALICIA. THE CONDUCT OF THE KING OF CASTILLE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the duke of Lancaster lived quietly at St. Jago with his duchess and children, it was not so with his army; for the commanders made frequent excursions over the country, conquering towns and castles, of which, for a time they held possession. I will faithfully narrate the manner in which they did this, and the names of the towns they gained; for I was told all the particulars of the campaign by those English knights who had been actors in these conquests; but more particularly by that gallant knight of Portugal whom I have before mentioned, who, in the most friendly manner, entered into all the details at Middleburgh, in Zealand, where he was, on his way to Prussia. I have already told his name, but I will repeat it: he was called John Fernando Portelet, who informed me as follows:

"When the duke of Lancaster was returned to Saint Jago, from the frontiers of Portugal, Sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal of his army, said to him, that he was unwilling to remain in idleness; and that, since they were in an enemy's country, he would make some excursions to conquer towns or castles, and employ the army who were very anxious for it. He gave his orders accordingly, and declared he would penetrate into Galicia farther than he had hitherto been, and would not leave town nor castle behind him without their submitting to the duke. He began his march from Saint Jago, with six hundred lances and twelve hundred archers, and took the road to Pontevedra, a good town of Galicia, which held out for the king of Castille. The townsmen were well aware of the intended attack; for all the inhabitants of the flat countries fled before the English, to different towns, to save themselves and fortunes. When the marshal came before the place, the inhabitants were in deep consultation, whether to surrender, or to defend themselves; but they were not unanimous. The lower sort of inhabitants wanted to surrender instantly: the bailiff (who had been ordered thither by the king to guard and defend it,) with those who were the richest, wished to hold out; for they said that an instant surrender would not redound to their honor nor profit. They were still in debate, when the watch sounded his horn to announce the arrival of the English. This broke up the assembly; and every one ran to the battlements, armed with stones, darts, and javelins, with a full determination to defend the place, and not to surrender it until pushed to extremities.

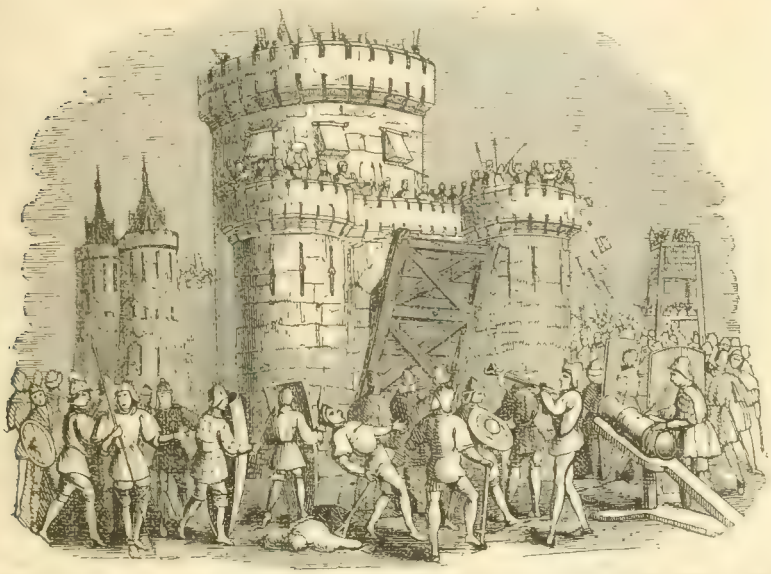
"When the marshal and his companions arrived at Pontevedra, they dismounted and gave their horses to their servants. They drew up their men for instantly attacking it. The archers were ranged round the walls with bows bent for shooting; and men-at-arms, well armed and shielded, descended into the ditch. On the marshal's trumpet sounding, the assault commenced; and those who were in the ditch scrambled up to the walls, with pick-axes and iron crows to undermine them. The townsmen showered down on them stones and flints to their great annoyance: they would have done more, if the archers had not made good use of their bows: few, after some time, dared to show themselves on the bulwarks, for they killed and wounded many. The bailiff of the town was so severely struck by an arrow, which pierced his helmet and head, that he was forced to be carried to his house. The ill-intentioned in the place were not sorry at this, because he would not consent to a surrender. This accident, however, did not cause the defence to be weakened; on the contrary, they were the more active; and the attack continued until night, when the enemy sounded a retreat. Many were wounded on each side. The English returned to their quarters, fully determined to renew the attack on the morrow, and to gain the place by capitulation or storm.

"During the night, the inhabitants held a meeting and said: 'We are mad, thus to suffer ourselves to be killed and wounded for nothing. Why do not we act like the other towns which have surrendered? They have yielded themselves to the duke of Lancaster and the lady Constance, daughter to king don Pedro, on condition that, if the rest of the towns in Spain acknowledge him for king, they will do the same: in which they have acted wisely, for they have remained unmolested.' 'In God's name,' said others, 'we wanted to do so, but our bailiff persuaded us to the contrary, for which he has paid severely; for there is a great chance if he will ever recover from the wound in his head.' 'Let us go,' said some, 'and speak with him, and ask how we had best act now; for the English will certainly return to-morrow, and conquer us by fair or foul means.' This proposition was adopted, and twelve of the principal townsmen went to the bailiff's house, whose name was, I believe, Diantale de Léon. They found him lying on a couch, his wound having been just dressed; and, as it had so lately happened, he did not suffer much from it, and made good cheer to those among them whom he knew, and had come to see him. He inquired how the attack had been carried on, and if they had well defended themselves. They said, 'Tolerably well; and, thanks to God, no one, excepting himself, of any consequence, had been hurt; but to-morrow will be the day, for we are assured we shall be very hard pushed; and such ignorant and simple persons as ourselves will never be able to withstand their attacks. We therefore come to you for advice how to act. The English menace us greatly; and should they win the place by storm, they will put all to the sword, and plunder the town.'

"'In the name of God,' replied Diantale de Léon, 'you can never be blamed for surrendering; but treat prudently, and manage by all means to avoid being taken by storm. Offer to put yourselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same

* Rodriguez de Vasconcelles.

terms with those of Coruña, for no Englishman ever entered that town. They sent out to them provisions for money; and, if you will follow my advice, you will do the same. I believe they will be glad to accept your submission, for there are many other towns in Galicia to conquer, and they will not hold out for trifles.' 'You say well,' replied the townsmen, 'and we will do as you advise.' They then left him, and passed the night as well as they could. By sunrise, on the morrow, they had properly instructed seven of the principal inhabitants, whom they sent out of the town to treat with sir Thomas Moreaux: they met him on his march to renew the attack.



Attack on the Fortifications of Pontevedra. Composed from Harleian MS., 4425, and MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

They cast themselves on their knees, and, having saluted him, said, 'My lord, we are sent hither by the inhabitants of Pontevedra, who offer to place themselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms which those of Coruña have obtained. This they have ordered us to tell you, and also that you may have provision in plenty on paying a fair price. It is the wish of those who have sent us, that you push them no farther, and that neither yourself nor any from you enter the place armed and by force; but that if you or any others be desirous of courteously entering the town, they shall be welcome.' The marshal had with him one who understood perfectly the Galician tongue, who repeated to him in English all that had been said. The marshal replied, 'Return quickly to your town, and let those who have sent you come to the barriers. I will grant them respite until to-morrow at sunrise, should we not make a satisfactory agreement.' They promised to comply with his command, and departed. When arrived at the barriers, they found there the greater part of the townsmen waiting, to whom they told all that had passed between them and the marshal; adding, 'The marshal will soon be here himself: therefore, if you do not think yourselves of sufficient consequence to parley with him, hasten those hither whom you may wish for.'

"As the principal inhabitants were at the barriers, they saw sir Thomas Moreaux, with about forty lances, advancing, who on his arrival dismounted, and his companions likewise. He addressed them as follows: 'You, the inhabitants of Pontevedra, have sent to us seven of your brother townsmen, and persons in whom I am satisfied you have confidence: they have told us that you are willing to submit yourselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms which those of Coruña have obtained, but that you wish to have no other governors but yourselves. Now tell me, I beg of you, what sovereignty my lord would have if he had not his own officers in the town? When you pleased you would acknowledge him for your king, and when you pleased disavow him. Know, that it is my intention, as well as that of those around me, to give you a wise, valiant and prudent governor, who will defend you and do ample justice to all alike, and I mean to thrust out the officers of the king of Castille: let me hear, therefore, if you consent to these terms, for such are our fixed resolutions.' They requested leave to consult together, and having done so, replied: 'My lord, we have the fullest confidence in you, but we are afraid of pillagers; for we have formerly been so ill treated by persons of that description, when sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the Bretons first came hither: they left us not a rag, and we are in dread of the like happening again.' 'You need not,' said sir Thomas, 'for no pillager shall ever enter your town. You shall lose nothing by us: all we want is your obedience.' This speech settled the business, and sir Thomas and his company entered the town, his army taking up their quarters in tents without the walls. The inhabitants sent them twenty-four horse-loads of wine, as much bread, and poultry in abundance for the principal officers.

"The marshal remained the whole day in Pontevedra, to arrange a government for the duke of Lancaster. He appointed an honest Galician governor, who had followed the duchess to England, with whom the inhabitants were satisfied. On the morrow, he returned to his army, and in a council he determined to march against another town that was rebellious, called Vigo, six leagues distant from Pontevedra. They instantly began their march; and, when within two leagues of the place, they sent forward to know if they would surrender, as Pontevedra and other towns had done, which, if they refused, they might rest assured they should be attacked in the morning. The inhabitants paid no attention to this menace, and said, that they had often had assaults, but had never been the worse for them. When this answer was carried to the marshal, he swore by St. George they should be attacked in earnest. 'What! are the scoundrels so proud to send me such an answer?' They passed the night comfortably with what they brought with them, and on the morrow by sunrise were on their march to Vigo. It was near ten o'clock when they came before the town, and each party made preparations for the attack and defence. Vigo, though not a large town, is sufficiently strong; and had there been within it some knights and squires, who understood their profession, I do not believe the English would have gained it so easily as they did; for the moment the inhabitants felt the arrows of the English and saw many killed and wounded by them, for they were badly armed, they were panic-struck, and said, 'Why do we let ourselves be killed and wounded for the king of Castille? We may as well have the duke of Lancaster, who married the daughter of don Pedro, for our king, as the son of don Henry of Transtamare. We must know, that if we be taken by storm, our lives will be forfeited and our town plundered, and there does not seem succor coming to us from any quarter. A month ago, we sent a remonstrance to the king of Castille at Burgos on our situation, and the peril we should be in, if the English marched hither, as we heard they intended doing. The king indeed spoke to the French knights who are with him on the matter, but no orders were given for any men-at-arms to be sent hither as a garrison, any more than to other parts of Galicia, which plainly showed it was indifferent to the king whether we were won or not. He told our envoys to return and do as well as they could. This proves he does not wish us to be slain, nor the place taken by storm.'

"On saying this, some of the townsmen mounted over the gateway, and from a window made signs they wished for a parley, to treat of peace. They were observed; and the marshal, going thither, asked what they wanted. They said; 'Marshal, order your men to retire: we will submit ourselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms as those of Coruña and other towns have obtained; and if you want provisions, you shall courteously have them from us; but we will not suffer any one to enter the town by force of arms. This is our proposal, and by this we mean to abide.' The marshal was advised to answer, 'I agree to your terms; but I must appoint an able governor, to counsel and defend you, should there be any need of it.' They answered, they would also admit of this. Thus was the treaty concluded; and, on the assault ceasing, the army retreated from before it into the plain. The marshal, sir Evan Fitzwarren, sir John Abuurelle,* the lord de Pommiers, and sir John d'Ambreticourt, entered the town to refresh themselves, where they remained the whole day. Those without the walls received bread, wine, and other provision from the town in abundance.

"After the conquest of Vigo, where the lords had availed themselves of the opportunity to refresh themselves at their ease, for it is situated in a rich country, and had nominated as governor an English squire called Thomas Albery, a prudent and valiant man, to whom they gave twelve archers for his defence, they marched from thence, skirting the mountains and borders of Castille, toward the large town of Bayona. When they had advanced within two leagues of the place, they halted and took up their quarters for the night. On the morrow, they dislodged and marched in battle-array to Bayona. When near, they formed themselves into two divisions, and sent forward a herald to learn the intentions of the inhabitants, whether they would surrender without being assaulted. The herald

* I imagine this must be intended for sir Hugh lord Burnel. See *Dugdale*.

had not far to go; and, when arrived at the barriers, he found plenty of common people there, though badly armed, to whom he delivered his message; for he well understood their language, being a Portuguese. His name was Coimbra, and attached to the king of Portugal. 'You men of the town,' said he, 'what are your intentions? Will you suffer yourselves to be attacked, or will you surrender quietly to your sovereigns, the duke and duchess of Lancaster? My lord marshal and his companions send me hither to know what you mean to do.' Upon this they collected together and began to talk aloud, saying, 'What shall we do? Shall we defend ourselves, or surrender?' An old man who had learnt experience, from having seen more than they had, addressed them: 'My good sirs, in our situation we must not hold long councils; and the English are very courteous in thus allowing us time to deliberate. You are aware that we have not any hopes of succor; for the king of Castille, who knows our situation well, and has done so since the arrival of the duke and duchess at Coruña, has not provided any resources for us, nor does he seem inclined so to do. If we, therefore, allow ourselves to be attacked, the town is so large and ill fortified, we cannot guard the whole; and the English are subtle in war: they will exert themselves to conquer us, in hopes of plunder; for they are, like all men-at-arms, eager to enrich themselves; and this town is supposed to be more rich than in fact it is. I therefore think it most advisable that we quietly submit to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, and, by not foolishly resisting, lose more, but obtain peace on advantageous terms. This is the advice I give you.' They replied, they would follow it; and as he was a man of consideration in Bayona, they requested him to answer the herald. 'I will cheerfully do so; but we must give him some money, which will bind him to our interests, and induce him to make a favorable report to his lords.' On this he advanced to the herald, and said: 'You will return to your lords, and assure them we are willing to put ourselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, in the same manner other towns in Galicia have done, or may do. Now, go and do our business well, and we will give you twenty florins.' The herald was delighted on hearing this speech, and the promise of twenty florins; and said, 'Where are the florins?' They were instantly paid down, and he set off, gayly, to rejoin the English army.

"The marshal and his companions, on seeing him return, asked what news he had brought. 'Do the townsmen mean to surrender or wait the attack?' 'By my faith, my lords,' replied the herald, 'they have no such intentions. They desire me to inform you, they are willing to submit themselves to the duke and duchess, on similar terms to those which other towns have obtained; and if you will go thither, they will gladly receive you.' 'Well,' said the marshal, 'it is better we thus gain the place than by assault; for our men, at least, will neither be wounded nor slain.' The marshal and his army marched at a foot's-pace to the town, where he dismounted, and went to the barrier and gate. There were numbers of people assembled, but their whole armors were not worth ten francs, to see the English; and the person who had given the answer to the herald was there also, to conclude a treaty. The moment the herald perceived him, he said to the marshal, 'My lord, speak to that elderly man who is bowing to you, for he has the greatest weight in the place.' The marshal advanced, and said, 'Now, what have you to say? Will you surrender yourselves to my lord, the duke of Lancaster, and to his duchess, as to your legal sovereigns?' 'Yes,' my lord,' replied the old man: 'we surrender ourselves to you, and acknowledge them for our lords, as other towns in Galicia have done; and, if you and your companions please to enter the town, you are welcome; but on condition that, should you want provision, you do not seize it, but loyally pay for whatever you may take.' 'I agree to this,' said the marshal; 'for we only desire the love and obedience of the country; but you must swear, that should the king of Castille come in person, or send hither any troops, you will defend yourselves boldly against him and all his allies.' 'We willingly swear this; and should he come himself, or send any troops, we will remain steady to your interest; for you will never find any deceit in us.' 'I am satisfied,' answered the marshal, 'and do not require more. Before the expiration of the year, the dispute will be decided; and the crown of Castille, Cordova, Galicia, and Seville, will fall to the strongest; for, by the end of August, there will be such numbers of men-at-arms in Castille as have not been seen for these hundred years.' 'Well, my lord,' answered the elder, 'let happen what may, and the right fall where it ought, we of Galicia venture to wait the event.'

"Upon this, the holy sacrament was brought, and those who governed the town swore upon it to behave loyally and faithfully, like good subjects, to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, and to acknowledge them as their sovereigns, in the same manner as other towns had done. The marshal, in the name of the duke of Lancaster received them as his subjects, and swore to defend and govern them in peace and justice. When all this had been done, the barriers and gates were thrown open, when all entered who chose, and lodged themselves where they could. They remained there four days, to recruit themselves and horses, and also to wait for fair weather; for, during these four days, it rained incessantly, and the rivers were much swelled. There are, in Galicia, many rivers which are so greatly increased by the mountain-torrents, that they are very dangerous to pass. While waiting for a change in the weather, they held a council, whether they should march for Betancos or Ribadavia, which is a strong town, inhabited by the most insolent and treacherous people in all Galicia. On the fifth day, the English dislodged from Bayona, and took the field. The weather was now temperate, and the rivers, to their great joy, reduced to their usual size. They rode toward Ribadavia without any opposition; and, as no one came out against them, they thought themselves lords of Galicia. They arrived near the town, with a large train of baggage, horses and victuallers, and encamped in a grove of olive trees on a handsome plain, about half a league from the place. They resolved to send a herald to parley with the townsmen, before they made any preparations for the attack; for the marshal well knew they were the falsest and worst people in all Castille, extensive as it is; and that they paid no regard to the king, nor to any one but themselves, depending on the strength of their town.

"The herald, before he set out, was charged to learn their intentions; but, when he came to the barriers, he found them and the gate closed. He shouted and called, but received no answer whatever. He saw, indeed, several pass backward and forward on the battlements; but for all he could do, not one would come and speak with him, though he remained an hour thus bawling to them. Finding he could not obtain a hearing, he said to himself, 'I fancy these men of Ribadavia have had some communication with those of Bayona, who are vexed they should have given me twenty florins for so little trouble, and want to make me here pay for it. By holy Mary! I believe they wish to keep me until it be late, and then seize and hang me.' On saying this, he remounted his horse, and returned to the marshal and his army. On his arrival, he was asked what news, and whether the inhabitants of Ribadavia would surrender as the other towns had done, or force them to the attack?' 'By my troth,' replied the herald, 'I know not what they mean to do; for they are so proud, that though I bawled to them for an hour, they never deigned to give me any answer.' Sir John Burnel then said, 'Hast thou seen no one? Perhaps they are fled, and have left their town for fear of us.' 'Fled!' replied the herald: 'begging your pardon, my lord, they disdain to do such a thing as fly; and before you conquer them, they will give you more plague than all the other towns in Galicia together. Know that there are plenty of men within it; for I saw them when I called out, "Listen to me, listen to me! I am a herald, whom my lord marshal has sent hither to parley and treat with you;" but they gave me no answer, only staring at me, and bursting out in laughter.' 'Ah, the insolent scoundrels!' said the marshal: 'by St. George, they shall be well punished for this; and, unless my lord of Lancaster shall order otherwise, never will I quit this place until I have reduced it under his obedience. Let us now eat and drink to refresh ourselves, and then march to the assault; for I will see this town nearer, and what is its strength, that makes the scoundrels thus insolent, and induces them to hold us so cheap.'

"When they had finished their repast, they mounted their horses, and, with trumpets sounding, rode gently on, for the weather was as sweet as in the month of May. On coming before the place, some knights and squires, to make a display, galloped up to the barriers, where they found a large body of cross-bowmen drawn up in front of the gate, who, by their shooting, killed and wounded many horses. The archers then advanced, and, posting themselves on the bank of the ditch, and at the barriers, attacked the cross-bowmen. The assault was severe, and lasted a considerable time; for the town was tolerably strong, and difficult to be conquered. One side is situated on a perpendicular rock, impossible to be mounted: the other, indeed, is on the plain, but surrounded by wide ditches, which, though not filled with water, cannot easily be crossed. The knights and squires, however, did cross them, and ascended the banks to the walls, with targets on their heads, to defend themselves from the arrows, or whatever might be thrown down from the battlements. The archers shot so well, that scarcely any dared show themselves; and this attack was long continued, many on each side being killed or wounded. Toward evening, it ceased, on the trumpets sounding the retreat; and the English returned to their camp, where they made themselves comfortable, and attended to their wounded. Thierry de Soumain was so badly wounded in the arm at the barriers, by a bolt from a cross-bow, that it was necessary to have it forced through the arm; he was upward of a month unable to use it, and obliged to bear it in a scarf.

"While the marshal of the duke of Lancaster's army was thus overrunning and turning Galicia to his interest, the duke and duchess, with their children, resided quietly at St. Jago. They heard frequently from the king of Portugal, as a continual intercourse was kept up between them on their mutual affairs. King John of Castille held his court at Valladolid, attended by the French knights, whom he frequently consulted on the state of his kingdom; for he was perfectly acquainted with everything that was passing around him. He said to them, 'My fair sirs, I greatly marvel that no succor comes to me from France, to assist me in my distress; for my country will be lost, if no reinforcements arrive to prevent it. The English keep the field; and I know for truth, that the duke of Lancaster and king of Portugal have had an interview, and that the last is to marry one of the duke's daughters, for she has been betrothed

to him; and, as soon as this marriage shall have taken place, you will see them unite together and enter my kingdom, and, when united, they will prove too much for me.' The French knights, to comfort him, replied, 'Do not be uneasy: if the English gain on one side they lose on another. We have certain intelligence, that the king of France, with upward of an hundred thousand armed men, has at this moment invaded England to conquer and destroy that whole country. When that shall be accomplished, and England reduced to a state of subjection from whence it can never rise, the king of France and his army will embark on board their navy, which is so considerable, and disembark during the course of the summer at Coruña. He will reconquer in one month more than you have lost during the year, and surround the duke of Lancaster in such a manner that you will see him fly to Portugal. Thus will you be revenged of your enemies; for be assured, that if France were not at this moment occupied with the conquest of England, you would have had, some time since, three or four thousand lances from thence. The king of France, his uncles and council, have a great affection for you, and are very anxious to put an end to your war. Never mind if the English keep the field, and borrow from you a little of your kingdom: before St. John's day shall come, they will be forced to restore the whole of it back to you.'

"Such were the conversations that frequently passed at Valladolid between the king of Castille and his council, with the French knights. The king, having such an opinion of them, believed all they said, and took comfort. They indeed thought what they had said was truth; for they concluded the king of France had invaded England, according to the rumors spread throughout Castille. You must know that the duke of Lancaster did not hear from his people one quarter of what was told them by pilgrims and merchants from Flanders; and, though the king of Portugal wrote frequently to inquire after the duke's health, these rumors prevented him from hastening his preparations, and from demanding the lady Philippa for his queen. His council said, that as all the intelligence from France and Flanders agreed England to be in a most perilous state of being destroyed, neither the alliance nor marriage with the duke of Lancaster or his daughter would be of any advantage to him, and that he should dissemble his thoughts, but still preserve an outward appearance of great affection to the duke and duchess, by letters and otherwise, until he should see what turn affairs would take."

We will now for a while leave speaking of Spain and Portugal, and return to France.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO LILLE, WITH THE INTENT TO INVADE ENGLAND. SIR SIMON BURLEY ADVISES THE REMOVAL OF THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS A BECKET FROM CANTERBURY TO DOVER CASTLE, FOR FEAR OF THE FRENCH.

At this period, (1386,) the number of ships, galleys, and vessels of every description, which had been collected to carry over to England the king of France and his army, were so great, that the oldest man then living had never seen nor heard of the like. Knights and squires were arming on all sides, and, when they quitted their homes, they said; "We will invade these cursed English, who have done such mischief to France, and now avenge ourselves for the losses they have caused us by the death of our fathers, brothers, or friends." It was twelve weeks before all the purveyances of the different lords were ready and embarked, so grandly had they provided themselves. The report was kept up for some time in Flanders, that the king would be there on the morrow, to hasten them. Men were continually arriving from Gascony, Armagnac, the Toulousain, Bigorre, Comminges, Auvergne, Berry, Limousin, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Brittany, Touraine, Blois, Orleans, Beauce, Normandy, Picardy, and from every province in France, who quartered themselves in Flanders and Artois.

When the middle of August came, which was the time fixed on for the invasion taking place, in order the more to hasten those from the distant parts of the realm; and, to show that the king was in earnest to embark, he took leave of queen Blanche, the duchess of Orleans, and the other princesses. He heard a solemn mass in the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris, and it was his intention, when he should quit Paris, never to reënter it until he had landed in England; and of this all the principal cities and towns were persuaded. The king of France went to Senlis, whither he was accompanied by his queen: the duke of Berry was in Berry, though his purveyances were collecting in Flanders and at Sluys, like the others. The duke of Burgundy was also in his own country, but he bade adieu to his duchess and children, and set off for Flanders, meaning to take leave of his aunt, the duchess of Brabant, in his way thither. On his departure from Burgundy, he travelled in great pomp and magnificence, attended by the admiral of France and the lord Guy de la Trimouille, unto Brussels, where the duchess and her ladies received him and his company with great joy. He tarried there two days, and then went to Mons in Hainault, where he found his daughter madame d'Ostrevant, duke Albert, and his son the lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, who entertained them handsomely, and conducted the duke to Valenciennes, where he was lodged in the apartments of the count, and duke Albert at the hôtel of Vicongneras. The duke of Burgundy, on leaving Valenciennes, went to Douay and Arras, where the duchess was waiting for him. From Senlis the king of France came to Compiegne, Noyon, Peronne, Bapaume and Arras; and there were such numbers of men-at-arms pouring into those countries from all quarters, that everything was destroyed or devoured without a farthing being paid for anything. The poor farmers, who had filled their barns with grain, had only the straw, and, if they complained, were beaten or killed. The fish-ponds were drained of fish, and the houses pulled down for firing, so that if the English had been there, they could not have committed greater waste than this French army did. They said, "We have not at present any money, but shall have enough on our return, when we will pay for all." The farmers, not daring to speak out, cursed them inwardly, on seeing them seize what was intended for their families; and said, "Go, go to England, and may never a soul of you come back."

The king of France arrived at Lille, with his two uncles of Burgundy and Bourbon; but the duke of Berry still remained behind, in his own country, arranging his affairs. With the king were the duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the count d'Armagnac, the count de Savoye, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Geneve, the count de St. Pol, the count d'Eu, the count de Longueville, the lord de Coucy, sir William de Namur, and so many of the great lords of France that I can never name them. It was said that twenty thousand knights and squires were to embark for England, which was indeed a goodly company, with about the same number of cross-bows, including the Genoese, and twenty thousand stout varlets.

Sir Oliver de Clisson was still in Brittany making his preparations, and equipping his fleet at the port of Treguier, from whence he intended to embark his wooden town, that was to be put together, and erected on his landing in England, as you have before heard. The flower of Breton chivalry was to accompany the constable, such as the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Rays, de Beaumanoir, de Laval, de Rochefort, de Malestroit, the viscount de Combor, sir John de Malestroit, the lord de Dinant, the lord d'Ancenis, and five hundred spears, all picked men. The constable had always declared, that no one ought to be employed on this expedition if he were not a good man-at-arms and such as could be depended on. He had said to the admiral; "Be careful not to suffer any boys or servants to embark on board the fleet, for they will do us more harm than good." And the knights, unless they were of high rank, or had hired vessels for themselves, were not allowed to take with them more than one horse and one servant. To say the truth, their arrangements were very well made: and it was the opinion of many, that if the army could have been landed together at the place they had fixed on in Orwell bay, the whole country would have been thrown into confusion. Indeed, I believe there was little doubt of it; for the great lords, such as prelates, abbots, and rich citizens, were panic-struck, but the commonalty and poorer sort held it very cheap. Such knights and squires as were not rich, but eager for renown, were delighted, and said to each other, "Lord, what fine times are coming, since the king of France intends to visit us! He is a valiant king and of great enterprise: there has not been such a one in France these three hundred years. He will make his people good men-at-arms; and blessed may he be for thinking to invade us; for certainly we shall be all slain or made powerfully rich: one or the other must happen."

If the preparations for this invasion were great in France, those in England, for its defence, were not less so, as I have before mentioned, and will therefore slightly return to it. The taxes in England were equally heavy with those in France; but though they were very oppressive, the common people said they ought not to complain, for they were raised for the defence of the country, and paid to knights and squires to guard their lands, and they were their laborers, who provided them with food, and the sheep from whom they took the wool; but, if England should be conquered, they would be the greatest losers. No one was exempted from the payment of these taxes; so that two millions of florins were raised for the defence of the country, and paid into the hands of the archbishop of York, the earl of Oxford, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Simon Burley, sir Peter Gouloufre, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, and others of the king's privy council, who were appointed receivers and paymasters of the above sum, for the king's uncles were not consulted in the business. They would not interfere, nor by so doing throw the kingdom into trouble, but exerted themselves to the utmost in putting all the coast in a good state of defence; for they most assuredly thought the king of France would attempt to land his army in England during the course of the summer. The before-named receivers did in the king's name as they thought proper in respect to this tax; but the earl of Oxford was the most active, and made the greatest advantage of it. Everything was done by him, and without his consent nothing; for which, when this alarm was over, the people were much dissatisfied, and wanted to know what had become of the large sums that had been raised; and the principal cities and towns, urged on by the king's uncles, would have an account how they had been disbursed, as I will relate in proper time and place, for I wish not that anything should be forgotten in this history.

Sir Simon Burley was governor of Dover castle, and, from his situation, received frequent intelligence from France by the fishermen of the town, who related to him what they heard from the French

fishermen, as they were often obliged to adventure as far as Wissan or Boulogne to obtain good fish. When the fishermen from France met them at sea, they told them enough, and more than they knew; or, though there were wars between France and England, they were never interrupted in their pursuits, nor attacked each other, but, on the contrary, gave mutual assistance, and bought and sold, according as either had more fish than they were in want of; for, if they were to meddle in the national quarrels, there would be no fishing, and none would attempt it unless supported by men-at-arms. Sir Simon learnt from the fishermen that the king of France was absolutely determined on the invasion; that he intended to land one division at or near Dover, and another at Sandwich, and that his forces were immense. He, as well as the rest of England, believed all this was true; and one day he set out for Canterbury to visit the abbey, which is very large and handsome; near it is Christ-church, which is also rich and powerful.

The abbot inquired, "What news?" and sir Simon told him all he knew, adding, "that the shrine of St. Thomas, so respectable and rich, was not safe in Canterbury, for the town was not strong;* and if the French should come, some of the pillagers, through avarice, would make for Canterbury, which they would plunder, as well as your abbey, and make particular inquiries after the shrine, and will take it away, to your great loss. I would therefore advise, that you have it carried to Dover castle, where it will be perfectly safe, though all England were lost." The abbot and all the convent were so angered at this speech, though meant well, that they replied, "How! sir Simon, would you wish to despoil this church of its jewel? If you are afraid yourself, gain courage, and shut yourself up in your castle of Dover, for the French will not be bold enough, nor in sufficient force, to adventure themselves so far." This was the only answer he had; but sir Simon persisted so long in his proposition, that the common people grew discontented, and held him for an ill-inclined person, which, as I shall relate, they afterwards showed more plainly. Sir Simon made but a short stay and returned to Dover.

General View of Sluys.—From an old plan, in Flandria Illustrata, by Aut. Sanderus

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE VISITS HIS FLEET AT SLUYS. THE KING OF ARMENIA CROSSES TO ENGLAND, TO ATTEMPT A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO KINGS. THE ANSWER HE RECEIVES.

The king of France, to show his impatience for the invasion and his dislike of being at too great a distance, came to Sluys. The report was now daily current in Flanders and Artois, "The king will embark Saturday, Tuesday, or Thursday." Every day of the week they said, "He will embark to-morrow, or the day after." The duke of Touraine,† the king's brother, the bishop of Beauvais, chancellor, and other great lords, had taken leave of the king at Lille, and returned to Paris. I believe, indeed it was assured me for fact, that the duke was appointed regent during the king's absence, in conjunction with the count de Blois and other principal barons, who had not been ordered on the invasion. The duke of Berry was still behind, though he was advancing slowly, for he had no great desire to go to England. The king of France and duke of Burgundy were much vexed at his delay, and wished his arrival: however, the embarkation of stores continued at a vast expense to the great lords: for what was worth only one franc they were made to pay four; and those who were hoping speedily to cross over valued not their money in making preparations, but seemed desirous to rival each other in expense.

If the principal lords were well paid, those of inferior rank suffered for it, as there was a month's pay due to them, for which the paymaster of the forces was unwilling to account; and he and the clerks of the treasury told them to wait another week, and they should be satisfied. Thus were they put off from week to week; and when they made them any payments, it was only for eight days, when eight weeks were due. Some, who were so treated, became melancholy, and said the expedition would never succeed; and foreseeing what would happen, whenever they could amass any money, like wise men, set out on their return home. The poor knights and squires, who were not retainers on the great lords, had expended their all; for everything was so dear in Flanders, they had difficulty in procuring bread or wine. If they wished to pawn their wages or arms, they could not obtain a farthing for what, when new, had cost them large sums. There were such crowds at Bruges, Damme, Ardembourg, and particularly at Sluys, when the king arrived, that it was difficult to find any lodgings.

The lords de St. Pol, de Coucy, d'Antoing, and the dauphin of Auvergne, with other barons from France, remained at Bruges, to be more at their ease, and every now and then rode over to Sluys, to inquire from the king when they were to embark. They were told, within three or four days; or when the duke of Berry should arrive, or when the wind was favorable. There was always some delay; but the time passed, and the days became shorter and cold, with bad weather. Many of the lords were discontented they were so long in embarking, for their provision would be spoiled.

While they were waiting for the duke of Berry and the constable, the king of Armenia, who resided in France, on a pension from the king of six thousand francs, desirous to make a journey to England, in hopes of bringing about a peace, or at least a truce between the two kings, left his hôtel of St. Ouen, near St. Denis, and, with few attendants, travelled to Boulogne, where he hired a vessel, and, having a favorable wind, landed at Dover. He found there the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, with a hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers to guard the place; for the rumor ran, that the French intended landing there, or at Sandwich. At this last place were the earls of Arundel and Northumberland. At Orwell, the earls of Oxford, Pembroke, and Nottingham, and sir Reginald Cobham, with three thousand infantry. The king and part of his council remained in London, where he had intelligence daily from the different ports. The king of Armenia, on his arrival at Dover, was very well received, and conducted by some knights to the uncles of the king, who entertained him handsomely, as they knew well how to do. At a proper opportunity they asked him whither he came, and what were the reasons of his visiting England. To these questions he answered, that, in hopes of doing good, he had come to wait on the king of England and his council, to see if, by any means, he could negotiate a peace between him and the king of France. "For this war," added the king of Armenia, "is not very becoming between them: the long continuance of it has greatly emboldened and raised the pride of the Turks and Saracens. No one now makes any opposition to them; and this has been the cause why I have lost my crown and kingdom; nor have I any chance of recovering them, until a firm peace be established in Christendom. I would willingly explain this matter, which so nearly touches every true Christian, to the king of England, as I have done to the king of France."

The English lords asked him, "if the king of France had sent him?" He said, "No one had sent him: that he had come of his own accord, and solely with a view to do good, to see the king of England and his council, and to try if they would listen to terms of peace." They then asked "where the king of France was." "I believe he is now at Sluys; but I have not seen him since I took my leave of him at Senlis." "How can you then think of forming a treaty, when you have not been so charged by him? Should you enter into any terms with the king, our nephew, and his council, and

* The walls of Canterbury were much out of repair; and there is an order now existing for their reparation, from the court of Chancery, in the 19th year of Richard II.—Hasted's *Kent*.

† Louis, count of Valois, the king's brother, did not enjoy the title of duke of Touraine till the return of this fruitless expedition. He was afterwards created duke of Orleans.—Ed

the king of France, in the mean time, sail from Sluys, and disembark his large army in England, you would be much blamed, and your person run great risks from the people." The king of Armenia replied, "I have the greatest confidence in the king of France, to whom I have sent messengers to entreat he would neither embark nor put to sea until I be returned to Sluys; and I am convinced he is so noble and considerate, that he will comply with my request. I therefore beg of you, through pity and love of goodness, to procure me an interview with the king of England, that I may speak to him, for I desire to see him; or if you, who are his uncles, and the most powerful of his subjects, be authorized to give me answers to my demands, I hope that you will instantly do so." Thomas, earl of Buckingham, said, "King of Armenia, we are solely ordered here by the king and his council, to guard and defend the frontiers, and we do not any way concern ourselves with the government of the realm, unless we be specially commanded by him. Since motives of goodness, or the appearance of them, have brought you hither, you are welcome; but you must not expect to receive from us any definitive answers to such demands as you may make; and, though we are not now of the king's council, we will have you conducted to London without danger or expense." The king of Armenia replied, "That he greatly thanked them, and wished for nothing more than to see and converse with the king of England."

After having refreshed himself for one day at Dover, and held many conversations with the king's uncles, he set off, well escorted, to protect him on the road. He continued his journey until he arrived at London, where he was much stared at by the Londoners: the better sort, however, showed him every honor and respect. Having fixed on his lodgings, at a proper time and hour he waited on the king, who resided in a private manner at the wardrobe; but his council were in London, each at his own house; for the Londoners were so panic-struck, they thought of nothing but how to fortify their town. When the arrival of the king of Armenia was publicly known, the king's council assembled at the wardrobe to learn the news, and what could have brought that king, at this time of trouble and alarm, to England. The king of Armenia entered the presence-chamber, and the two kings having mutually saluted each other, the king of Armenia began his speech, by declaring, the causes for his coming were principally to see the king of England, which he had never before done; that he was much gratified in being in his presence, from which he flattered himself good would arise; and also to attempt to avert the great pestilence that was ready to befal England: not that either the king of France or his council had sent him thither, for he was come of his own free will, to endeavor to make a peace or a truce between the two crowns. He paid many compliments both to the king and to his council. He was briefly answered as follows: "Sir king, you are welcome to this country, for our king and selves are glad to see you. We must inform you, that the king has not all his council at this moment with him, but they will shortly assemble, as he had summoned them, and you shall then have an answer."

The king of Armenia was contented with this, took his leave, and returned to the house where he was lodged. Within four days, the king was advised what answer to make: I believe he consulted his uncles on the subject, but they were not present when it was given. The king went to Westminster, where his council was assembled, and thither the king of Armenia was invited. When in the presence, the king of England was seated, according to custom, then the king of Armenia and the prelates and lords of the council. The king of Armenia was desired to repeat what he had before told the king and a part of his council. He did so in an elegant harangue, showing how Christendom was too much weakened by the destructive wars of France and England, and that the knights and squires of the two countries thought of nothing but joining one party or other: by which the empire of Constantinople would be destroyed, where formerly the gentlemen of France and England used to take pleasure in seeking deeds of arms, and that his own kingdom was already lost. He therefore entreated, through the love of God, they would listen to some terms of peace between the two kings. The archbishop of Canterbury, who had beforehand been ordered by the king and council to deliver the answer, replied: "King of Armenia, it is not usual, nor has it ever been admitted, that in such weighty matters as are now in dispute between the king of England and his adversary of France, the king of England should have requests made him, with an army ready to invade his country. I will therefore declare our opinion, that you return to the French army, and prevail on them to retreat to France; and, when we shall be fully assured that every man has retired to his home, do you return hither, and we will then pay attention to any treaty you shall propose."

This was the answer the king of Armenia received. He dined that day with the king, who paid him every possible honor, and offered him handsome presents of gold and silver; but he refused them all, though he had need of them, and would only accept a single ring, worth one hundred francs. After the dinner, which was splendid and good, he returned to his lodgings, for he had received his answer, and on the morrow set out for Dover, making two days' journey of it. He there took leave of the English lords, and embarked on board a passage-boat to Calais, whence he went to Sluys. He related to the king of France and his uncles the journey he had made to England, and what answer he had received: but the king and his lords paid no attention to it, and sent him to France; for they were resolved to sail the first fair wind for England, after the arrival of the duke of Berry and the constable. Hitherto the wind had been unfavorable: it would never have served them to land in those parts they intended to attempt, but was very fair to carry them to Scotland.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY LEAVES PARIS FOR SLUYS. THE CONSTABLE, AFTER SUFFERING MANY DELAYS FROM CONTRARY WINDS, AT LENGTH JOINS THE KING OF FRANCE.

The duke of Berry arrived at Paris, and, after hearing mass at the church of Nôtre Dame, took his leave, making it to be understood that he would never return until he had been in England, although his intentions were quite the contrary; for, as the season was so far advanced, he had no desire to undertake it. On his road, he daily received letters and messengers from the king and the duke of Burgundy, to hasten him, and to say they were only waiting for his coming to embark. The duke of Berry continued his march, though by short days' journeys. The constable of France embarked at Treguier, a town on the sea-coast of Brittany, with a fine body of men-at-arms, and ample purveyances on board seventy-two large vessels. Some of them were freighted with the wooden town that was to be erected on their landing in England. The constable had a favorable wind when he left the harbor: but, when he approached the English coast, it became contrary, and the farther they advanced the more violent it blew. When opposite to Margate at the mouth of the Thames, the storm was so violent, it dispersed the fleet, whether the mariners would or not, and there were not twenty sail together. Some were blown into the Thames, where they were captured by the English; and among them was one that had two or three parts of the wooden town on board, and the workmen who were to erect it. They and the town were sent to London, which much pleased the king and the citizens. Seven other vessels of the fleet, laden with stores and provision, were driven on the coast of Zealand, and seized; but the constable and his lords, with much difficulty, arrived at Sluys, where they were joyfully received by the king and his barons. The moment the king saw the constable, he said; "Constable, what say you? when shall we sail? I have for certain a great desire to see England. I therefore pray you to hasten the business, and that we embark as speedily as possible. My uncle Berry will be here instantly, for he is now at Lille." "Sire," replied the constable, "we cannot sail until the wind be favorable. This south wind, which is completely against us, has blown so long, that the sailors say they have never seen it so constant in one point as it has been for these two months."

"Constable," said the king, "on my faith, I have been on board my ship. I like the sea much, and I believe I shall be a good sailor, for I was not in the least sick." "In the name of God," answered the constable, "it was not so with me, for we were in great danger in our voyage from Brittany hither." The king would know how, and in what manner, which the constable related to him, adding, "By ill fortune and the storm which blew from the English coast, we have lost our men and vessels, for which I am exceedingly sorry: and if I could make up their loss I would, but at this moment it is not possible."

CHAPTER XLV.

THE LORD DE GUISTELLES APPEASES AN INSURRECTION OF THE MEN OF BRUGES AGAINST THE FRENCH. THE INVASION OF ENGLAND IS GIVEN UP, ON ACCOUNT OF CONTRARY WINDS, THE NEAR APPROACH OF WINTER, AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ADVICE OF THE DUKE OF BERRY, WHICH CAUSES GREAT REJOICINGS IN ENGLAND.

While the king of France and his constable were thus conversing and arranging different matters, winter was begun, and the lords and army lay exposed to the cold, and to some danger; for the Flemings wished them away, more especially the lower sorts. They said, when among themselves, "Why the devil does not the king free us from them, by passing over to England? Are we not sufficiently poor without these Frenchmen adding to it?" Others answered, "You will not see them cross over this year. They think they shall instantly conquer England; but it will not be so: it is not so easy a matter, for the English are made of other stuff than the French. What can they do to England? When the English invaded France, they shut themselves up in their castles and strong towns, and fled before them like larks before a sparrow-hawk."

It was more particularly in Bruges, where the greater resort of the French was, that the discontents were the highest; and the smallest trifle was sufficient to set them by the ears. At length it became serious, and was begun by a few French varlets, who had beaten and wounded some of the Flemings: the artificers then rose, and, having armed themselves, assembled in the market-place. Not one French knight or squire would have escaped death; for many of the Flemings had not forgotten the battle of Rosebecque, and were eager to revenge themselves for their fathers, brothers, or friends who had been there slain; but God, providentially for the French, sent thither the lord de Guistelles. When he learnt that the common people

were arming themselves, and that others were running to their houses to do the same, he saw the town would be infallibly ruined: he therefore mounted his horse, attended by no more than four or five others, and rode up and down the streets; and, whenever he met any of the townsmen armed going toward the market-place, he said to them; "My good people, what are you about? whither are you going? Would you ruin yourselves? have you not had enough of war? are you not every day prevented from following your trades?" You may so act as to cause the complete destruction of Bruges; for do you not know that the king of France is now in the neighborhood with his whole army?" Thus did the lord de Guistelles by his kind speeches calm them, and make them return to their homes; but this would not have been so easily done, had he not fortunately been in Bruges. The barons and knights of France were so much alarmed, they had shut themselves up in their quarters to wait the event.

On the arrival of the duke of Berry at Sluys, the king said to him, "Ha, ha, fair uncle, though I was so anxious to see you, you have been long in coming: why have you made such delay, when we ought to have been at this moment in England, where we should have combated our enemies?" The duke laughed and made his excuses for the delay, but did not at first deliver his real sentiments: he wished to examine the state of the purveyances and the fleet, which made so beautiful a show in the road that it was delightful to see it. He had been at Sluys for more than seven days, and it was daily rumored they were to sail on the morrow; but in truth the wind was quite contrary to sailing for England. As it was now St. Andrew's tide, the weather was hazy; and you may judge if this were a fit season for so many noble persons to put to sea as were now waiting to embark at Sluys, whose stores and provision were on board. Some of the young princes of the blood-royal, with a desire to display their courage, had indeed made a few cruises near the harbor, saying, that they would be the first to land in England, should none others venture thither. In this number were sir Robert and sir Philip d'Artois, sir Henry de Bar, sir Peter de Navarre, sir Peter d'Albreth, sir Bernard d'Armagnac, with many more. These young lords, having once begun, were so impatient to sail in earnest, that a council was held, in the presence of the king, to determine how they should proceed. The duke of Berry broke up the whole; and gave such well-grounded reasons, that the greater part of those who were the most forward to embark were discouraged; and said it would be folly and madness to advise the king, who was then but a child, to put to sea in such weather, and to make war on a people and country, whose roads no one was acquainted with, and a country which was likewise disadvantageous for warlike exploits. "Now, suppose," said the duke of Berry, "we were all landed in England, we cannot fight the English unless they like it, and we dare not leave our purveyances behind, for whoever should do so would lose the whole. But if any one wished to make this voyage, though of no great length, he would do it in the middle of summer, and not in the heart of winter. Summon all the sailors who are here, and they will tell you that what I say is true; and that, notwithstanding the very numerous fleet we have collected, should we put to sea, of the fifteen hundred sail, there would never be three hundred together, or within sight. Now, consider what risks we may run; but I do not say this out of any desire to be excused from being of the party myself, but solely as I believe it sound sense, and that the council, and the majority of France, are of my way of thinking. I am willing, brother of Burgundy, that you and I undertake this expedition, but I will never advise the king to do so; for, should any accident happen to him, the whole blame would be laid on us for having consented to it." "In God's name," replied the king of France, "I am resolved to go, should no one follow me." The lords laughed, and said the king has a strong inclination to embark.

It was determined in this council, that the invasion should be deferred until April or May; and that what stores could be preserved, such as biscuit, salted meat, and wine, should be put in warehouses: and regulations were made for the men-at-arms to return to Sluys in the month of March. All this was soon known; and thus was the grand expedition broken up, which had cost France one hundred thousand francs, thirty times told. The council had ordered that the king should return to France, and the different lords to their homes; that all things should remain on the same footing on which they then rested until the spring, when every one should be prepared to obey the king's summons, and commence their voyage under more fortunate auspices than at this moment. It would have surprised any one to have seen the rage of the knights and squires on hearing these orders: more especially those who had come from distant parts, and had spent all their money, in the hope of amply repaying themselves in England. Among them were the count de Savoye, the count d'Armagnac, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, and a hundred great barons, who departed much discontented at not having seen England. The king was equally vexed, but he could not amend it. The army now separated, some pleased, and others angry; but the servants of the principal lords staid behind, for the benefit of their masters, and to sell off their stores: in this, great losses accrued; for what had cost one hundred francs was disposed of for ten, and even under. The count dauphin d'Auvergne assured me on his faith, that for his stores, which had cost him ten thousand francs, he did not receive one thousand when resold: his servants, like those of others, suffered everything to go to ruin.

When the news of this reached England, those who were afraid of the French coming were greatly rejoiced; while others were sorry, for they expected to have made themselves rich from them. A grand feast was given in the city of London to all those who had been appointed to guard the different harbors. The king kept his Christmas in a solemn manner, at Westminster, and there created three dukes; first, the earl of Cambridge, duke of York; his brother, the earl of Buckingham, duke of Gloucester; the earl of Oxford, duke of Ireland.* These feasts were long and magnificently continued, and the people of England thought they had escaped from great danger; but others, who had not the same alarms, said, that the army and navy, which had been so pompously collected at Sluys, were only to frighten England, and force the duke of Lancaster to return from Galicia, where he was conquering towns and castles at his pleasure.

CHAPTER XLVI.

TWO CHAMPIONS TILT AT PARIS, FOR LIFE OR DEATH.

About this period, there was much conversation in France respecting a duel which was to be fought, for life or death, at Paris. It had been thus ordered by the parliament of Paris, where the cause, which had lasted a year, had been tried, between a squire called James le Gris and John de Carogne, both of them of the household of Peter, count d'Alençon, and esteemed by him; but more particularly James le Gris, whom he loved above all others, and placed his whole confidence in him. As this duel made a great noise, many from distant parts, on hearing of it, came to Paris to be spectators. I will relate the cause as I was then informed.

It chanced that sir John de Carogne took it into his head he should gain glory if he undertook a voyage to the Holy Land, having long had an inclination to go thither. He took leave of his lord, the count d'Alençon, and of his wife, who was then a young and handsome lady, and left her in his castle, called Argenteil, on the borders of Perche, and began his journey toward the sea-side. The lady remained, with her household, in this castle, living in the most decent manner. Now it happened (this is the matter of quarrel) that the devil, by divers and perverse temptations, entered the body of James le Gris, and induced him to commit a crime, for which he afterwards paid. He cast his thoughts on the lady of sir John de Carogne, whom he knew to be residing with her attendants, at the castle of Argenteil. One day, therefore, he set out, mounted on the finest horse of the count, and arrived, full gallop, at Argenteil, where he dismounted. The servants made a handsome entertainment for him, because they knew he was a particular friend, and attached to the same lord as their master; and the lady, thinking no ill, received him with pleasure, led him to her apartment, and showed him many of her works. James, fully intent to accomplish his wickedness, begged of her to conduct him to the dungeon, for that his visit was partly to examine it. The lady instantly complied, and led him thither; for, as she had the utmost confidence in his honor, she was not accompanied by valet or chambermaid. As soon as they had entered the dungeon, James le Gris fastened the door unnoticed by the lady, who was before him, thinking it might have been the wind, as he gave her to understand.

When they were thus alone, James embraced her, and discovered what his intentions were; the lady was much astonished, and would willingly have escaped had she been able, but the door was fastened; and James, who was a strong man, held her tight in his arms, and flung her down on the floor, and had his will of her. Immediately afterwards, he opened the door of the dungeon, and made himself ready to depart. The lady, exasperated with rage at what had passed, remained silent, in tears; but, on his departure, she said to him; "James, James, you have not done well in thus deflowering me: the blame, however, shall not be mine, but the whole be laid on you, if it please God my husband ever return." James mounted his horse, and, quitting the castle, hastened back to his lord, the count d'Alençon, in time to attend his rising at nine o'clock; he had been seen in the hôtel of the count at four o'clock that morning. I am thus particular, because all these circumstances were inquired into, and examined by the commissioners of the parliament, when the cause was before them.

The lady de Carogne, on the day this unfortunate event befel her, remained in her castle, and passed it off as well as she could, without mentioning one word of it to either chambermaid or valet, for she thought by making it public she would have more shame than honor; but she retained in her memory the day and hour James le Gris had come to the castle. The lord de Carogne returned from his voyage, and was joyfully received by his lady and household, who feasted him well. When night came, sir John went to bed, but his lady excused herself; and, on his kindly pressing her to come to him, she walked very pensively up and down the chamber. At last, when the household were in bed, she flung herself on her knees at his bedside, and bitterly bewailed the insult she had suffered. The knight would not believe it could have happened; but at length, she urged it so strongly, he did believe her, and said, "Certainly, lady, if the matter has passed as you say, I forgive you, but the squire shall

* Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, was created marquis of Dublin in 1385 and duke of Ireland in 1386.—Ed.

die; and I shall consult your and my relations on the subject; should you have told me a falsehood, never more shall you live with me." The lady again and again assured him, that what she had said was the pure truth.

On the morrow, the knight sent special messengers with leters to his friends and nearest relations of his wife, desiring them to come instantly to Argenteil, so that in a few days they were all at his castle. When they were assembled, he led them into an apartment, and told them the reason of his sending for them, and made his lady relate most minutely everything that had passed during his absence. When they had recovered their astonishment, he asked their advice how to act: they said, he should wait on his lord, the count d'Alençon, and tell him the fact. This he did; but the count, who much loved James le Gris, disbelieved it, and appointed a day for the parties to come before him, and desired the lady might attend to give her evidence against the man whom she thus accused. She attended as desired, accompanied by a great number of her relations; and the examinations and pleadings were carried on before the count to a great length. James le Gris boldly denied the charge, declared it was false, and wondered much how he could have incurred such mortal hatred from the lady. He proved by the household of the count, that he had been seen in the castle at four o'clock in the morning: the count said that he was in his bed-chamber at nine o'clock, and that it was quite impossible for any one to have ridden three-and-twenty leagues and back again, and do what he was charged with, in four hours and a half. The count told the lady he would support his squire, and that she must have dreamed it. He commanded, that henceforward all should be buried in oblivion, and, under pain of incurring his displeasure, nothing farther done in the business. The knight, being a man of courage, and believing what his wife had told him, would not submit to this, but went to Paris and appealed to the parliament. The parliament summoned James le Gris, who replied, and gave pledges to obey whatever judgment the parliament should give. The cause lasted upward of a year, and they could not any way compromise it, for the knight was positive, from his wife's information, of the fact, and declared, that since it was now so public, he would pursue it until death. The count d'Alençon, for this, conceived a great dislike against the knight, and would have had him put to death, had he not placed himself under the safeguard of the parliament. It was long pleaded, and the parliament at last, because they could not produce other evidence than herself against James le Gris, judged it should be decided in the tilt-yard, by a duel for life or death. The knight, the squire, and the lady, were instantly put under arrest until the day of this mortal combat, which, by order of parliament, was fixed for the ensuing Monday, in the year 1837; at which time the king of France and his barons were at Sluys, intending to invade England.

The king, on hearing of this duel, declared he would be present at it. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and the constable of France, being also desirous of seeing it, agreed it was proper he should be there. The king, in consequence, sent orders to Paris to prolong the day of the duel, for that he would be present. This order was punctually obeyed, and the king and his lords departed for France. The king kept the feast of the Calends at Arras, and the duke of Burgundy at Lille. In the mean time, the men-at-arms made for their different homes, as had been ordered by the marshals; but the principal chiefs went to Paris to witness the combat. When the king of France was returned to Paris, lists were made for the champions in the place of St. Catherine, behind the Temple; and the lords had erected on one side scaffolds, the better to see the sight. The crowd of people was wonderful. The two champions entered the lists armed at all points, and each was seated in a chair opposite the other; the count de St. Pol directed sir John de Carogne, and the retainers of the count d'Alençon James le Gris. On the knight entering the field, he went to his lady, who was covered with black and seated on a chair, and said, "Lady, from your accusation, and in your quarrel, am I thus venturing my life to combat James le Gris: you know whether my cause be loyal and true." "My lord," she replied "it is so; and you may fight securely, for your cause is good."

The lady remained seated, making fervent prayers to God and the Virgin, entreating humbly, that through her grace and intercession, she might gain the victory according to her right. Her affliction was great, for her life depended on the event; and should her husband lose the victory, she would have been burnt, and he would have been hanged. I am ignorant, for I never had any conversation with her or the knight, whether she had not frequently repented of having pushed matters so far as to place herself and husband in such peril; but it was now too late and she must abide the event. The two champions were then advanced and placed opposite to each other; when they mounted their horses, and made a handsome appearance, for they were both expert men-at-arms. They ran their first course without hurt to either. After the tilting, they dismounted, and made ready to continue the fight. They behaved with courage; but sir John de Carogne was, at the first onset, wounded in the thigh, which alarmed all his friends: notwithstanding this, he fought so desperately that he struck down his adversary, and, thrusting his sword through the body, caused instant death; when he demanded of the spectators if he had done his duty: they replied that he had. The body of James le Gris was delivered to the hangman, who dragged it to Montfaucon, and there hanged it. Sir John de Carogne approached the king and fell on his knees: the king made him rise, and ordered one thousand francs to be paid him that very day: he also retained him of his household, with a pension of two hundred livres a-year, which he received as long as he lived. Sir John, after thanking the king and his lords, went to his lady and kissed her: they went together to make their offering in the church of Nôtre Dame, and then returned to their home.*

Sir John de Carogne did not remain long after in France, but set off, in company with the lord Boucicaut, sir John des Bordes, and sir Lewis Grat, to visit the holy sepulchre, and the sultan of the Turks, whose fame was much talked of in France. Sir Robinet de Boulogne was also with him: he was squire of honor to the king of France, and had travelled much over the world.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE DEATH OF PETER, KING OF ARRAGON. HIS SUCCESSOR, KING JOHN, DETAINS PRISONER THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX, WHO WAS NEGOTIATING, FOR THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, THE PAYMENT OF CERTAIN SUMS WHICH HE CLAIMED AS DUE TO HIM FROM ARRAGON.

About Candlemas of this year, (1386,) king Peter of Arragon lay on his death-bed. When he found there were no hopes of his recovery, he sent for his two sons, John and Martin,† to whom he said, "My fair children, I leave you well established, and the affairs of my kingdom properly arranged. Live peaceably and lovingly and you will gain honor and renown. With regard to ecclesiastical matters, for my conscience's sake and greater safety, I have always been neuter: do you do the same, until the knowledge, which pope is the true one, shall be more apparent."

His two sons dutifully replied, that they would do so, and punctually obey whatever he should order. The king died soon after.‡ He was a valiant man in his time, and had considerably added to the crown of Arragon by the conquest of Majorca, which he kept. He was buried in the city of Barcelona, and there lies. When the death of the king of Arragon was known at Avignon, the pope and cardinals instantly sent off letters to the king of France, his uncles, and to the duke and duchess of Bar, who were his supporters and parents to the young queen of Arragon, the lady Jolante,§ and to the queen herself, and were so busy, that the whole court of Arragon acknowledged him as pope. The duke and duchess of Bar wrote pressing letters to their daughter, as did the king of France, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who sent a cardinal as embassador, to instruct the new king, his brother, and subjects. The cardinal, with the assistance of the queen, who paid too much attention to what her relations had urged, gained over the king, who had before determined to follow the example of his father in preserving a neutrality, and the whole kingdom to the obedience of pope Clement.

At the time of the late king of Arragon's death, the archbishop of Bordeaux was at Barcelona. He had been sent thither by the duke of Lancaster, and I will explain the cause of his journey. The late prince of Wales (who, though only duke of Aquitaine, was much feared by his neighbors, the kings of France, Arragon, Castille and Navarre, and even by the king of the Saracens, who had heard of his great prowess and renown,) had entered into a treaty with the king of Arragon, which had been sworn to, and sealed by each party, as well as by the king of England, that neither the prince nor the king of England, nor their successors, would ever wage war against Arragon, so long as the king of Arragon and his heirs should serve the lord of Aquitaine with five hundred spears, against any enemy with whom he was at war; and that, if he chose not to send his men, he bound himself to pay a certain sum of money. Ten years of arrears were now due from Arragon: for the king had never paid anything, nor done any service to the king of England nor to his deputies. When the duke of Lancaster left England, he brought with him letters-patent, sealed with the great seal of the realm, in the presence of the king and his council, appointing him lieutenant, for the king, over all the countries of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Aquitaine, giving him legal power to demand whatever might be owing from Arragon, and from all other parts dependent or allied to England. They also gave the duke power to retain, for his own use, whatever sums might be due, and to give receipts, which would be acknowledged as legal.

While the duke was at Saint Jago, he bethought himself of the king of Arragon, and that he was indebted to him a very large sum of arrears, by virtue of his commission, and that it would come now,

* This was the last judicial combat which took place in France under the award of parliament. The combat was claimed in England as late as 1819, by one Thornton. This man was tried for murder, and acquitted. The brother of the person murdered (a young girl) brought an appeal, and Thornton offered to justify himself by single combat. The appellant, however, withdrew his appeal, and an act was immediately passed to abolish the wager of battle.—Ed.

† Martin was king of Sicily, and on the death of John, killed by a fall from his horse in pursuit of an enormous wolf, succeeded to the crown of Arragon. John did not follow his father's counsels with respect to the disputed tiara, but acknowledged Clement VII.—*Art de Verifier les Dates.* ‡ The 5th January, 1387.—Ed.

§ The lady Jolante was his second wife. He was first married to Jane, daughter of John, count d'Armagnac.

with other aids, very opportunely, to carry on his war against Castille. During his residence at Saint Jago, he sent some of his council to Bordeaux, to the archbishop, and sir John Harpedon, the sénéschal, ordering one or both of them to set out for Arragon, and remonstrate strongly with the king, on the large sums he had long owed the king of England, as duke of Aquitaine. The archbishop and sénéschal, having weighed the orders from the duke, thought it best for the sénéschal to remain at Bordeaux, and the archbishop to undertake the embassy. He therefore set out, but arrived in Arragon, unluckily, when the king was on his death-bed. When he was deceased, the archbishop followed the princes and council of Arragon to the interment at Barcelona, and then remonstrated so strongly, as it seemed to the council, that he was ordered to prison: though not closely confined, he was forbidden to leave the city of Barcelona.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MAKES WAR ON ARRAGON. THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX IS RELEASED. THE VISCOUNTESS OF CASTELBON, SUSPECTED OF HAVING ADMITTED THE ENGLISH INTO HER CASTLE, APPEASES THE KING OF ARRAGON, THROUGH THE INTERFERENCE OF THE COUNT DE FOIX.

When news was brought to Bordeaux of the imprisonment of the archbishop, the sénéschal said, "I am not surprised at it: the archbishop is too hot-headed. I believe it would have been better had I gone thither; I should have spoken more calmly; and there is a method of urging claims suited to different persons." The sénéschal sent information of what had happened to the duke of Lancaster, who was very wroth with the king of Arragon and his council, for having imprisoned such a person as the archbishop of Bordeaux when negotiating his business. The duke wrote orders for the garrison of Lourde instantly to invade Arragon, and attack Barcelona, where the archbishop was confined. The governor, John de Béarn, who styled himself sénéschal of Bigorre, Peter d'Anchin, Ernaulton de Resten, Ernaulton de Sainte Colombe, and the whole garrison, were much delighted with these orders, and overran the kingdom of Arragon, as far as Barcelona, so that no merchants dared venture without its walls. In addition to this mischief, the principal towns of Arragon would not consent to the king's wishes of being crowned, unless he would first promise and solemnly swear that no taxes, pay for soldiers, or other impositions, should be raised in the country; and unless he would engage for a compliance with other demands, which the king and his council thought very unreasonable and unjust. He threatened to make war upon them, more particularly on those of Barcelona, who he said were too rich and presumptuous.

There was at this period, in Languedoc, on the borders of Rouergue and Auvergne, toward Pesenas and Usès, a band of armed men, who called themselves Routes, that were daily multiplying to do evil. Four men-at-arms were their leaders, who made war on every man they met on horseback, caring not whom. Their names were, Peter de Montfaucon, Geoffry Chastelier, Hainge de Sorge, and le Goulet. These had under them full four hundred combatants, who ruined all the country wherever they haunted. They were mightily rejoiced when they heard of the archbishop of Bordeaux's imprisonment, of the duke of Lancaster's making war on the Arragonians, and that the king of Arragon was dissatisfied with his subjects in the principal towns; for such people always love mischief in preference to good. They therefore resolved to march toward the frontiers of Arragon, and surprise some fort, which the king or principal towns would negotiate with them to regain. They set out, and made for the castle of Duren,* which they had planned to surprise. This castle is in the archbishopric of Narbonne, between France and Arragon, and situated precisely on the limits of the two kingdoms. They arrived there by night-fall undiscovered, and, finding it weakly guarded, soon conquered it, to the great dismay of all the country, especially of Perpignan, which is but four leagues distant from this castle.

The garrison from Lourde, this same week, captured likewise a castle in Arragon, four leagues from Barcelona, called the old castle of Rolbais, belonging to the viscountess of Castelbon, cousin-german to the count de Foix. The lady was much surprised at this event, and went to her cousin, the count de Foix, to beg, for God's sake, he would get her castle restored to her; for those who had won it were from his country of Béarn. The count, in his answer, desired her not to be alarmed; for that her castle had been taken solely to harass Barcelona from thence, as the archbishop of Bordeaux was in confinement there for a trifling cause, and that she should have it again undamaged. The lady was satisfied with this answer but kept it secret, and went to reside at another castle, near Roquebertin. Those of Duren, Rolbais, and the garrison from Lourde kept up a severe warfare on the borders of Arragon. The king, indeed, winked at this, that the towns might be punished, but their discontents increased; for those of Barcelona, Perpignan, and other towns, could not carry on their commerce without being made prisoners, and ransomed. They determined to set the archbishop of Bordeaux at liberty, but, as was right, to consult the king on the subject. They, in consequence, negotiated privately with don Martin, the king's brother, who was very popular in the country, that he would interfere betwen them and the king, and obtain peace with those of Lourde and Rolbais. In order to encourage their loyalty, he engaged to do what they desired, and prevailed on his brother to give the archbishop his liberty, and send him back to the Bordelois.

Shortly afterwards, by the count de Foix's exertions, the viscountess recovered her castle, and those who had captured it departed, in return for the service the count had done to the duke of Lancaster in the course of this year. The king of Arragon, seeing the viscountess so quick regain her castle, sent for her, and when in his presence, charged her with having admitted the English into her castle to make war on him, for which she had been very criminal. The lady clearly exculpated herself, saying, "My lord, as God may help me and mine, and by the faith I owe you, when I heard of my castle being taken, I had never any connection, nor entered into any treaty with the English. I instantly informed my cousin, the count de Foix of it, and begged of him, for God's sake, to aid me to recover my castle, as it had been taken by the garrison from Lourde, who are his subjects, and from Béarn. The count sent me word not to alarm myself, for that those who had conquered it had only borrowed it to make a more effectual warfare on Barcelona." The king replied, "If you can prove this answer from the count de Foix, I will restore your castle." "That I can easily do," answered the lady. She informed the count, who at that time resided at Orthès, in Béarn, of this conversation, and entreated he would satisfy the king of Arragon. The count sent letters to the king of Arragon by one of his knights, called sir Cicart de Saurelin, to request he would hold his cousin excused, and allow her to possess her lands in peace, otherwise it would displease him. The king of Arragon acceded to this request, and having well entertained the knight, said to him, "The viscountess has acted prudently, in thus having her cousin the count de Foix make excuses for her."

CHAPTER XLIX.

THOSE COMPANIONS WHO HAD CONQUERED DUREN ARE DEFEATED AND SLAIN BY A STRATAGEM OF RAYMOND DE BACHEZ, COUSIN TO THE KING OF ARRAGON.

Thus affairs remained: the viscountess de Castelbon had quiet possession of her castle; but the merchants were not the less harassed by the garrison who had come from Lourde. Those of Barcelona and its neighborhood were frequently pillaged and made prisoners by them, unless they had entered into a treaty and paid composition-money for their safety. These compositions extended over many parts of Catalonia and Arragon; and the garrison of Duren was desirous of adopting the same plan, which they would have executed or perhaps worse, had they not been checked. They had done more mischief to the country than those of Lourde; for they were poorer, and made no distinction whom they attacked, whether officers of the king and queen, or merchants. The king at length assembled his council on this business; for the great towns murmured, and said, that the king, who ought to have destroyed such wretches, supported them. These and such description of speeches, when told to the young king, gave him much uneasiness, and he was vexed that his subjects should thus talk of him respecting Duren, because the crown of his father, who had been so greatly beloved, was but just fallen to him. He called to him a great baron of Arragon and his cousin, named sir Raymond de Bachez, and said, "Sir Raymond, ride toward Duren, and learn from those who have surprised it what they want in my country, and make some treaty with them, that you may get them out of it, by fair or foul means." The knight obeyed, and sent a herald to the garrison of Duren, to say he wished to negotiate a treaty with them. When Montfaucon and the other captains learnt that sir Raymond de Bachez wanted to treat with them, they thought they should obtain a large sum to deliver up the place, and said to the herald, "Friend, tell your master, sir Raymond, from us, that he may safely come here, for we will not do him any injury." The herald returned with this answer to sir Raymond at Perpignan, who instantly left the place, and on his arrival at Duren held a parley with them. He asked why they remained so long on the borders of Arragon; they replied they were waiting to join the army from France that was coming to the support of the king of Castille. "Ha, my gentlemen," said sir Raymond, "if you wait for that, you will stay here too long; for the king of Arragon will not allow you thus to plunder his country and its inhabitants." They replied, "that since the king would not suffer them to support themselves, he must prevent it, for live they would. If he would ransom the country, they would march away, but not otherwise." "And what do you ask?" said sir Raymond "Sixty thousand francs: we are four of us, and each must have fifteen thousand for his share." "In God's name," said sir Raymond, "that is money enough; but I will report it to the king: it is better for him to pay you this sum, for the good of the country, than to allow you further pillaging." He added this to keep them in good humor, but thought the contrary to what he had said. On taking leave, sir Raymond told them they might expect the sum they had asked, and perhaps more. He then returned to Perpignan, where the king was, and related to him all that had passed. The king

* "Duren." Q. if not Durban.

said, "You must at all events free the country from them, and pay the thieves; if I could get hold of them, I would hang them all, which is the only payment they deserve: but the place is so strong, it will be difficult to draw them out of it."

"Sir," replied sir Raymond, "I will manage it; only do not interfere. "Well," said the king, "do so: I will not meddle further in the business; but see that the country be delivered from them." Sir Raymond collected a body of men-at-arms, to the amount of five hundred spears, which he placed in ambush, and gave the command of them to a squire of Gascony, called Naudon Seighin, who was valiant and expert in arms. The ambuscade was about a short league from Duren, and sir Raymond ordered, that as soon as the garrison should have passed by, they should fall on them, and, if possible, put all to death. Sir Raymond wrote to the garrison, to desire they would mount their horses and advance to Perpignan, making a show of attacking the place, to alarm the inhabitants, otherwise he should never be able to raise their quota of the money he was to pay them. They were much pleased to receive such intelligence, believing it true, and, mounting their horses the same day the ambush was posted, rode for Perpignan, galloping up to the barriers. When they had done this, they began their retreat, thinking to return quietly home; but they had scarcely gone half-way before they met Naudon Seighin and his troops, who instantly charged them. They now perceived they had been tricked, and prepared to defend themselves: they fought well, during the time the combat lasted; but that was not long, for there were among them numbers of pillagers badly armed, who were soon defeated. Among the slain were, Geoffry Chastelier, Hainge de Sorge, Guyot Moresque, John le Geulant, and many more. Peter de Montfaucon, Amblardan de St. Just, and forty others, were made prisoners, and carried to Perpignan, where, as they passed the streets, the inhabitants came out of their houses, and hooted at them, as they would have done at a wolf. Le Geulant and Peter de Montfaucon were put in the pillory, and the rest thrown into a dungeon.

The duke of Berry, about this time, arrived at Carcassone, from a visit to pope Clement at Avignon. Having there heard that Duren was regained, and the garrison slain or made prisoners, he instantly wrote to the king of Arragon, and to his cousin Jolante de Bar, to beg they would give up to him Peter de Montfaucon and his companions. His request was immediately complied with, and they were sent to the duke of Berry. They were indebted to him, or they would infallibly have all been put to death.

CHAPTER L.

AN ACHIEVEMENT OF ARMS, PERFORMED BEFORE THE SENESCHAL OF BORDEAUX, BETWEEN A KNIGHT ATTACHED TO FRANCE AND ONE ATTACHED TO ENGLAND.

At this period there was an achievement of arms performed by two knights at Bordeaux, in the presence of the séneschal, sir John Harpedon, and other noblemen. These knights were the lord de la Rochefoucault, son to the sister of the captal de Buch, and sir William de Montferrant, attached to the English interest. As this tilt was to be made before all the lords and ladies of Bordeaux, the count de Foix sent thither some knights of his household to advise and direct the lord de la Rochefoucault, who was the son of his cousin, and likewise different sorts of armor, daggers, battle-axes, and swords well tempered, although he had before properly provided himself with all things necessary. These knights armed themselves on the appointed day, and were attended by a numerous body of chivalry. The lord de la Rochefoucault was accompanied by two hundred knights and squires, all connected with him by blood; and sir William de Montferrant by as many, if not more. Among the number were the lords de Rohan, de l'Esparre, de Duras, de Mucident, de Landuras, de Curton, de Languran, de la Barde, de Tarbe, de Mont-croyat in Perigord, who had come from distant parts because he was their relation, and to be spectators of the feats of arms of two such valiant knights.

When they were mounted, and had their helmets laced on, their spears and shields were given them. They instantly stuck spurs into their horses, and met each other full gallop, with such force that the laces of the helmets burst asunder, and their helmets were knocked off, so that they passed each other bare-headed, excepting the caps which were under the helmets. "On my faith," the spectators said, "they have gallantly performed their first course." The knights now had their armor set to rights, and their helmets laced again, when they performed their second and third courses with equal ability. In short, they behaved, in every attack, most gallantly, and to the satisfaction of all present. The séneschal, sir John Harpedon, entertained at supper, that evening, all the lords and ladies in Bordeaux; and on the morrow the company departed, and went to their different homes. The lord de la Rochefoucault made preparations for his journey to Castille; for king John had sent to him, and the time was drawing nigh for him to set out. Sir William de Montferrant, when returned home, made also his preparations to cross the sea to Portugal; for that king had, in like manner, written to him.

CHAPTER LI.

SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON DELIVERS JOHN OF BLOIS, SON OF THE LATE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS, FROM HIS LONG IMPRISONMENT IN ENGLAND, AND GIVES HIM HIS DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

In such a grand and noble history as this, of which I, sir John Froissart, am the author and continuator until this present moment, through the grace of God, and that perseverance he has endowed me with, as well as in length of years, which have enabled me to witness abundance of the things that have passed, it is not right that I forget anything. During the war of Brittany, the two sons of the lord Charles de Blois (who, for a long time styled himself duke of Brittany, in right of his lady, Jane of Brittany, who was descended in a direct line from the dukes of Brittany, as has been mentioned in this history,*) were sent to England as hostages for their father, where they still remain in prison; for I have not as yet delivered them from it, nor from the power of the king of England, wherein the lord Charles had put them.

You have before seen† how king Edward of England, to strengthen himself in his war with France, had formed an alliance with the earl of Montfort, whom he had assisted, with advice and forces, to the utmost of his ability, insomuch, that the earl had succeeded to his wishes, and was duke of Brittany. Had he not been thus supported, the lord Charles de Blois would have possessed seven parts of Brittany and the earl only five. You have read how, in the year 1347, there was a grand battle before la Roche-derrien, between the forces of the countess of Montfort, and of sir Thomas Hartwell and the lord Charles de Blois, in which the lord Charles was defeated, and carried prisoner to England. He was handsomely entertained there; for that noble queen of England, the good Philippa, (who, in my youth, was my lady and mistress,) was, in a direct line, his cousin-german. She did everything in her power to obtain his freedom, which the council were not willing to grant. Duke Henry of Lancaster, and the other barons of England, declared, that he ought not to have his liberty; for he had too mighty connections, and that Philip, who called himself king of France, was his uncle: that as long as they detained him prisoner, their war in Brittany would be the better for it. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, king Edward, through the persuasion of that noble and good lady, his queen, agreed to his ransom for two hundred thousand nobles: and his two sons were to be given as hostages for the payment of this sum, which was very considerable to the lord Charles, but would not now be so to a duke of Brittany. The lords of those days were differently situated from what they are at present, when greater resources are found, and they can tax their people at their pleasure. It was not so then, for they were forced to content themselves with the amount of their landed estates; but now, the duchy of Brittany would easily pay for the aid of its lord two hundred thousand nobles within the year, or within two years at the farthest.

Thus were the two young sons of the lord Charles de Blois given up as hostages for the payment of his ransom. He had, afterwards, in the prosecution of his war in Brittany, so much to pay his soldiers, and support his rank and state, that he could never, during his lifetime, redeem them. He was slain in the battle at Auray,‡ defending his right, by the English allies of the earl of Montfort, and by none others. His death, however, did not put an end to the war; but, king Charles of France, ever fearing the effects of chance, when he saw the earl of Montfort was conquering all Brittany, suspected, should he wholly succeed, that he would hold the duchy independent of paying him homage for it; for he had already held it from the king of England, who had so strenuously assisted him in the war. He therefore negotiated with the earl, which, having been already mentioned,§ I shall pass over here: but the earl remained duke of Brittany, on condition that his homage should be paid to his own right lord, the king of France. The duke was also bound, by the articles of the treaty, to assist in the deliverance of his two cousins, sons of the lord Charles de Blois, who were prisoners to the king of England. In this, however, he never stirred; for he doubted, if they should return, whether they would not give him some trouble, and whether Brittany, which was more inclined toward them than to him, would not acknowledge them as its lord.

For this reason he neglected them, and they remained so long prisoners in England, under the guard, at one time, of sir Roger Beauchamp, a gallant and valiant knight, and his lady Sybilla, at another under Sir Thomas d'Ambreticourt, that the youngest brother, Guy of Brittany, died. John of Brittany was now alone prisoner, and frequently bewailed his situation with wonder; for he was sprung from the noblest blood in the world, the advantages of which he had been long deprived; for he had been thirty-five years in the power of his enemies, and, as he perceived no appearance of help coming to him from any quarter, he would rather have died than thus have existed. His relations and friends kept at a distance, and the sum he was pledged for was so great, that he could never have procured it, without a miracle; for the duke of Anjou, in all his prosperity,

* Vol. i. chap. 74.
† In chap. 78. and the following, vol. i.
‡ Vol. i. chap. 227.
§ Vol. i. chap. 229.

though the person who had married his sister-german, by whom he had two fine sons, Lewis and Charles, never once thought of him.

I will now relate how John of Brittany obtained his liberty. You have before read of the earl of Buckingham's expedition, through France, to Brittany, whither the duke had sent for him, because the country would not acknowledge him for its lord. The earl and his army remained the ensuing winter, in great distress, before Nantes and Vannes, until the month of May,* when he returned to England. During the time the earl of Buckingham was at Vannes, you may remember, there were some tilts between knights and squires of France and those of England, and that the constable of France was present. There was much conversation kept up by him and the English knights; for he was acquainted with them all, from his childhood, having been educated in England. He behaved very politely to many of them, as men-at-arms usually do, and the French and English in particular, to each other; but, at this moment, he was more attentive, as he had an object in view, which occupied all his thoughts, and which he had only disclosed to a single person, who was squire of honor in his household, and had served the lord Charles de Blois in the same capacity. If the constable had made it more public, he would not have succeeded as he did, through the mercy of God, and his own perseverance.

The constable and duke of Brittany had for a long time hated each other, whatever outward appearances they might put on. The constable was much hurt at the length of the imprisonment of John of Brittany, and at a time when he was rather on better terms with the duke, said to him, "My lord, why do not you exert yourself to deliver your cousin from his imprisonment in England? You are bound to do so by treaty; for when the nobles of Brittany, the prelates and the principal towns, with the archbishop of Rheims, sir John de Craon, and sir Boucicaut, at that time marshal of France, negotiated with you for peace before Quimper Corentin, you swore you would do your utmost to liberate your cousins John and Guy, and as yet you have never done anything; know, therefore, that the country does not love you the more for it." The duke dissembled, and said, "Hold your tongue, sir Oliver: where shall I find the three or four hundred thousand francs which are demanded for their liberty?" "My lord," replied the constable, "if Brittany saw you were really in earnest to procure their freedom, they would not murmur at any tax or hearth-money that should be raised to deliver these prisoners, who will die in prison unless God assist them." "Sir Oliver," said the duke, "my country of Brittany shall never be oppressed by such taxes. My cousins have great princes for their relations; and the king of France or duke of Anjou ought to aid them, for they have always supported them against me. When I swore, indeed, to aid them in their deliverance, it was always my intention that the king of France and their other relations should find the money, and that I would join my entreaties." The constable could never obtain more from the duke.

The constable, therefore, when at these tournaments at Vannes, saw clearly that the earl of Buckingham and the English barons and squires were greatly dissatisfied with the duke of Brittany, for not having opened his towns to them, as he had promised, when they left England. The English near Hennebon and Vannes were in such distress, that they frequently had not wherewithal to feed themselves, and their horses were dying through famine: they were forced to gather thistles, bruise them in a mortar, and make a paste which they cooked. While they were thus suffering, they said; "This duke of Brittany does not acquit himself loyally of his promises to us, who have put him in possession of his duchy; and, if we may be believed, we can as easily take it from him as we have given it to him, by setting at liberty his enemy, John of Brittany, whom the country love in preference. We cannot any way revenge ourselves better, nor sooner make him lose the country. The constable was well informed of all these murmurs and discontents, which were no way displeasing to him: on the contrary, for one murmur he wished there had been twelve; but he took no notice of it, and only spoke of what he had heard to this squire, whose name, I think, was John Rolland.

It happened that sir John Charlton, governor of Cherbourg, came to château Josselin, where the constable resided, who entertained him and his company most splendidly; and to obtain their friendship, out of his special favor, escorted them himself until they were in safety. During the time of dinner, the before-mentioned squire addressed sir John Charlton, saying, "Sir John, you can, if you please, do me a very great favor, which will cost you nothing." "From friendship to the constable," replied sir John, "I wish it may cost me something: what is it you wish me to do?" "Sir," replied he, "that I may have your passport to go to England, to my master John of Brittany, whom I am more anxious to see than anything in the world." "By my faith," said sir John, "it shall not be my fault if you do not. On my return to Cherbourg, I shall cross over to England: come with me, therefore, and you shall accompany me, and I will have you conducted to him, for your request cannot be refused." "A thousand thanks; my lord, I shall ever remember your goodness." The squire returned, with sir John Charlton, to Cherbourg; when, having arranged his affairs, he embarked, and made straight for London, attended by John Rolland, whom he had conducted to the castle where John of Brittany was confined. John of Brittany did not, at first, recollect him; but he soon made himself known, and they had a long conversation, in which he told him, that if he would exert himself to procure his freedom, the constable would make the greatest efforts to second him. John of Brittany, desiring nothing more eagerly, asked, "By what means?" "I will tell you, my lord: the constable has a handsome daughter whom he wishes to marry, and if you will promise and swear, that on your return to Brittany you will marry her, he will obtain your liberty, as he has discovered the means of doing it." John of Brittany replied, "he would truly do so;" adding, "When you return to the constable, assure him from me, that there is nothing I am not ready to do for my liberty, and that I accept of his daughter and will cheerfully marry her." They had several other conversations together before the squire left England and embarked for Brittany, where he related to the constable all that had passed. The constable, eager to advance himself and marry his daughter so nobly, was not dilatory in searching out means to obtain his end. He considered to whom he should address himself in England; and, had he not made choice of the earl of Oxford, he would never have succeeded; but, notwithstanding this nobleman had the complete government of the king, matters were not instantly brought about; for as long as the duke of Lancaster remained in England, he never mentioned anything concerning it to the king. The earl of Buckingham, on his return from Brittany, irritated the king and his brothers so much against the duke that it was publicly said, the duke had acted treacherously toward him and his army; and they were so greatly angered, that John of Brittany was summoned before the king and council, when he was addressed as follows: "John, if you will be willing to hold the duchy of Brittany from the king of England, you shall have possession of it, and be married in this country as nobly as the present duke has been;" (for the duke of Lancaster was desirous of giving him his daughter Philippa, who was afterwards queen of Portugal.) John of Brittany replied, "that he would never consent to such a treaty, nor be an enemy to the crown of France: he would willingly accept of the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, but he must first have his liberty." On this, he was remanded to prison.

When the earl of Oxford, who now bears the title of the duke of Ireland, found the duke of Lancaster was landed in Castille, and all expectation of the connection with John of Brittany broken off by his carrying his daughter with him, he resolved to solicit the king to give up to him John of Brittany, as a remuneration for past services, or for those he might perform. If he succeeded, he could then treat with the constable of France, who had offered him, as the price of his ransom, six score thousand francs, to be made in two payments of sixty thousand each: the first to be paid at Boulogne on the arrival of John of Brittany in that town, and the second in Paris, which was the place he had fixed on himself. The duke of Ireland coveted the money, and was so pressing with the king that he gave up John of Brittany absolutely to his disposal; which surprised all England, and caused much talking, but there it ended. The duke of Ireland had John of Brittany conducted to Boulogne, where he found equipages ready, which the constable had caused to be prepared for him. He set out directly for Paris, where he was kindly received by the king and his other relations. The constable was there waiting for him, and carried him to Brittany, where he espoused his daughter in conformity to their agreement.

When the duke of Brittany learnt that John of Brittany had obtained his liberty, and was returned to France, through the aid of the constable, he conceived a greater hatred against sir Oliver de Clisson, and said, "Indeed! does sir Oliver think to thrust me out of my duchy? He shows some signs of it by ransoming John of Brittany, and marrying him to his daughter. Such things are very displeasing to me; and, by God, I will tell him so some day when he little thinks of it." This, in truth, he did; for before the end of the year, he spoke to him very sharply on this subject, as you will hear in the course of this history. But we must now say something respecting the affairs of Castille and Portugal, and of an expedition which the English made against Sluys.

* In 1381.

CHAPTER LII.

FRANCE MAKES PREPARATIONS TO ASSIST KING JOHN OF CASTILLE. THE DUKE OF BOURBON IS APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

You have heard how the grand armament of the king of France at Sluys was broken up, not indeed through the will of the king, who was eager to the last to pass over to England, and when he saw it could not be, was the most vexed of any. The whole blame was laid on the duke of Berry: perhaps he saw more clearly into this matter than others, and his advice of not attempting the invasion of England was for the honor and advantage of France; for, before anything of this sort be undertaken, the end of it should be considered; and the duke of Berry had remained so long in England as an hostage for king John, and had conversed so much with Englishmen, he probably foresaw the event would be unfortunate: but the principal reason for putting it off was the season of the year. It was, however, said, that the constable in the course of the summer, should lead thither six thousand men-at-arms and as many cross-

bows, which he and the council thought would be fully sufficient to combat the English. The constable was supposed to know this from his having been educated in England.

On the return of the lords to France, it was considered who should be sent to the aid of king John of Castille, against the king of Portugal and duke of Lancaster: for it was clear there would be deeds of arms, as the English kept the field. None could be sent thither without much cost; for the distance was great, and there was not any money in the exchequer, nor in the hands of the receivers: the immense sums which had been raised from the people were all dissipated. Recourse was, therefore, had to a tax that should be instantly levied, and published for the assistance of the king of Castille, and the expulsion of the English from that country. This tax having been proclaimed, the king's commissioners came to the different towns, and said to the principal inhabitants, "Sirs, this city, or this town, is taxed at such a sum, which must be instantly paid." "Very well," they replied, "we will collect it, and send the whole amount to Paris." "That will not do," said the commissioners: "we cannot wait so long, and shall act more expeditiously." On saying this, they ordered, in the king's name, which protected them from harm, ten or twelve of the richest inhabitants to prison, unless they should find the money. These, being afraid of the king's displeasure, soon brought the sum required, which they afterwards collected from the townsmen. The taxes were so frequent, that one was scarcely paid before another was called for. Thus was the noble kingdom of France governed, and the poor oppressed; which caused numbers to sell their houses and lands, and retire to Hainault, or the bishopric of Liege, where no such taxes existed.

The leaders of the troops destined to Castille were next thought of. The gallant duke of Bourbon was chosen commander-in-chief; but, before he left France, it was resolved to appoint two other commanders, to attend to the men-at-arms, and instruct those who had never been in Castille. The duke was to have two thousand lances, of knights and squires, for his rear-ward, of as good men as could be found. The two knights appointed to lead the van, and to command the first division, were sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac; and, on receiving their orders, they made every preparation suitable to their rank. Knights and squires were summoned, throughout France, to go on this expedition: and all the passes into Castille were thrown open, as well through Arragon as through Navarre. Many, therefore, came from all the different provinces of the kingdom, and took the road to Castille. Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac had the command of them, and set out in grand array.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE ENGLISH FLEET DEFEATS THAT OF SIR JOHN DE BUCQ, ADMIRAL OF FLANDERS FOR THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. THE ENGLISH, AFTER DOING MUCH MISCHIEF TO SLUYS, AND THAT PART OF THE COUNTRY, RETURN TO LONDON.

While these knights and squires of France were making themselves ready to march for Castille, and each, as soon as prepared, set off, more especially from the distant parts, as the journey was long; the English fleet was at sea, between the coasts of England and Flanders. The earl of Arundel was admiral of it; but he had under him the earl of Devonshire, the earl of Nottingham, and the bishop of Norwich, with five hundred men-at-arms and one thousand archers, and they were cruising about in search of their enemies. They received supplies of provisions from the English coast, the islands of Cornwall, Brittany, and Normandy; but were much vexed that the Flemish fleet had escaped into La Rochelle, and still more, that the constable of France should have passed Calais, from Treguier to Sluys, without their having met him. They were desirous of engaging him, though he had as many vessels as themselves; but he sailed through them in the night, with a favorable wind and tide.

The fleet, after this, anchored in Margate-roads, at the mouth of the Thames, to wait for the return of the Flemings from La Rochelle, which they knew would soon happen. The merchants from Flanders, Hainault, and several other parts, who had sailed in a body for fear of the English, having loaded their vessels again with wines, set sail from the port of La Rochelle, with a favorable wind, for Flanders and Sluys, from whence they had come. They had passed the Ras-St-Matthieu,* in Brittany, and coasted the shores of Normandy and England, until they came to the mouth of the Thames, where the English fleet were lying at anchor. The Flemings descried their masts, and those aloft said, "Gentlemen, prepare yourselves, for we shall meet the English fleet: they have seen us, and will take advantage of the wind and tide to give us battle before night." This intelligence was not very agreeable to several of the merchants from Hainault and other countries, who having their goods on board, would have wished to have sheered off. However, as a combat was now unavoidable, they made preparations for it; they had, of cross-bows and other armed men, upward of seven hundred, under the command of a noble and valiant knight of Flanders, called sir John de Bucq, who was admiral of the Flemish seas for the duke of Burgundy, and who had done much mischief to the English at sea. Sir John de Bucq, having ably and prudently drawn up his vessels, said to their crews, "My fair sirs, do not be alarmed, for we are enow to combat the English, should the wind be in our favor; but remember to make a running fight of it, and make for Sluys; if we can draw them on the Flemish coast, we shall have the best of the day." Some were comforted by these words, others not; but they continued their preparations for battle, and the gunners made ready their bows and cannons.

The two fleets now approached each other. The English had some light galleys, in which they had embarked archers; and these galleys advancing, by dint of oars, began the combat with a shower of arrows, which were lost; for the Flemings sheltered themselves in their vessels, and were unhurt, while they sailed on before the wind. Some of the cross-bows, out of arrow-shot, let fly bolts, which wounded many, and prevented those in the galleys from being of any service. The large ships, under lord Arundel, the bishop of Norwich, and others, now advanced, and ran in among those of Flanders, but they had not any advantage; for the cross-bowmen defended themselves gallantly, as their commander, sir John de Bucq, had advised them. He and his company were well armed, in a ship equal to any he might meet, and had their cannons on board, which shot balls of such a weight that great mischief was done. The Flemings, during the engagement, made as much sail as they could for Flanders; indeed, some of the merchant-ships had already gained the coast, and had run into shoal water, where the large ships could not follow them for fear of the sand-bank. This battle was very long and obstinate, for it continued three or four hours, and many of the vessels were sunk by the large bolts of iron, sharply pointed, that were cast down from the tops, and drove holes through them. When night came on, they separated and cast anchor, to repair their damages and take care of the wounded; but, on the return of the tide, they set their sails and renewed the combat. Peter du Bois commanded a body of archers and sailors, and gave the Flemings enough to do; for, having been a sailor himself, he knew how to act, and was enraged at the Flemings for having held out so long. The English continually gained on the Flemings, and, having got between them and Blanquenberg and Sluys, drove them to Cadsand, where the defeat was completed. They received no succor, for at this time there were neither men-at-arms nor vessels at Sluys fit for sea.

Indeed, a squire of Sluys, called Arnold le Maire, when he heard of the engagement, embarked on board a handsome sloop of his own, taking with him some serjeants, and about twenty cross-bows, and made sail for the fleet; but it was toward the end of the defeat, for the English had taken the greater part of the enemy's ships, with their admiral, sir John de Bucq, and all on board. Arnold le Maire, perceiving it was over, made his cross-bows shoot thrice, and then made off: he was chased as far as the harbor of Sluys, and there escaped, from the large vessels being unable to follow him, through the shoals and low water.

The inhabitants of Sluys were terrified when it was known that their fleet from La Rochelle had been conquered by the English, and every moment expected to be attacked. The inhabitants knew not how to act, whether to fly or embark on board their laid-up vessels, to wait the event and defend themselves. Had the English suspected the state of Sluys, they might have been lords of that town and castle, or had they followed the advice of Peter du Bois, who strongly recommended, when they were masters of the fleet, to make for Sluys, which they would be sure to gain. The English, however, thought they had done sufficient; and some said, "We shall commit a great folly if we enter Sluys; for those of Bruges, Damme, and Ardembourg, will shut us up in it, and we shall thus lose all we have won. It is much better that we keep our prizes, and make war with prudence." The English, therefore, did not disembark, but contented themselves with attempting to burn the vessels that were in the harbor. They selected the lightest vessels from those they had conquered, and filling and bedaubing them with pitch, oil, and other combustibles, let them float with the tide into the harbor of Sluys. These vessels burnt so clear and well, that the English hoped they would set fire to some large ships from Castille and other countries, indifferent to them which; but they did not the smallest damage to any. The English, by this victory, gained great wealth, especially in wine, as they captured more than nine thousand tuns, which caused wine to be as dear in Flanders and Hainault all that year as it was of course cheap in England. Thus it happens, one man's gain is another's loss. The English, however, did not sail from Sluys, but remained at anchor, and from the galleys and barges landed on the opposite side of the river to Sluys, at Tremue, which they burnt, with the monastery, and some other towns on the coast, whither they went along the sea-shore, or on the dikes, called Turnhout and Moerdyck. They made many of the countrymen prisoners, and lay thus at anchor upward of ten days; during which time they formed several ambuscades between Damme and Sluys, and on the road to Coxye. Sir John de Launay, a man-at-arms from Tournay, was there made a prisoner, who, in company with the lord d'Estrinay and sir Blanquart de Coulonge, had set out full gallop, with forty lances, for Sluys, on hearing the English were on the coast.

It fortunately happened, that sir Robert Marchand, who had married one of the late earl's bastards, was at the time in Bruges: he instantly hastened to Sluys, and flung himself into the castle, which

* Ras-St. Matthieu. I suppose, must mean Ras-de-Blanquet, which is a narrow strait of the sea between Alderney and Cape la Hogue.

he found weakly guarded, and unprovided. But if the English had landed, and entered Sluys with the same earnestness they had done at Tremue on the other side of the river, they must have gained the castle; for so great was the alarm in the town, that no one paid attention to anything, nor thought of defending themselves. Sir Robert Marchand encouraged them by saying, "You men of Sluys, what are you thinking of? It would seem from your appearance that you are defeated without striking a blow. Men of valor ought to show a good countenance as long as possible; and, should they be taken or slain in their own defence, they will have the grace of God and praise of the world." Thus did sir Robert harangue those of Sluys; notwithstanding which, the whole country, as far as Bruges, was under the utmost alarm, as long as the English remained on the coast; for they now daily disembarked and foraged far in the country. Not having horses, they were always on foot: when their expeditions were ended, they slept on board, and on the morrow renewed their excursions to the east and west, without opposition. They burnt the town of Coxye, and another large village on the road from the coast to Ardembourg, called Hosebourg: they would have done more if they had known the state of the country. After staying as long as they pleased, and finding no attempt made to regain what they had won on sea and land, they set sail with a favorable wind for England, carrying with them more than two hundred thousand francs of wealth. Having entered the Thames, they landed at London, where they were joyfully received for the fine wines of Poitou and Saintonge they had on board, which were intended to have been drunk in Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Liege, and other places. They were dispersed throughout England, and the prices so much depressed from the quantity, a gallon was sold for fourpence. The English who resided on the frontiers of Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, were too enterprising in their voyages to Dordrecht, Zuric-zee, Middlebourg, and the Brielle in Holland. Some of the merchants of Zuric-zee had, on board the fleet that was captured, much wine from La Rochelle, which was restored to them. The English were right in thus courteously treating them; for Zuric-zee would never join the French in their invasion of England, nor permit them to have any vessels or boats from thence, and this conduct acquired them the love of the English.

Sir John de Bucq was a prisoner at London, on his word: he was permitted to go anywhere about the town, but at sunset he was to return to his lodging; nor would the English ever listen to any ransom for him, though the duke of Burgundy would willingly have given in exchange a bastard brother of the king of Portugal, who had been taken at sea in coming from Middlebourg: had he been within the limits of Zealand, he would have escaped. I believe sir John de Bucq remained a prisoner in London for three years, and there died.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL SENDS EMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER TO CONCLUDE HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY PHILIPPA. SIR BARROIS DES BARRES IS ORDERED BY THE KING OF CASTILLE TO THE CASTLE OF NOYA.*

It is time for us now to return to the affairs of Castille and Portugal, and to speak of the duke of Lancaster, as to the prosperity of his undertakings, for his concerns were not trifling; and likewise to mention the aid France sent king John of Castille, for otherwise his fortunes would have made a small figure: he would have lost this year his whole kingdom, if it had not been for the friendship of the king of France. Intelligence is soon spread abroad, and the king of Portugal was as quickly informed of what was doing in France, relative to the great armament that was to invade England, by his merchants on their return home, as the duke of Lancaster; for the king resided, at that season, at Oporto, which is one of the largest cities and the most frequented port of his realm. He was rejoiced to hear it was at an end, for he had been told England would be ruined; and this had made him hesitate as to the conclusion of his marriage, amusing the duke and duchess with fine words and compliments. When he learnt for certain, that the king of France and his nobles were returned home, he summoned his council, and said: "My fair sirs, you know that the duke and duchess of Lancaster are in Galicia: you also know, a great affection subsists between us, and that we have had several conferences; in one of which it has been proposed by our councils, that I should take the lady Philippa to wife. I mean to persevere in this business, and to make an honorable demand of her, as is becoming two such princes as the duke of Lancaster and myself; for I will have her for my queen." "Sir," replied those to whom he addressed himself, "you are in the right, for so you have solemnly promised and sworn. Now, whom shall we send to conduct the lady hither?" The archbishop of Braganza and sir Joao Rodriguez de Sa were named; and as they were not present, they were sent for, and informed how they were to act. They undertook the business with pleasure, and were escorted going and returning by two hundred spears.

We will now speak of sir Thomas Moreaux's siege of Ribadavia, and relate what happened there. I believe the inhabitants expected succors from the king of Castille and the French knights at Valladolid, otherwise they would not have held out; and I know not how such peasants, who had none but themselves to advise with, could so vigorously have opposed the flower of the English army, and how it happened that they were not frightened, for every day there were skirmishes and assaults. The bravest captains of the army said to sir Thomas: "Let us leave this town, and may lightning destroy it, and advance further into the country, toward Mamez,* Noya, or Betances:† we can at any time return hither." "By my faith," replied sir Thomas, "such peasants shall never have it to say they have defeated me, were I to remain here these two months, unless the duke shall otherwise order." The marshal was thus obstinate in continuing the siege.

King John received frequent intelligence, at Valladolid, how the men at Ribadavia were defending themselves valiantly, and would not surrender. "In God's name," said Barrois des Barres, "I am much vexed I had not sent thither some Frenchmen, who would have greatly encouraged the inhabitants, and still more that I did not go myself, for I should then have acquired all the honor which these peasants will now have; and, if they had really told me it was a town of such strength, and that it required such a garrison, I would, without doubt, have reinforced it, and have personally risked the command; and God would have given me grace to guard and defend it, as he has done to these peasants." Such were the conversations that frequently passed between the king of Castille and the French knights, who were eager to be employed. They said to the king: "It will be right, sir, that you send one hundred spears to the castles of Noya and Coruña, and they will defend those parts of Galicia situated between those two castles." "And whom can we send thither?" Several knights instantly offered their services, such as sir Tristan de Roye, sir Reginald and sir Lambert de Braquemont, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir John de Châtelmorant, and sir Barrois des Barres, whom the king heard with pleasure, and said; "My fair sirs, I give you many thanks for your willingness; but you cannot all go: some must remain with me in case of accidents; and for the present, I shall entreat sir Barrois des Barres, if he please to undertake this business." The Barrois was much delighted on hearing this, for he had too long remained idle, and replied: "Sir king, I thank you: I will defend them to the utmost of my power; and, when I am once within them, I will never depart without your special order." "By God," said the king, "I believe we shall soon have news from France." The knights were ignorant of the decampment from Sluys, though the king knew it; for the duke of Bourbon had written to him the whole account, and what was going forward in France; how he was to come to Castille with three thousand spears; but that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were first to clear the passes, with an equal number of lances. He asked the knights if they wished to hear news. "Ah, sire, tell us some from France, for we are very anxious to hear from thence." "Willingly," replied the king. He then told them that the duke of Bourbon was appointed by the king of France and his council, commander-in-chief of all the forces sent to Castille, which amounted to six thousand spears; that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were to lead the van, of three thousand knights and squires, and were then on their march; that the invasion of England was deferred until May, when the constable of France, the count de St. Pol, and the lord de Coucy, should there land, with four thousand lances. "What do you say to this?" asked the king. "What do we say, sire?" replied the knights, who were rejoiced: "we say that it is delightful news, and we cannot have better; and, in the course of the summer, many gallant deeds will be done in your country; for, if they have ordered six thousand, nine thousand will come. We shall certainly combat the English, who now keep the field; and, before St. John's day, we will shut them up." "On my faith," said each of the knights, "the three you have named are gallant men, especially the duke of Bourbon: and the other two are well qualified to command men-at-arms.

The news of this army coming from France was soon known in Valladolid, and throughout Castille; and that it had been ordered to arrive by the first of May, to the great comfort of all, and joy of the knights and squires.

CHAPTER LV.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER SENDS A REINFORCEMENT TO THE SIEGE OF RIBADAVIA. ON THAT TOWN BEING TAKEN BY STORM, MAURES‡ INSTANTLY SURRENDERS.

Sir Barrois des Barres left the king of Castille in Valladolid, and accompanied by only fifty spears, rode toward the town of Noya. News was brought to sir Thomas Moreaux's army, but I know not by whom, that the French were on their march, to the amount of five hundred lances, to raise the siege of Ribadavia. Sir Thomas too easily believed this intelligence; for those who told it affirmed it for truth, and that they had seen them on their march, on this side the river Duoro, and encamped at Villalpando. The marshal was advised to let the duke of Lancaster have information of this, which

* Noya is an ancient town in Galicia, five or six leagues to the westward of Saint Jago.

* "Mamez." Q. Muros. † "Betances." Q. Betanços, or Entança.
‡ "Maures." Q. Mures.

he did, by sending to him sir John d'Ambreticourt, and a herald well acquainted with the roads in Galicia. He himself was always on his guard, lest he should be surprised in the night, and one half of his army was on duty, while the other half slept. When the arrival of sir John and the herald at Saint Jago, where the duke and duchess resided, was known, the duke said, "They have brought some intelligence," and, sending for them, asked the news. "Good news, my lord: the marshal sends me hither to know how you would wish him to act; for he has learnt for certain, that the French have assembled a strong body in Castille, and are on their march to cross the river, and engage with our men before Ribadavia. This is the news I have brought." "In God's name," replied he, "it is news enough, but we will soon provide a remedy." He looked at sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy, his constable and admirable, and said to them: "Take three hundred spears and five hundred archers, and join our companions before Ribadavia, who are looking for the French coming to attack them." They replied, they would cheerfully obey, and, making themselves ready, set out with the above-mentioned force, and arrived before Ribadavia, to the great joy of their countrymen.

Sir John Holland said to the marshal; "What do these fellows of Ribadavia mean? will they not surrender?" No, by my faith," replied sir Thomas, "they are so presumptuous: notwithstanding they have seen all the neighboring towns do so, they obstinately follow their own inclinations. They are but peasants; for not one gentleman is in the town." "Say no more," answered sir John: "before four days we will put them in such plight, that they will gladly surrender to any who will show them mercy; but tell the admiral and me, are the French abroad?" "I was so informed," said sir Thomas, "and was assured there were upward of five hundred in one body. This is very probable: for men-at-arms are continually coming from France to Castille. I afterwards heard, that only sir Barrois des Barres had entered the castle of Noya with fifty lances, and I know nothing more of them." The conversation now ceased; and the new comers were lodged among them as well as circumstances would admit, and were well served from the provision which had followed them. Four days after the arrival of sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy, great preparations were made for a general assault; and a large machine of timber was built, and mounted on wheels, which could be pushed anywhere. It would contain, with ease, one hundred men-at-arms, and the same number of archers; but, for this attack, it was filled with archers only, and the ditches were levelled where it was intended to pass.

When the attack commenced, this machine was wheeled up to the walls by main force; and the archers, being well provided with arrows, shot vigorously on their enemies, who returned it by throwing darts and such other missile weapons, as was wonderful to behold. The roof of this machine was covered with strong ox-hides to shelter them from the effects of the stones and the darts: underneath were men-at-arms well shielded, that with pick-axes worked hard, and with success against the walls; for the townsmen could not prevent them for fear of the archers, who gave them full employment. At length a large breach was made in the wall, and a considerable part thrown into the ditch; which when the Galicians perceived, they were so dismayed, that they cried loudly, "We surrender, we surrender!" No one made any answer; but the English laughed at them, and said, "These peasants have done us much mischief, and mock us by now offering to surrender, for the town is ours." Some of the English replied, "If you wish to say anything to us, it must be in good French or English, for we do not understand Castilian," and kept advancing and slaying those who were flying before them. They killed them in heaps; and that day there were fifteen hundred put to death, including Jews, many of whom were resident in the town. Thus was Ribadavia taken by storm; those who first entered it gained great pillage, especially from the houses of the Jews, wherein they found more wealth in money than elsewhere. After the town had been plundered, the marshal was asked what he intended doing with it, and if they should set it on fire. "Oh, no," replied he, "we will keep it, and make it as strong as any town in Galicia."

After they had consulted whither to go next, they determined to march to Muros, another tolerably good town in Galicia. The garrison of Ribadavia, consisting of twenty spears and sixty archers, was put under the command of sir Peter Clinton, a valiant knight and expert man-at-arms. The army carried away much provision from the town, which was well stored, particularly in pork and wines: these last were so strong and fiery, they could scarcely drink them; and when any of the English drank too much, they were disabled for two days. On their departure from Ribadavia, they took the road toward Muros, and had their large machine taken to pieces and brought after them, for they found it had caused great alarm to many other towns.

When the inhabitants of Muros heard that the English were on their march to attack them, that Ribadavia had been stormed and numbers put to death, and that they had with them a devil of a machine, so great and wonderful it could not be destroyed, they were much frightened thereat, and were apprehensive what the English might do to them. They held a council, whether they should defend the town or not, and thought it would be more for their advantage to surrender; for, should the town be stormed, they would lose their lives and fortunes, and they saw no hopes of aid from any quarter. "Consider," said some of the most prudent, "what has been the consequence of the defence of Ribadavia, which was much stronger than our town; they held out for near a month, but no reinforcements were sent them. The king of Castille, as we understand, looks on all Galicia, as far as the river Duoro, as lost, and you will never, this year, see any of the French enter it. Let us, therefore, handsomely surrender, without making any opposition, in the like manner the other towns of Castille have done." "It is well said," the hearers replied, and they unanimously agreed to adopt this opinion. "But how shall we manage it?" said some of them. "In God's name," replied those who proposed the surrender, "we will go out to meet the English, and present them the keys of our town; for they are a civil people, and will not hurt us: if we receive them kindly, we shall have their thanks."

Having determined on this plan, fifty of the principal inhabitants went out of the town as soon as they heard the English were approaching, and waited on the road, about a quarter of a league off. News was brought to the English army, that those of Muros had come out of their town, not in hostile array, but with the intention of surrendering and offering the keys of the place, which they had brought with them. Some of the lords rode forward to know the truth of it, but ordered the army to halt until their return. As they were advancing, the townsmen were told, "Here come three of the principal lords of England, sent by the duke of Lancaster to conquer the country: speak to them." On which, they cast themselves on their knees, and said; "My lords, behold the poor inhabitants of Muros, who are desirous to put themselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster: we therefore entreat you to receive us in your favor, for all we have is yours." The three lords, having consulted together, replied; "Good people, we will return with you to your town, and enter it with part of our army, but not all, and there you shall take such oaths as good subjects ought to their lord and lady." They answered, they would cheerfully do so. "Now, then," said the lords, "go back, and open your gates, for your surrender is accepted." They flung open the gates and barriers for the constable and other lords, who might amount to four hundred lances, but not more; the rest remained without the walls, but had much provision from the town, wherein the leaders were lodged, and where they made the townsmen take the usual oaths of obedience.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE LADY PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER IS MARRIED, BY PROCURATION, TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL. THE CEREMONY IS AGAIN PERFORMED WITH GREAT MAGNIFICENCE AND FEASTINGS AT OPORTO.

On the morrow, after the surrender of Muros, when the knights were preparing for their march toward Betanços, a messenger from the duke of Lancaster arrived with letters, ordering them to return instantly, whatever might be their situation; for he was daily expecting the archbishop of Braganza and sir Joao Rodriguez de Sa, embassadors from the king of Portugal, who were to marry his daughter by procuration, and conduct her to that king at Oporto, where he was waiting for her. Sir John Holland, the marshal and admiral, on learning this, altered their plans, and said it was proper that their lord the duke, when he received embassadors from the king of Portugal, should have all his council with him. Having placed sufficient garrisons in the towns they had won, they said they would not attempt more until the month of May, and returned to Saint Jago, whither the duke had sent for them. Three days after their arrival, came the archbishop of Braganza and sir Joao Rodriguez de Sa, who entered the town of Saint Jago with two hundred horse, where they were all lodged, everything having been prepared for them.

When the archbishop, with the knights and lords in his company, had refreshed themselves, they waited on the duke and duchess of Lancaster in grand array, who received them most graciously. They then declared the motive of the embassy, which the duke heard with pleasure; for he was rejoiced at the exaltation of his daughter, and the connection with the king of Portugal, which was very opportune, if he persevered in his intention of conquering Castille. The archbishop explained, to the satisfaction of the duke and his council, that by power of the king's procuration, he was authorized to espouse personally the lady Philippa of Lancaster, in the name of don John, king of Portugal. During the residence of these embassadors at Saint Jago, the ceremony was peformed by virtue of the above-mentioned procuration; and the archbishop of Braganza and the lady Philippa were courteously laid beside each other, on a bed, as married persons should be. This being done, on the morrow the lady and her attendants were ready to depart; and, having bidden adieu to her father and mother, she mounted her palfrey, as did her damsels, and her bastard sister, the wife of the marshal, who accompanied her to Portugal. Sir John Holland, sir Thomas Percy, and sir John d'Ambreticourt, were ordered to escort her, with one hundred spears and two hundred archers. They followed the road to Oporto, and, when near, were met by the king and his court, with all the prelates at that time in Oporto, to do her honor; such as the bishops of Lisbon, Evora, Coimbra, and Oporto: among the barons were the counts d'Angouse, de Novaire, de l'Escalle, Guadalupe Ferrant Pacheco, Vasco Martin de Merlo, with upward of forty knights, and great

crowds of ladies and other persons, and the whole of the clergy in their holiday dresses. Thus was the lady Philippa conducted to the king's palace at Oporto, where she dismounted. The king took her by the hand and kissed her, performing the same ceremony to all the ladies who accompanied her, and then led her to her apartments, where he took leave of her and her companions.

The English lords and their men were lodged in the town, which is of considerable size; and this night they kept the vigil of the feast by caroling, dancing, and other amusements, until the morrow's dawn. On Tuesday morning,* the king of Portugal, the prelates and lords of his country, were dressed by eight o'clock, and, mounting their horses at the palace gate, rode to the cathedral called St. Mary's church, where they waited for the queen. She followed shortly after, attended by her ladies and damsels; and, though the embassadors had before espoused her in the king's name, the ceremony was again performed; which done, they returned to the palace, where were grand and solemn feastings. In the afternoon were tilts and tournaments before the king and queen; and in the evening the prizes were distributed. Sir John Holland gained the one destined for strangers; and that for the natives was won by a knight attached to the king, sir John Testad'oro. The day and night passed thus jovially in various amusements. That night the king lay with the queen; and it was reported by those who were near his person, that he had hitherto been perfectly chaste, and had never known woman.

On the morrow the feastings and joustings were renewed, when sir Vasco Martin de Merlo gained one prize, and sir John d'Ambreticourt the other. The night was spent as before, in carolings, dancing, and other sports; and while the English staid at Oporto, there were tournaments every day. With such rejoicings was the queen of Portugal received on her arrival at Oporto. They lasted upward of ten days; and the king made all the strangers, on their departure, such gifts as satisfied them. The English lords, having taken leave of the king and queen of Portugal, returned to Saint Jago. The duke and duchess of Lancaster made great inquiries, and were told all that had passed; that the king saluted them, and that the queen recommended herself to their love. Sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy added, "My lord, the last words the king said to us were, that you might take the field when you pleased, for that that he would join you and enter Castille." "That is good news, indeed," replied the duke.

About fifteen days after the return of the lords from Portugal, the duke of Lancaster ordered them to prepare for conquering the remaining towns in Galicia, for there were several he was not master of. It was settled by the council of the duke, that when he should depart from Saint Jago, the duchess and her daughter Catherine should visit the king and queen of Portugal, at Oporto. The town of Saint Jago was placed under the command of an English knight, called sir Lewis Clifford, with thirty spears, and one hundred archers, for his garrison.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARCHES HIS ARMY TO ENTENÇA. THE INHABITANTS SEND, WITH THE CONSENT OF THE DUKE, TO THE KING OF CASTILLE FOR SUCCOR.

When the duke of Lancaster marched from Saint Jago, he left no more in garrison than those already mentioned. He rode on, in company with his duchess, toward the city of Entença, which is a good town in one of the extremities of Galicia, and the last on the borders of Portugal, in the direct road from Saint Jago to Oporto and Coimbra. They had taken this line of march, because the duchess and her daughter were to visit Portugal. The inhabitants of Entença, hearing that the duke and his army were advancing against them, held a council to consider what conduct they should pursue. After many debates, it was at length agreed that they should send six of their principal men to the duke and duchess, to entreat they might not be attacked for eight days only, when they would let the king of Castille know their situation, and if he sent them no aid they would surrender unconditionally. The six citizens, on leaving the town, took the road the English were coming, and first met the vanguard under the command of the marshal, by whom they were instantly arrested. They said they were deputed by the inhabitants of Entença to parley with the duke. Upon which the marshal said to sir John Sounder, who was by his side, "Conduct these men to my lord; for it will be necessary to escort them, or they may be slain by our archers." The knight replied, he would take care of them; and then the marshal said, "Go, go, this knight will conduct you." They all departed, and rode together until they came up with the duke and duchess, who had dismounted, and were sitting under some fine olive trees, attended by sir John Holland, sir Thomas Percy, and others. On seeing sir John Sounder approach, they eyed him well; and sir John Holland said, "Fair brother, Sounder, are these prisoners thine?" "They are not prisoners, sir, but men from Entença whom the marshal has ordered me to conduct to my lord; and from what I can learn, they wish to treat with him." The duke and duchess heard all this; and sir John Sounder continued, "Come forward, my good people: you see your lord and lady."

Upon this the six men advanced, and, casting themselves on their knees, thus spoke: "Our most redoubted lord and lady, the commonalty of the town of Entença, hearing you were marching your army against them, have sent us hither to entreat you would delay advancing further for eight or nine days only, in which time they will send to the king of Castille, in Valladolid, an account of the great peril they are in; and if, during those nine days, they be not reinforced sufficiently to offer you combat, they will put themselves fully under your obedience. In the mean time, should you or your army be in want of provision or stores, those of the town will cheerfully serve you with both for your money." The duke made no reply, leaving it to the duchess, as she was from that country. She looked at the duke, and said, "Well, my lord, what do you say?" "Lady, what do you say? you are the heiress of this country, and, as the inheritance comes through you, you must reply." "It will be right then, my lord, that their offer be accepted; for I do not believe that the king of Castille has any desire to combat you so soon." "I do not know that," answered the duke; "God grant it may happen otherwise: we shall the sooner put an end to the business; and I wish it were to take place within six days; but, since you are desirous their offer be accepted, I consent." The duchess then addressed the deputies, saying, "You may return, for your offer is accepted; but you must deliver up to the marshal twelve of your principal citizens, as pledges for the due performance of the treaty." They replied they would do so, and, rising up, were given to the care of sir John Sounder, who conducted them back to the marshal, and told him what had passed, which gave him satisfaction. The deputies returned to their town and related the success of their mission. Twelve of the principal inhabitants were sent to the marshal, and the place was unmolested, on the terms mentioned. In another council they resolved to send the same six men, and no others, to inform the king of Castille of their situation. They rode to Valladolid, where the king resided, with part of his council, and, their arrival being notified to him, he was eager to see them, to learn the news and talk with them; for he was ignorant of the treaty they had entered into, and that the English were before Entença.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE DUCHESS OF LANCASTER AND HER DAUGHTER VISIT THE KING AND QUEEN OF PORTUGAL. THE INHABITANTS OF ENTENÇA RECEIVING NEITHER ANSWER NOR SUCCOR FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE, SURRENDER TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF THEIR TREATY.

While these six deputies were journeying toward Valladolid, the duke of Lancaster gave directions for the departure of his duchess and daughter, the lady Catherine, to visit the king and queen of Portugal. On their setting out, the duke said, "Constance, you will salute from me the king my son, my daughter, and the barons of Portugal, and give them all the intelligence you can; how Entença has entered into a treaty with me; but that I doubt if John de Transtamare, your adversary, will allow them to keep it, or whether he will offer me battle; for well I know that great reinforcements are to come to him from France, and those who are eager for renown will hasten to Castille as speedily as possible. It will be necessary for me to be daily on my guard, in expectation of an engagement, which you will tell the king and his barons; and that, if I shall learn anything for certain of a combat being likely to take place, I will instantly signify it to the king of Portugal. Desire him from me, to be well prepared to come to our assistance, in the defence of our right, as he has solemnly sworn to do in the treaties concluded between us. You will return to me; but leave our daughter Catherine with her sister, the queen of Portugal, for she cannot be better placed, nor more in safety." "My lord," replied the duchess, "all this I will cheerfully perform."

The duchess, her daughter, and the ladies and damsels who accompanied them, took their leave and departed. They were escorted to Oporto by the admiral, sir Thomas Percy, sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Talbot, sir John d'Ambreticourt and sir Maubrun de Linieres, with one hundred spears and two hundred archers. The king of Portugal, hearing the duchess of Lancaster and her daughter were on the road, was much pleased, and sent some of his principal courtiers to meet them, such as the counts d'Angouses, de Novaire, sir Joao Rodriguez de Sâ, sir Joao Ferrant Pacheco, sir Vasco Martin de Merlo, sir Egeas Colle, and twenty other knights. They rode two long leagues before they met the ladies, who received them graciously and gayly. The duchess politely made acquaintance with the different knights, and, as they rode together, she conversed with much affability among them all. Thus did they arrive at Oporto, when the duchess and her ladies were conducted to the palace. The king was the first who waited on them, and kissed them all round; then came the queen, attended by her ladies, and received her lady-mother and sister most kindly and honorably. The whole palace was rejoiced at the arrival of these ladies; but I will not pretend to speak very particularly of what passed, for I was not there: all I know was from that gallant knight, sir Joao Ferrant Pacheco, who was present. The duchess took a proper opportunity to deliver the duke's message to the king of Portugal, who replied with prudence and friendship, "Lady and cousin, I am prepared, should the king

* The 11th of February, 1387, the day of the Purification. The king was twenty-nine years of age, the queen twenty-eight.—Ed.

of Castille take the field, with three thousand lances, who are stationed on the borders of Castille, whom I can collect in three days, and I shall also bring with me full twenty thousand men from the commonalty of the country, who are not to be despised, for they were of the greatest service to me at the battle of Aljubarota." "Sir," said the duchess, "you say well, and I am greatly thankful to you; and if my lord gain any further intelligence, he will instantly let you know." Such was the conversation that passed between the king of Portugal and the duchess of Lancaster.

We will now return to Entença, and say what success their deputies had at Valladolid. On their being introduced to the king of Castille, they cast themselves on their knees, and said, "Most redoubted lord, if you will condescend to listen to us, we have been sent hither by your town of Entença, which has been forced to enter into a treaty with the duke and duchess of Lancaster. The terms of which are, that the English will abstain from any attack for nine days; and if, within that time, you shall come in sufficient force to offer them combat and resist the duke, the town will remain yours: but, if not, the town has given up hostages to surrender it to them. You will be pleased, most redoubted lord, to say what you will do." The king replied, that "he would advise upon it, and they should have an answer." He then left them, and retired to his chamber. I am ignorant if he summoned his council or not, or how the matter was managed; but these six men were there for eight days without obtaining any answer, nor did they again see the king. The day came for the surrender of the town before any of the deputies returned. The duke, therefore, sent his marshal to Entença, on the tenth day, to say, that if the town were not surrendered, according to the terms of the treaty, he would instantly cut off the heads of the hostages. The marshal, on arriving at the barriers, whither he summoned the inhabitants, thus addressed them: "My good people, the duke of Lancaster sends me to know why you have not brought him the keys of the town, and put yourselves under his obedience, as you were in duty bound? The nine days expired, as you know, yesterday. If you do not instantly comply, he will order the heads of the hostages to be struck off, and then march hither to storm the town, when you will all be slain, without mercy, like to those of Ribadavia."

The men of Entença, hearing this, were much afraid, not only for themselves, but also for their friends who were pledged for the observance of the treaty, and replied, "In good truth, my lord marshal, the duke has reason for saying what you tell us; but we know not what is become of the deputies we sent to the king of Castille, nor what can have kept them at Valladolid." "Sirs, they may perhaps be confined," said the marshal; "for the news they carried could not be very pleasant to the king, and my lord will not longer wait. Consider well what answer you make, for, if it be not agreeable, I am ordered to commence the attack." They answered; "My lord, only allow us time to collect all the inhabitants together, that we may know their determination." "I consent to it," said he. They entered the town once more, and, by sound of trumpet in every street, the inhabitants were summoned to the market-place, where, when assembled, the chief citizens told them all that had passed between them and the marshal. Having agreed to surrender the town, for the release of their hostages from prison, whom they were unwilling to lose, they returned to the marshal and said, "Marshal, your demands are reasonable, and we are ready to receive, as sovereigns, the duke and duchess of Lancaster in our town, of which here are the keys. We will accompany you to the duke's quarters, if you will have the goodness to escort us." "I will willingly do that," said the marshal. There came out of Entença upward of sixty persons, carrying with them the keys of the gates: the marshal conducted them to the duke, and obtained for them an audience, where they were well received, and had their hostages given up. The duke entered Entença the same day, where he was lodged, and as many of his people as could be accommodated.

Four days after the surrender of Entença, the six deputies returned from Valladolid. They were asked why they had stayed so long; which they answered, by saying they could not help it. They had indeed seen and spoken to the king, who replied that he had heard them, and would advise on what answer to give; "but, though we waited eight days for it, we are come back without any, for no further notice was taken of us." They had heard in Valladolid, that the king was expecting great succors from France; that numbers of men-at-arms were already arrived, and quartered up and down the country; but that their commanders, sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, were still behind: that the main body of the army, with the knights and squires, were on their march for Castille, but that those who had been retained to serve under the duke of Bourbon were still at their homes.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE COUNT DE FOIX PERMITS THE FRENCH CAPTAINS TO PASS THROUGH HIS TERRITORIES, ON CONDITION THEY SHOULD PAY FOR WHATEVER THEY TAKE. THEY ARRIVE AT ST. JEAN PIED DE PORT, AT THE ENTRANCE OF NAVARRE.

Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac passing through France, assembled their men in the Toulousain, Narbonnois and Carcassone, where, as they arrived, they quartered themselves in the richest parts, and many never paid anything for what they took. News was brought to the count de Foix at Orthès, where he resided, that the French men-at-arms were advancing near his country, with the intent of marching through it in their way to Castille. Those who told him this, added, "But, my lord, the mischief is, that they pay for nothing they take, and the people fly before them as if they were English. The captains are still at Carcassone, and their men overrun from thence all the adjacent countries. They cross the Garonne at Toulouse, and enter Bigorre, from whence they will soon be in your territories; and, if they do there what they have done on their march, they will greatly injure your domains of Béarn. Consider, therefore, how you will act." The count de Foix, who had instantly formed his resolution, replied, "I will, that all my castles, as well in Foix as in Béarn, be well garrisoned with men-at-arms, and that all the country be put on its guard, as if an immediate battle were to take place; for I will not suffer from the wars in Castille. My lands are free; and, if the French want to pass through them, they shall truly pay for whatever they may want, or they shall be shut against them. This I order you, sir William and Peter de Béarn, to see obeyed." These two knights were bastard-brothers, valiant in arms, and able to support the count's orders. They replied, they would undertake the charge willingly.

Proclamation was made, throughout the territories of the count, for every one to provide himself with proper arms, and to be prepared to march on instant notice, wherever sent for. Numbers came to Foix, Béarn, and the stewartry of Toulouse, prepared for battle. Messire Espaing de Lyon, with a hundred good lances and men-at-arms, was sent to the city of Pamiers; messire Ricart de Saint Leger, to Savredun; Peter de Béarn held Mazeres with a hundred lances; messire Pierre Cabestan was at Bellepuich at the entrance into the county of Foix; messire Pierre Menaut de Noailles with fifty lances, at Saint Shibaut, on the Garonne; messire Pierre de la Roche at Palaminich; the bastard d'Espaigne, at the castle of Lamesen; messire Arnault Guillaume, with, in all, a hundred lances, at Morlans; messire Guy de la Motte, at Pau; messire Raymond de Chastel-Neuf, at Mont-de-Marsan; messire Evan de Foix, bastard son to the count, at Sauveterre; messire Berdruc de Nebosem, at Montesquieu; messire Jean de Saint Marcille, at Aire; messire Hector de la Garde, at Oron; John de Chastel-Neuf, at Montgerviel; Jean de Morlans, at Erciel. Messire Raymond l'Aisné, who had the command of the castle of Malvoisin, was ordered to be very attentive to the whole of that frontier, and sent his cousin, sir Arnaulton d'Espaign, to St. Gaudens. In short, there was not a town or castle in Foix and Béarn unprovided with men-at-arms, which the count said were sufficient to oppose double their numbers; for they amounted, in the whole, to twenty thousand picked men-at-arms.

It was told to sir William de Lignac, who resided at Toulouse, and sir Walter de Passac, at Carcassone, how the count de Foix had summoned his men-at-arms and reinforced all his garrisons; and that it was reported he would not suffer their army to pass through his country. The two knights, on hearing this, though captains of the others, were much astonished, and appointed a day to meet and confer on the subject. They met at the castle of Aury, half way between Toulouse and Carcassone, when the following conversation passed on the means of gaining permission from the count de Foix to march through his territories:

"I wonder," said sir William, "very much, that neither the king of France nor his council have written to him, to obtain liberty for us to march quietly through Foix and Béarn. You must go to him, sir Walter, and amicably explain how we are sent by the king of France to continue our march peaceably, and to pay for whatever we may want; for you must know, that the count de Foix is so powerful, that he can, if he please, shut up the passage, and force us to go round by Arragon, which would be too long, and much against us. In truth, I know not of whom he is suspicious, nor why he has thus strengthened his towns and castles, nor if he have formed any connection with the duke of Lancaster; but I beg of you to go thither, and learn the truth of what we have heard." "I will willingly do so," replied sir Walter; and the two knights, having dined together, took leave of each other, and departed different ways: sir William de Lignac returned to Toulouse; and sir Walter de Passac, attended by only forty horse, crossed the Garonne at St. Thibaut, where he met sir Menaut de Noailles, who entertained him handsomely. Sir Walter asked, where he could find the count de Foix. He replied, "At Orthès." The two knights having passed some little time together, conversing on different matters, separated; and sir Walter went to St. Gaudens, where he made good cheer. On the morrow he came to St. John de Riviere, and, riding through Lane-bourg, skirted Malvoisin, and lay at Tournay, an inclosed town of France. The next day he dined at Tarbes, and stayed the whole day: having met the lord d'Anchin, and sir Menaut de Barbasan, two great barons of Béarn, they had much conversation together; but, as the lord de Barbasan was an Armagnac, he would not say anything favorable of the count de Foix. Sir Walter, on the morrow, left Tarbes, and dined at Morlas in Béarn, where he found sir Reginald William, bastard brother to the count, who received him kindly, and said, "Sir Walter, you will meet my lord of Foix at Orthès, who, you may be assured, will be glad to see you." "God

grant it may be so," answered sir Walter; "for I am come purposely to wait on him." They dined together, and sir Walter went afterwards to Montgerbeil where he lay. On the ensuing day he arrived at Orthès, about eight o'clock in the morning, but could not see the count until the afternoon, when he usually left his chamber. The count de Foix, hearing of the arrival of sir Walter de Passac, hastened to leave his apartment sooner than common; and sir Walter, seeing him come out of his chamber, advanced to meet him, and saluted him very respectfully. The count, who was perfectly polite, returned the salute; and, taking him by the hand, said, "Sir Walter, you are welcome: what business has brought you to Béarn?" "My lord," replied the knight, "sir William de Lignac and myself, whom the king of France has appointed commanders of the force which, you must have heard, he is sending to assist the king of Castille, have been given to understand that you intend to prevent us, by shutting your country of Béarn against us and our men." The count replied, "Sir Walter, under favor, I never mean to close my country against you, nor any person who may travel peaceably through it, and pay honestly and fairly for whatever they may want, to the satisfaction of my people; for I have sworn to defend and protect them in their rights, as good landholders ought to do, for upon these terms do they possess them. But I have heard that you have a set of Bretons, Barrois, Lorainers and Burgundians, who never think of paying. It is against such I shall close my country; for I will not have my people harassed nor oppressed."

"It is the intention of my brother-commander and myself," replied sir Walter, "that no one pass through your lands without paying for all things peaceably and to the contentment of your people, otherwise let him be arrested and punished according to your laws, and make restitution for the damage he may have done, or we will make satisfaction for him, on having him given up to us; and, if no gentleman, we will inflict such exemplary justice on him, in the presence of your people, that all may take warning. Should the offender be a gentleman, we will make ample restitution for what he may have done, should he be unable so to do himself. This order shall be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in all our quarters; and we will have it repeated when on the point of entering your territories, so that no one may excuse himself, by pleading ignorance, and in consequence act otherwise than honestly. Tell me, if this be satisfactory to you." "Yes, sir Walter," replied the count, "I am contented with what you say; and you are welcome to this country, for I see you with pleasure: but come, let us go to dinner, it is now time, and we can have some further conversation. Accursed be this war of Portugal, sir Walter; for I never suffered so much as I did in one battle between the kings of Castille and Portugal, when I lost the flower of my men-at-arms from Béarn, who were there slain. When they took leave of me, I forewarned them to act with caution, for the Portuguese were a hardy race, who, whenever they had the upper hand, showed mercy to none. I advise you, therefore, that when you and sir William de Lignac, who are the commanders of the men-at-arms that have passed, and of those that are to follow, are arrived in Castille, and the king asks counsel of you, you be not too hasty in recommending a battle with the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, without evident advantage, nor with the English and Portuguese; for they are a hungry race, and the English are, for two reasons, eager to fight. They have not gained anything for some time, but rather lost, consequently are poor: they therefore wish to hazard an engagement, in hopes of gain; and those who are bold, and anxious to obtain the property of others, fight valiantly, and are commonly fortunate. The other reason is, that the duke of Lancaster sees clearly he can never succeed in winning the crown of Castille, which he claims in right of his wife, but by a battle; and that, if the day should be his, and the king defeated, the whole of Castille would surrender, and tremble before him. For this he has landed in Galicia, and given one of his daughters in marriage to the king of Portugal, who is to assist him with all his might in his claim. I mention this; because, should matters turn out unfortunate, you and sir William de Lignac would be more blamed than any others."

"My lord," answered sir Walter, "I return you many thanks for the advice you give me. I ought to follow what you say; for you are, at this day, the wisest of Christian princes, and the most fortunate in your affairs. But my companion and myself are under the duke of Bourbon, who is our commander-in-chief; and, until he be arrived in Castille, we shall not hasten our march, and will not, for what any person may say, press the engaging with our enemies." Other conversation now took place, until the count de Foix called for wine. When it was brought, sir Walter and all present drank of it, and took leave of the count, who reëntered his chamber. Sir Walter returned to his lodging, accompanied by the knights of the count's household; and, at the usual hour, he again went to the castle and supped with the count. On the morrow, after dinner, sir Walter took leave of the count, who, among other gifts, presented him on his departure with a handsome horse and mule. Sir Walter, having returned him his thanks, and his attendants being ready, mounted his horse and quitted Orthès for Erciel, where he lay that night. He arrived at Tarbes the following day, for he had ridden hard to finish this day's journey, where he halted, that he might write to sir William de Lignac respecting the success of his visit to the count de Foix. He told him he might order the army to advance, as they would find the country of Béarn and the towns open to them, by paying for whatever they might want, but not otherwise. The messenger delivered this letter to sir William de Lignac at Toulouse, who, having read it, communicated the contents to the leaders of the men-at-arms, and gave them orders to begin the march, and to pay for whatever they might want in Béarn, or they would be called upon to make due restitution. This order was proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, in all their quarters; and, shortly after, the men-at-arms began their march from Toulouse, Carcassone, and other places, toward Bigorre. Sir William de Lignac left Toulouse, and, on his arrival at Tarbes, found his brother-commander, sir Walter de Passac. They mutually entertained each other with good cheer, as was natural, while their men-at-arms were continually passing toward Bigorre, where they were to assemble and traverse Foix and Béarn, in a body, to cross the Gave at Orthès.

The instant you leave Béarn you enter the country of the Basques,* where the king of England has large possessions in the archbishopric of Bordeaux and bishopric of Bayonne. The inhabitants of fourscore villages with churches, attached to England, on hearing of this march of the French, were greatly alarmed lest their country would be overrun and spoiled; for at that time there were not any men-at-arms to defend it. Those, therefore, counselled together who were of the most influence and of the largest properties, and determined to negotiate with the French for the ransom of their country. They, in consequence, sent four deputies to Orthès, empowered to treat for peace. They related to Ernauton du Pin, a squire of the count de Foix, an agreeable and discreet man, the cause of their coming, and entreated him, when, in two days' time, sir William and sir Walter should come to Orthès, to assist them in their treaty. This Ernauton readily promised; and as they lodged with him, he aided them so much that they were well satisfied to pay two thousand francs to save their country from ruin. The count de Foix again entertained the commanders at dinner, and gave sir William de Lignac a beautiful horse. On the morrow, they marched to Sauveterre, and entered the country of the Basques: and though it had been ransomed, they seized provision wherever they found any, but continued their march, without doing further mischief, to St. Jean Pied de Port, at the entrance of Navarre.

CHAPTER LX.

SIR JOHN HOLLAND AND SIR REGINALD DE ROYE PERFORM A TILT IN THE TOWN OF ENTENÇA, BEFORE THE KING AND QUEEN OF PORTUGAL AND THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

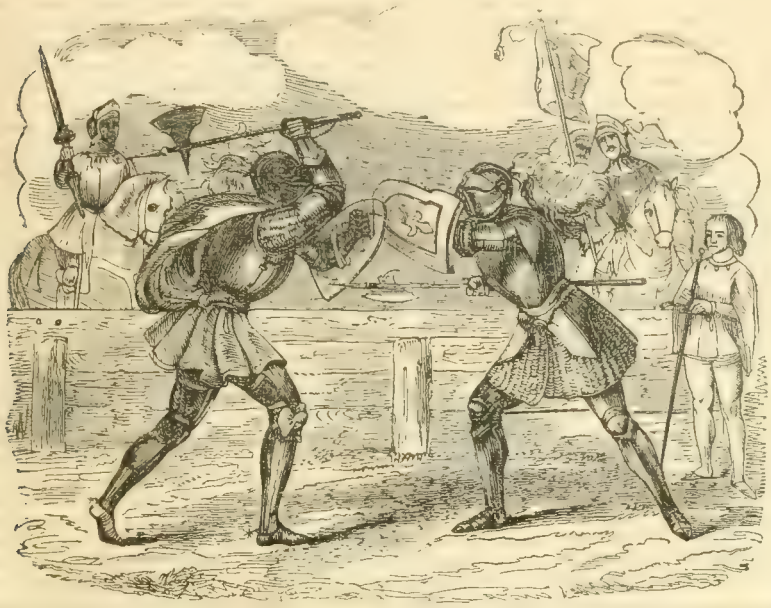
You have before heard how the town of Entença surrendered to the duke of Lancaster, for the king of Castille sent thither no assistance; and how the duchess of Lancaster and her daughter visited the king and queen of Portugal at Oporto, when the king and his court, as was right, received them most honorably. During the stay of the duke of Lancaster in Entença, a herald arrived from Valladolid, who demanded where sir John Holland was lodged. On being shown thither, he found sir John within; and, bending his knee, presented him a letter, saying, "Sir, I am a herald-at-arms, whom sir Reginald de Roye sends hither: he salutes you by me, and you will be pleased to read this letter." Sir John answered, he would willingly do so. Having opened it, he read that sir Reginald de Roye entreated him, for the love of his mistress, that he would deliver him from his vow, by tilting with him three courses with the lance, three attacks with the sword, three with the battle-axe, and three with the dagger; and that, if he chose to come to Valladolid, he had provided him an escort of sixty spears; but, if it were more agreeable to him to remain in Entença, he desired he would obtain from the duke of Lancaster a passport for himself and thirty companions.

When sir John Holland had perused the letter, he smiled, and looking at the herald, said, "Friend, thou art welcome; for thou hast brought me what pleases me much, and I accept the challenge. Thou wilt remain in my lodging with my people, and in the course of to-morrow, thou shalt have my answer, whether the tilts are to be in Galicia or Castille." The herald replied, "God grant it." He remained in sir John's lodgings, where he was made comfortable; and sir John went to the duke of Lancaster, whom he found in conversation with the marshal, and showed the letter the herald had brought. "Well," said the duke, "and have you accepted it?" "Yes, by my faith, have I: and why not? I love nothing better than fighting, and the knight entreats me to indulge him: consider, therefore, where you would choose it should take place." The duke mused awhile, and then said: "It shall be performed in this town: have a passport made out in what terms you please, and I will seal it." "It is well said," replied sir John; "and I will, in God's name, soon make out the passport." The passport was fairly written and sealed, for thirty knights and squires to come and return; and sir John Holland, when he delivered it to the herald, presented him with a handsome mantle lined with a minever, and twelve nobles.

* Basques, a small country near the Pyrenées, bounded by Spain, the sea, the river Adour, and Béarn.

The herald took leave and returned to Valladolid, where he related what had passed, and showed his presents.

News of this tournament was carried to Oporto, where the king of Portugal kept his court. "In the name of God," said the king, "I will be present at it, and so shall my queen and the ladies." "Many thanks," replied the duchess; "for I shall be accompanied by the king and queen when I return." It was not long after this conversation, that the king of Portugal, the queen, the duchess, with her daughter, and the ladies of the court, set out for Entença, in grand



Battle-axe Fight between Sir John Holland and Sir Reginald de Roye. From cotemporary MSS., assisted by several cuts in Keiser's Maximilian.

array. The duke of Lancaster, when they were near at hand, mounted his horse; and, attended by a numerous company, went to meet them. When the king and duke met, they embraced each other most kindly, and entered the town together, where their lodgings were as well prepared as they could be in such a place, though they were not so magnificent as if they had been at Paris. Three days after the arrival of the king of Portugal, came sir Reginald de Roye, handsomely accompanied by knights and squires, to the amount of six score horse. They were all properly lodged; for the duke had given his officers strict orders they should be well taken care of. On the morrow, sir John Holland and sir Reginald de Roye armed themselves, and rode into a spacious close in Entença, well sanded, where the tilts were to be performed. Scaffolds were erected for the ladies, the king, the duke, and the many English lords who had come to witness the combat; for none had stayed at home.

The two knights who were to perform this deed of arms, entered the lists so well armed and equipped that nothing was wanting. Their spears, battle-axes and swords, were brought them; and each, being mounted on the best of horses, placed himself about a bow-shot distant from the other, but, at times, they both pranced about on their horses most gallantly, for they knew every eye to be upon them. All being now arranged for their combat, which was to include everything, except pushing it to extremity, though no one could see what mischief might happen, nor how it would end; for they were to tilt with pointed lances, then with swords, which were so sharp that scarcely a helmet could resist their strokes; and these were succeeded by battle-axes and daggers, each so well tempered that nothing could withstand them. Now, consider the perils those run who engage in such combats to exalt their honor; for one unlucky stroke puts an end to the business.

Having braced their targets and examined each other through the visors of their helmets, they spurred on their horses, spear in hand. Though they allowed their horses to gallop as they pleased, they advanced on as straight a line as if it had been drawn with a cord, and hit each other on the visors, with such force that sir Reginald's lance was shivered into four pieces, which flew to a greater height than they could have been thrown. All present allowed this to be gallantly done. Sir John Holland struck sir Reginald likewise on the visor, but not with the same success, and I will tell you why: sir Reginald had but slightly laced on his helmet, so that it was held by one thong only, which broke at the blow, and the helmet flew over his head, leaving sir Reginald bare-headed. Each passed the other, and sir John Holland bore his lance without halting. The spectators cried out that it was a handsome course. The knights returned to their station, when sir Reginald's helmet was fitted on again, and another lance given to him: sir John grasped his own, which was not worsted. When ready, they set off full gallop, for they had excellent horses under them, which they well knew how to manage, and again struck each other on the helmets, so that sparks of fire came from them, but chiefly from sir John Holland's. He received a very severe blow, for this time the lance did not break; neither did sir John's, which hit the visor of his adversary without much effect, passing through and leaving it on the cruper of the horse, and sir Reginald was once more bare-headed. "Ha," cried the English to the French, "he does not fight fair; why is not his helmet as well buckled on as sir John Holland's? We say he is playing tricks: tell him to put himself on an equal footing with his adversary." "Hold your tongues," said the duke, "and let them alone: in arms every one takes what advantage he can: if sir John think there is any advantage in thus fastening on his helmet, he may do the same. But, for my part, were I in their situations, I would lace my helmet as tight as possible; and if one hundred were asked their opinions, there would be fourscore of my way of thinking." The English, on this, were silent, and never again interfered. The ladies declared they had nobly justed; and they were much praised by the king of Portugal, who said to sir John Fernando, "In our country they do not tilt so well, nor so gallantly: what say you, sir John?" "By my faith, sir," replied he, "they do tilt well; and formerly I saw as good justs before your brother, when we were at Elvas to oppose the king of Castille, between this Frenchman and sir William Windsor; but I never heard that his helmet was tighter laced then than it is now." The king on this turned from sir John to observe the knights, who were about to begin their third course. Sir John and sir Reginald eyed each other, to see if any advantage were to be gained, for their horses were so excellent that they could manage them as they pleased, and sticking spurs into them, hit their helmets so sharply that their eyes struck fire, and the shafts of their lances were broken. Sir Reginald was again unhelmed, for he could never avoid this happening, and they passed each other without falling. All now declared, they had well justed; though the English, excepting the duke of Lancaster, blamed greatly sir Reginald: but he said, "he considered that man as wise who in combat knows how to seize his vantage. Know," added he, addressing himself to sir Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Moreaux, "that sir Reginald de Roye is not now to be taught how to tilt: he is better skilled than sir John Holland, though he has borne himself well."

After the courses of the lance, they fought three rounds with swords, battle-axes, and daggers, without either of them being wounded. The French carried off sir Reginald to his lodging, and the English did the same to sir John Holland. The duke of Lancaster entertained this day at dinner all the French knights and squires: the duchess was seated beside him, and sir Reginald de Roye next to her. After dinner, they entered the presence-chamber; and the duchess, taking sir Reginald by the hand, led him thither: and they were followed by the other knights, who conversed on arms and on other subjects a long time, almost until wine was brought. The duchess then drew nearer to the French knights, and thus spoke: "I wonder greatly how you knights of France can think of supporting the claims of a bastard; for it is well known to the whole world, that Henry who called himself king of Castille, was a bastard, and how can you thus, with your arms and counsel, disinherit the right heir of Castille and deprive him of the crown? for this I know, that myself and sister are the legal daughters of the late king, don Pedro; and God, who is Truth itself, knows that our claim on Castille is just." The lady, when speaking of her father, don Pedro, could not refrain from tears, as she doated on him. Sir Reginald de Roye bowed to her, and thus replied: "Madam, we know that what you have said is true; but our lord, the king of France, holds a different opinion from yours; and, as we are his subjects, we must make war for him, and go whithersoever he may send us, for we cannot disobey him." At these words, sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy handed the lady to her chamber, and the wines and spices were brought. The duke and his company drank of them, and the French knights took their leave; the horses being ready at their lodgings, they mounted and left Entença. They rode that day to Noya, which was attached to the king of Castille, where they reposed themselves, and then continued their journey to Valladolid.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL PROMISES TO ENTER CASTILLE WHILE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FINISHES THE CONQUEST OF GALICIA, AND THEN TO UNITE THEIR FORCES.

The king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster had a long conference together the day after this tournament, when, I believe, their plans of operation were settled. The king of Portugal having assembled his army ready to take the field, it was determined that he should enter Castille, while the duke remained in Galicia, to conquer such towns and castles as had not acknowledged him for king; and it was likewise resolved, that if king John of Castille made any movements which showed an inclination for battle, they were to join their forces. It was judged, that if the two armies were always united, there would be difficulty in procuring forage for such numbers. Other evils might arise also respecting forage and quarters; for the English are hasty and proud, and the Portuguese hot and impetuous, easily angered, and not soon pacified. But in the expectation of a battle, they would agree as well together as Gascons.

Having determined as above, the king of Portugal addressed the duke of Lancaster, "Sir, when I shall learn that you have taken the field, I will do the like; for my men are ready and eager for battle." The duke replied, "I will not long continue idle; but as I have heard there are some towns in Galicia still in rebellion, and that the people will not acknowledge me, I must first conquer them, and then march where I may the soonest meet my enemies." Upon this, the king and queen of Portugal took leave of the duke and duchess, as did the lady Catherine their daughter; for it had been settled, that during the war she should live with her sister in Portugal, as the place of greatest security for her, and the duchess was to return to Saint Jago. Thus were these matters arranged, and the king of Portugal and his court set out for Oporto, and the duchess for Saint Jago, each party well escorted by knights and squires; but the duke remained with his army at Entença, or in the neighborhood. They were very eager to commence the campaign, for it was now the pleasant month of April, when the grass is ripe in the meads, the corn in ear, and the flowers in seed; for it is so hot in that country, that the harvest is over in June: they therefore wished to perform some exploits in arms while the weather was fine, for it was a pleasure at such a season to be out in the fields.

We must now speak of the arrangements of the French, and of the king of Castille, as fully as we have done of the English.

CHAPTER LXII.

SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC AND SIR WALTER DE PASSAC TRAVERSE THE KINGDOM OF NAVARRE WITH THEIR ARMY, AND ARRIVE AT BURGOS, WHERE THEY MEET THE KING OF CASTILLE.

You have heard how sir Walter de Passac obtained permission from the count de Foix for the French army, intended for Castille, to pass through Béarn. The count likewise gave, of his own free will, (for he was no way bounden to do so,) very rich presents to such knights and squires as waited on him at the castle of Orthès, to pay their respects, and tell him what was passing in the way of news. To some he gave two hundred, to others one hundred, fifty or forty, florins, according to their ranks; and, as the treasurer assured me, the passage of this first division cost the count de Foix one thousand francs, without including the presents he made of coursers and hackneys. Now show me the prince who does such things, or who has the inclination to do them. In good truth, so desirous am I of speaking to his advantage, it is a pity that such a one should ever grow old and die; for he is not surrounded by base minions, who tell him, "Take this, give that; take on all sides." No; he never had, nor will have, any such about his person: he does all himself; for he has, by nature, abilities to know to whom he should give, and from whom he should take, when required. True it is, that the large presents he makes oppresses his people; for his revenue is not equal to giving every year at least sixty thousand francs, and keeping up his establishments, which are unequalled by any one, and to the amassing a treasure to serve him in case of accidents. He has been, for the last thirty years, laying by large sums; and they say there is in the tower of Orthès one hundred thousand francs, thirty times told. His subjects only pray to God that he may have long life, and never complain of anything he does; and I have heard them say, that on the day he shall die, there will be ten thousand persons in Orthès, who would wish to die also. Consider that this must be the effect of their affection; and, if they have such great love for him, they have reason for it, as he maintains strict justice, and his subjects enjoy their lands free and in peace, like to a terrestrial paradise. Let it not be thought that I thus speak through flattery, or my love to him, or for the presents he has made me; for I can readily prove all I have said of the gallant count de Foix, and still more, by a thousand knights and squires, if called upon. Let us return to sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, the commanders of the men-at-arms destined for Castille.

Having crossed Basques, and the pass of Roncesvalles, which took them three days, (for, though it was in the month of April, the snows and cold were so deep and severe, that they had much difficulty in the passage with their men and horses,) they arrived at Pampeluna, the kingdom of Navarre being open to them. The king of Navarre was unwilling to displease the king of Castille, as his son Charles de Navarre had married his sister; and when the last treaties were concluded, during the reign of the late don Henry, they were so strong as bound the king of Navarre to peace. Indeed, he can never withstand the king of Castille, unless he have the kings of Arragon and England for his allies. The king of Navarre very amicably received, at Pampeluna, the leaders of this force,* and had them, with some other knights that accompanied them, to dine with him in his palace. After dinner, he led them into his council-chamber, and began conversations on different subjects, (for he was a wondrous subtle and eloquent man,) and at last turned the discourse on France, and harangued on the wrongs the king of France and his council had unjustly done him, by depriving him of his lands in Normandy, which had descended to him from his predecessors the kings of France and Navarre. This injury he should never forget; for he had lost, by the seizure of lands in Normandy, Languedoc, and in the barony of Montpensier, about sixty thousand francs of yearly rent, and in respect of this grievance he knew not to whom, except to God, to apply for redress. "I do not say this, my lords," added he, "that you should any way interfere in the business; for I know you have not the power, nor would anything you could say be listened to. You are not of the king's council, but knights-errant and soldiers, who are obliged to march wheresoever the king or his council may order you. This is fact; but I say it to you, because I know not to whom I can complain, except to all who shall come from France through this country."

Sir Walter de Passac replied: "Sir, what you say is true: nothing will be done by any recommendation of ours; for, in truth, we are not of the king's council. We go whither we are sent; and my lord of Bourbon, uncle to the king, is our commander, and, as you know, is to follow us this road: you may lay your complaints before him, either when coming or on his return; for he has much influence, and your wrongs may be redressed. May God assist you, for the honor you have done us! When returned to France, we shall praise your attentions, to the king, as well as to the duke of Bourbon, our commander, whom we shall see first." Wine was now brought, of which they partook, and then left the king, who parted from them kindly, and sent to each, at their lodgings, a handsome war-horse, to their great joy. The men-at-arms thus passed Navarre, and arrived at Logrono, where they inquired after the king of Castille. They were told he had resided for some time at Valladolid, but that he was then at Burgos, making great preparations of stores and provision. They then followed the road toward Burgos, leaving that into Galicia, which country was not secure, for the English had marched far into it. News was brought to the king of Castille that great succors were on their march, to the amount of two thousand lances, from France. This delighted him greatly, and he set out from Valladolid, accompanied by ten thousand horse, for Burgos, where the French, on their coming, were quartered over the country. They were daily joined by others from France.

CHAPTER LXIII.

MANY PLANS ARE OFFERED TO THE KING OF CASTILLE FOR CARRYING ON THE WAR: HE IS DETERMINED BY THE COMMANDERS OF THE FRENCH FORCE TO DELAY AN ENGAGEMENT UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON, AND TO MAKE EXCURSIONS FROM THE DIFFERENT GARRISONS.

Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, on their arrival at Burgos, waited on the king, at his palace, who received them kindly, and thanked them for the trouble and pains they had taken, out of affection to him, and for coming to assist him. The knights bowed, and said: "that if they could do anything essential for his service, their pains and trouble would soon be forgotten." Many councils were holden, to consider whether to march against the enemy, or carry on the war by excursions from the garrisons, until the duke of Bourbon arrived. The two knights said, "Send for sir Oliver du Guesclin, sir Peter de Villaines, sir Barrois des Barres, Châtelmorant, and the other companions, who are better acquainted with this country than ourselves, for they have come hither before us, and we will then confer together; and if it please God, your kingdom shall, from our counsels, acquire both profit and renown." The king said, they had spoken openly and loyally, and he was willing their advice should be followed. Secretaries were instantly employed in writing pressing letters to the different knights and others whom they wished to see, which were sent off by messengers to the different parts where they resided. When it was known to them that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were come, and had sent for them, they were much pleased. They left the towns and castles in which they were garrisoned, under the command of such as they could depend on, and hastened to Burgos, where, in a short time, good part of the chivalry of France were collected.

* This was in 1386. The French knights returned from this expedition before the expiration of the year. The king of Navarre died January 1, 1387.—Ed.

The king of Castille held a grand council with the barons and knights of France, on the manner of commencing the campaign, for they knew the enemy had taken the field. He was desirous of acting in a manner becoming the honor of a king, and for the benefit of his country. Many were the debates, and the amount of the force in Castille was estimated. It was said, that the king could summon into the field thirty thousand horse, with their riders armed, according to the custom of the country, with darts and javelins, and thirty thousand infantry, if not more, with slings. The French knights considered all this, and said it was certainly a great number of people, but it was useless as an army; for they had formerly acted in so cowardly a manner that no confidence could be placed in them. Through their cowardice, the prince of Wales had won the battle of Najarra; and the Castillians had been completely defeated by the Portuguese at Aljubarota. The count de Lerma took up this speech, and supported the Castillians. By way of excuse, he said: "With regard to the battle of Najarra, I must beg leave to speak to that. It is true that many noble knights from France were present with sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who fought valiantly, for they were all slain or captured; but you must also know that the flower of knighthood of the whole world was under the command of the prince of Wales, whose good sense, courage, and prudence, were unrivalled. Such is not now the case with the duke of Lancaster. The prince had, at the battle of Najarra, full ten thousand spears, and six thousand archers: and among the chivalry were three thousand equal to the Rolands and Olivers; such as sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, sir Oliver de Clisson, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Garsis du Châtel, the lord de Raix, the lord de Rieux, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, and hundreds more whom I could name, who were then present, but who are either dead, or have turned to our side. These are not now opposed to us, nor is the event so doubtful as it was in former times: so that whoever has confidence in me, will join my opinion for an instant combat; and that we march to cross the river Duoro, which will redound to our honor."

This speech of the count de Lerma was attentively listened to by the council, and many were of his mind. Sir Oliver du Guesclin next spoke: "Count de Lerma, we know that what you have uttered proceeds from the good sense and courage you possess; and, suppose we were to march and offer combat to the duke of Lancaster, had we no other enemy, we should do well; but you have forgotten the king of Portugal, whom we shall have on our rear, and whose forces consist, as we have been informed, of twenty-five hundred lances, and thirty thousand other men. It was the dependence on the king of Portugal that made the duke land in Galicia; and we know that their alliance is very much strengthened by the marriage of the king with the duke's daughter. Now, let us hear what you can say to this." "In God's name," replied the count de Lerma, "the French being four thousand lances, are more than a match to combat the duke of Lancaster; and the king, with his Castillians to the amount of twenty thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, as they say, may surely withstand the king of Portugal: it appears to me so clear, that I will risk the event with them."

The knights from France, seeing themselves thus rebuffed by the count de Lerma, said: "By God, you are in the right, and we in the wrong; for we ought first to have weighed what you have said: it shall be so, since you will it, and no one seems to oppose it." "My lords," said the king, "I beg of you to consider well the advice you give me, not through haste or pride, but with all attention, that the best plan may be adopted. I do not look on what has been said as decisive, nor approve of it: I will that we meet again in this same apartment to-morrow, and particularly that you, sir William de Lignac, and you, sir Walter de Passac, who have been sent hither by the king of France and the duke of Bourbon, as the commanders-in-chief, do confer together, and examine carefully what will be the most honorable and profitable for my kingdom; for you shall determine whether we march to offer combat to our enemies or not."

They bowed to the king, and said they would cheerfully attend to his orders. The conference then broke up, and each retired to his lodging. The French knights had this day after dinner, and in the evening, much conversation on the subject. Some said: "We cannot in honor offer battle until the arrival of the duke of Bourbon; for how do we know what will be his intentions, to fight or not? Should we engage and be victorious, the duke will be highly indignant against the captains from France: should we be defeated, we not only ruin ourselves, but Castille also; for if we be slain, there can be no hopes of recovery to the Castillians, and the king will lose his crown. We shall be blamed, should this happen, more than any others; for it will be said, that we proposed the battle, and were ignorant advisers. Besides, we know not if the country be unanimous in their affection to the king, or whether they may not have sent underhand, for the duke of Lancaster and his lady, as the legal heiress of Castille, for she is the daughter of don Pedro, as is well known to all. Now, should the Castillians say, on seeing the duke and the English in the field, that his is the justest cause, for that king John is a bastard, they may turn about toward the latter end of the day, as they did at Najarra, and leave us to be slain on the spot. Thus there is a double danger for the king and for us. They must be mad or foolish who advise a battle; and why have not those who ought to have spoken, such as sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, delivered their sentiments?" "Because," replied others, "they wished to know our opinions first; for it is not possible but that, when they left the council of France and the duke of Bourbon, they were well instructed how to act. We shall all know to-morrow." There was much disputing this evening between the knights from France, as well as among those of Castille. The well-wishers to the king would not advise him to offer battle, for the reason that, if they should be defeated, the kingdom was infallibly lost. The king himself was of this opinion: he dreaded the chances of war; for he was ignorant of the support he should have, and whether he was beloved by all his subjects or not. The matter thus remained until the morrow, when they were again assembled in the presence of the king.

In this conference there were many speakers, for all were desirous to offer the king advice to the best of their abilities. It was visible the king was against the plan of the preceding day; for he had not forgotten the unfortunate event of the battle of Aljubarota, where he was defeated by the king of Portugal with such loss, that another similar to it would lose him his realm. When all had delivered their opinions, sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were asked theirs; for, as they were the commanders-in-chief, everything should be ordered and executed by them. The two knights, looking at each other, sir William said, "Do you speak, sir Walter." "Not I," replied sir Walter: "do you, for you have been longer used to arms than myself." Sir William having paused a while, thus spoke: "Sir king, you ought, methinks, to return many thanks to this noble chivalry of France, who have come so far to serve you in your distress, and who have shown you so much affection as to decline shutting themselves up in any of your castles or towns, but are eager to take the field and combat your enemies wherever they may find them: which, however, saving your grace and the good will you show, cannot be done at present for many reasons; the principal of which is, the absence of my lord the duke of Bourbon, who will soon arrive with a considerable reinforcement of men-at-arms. There are also many of our knights and squires who have never before been in this country, and are ignorant of the roads, to which they must attend; and things which are hastily concluded never end well. Instead, therefore, of attempting a general engagement, we shall carry on the war for two or three months, or as long as may be necessary, from different garrisons, and let the English and Portuguese overrun Galicia, or other parts, if they can. If they conquer a few towns, it will be no great loss: we will regain them before we quit the country, for they shall only borrow them for a time. To conclude: in warfare there are many unforeseen events, and the English during the hot season may, in their various excursions through Galicia, meet with such difficulties, and suffer such disorders, as may make them repent ever having undertaken the business; for they will not find the climate like that of France, nor the wines so good, nor the water so pure as in our country; but the rivers muddy and cold from the melting of the snows on the mountains, which will chill them and their horses after the burning heat of the sun in the day time, and be the destruction of them both. They are not of iron or steel, and must in the end suffer from the heats of Castille, but like to ourselves; and we cannot any way more easily defeat them than by avoiding a combat, and allowing them to go whithersoever they please. They will find nothing to pillage in the low countries, nor anything to comfort themselves; for, I am informed, that has been all destroyed by our people, for which I praise them greatly; and, were it now undone, I would have given them such orders. Now if any person can give better advice, let him do so; for sir Walter and myself will cheerfully listen to him."

The council unanimously replied: "We approve of what sir William has offered, and cannot but think it the best advice for the king and kingdom of Castille." It was then determined to wait for the duke of Bourbon and the stores before they made preparations for taking the field, but to garrison strongly the frontier, and suffer the English and Portuguese to overrun Castille at their pleasure; for, when they returned from their excursions, they could not carry away the land with them. The conference ended, all left the chamber; and this day the king entertained at dinner, in his palace at Burgos, the barons and knights of France; it was magnificently grand, according to the custom in Spain. On the morrow, before noon, all the men-at-arms were sent off to their different garrisons, with instructions from their leaders how to act. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, count de Longueville, was ordered, with a thousand spears, to a tolerably strong town on the borders of Galicia, called Ville-saincte;* sir Reginald and sir Tristan de Roye to another town, ten leagues further, but on the frontier of Galicia, called Ville-d'Agillare-de-Champ,† with three hundred lances; sir Peter de Belesme, with two hundred lances, to Beneventé; the count de Lerma to the town of Zamora; sir John des Barres, with three hundred, to the castle of Noya; sir John de Châtelmorant and sir Tristan de la Jaille, with others, to the city of Valencia; the viscount de Besliere to the town of Ribesda, with sir John and sir Robert de Braquemont. In such manner were the men-at-arms divided: sir Oliver du Guesclin was nominated constable, having the largest body under his command; and sir William de

* "Ville-saincte." Q. Vilalpando. † "Ville-d'Agillare de Champ." Q. Avila.

Lignac and sir Walter de Passac remained near the king at Burgos and attended him wherever he went.

Thus were affairs managed in Castille, waiting for the duke of Bourbon, who was still in France making his preparations. But we will leave the armies of Castille and of the duke of Lancaster, for a short time, and return to them again when necessary, to speak of such events as happened in France and England; many of which were strange enough, and dangerous to both kingdoms, but particularly displeasing to the king of England and his council.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON MAKES GREAT PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND. MUCH MURMURING AND DISCONTENT IN ENGLAND AGAINST KING RICHARD AND HIS COUNCIL.

I HAVE before related at length, how the grand expedition, which was preparing at Sluys to invade England, was broken up; but to show how much the French were in earnest, and that it might not be said they had given it over through cowardice, but were still eager to land in England, it was ordered that the constable should sail thither in the month of May, when the weather was fine, and the sea calm. His force was to consist of four thousand men-at-arms and two thousand cross-bows, who were to assemble in a town of Brittany called Tréguier,* situated on the sea-coast, and opposite to Cornwall. His preparations, which were very considerable, were all made there, and the horses were to embark at that port, the more easily to overrun England; for without horses no war on land can be carried on with effect. In this harbor were numbers of vessels of all descriptions, which were laden with wines, salted meats, biscuits, and other things, in such quantities, as might serve them four or five months, without requiring anything from the country; for the constable knew, that when the English should hear of his landing, they would destroy all the lowlands, to prevent him from having any support; and it was for this reason he had provided such immense stores. Another large fleet, to invade England, was likewise prepared at Harfleur, by the lord de Coucy, the lord de St. Pol, and the admiral of France, who were to embark on board of it with two thousand spears; but it was said that this was solely intended to force the duke of Lancaster to withdraw himself and his army from Castille. The duke of Bourbon was still at Paris; for he knew the duke of Lancaster must return to England, and it would be unnecessary for him to take so long a journey to Castille. The army of the constable consisted of Bretons, Angevins, Manceaux, Saintongers, and knights and squires from the adjoining countries. That of the count de St. Pol and the lord de Coucy was composed from the Isle of France, Normandy, and Picardy. The duke of Bourbon had two thousand spears from Berry, Auvergne, Limousin, and lower Burgundy. Such was the distribution of the forces in France; and every man knew how he was to be employed, whether in England or Castille.

England was, at this period, in greater danger than when the peasants, under Jack Straw, rose in rebellion, and marched to London; and I will tell you the cause. The nobles and gentlemen were unanimous, at that time, in their support of the king, but now there were many serious differences between them. The king quarrelled with his uncles of York and Gloucester, and they were equally displeased with him, caused, as it was said, by the intrigues of the duke of Ireland, the sole confidant of the king. The community, in many towns and cites, had noticed these quarrels, and the wisest dreaded the consequences that might ensue; but the giddy laughed at them, and said, they were owing to the jealousy of the king's uncles, and because the crown was not on their heads. But others said; "The king is young, and puts his confidence in youngsters: it would be to his advantage if he consulted his uncles more, who can only wish the prosperity of the country, than that puppy, the duke of Ireland, who is ignorant of all things, and who never saw a battle." Thus were the English divided; and great disasters seemed to be at hand, which was perfectly known all over France, and caused them to hasten their preparations for invading the country and adding to its miseries. The prelates of England were also quarrelling; the archbishop of Canterbury with that of York, who was of the house of Neville. They hated each other mortally, because the lord Neville had been appointed lieutenant of Northumberland, in preference to the sons of the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, which the archbishop, who was one of the king's council, had obtained for his brother, through the duke of Ireland.

As soon as the English learnt that the camps near Sluys were broken up, and the invasion given over, great murmurings were general throughout England. Those who wished mischief said; "What is now become of our grand enterprises and our valiant captains? Would that our gallant king Edward and his son, the prince of Wales, were now alive! We used to invade France and rebuff our enemies, so that they were afraid to show themselves, or venture to engage us; and, when they did so, they were defeated. What a glorious expedition did our king Edward, of happy memory, make, when he landed in Normandy, and marched through France! After many battles and other fine exploits, he defeated king Philip and the whole power of the French at Crecy, and took Calais before he returned home. Where are the knights and princes of England who can now do such things? Did not likewise the prince of Wales, son of this gallant king, make prisoner the king of France, and defeat his army at Poitiers, with the small force he had, compared with that of king John? In those days we were feared, and our renown was spread abroad, wherever chivalry was esteemed; but at this moment we must be silent, for they know not how to make war, except on our pockets: for this they are ready enough. Only a child reigns now in France, and yet he has given us more alarms than any of his predecessors, and shows good courage and inclination to invade us. It was not his fault, but that of his advisers, that he did not attempt it. We have seen the time when, if such a fleet had been known to have been collected at Sluys, the good king and his sons would have hastened to attack it; but now-a-days the nobles are delighted to have nothing to do, and remain in peace; but they will not suffer us to live in quiet, as long as we have anything in our purses. We have seen the time when conquests were made by us in France, and no taxes demanded; but every one was made rich from the great wealth which abounded in France. What is become of the immense sums which have been raised, as well by taxes as by the current revenue? They must have been wasted or purloined. We must know how the country is governed, and who are the advisers of the king: it is not right that such things be longer unattended to; for this country is not so rich, nor able to bear the burdens France does, which abounds in all things. It seems, also, that we are weakened in understanding and activity as well as in courage; for we used to know what was intended by France, and what were its plans, some months before they could execute them, by which we were prepared to resist them. Now, we are not only ignorant of what is going forward in France; but they are well informed of all that passes, though under the seal of secrecy, in our councils, and we know not whom to blame. But a day must come when all this will be public; for there are secret traitors in the council, and the sooner this is inquired into the better: we may delay it so long that it will be too late to provide a remedy." Such conversations were very common, not only with knights and squires, but among the inhabitants of many of the towns, which placed the realm in much danger.

The knights and squires who had been summoned to the defence of the kingdom, now demanded their pay; and other large sums were called for, to defray the great expenses the king and his council had been at in guarding the country against the invasion from France.

City of Burgos.—From La Borde's Voyage Pittoresque en Espagne.

* "Treguier"—ten leagues northwest of St. Brieux, and twenty-three northeast of Brest.

A parliament was therefore assembled in London, of the nobles, prelates, and commonalty, to consider of laying a general tax throughout the country to answer all these demands. The parliament adjourned from London to Westminster, when those summoned attended, and indeed many others, who came to hear the news. The king and his two uncles of York and Gloucester were present; and the parliament was harangued on the subject of the finances, and assured that there was not in the royal treasury more than sufficient to support, even with economy, the usual expenses of the king. The council said, there was no other means than laying a general tax on all the country, if they were desirous of paying the great sums the defence of the kingdom had cost. Those from the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Norwich and Warwick, the counties of Devonshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, readily assented; because they knew better what had been done, and were more alarmed than those at a greater distance, in Wales, Bristol, and Cornwall, who were rebellious, and said; "We have never seen any enemies come into this country: why therefore should we be thus heavily taxed, and nothing done?" "Yes, yes," replied the others: "let them call on the king's council, the archbishop of York and the duke of Ireland, who received sixty thousand francs, for the ransom of John of Brittany, from the constable of France, which ought to have gone to the general profit of the kingdom. Let them call on sir Simon Burley, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Brand, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir John Beauchamp, who have governed the king. If they gave a true account of the sums raised in England, or were forced so to do, there would be more than money enough to pay all expenses, and poor people might remain in quiet."

The king's uncles were much pleased when these speeches were told them; for those they had named were unfriendly to their interests, and opposed their obtaining any favors from the court. They encouraged such discourses; and, to gain popularity, said; "The good people who hold such language are well advised in wishing to have an account of the management of the finances, and in refusing to pay their taxes; for, in good truth, there is cash enough either in the purses of the king or of those who govern him." By degrees this discontent was much increased among the people, who declared against any tax being laid on, and who grew bolder in their language when they saw that the king's uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, with many other great barons, supported them. The ministers, therefore, withdrew the tax, and said nothing should be done in the matter until Michaelmas, when the parliament would again meet.

Those knights and squires who were expecting their pay, were much angered against the king and his council for their disappointment, and the ministers appeased them in the best manner they could. When the parliament broke up, and the members went different ways, the king did not take leave of his uncles, nor they of him. The king was advised to retire into Wales for a time until more favorable circumstances, which he agreed to, and left London without taking leave of any one. He carried with him all his council, except the archbishop of York, who returned into his diocese. It was fortunate for him he did so, otherwise it would have happened to him as to the other counsellors of the king, as I shall presently narrate. But I must speak as much of France as of England, when the matter requires it.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE WITH SEVERAL OTHERS MAKE PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND. THE DUKE OF BRITTANY PRACTICES TO PREVENT THIS EXPEDITION.

When the sweet season of summer and the delightful month of May were come, in the year of our Lord 1387, while the duke of Lancaster was making conquests in Galicia, and, in conjunction with the king of Portugal, overrunning Castille without opposition; there were, as I before said, great preparations making in France for the invasion of England, by the constable, at Tréguier in Brittany; and by the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, and the admiral of France, at Harfleur. They had under their command six thousand men-at-arms, two thousand cross-bows, and six thousand lusty varlets, whom they intended to land at Dover and Orwell. It was ordered, that no one was to embark unless he were provided with suitable armor and provision for three months. They were the flower of chivalry, and had plenty of oats and hay for their horses. Their leaders had appointed a day for sailing, which was now almost arrived; and their servants were as busily employed as at Sluys, in laying in all stores and other necessaries at the two parts of Tréguier and Harfleur. The men-at-arms, under the count de St. Pol and the admiral, were paid fifteen days in advance; but they were still on shore, and those in the more distant parts were daily arriving. All things were now in such forwardness, no one could have imagined it would not take place. It was not, however, broken up by the captains, but by a most extraordinary event which happened in Brittany. The king of France and his council were sorely vexed thereat; but, as they could not amend it, they were forced to endure it as well as they could, and act prudently, for this was not the moment of revenge. Other news was brought to the king from Germany, at the same time, which I will relate in proper time and place; but I will mention that of Brittany first, as it so occurred in point of time, and was the most unfortunate, though the events in Germany were cause of greater expense.

If I were merely to say, such and such things happened at such times, without entering fully into the matter, which was grandly horrible and disastrous, it would be a chronicle, but no history. I might, to be sure, pass it by, if I had chosen it: that I will not do; but relate fully the fact, if God grant me life, abilities, and leisure, to chronicle and historify the matter at length. You have before seen, in different parts of this history, how sir John de Montfort, called duke of Brittany, (who indeed was so by conquest, though not by direct descent,) had always supported the English to the utmost of his power against France. He had reason to attach himself to them; for they had made war for him, and without their assistance he would never have conquered before Auray nor elsewhere. You know also, from this history, that the duke of Brittany had no power over the greater part of his nobles nor the principal towns; more especially sir Bertrand de Guesclin, as long as he lived, sir Oliver de Clisson constable of France, the lords de Beaumanoir, de Laval, de Raix, de Dinant, the viscount de Rohan, and the lord de Rochefort, refused him obedience; and whichever way these lords incline, the whole duchy follow their example. They were willing, indeed, to support him against any power but France; and truly I must say, that the Bretons have ever gallantly defended the honor of France, as will be apparent to any person who shall read this history. But let it not be said, that I have been corrupted by the favor of count Guy de Blois, (who has induced me to undertake, and has paid me for this history to my satisfaction,) because he was nephew to the rightful duke of Brittany; for count Lewis of Blois was cousin-german to St. Charles, who as long as he lived was the true duke. It is not so; for I will speak the truth, and go straight forward, without coloring one side more than another, and that gallant prince who patronized this history never wished me in any way to act otherwise.

To return to my subject. You have read how the duke of Brittany, when he found he could not manage his subjects, became suspicious of them, and fearful lest they should arrest him and confine him in one of the king of France's prisons. He left Brittany for England, with his household and the lady Jane his duchess, daughter of that good knight sir Thomas Holland. After staying there some time, he went to Flanders, where he resided, with his cousin-german count Lewis, upward of a year and a half, when his country, being more favorable, sent for him back. Some of the towns, however, on his return, continued their rebellion, especially Nantes; but all the barons, knights, and prelates, submitted to him, except those whom I have before named. In order to put them under his obedience, by means of some of the principal cities which assented to his plans, and for the purpose of giving alarm to the king of France and his council, who were desirous of laying taxes on Brittany similar to those of France and Picardy, which he and the country would never suffer, he demanded aid from the king of England of men-at-arms and archers, assuring the council of England, that if the king or one of his uncles would come to Brittany, in sufficient force, the whole country would be open, and ready to receive them.

King Richard and his council were greatly pleased on receiving this intelligence, which seemed to them so good, that they could not do better than accept the offer, since Brittany was so well inclined to receive them. They ordered thither the earl of Buckingham, with four thousand spears and eight thousand archers, who, having landed at Calais, marched through the kingdom of France without meeting any opposition, although they frequently offered battle, as you have before read. When they came to Brittany, they expected to find all ready to receive them, as they had indeed sustained a long march: but everything was contrary to what had been promised; for the duke's advisers had managed with so much prudence, that they had made his peace with the young king of France: had Charles V. been alive, it could not have been done, for he hated him too much. The duke of Burgundy, who was, at that time, at the head of the government of France, was greatly instrumental in bringing this accommodation about through the entreaties of his duchess, who was very nearly related to the duke of Brittany. He was, in consequence, forced to break all the engagements he had made with the English, from the impossibility of his keeping them; for Bretons will never firmly join the English in making war on France. They never had, nor ever will have, such inclinations. The English were obliged to lodge themselves in Vannes and its neighborhood, and to suffer the greatest distress and poverty, which destroyed many of their men, and all their horses. When they left Brittany, they were greatly discontented with the duke, more particularly the earl of Buckingham, who, on his return to England, made such heavy complaints against him to the king, the duke of Lancaster and the council, that it was resolved by them to give John of Brittany his liberty, and carry him to Brittany, to wage war against the duke under his name. It was there said; "Sir John de Montfort knows well that he owes his duchy solely to us, for without our aid he never could have gained it and a pretty return he has made us, by wearing our army down with fatigue and famine, and fruitlessly expending our treasure. We must make him feel for his ingratitude; and we cannot better revenge ourselves than by setting his rival at liberty, and landing him in that

country, where the towns and castles will open their gates to him, and expel the other who has thus deceived us."

This resolution was unanimously adopted. John of Brittany was brought before the council, and told they would give him his liberty, regain for him the duchy of Brittany, and marry him to the lady Philippa of Lancaster, on condition that Brittany should be held as a fief from England, and that he would do the king homage for it. He refused compliance with these terms. He would, indeed, have accepted the lady, but peremptorily refused to enter into any engagements inimical to France, were he to remain prisoner all his days. The council, hearing this, grew cool in their offers of freedom, and replaced him under the guard of sir Thomas d'Ambreticourt. This I have already related, but I now return to it on account of the event which happened in Brittany, as being the consequence; for the duke, well aware he was in disgrace with all England, was greatly alarmed at the dangers that might ensue, from the treatment the earl of Buckingham and his army were forced to put up with, from the breach of all his engagements. Neither the king of England nor his uncles longer wrote him such friendly letters as they were used to do before the earl of Buckingham's expedition. His alarms were much increased when he heard that John of Brittany was returned from England, and said, the English had given him his liberty in revenge for his late conduct.

The duke upon this determined, by one bold stroke, to recover the favor of England, and do it so secretly and opportunely that the English should thank him. He knew there was not a man on earth whom they more hated and dreaded than sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France; for, in truth, his thoughts were daily and nightly employed on the means to injure England. He was the proposer of the late great armament at Sluys, and the chief dictator of those carried on at Tréguier and Harfleur. The duke, therefore, to please the English, and to show he had not much dependence on nor love for the French, resolved to prevent the intended invasion of England taking effect: not, indeed, by forbidding his subjects to join in this attack on England, under pain of forfeiting their lands, for that would have too clearly discovered the side to which he leaned. He went to work more secretly, and thought he could not act more to his advantage than to arrest the constable, and put him to death, for which the English would thank him, as they hated him much. He was not afraid of his family, as it was not powerful enough to make war against him; for he had but two daughters, one married to John of Brittany, and the other to the viscount de Rohan. He could easily withstand them; and, as there would be but one baron slain, when dead, none would make war for him.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SUMMONS HIS BARONS AND KNIGHTS TO A COUNCIL AT VANNES. SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON AND THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR ARE MADE PRISONERS IN THE CASTLE OF ERMINE, AND IN GREAT DANGER OF THEIR LIVES.

THE duke of Brittany, to accomplish his plan, appointed a great parliament to be holden at Vannes, and sent very affectionate letters to his barons and knights, to entreat they would be present; but he was particularly pressing with the constable of France, adding, that he was more anxious to see him than all the rest. The constable never thought of excusing himself, for the duke was now his acknowledged lord, and he wished to be in his favor: he came therefore to Vannes, as did great numbers of other barons. The assembly was numerous, and lasted some time; and many things were discussed which concerned the duke and the country, but the intended invasion of England was never touched on, for the duke pretended to know nothing about it, and kept a strict silence. The parliament was held in the castle de la Motte at Vannes, where the duke gave a grand dinner to the barons of Brittany, and kept them in enjoyment and affectionate conversation until night, when they returned to their lodgings in the suburbs without the town. At this dinner were the greater part of the barons of Brittany, toward the end of which the duke showed them the most friendly attention; but he had other thoughts in his heart, unknown to all excepting those to whom he had confidentially opened himself. The constable of France, to please the knights of Brittany, and because he thought his office required it, invited all who had dined with the duke to dine with him on the morrow. Some came, but others went home to take leave of their wives and families; for it was the intention of the constable, on leaving Vannes to make for Tréguier and embark on board his fleet, which was ready for him. All this the duke knew, but never said one word; for he wished to have it believed that he was ignorant of it. When the duke entered the hotel of the constable, and was announced, all rose up, as was right, and kindly received him in the manner in which their lord should be accosted. He behaved in the most friendly manner, and, seating himself among them, eat and drank, and showed them stronger marks of affection than he had ever before done. He said, "My fair sirs, friends and companions, God send that you may ever come and go from me with equal pleasure, and that you may perform such deeds of arms as may satisfy you and gain you profit and renown." "May God," they replied, "render you the same, and we most humbly thank you that you are thus kindly come to see us before we depart."

You must know, that in these days, the duke of Brittany was building a very handsome and strong castle near Vannes, called the castle of Ermine, which was almost completed. Being eager to catch the constable, he said to him, the lord de Beaumanoir, and other barons, "My dear sirs, I entreat, that before you quit this country, you will come and see my castle of Ermine, that you may view what I have done, and the plans I intend executing." They all accepted his invitation, for his behavior had been so kind and open, that they never thought he was imagining mischief. They accompanied the duke on horseback to this castle; and, when arrived, the duke, the constable, the lords de Laval and de Beaumanoir, dismounted and entered within its apartments. The duke led the constable by the hand from chamber to chamber, and to all parts, even to the cellars, where wine was offered. When he had carried them all over it, they came to the keep; and, stopping at the entrance, the duke said, "Sir Oliver, there is not a man on this side of the sea who understands masonry like you: enter, therefore, I beg of you, and examine the walls well; and if you say it is properly built, it shall remain, otherwise it shall be altered." The constable, who thought nothing ill was intended, replied, he would cheerfully do so, and desired the duke to go first. "No," said the duke; "go by yourself, while I talk a little here with the lord de Laval." The constable, desirous to acquit himself, entered the tower and ascended the staircase. When he had passed the first floor, some armed men, who had been there posted in ambush, knowing how they were to act, shut the door below them, and advanced on the constable, whom they seized, and dragged into an apartment, and loaded him with three pairs of fetters. As they were putting them on, they said, "My lord, forgive what we are doing, for we are obliged to it by the strict orders we have had from the duke of Brittany."* If the constable was alarmed, it is no wonder; but he ought not to have been surprised, for, since the quarrel which he had had with the duke, he would never come near him, though many invitations and passports were sent. He was fearful of trusting himself with the duke, in which he was justified; for, when he did come, you see the consequences of the duke's hatred, which now burst out.

When the lord de Laval, who was at the entrance of the tower, heard and saw the door shut with violence, he was afraid of some plot against his brother-in-law; and, turning to the duke, who looked as pale as death, was confirmed something was wrong. He said, "Ah, my lord, for God's sake what are they doing? Do not use any violence against the constable." "Lord de Laval, mount your horse, and go hence, for you may depart when you please; I know well what I am about." "My lord," replied the lord de Laval, "I will never depart without my brother-in-law, the constable." At these words, the lord de Beaumanoir (whom the duke greatly hated) came and asked where the constable was. The duke, drawing his dagger, advanced to him and said, "Beaumanoir, dost thou wish to be like thy master?" "My lord," replied Beaumanoir, "I believe my master cannot be in a good plight." "I ask thee again, if thou wouldst wish to be like him." "Yes, my lord," said de Beaumanoir. The duke then taking his dagger by the point, said, "Well, then, Beaumanoir, since thou wouldst be like him, thou must thrust one of thy eyes out."† The lord de Beaumanoir, seeing, from the duke's countenance, things were taking a bad turn, cast himself on his knee, and said, "My lord, I have that opinion of your honor and nobleness of mind, that, if it please God, you will never act otherwise than right. We are at your mercy, and are come hither solely to accompany you, and at your own request; do not therefore dishonor yourself, by executing any wild scheme, if such be in your thoughts, for you may hereafter repent of it." "Go, go," replied the duke; "thou shalt have neither better nor worse than him." He was then arrested by those who had previously received their orders, dragged into a room, and fettered with three pairs of irons. He was much alarmed, as you may suppose, for he knew the duke loved him as little as he did the constable, but he could not then help it.

News was soon spread through the castle and town, that the constable and the lord Beaumanoir had been arrested and confined; but it surprised many that the lord de Laval was not confined with them; and that the duke had allowed him to depart when he pleased. The constable's imprisonment astonished all who heard it, and not without cause; for it was said the duke's hatred was so strong, that he would have him and his companion put to death. The duke was exceedingly blamed by all knights and squires who heard of this; they said, "That no prince had ever dishonored himself so much as the duke of Brittany. He invites the constable to dine with him, who accepts the invitation, goes to his palace, and drinks of his wine. He is then requested to view his buildings, wherein he is arrested: never was the like heard of. What does the duke think to do with him? He has rendered himself infamous, for never was there a more disgraceful act; and, henceforward, no one will have confidence in princes, since the duke has thus played the traitor,

* These excuses were afterwards of no avail. For the constable punished them according to their deserts. He only pardoned a squire, named Bernard, who had the humanity to give him his cloak, to preserve him from the damp, ness of the place.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

† Alluding to the constable having but one eye. He lost it at the battle of Auray: notwithstanding which, he never quitted the field of battle.

and, by treacherous means, enticed these gallant men into his castle, wherein he imprisons them. What will the king of France say to this? and especially as the consequence must be, that he must give up the intended invasion of England. Never was such wickedness thought of. At present he has discovered what was rankling in his heart. Did any one in Brittany, or elsewhere, ever hear of the like? If a poor knight had done so, he would have been for ever disgraced. In whom can any man place confidence but in his lord, who is bounden to act uprightly, and redress such wrongs as his vassals may complain of? Who can take upon him to punish this deed, or who is capable of it, but the king of France? The duke now openly shows his attachment to the English, and that he means to assist them, by thus preventing the expedition against them taking effect. What ought the knights and squires of Brittany at this moment to do? Why, they should instantly leave their homes, and hasten to lay siege to the castle of Ermine, and inclose the duke within it, and never depart until they have taken him, dead or alive, and carried him, like a false and disloyal prince, to the king of France, for him to punish him according to his deserts." Thus did those knights speak who had been at the parliament, and who had not left Vannes and that part of the country; but they were much afraid lest the duke should put them to death. Others said, "The lord de Laval is still with the duke, and will prevent it; for he is so wise and prudent, he will check the duke's rage." In effect, he did so; for, had he not exerted himself to the utmost, there is not a doubt but that the constable would have been murdered that night, had he had a thousand lives.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON, THROUGH THE EXERTIONS OF THE LORD DE LAVAL, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY, BY PAYING A LARGE SUM OF MONEY, AND DELIVERING UP TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SOME OF HIS CASTLES.

It may be readily believed, that the constable was not at his ease, when he found himself thus entrapped and ironed. He was guarded by thirty men, who were unable to comfort him, for they could only obey their lord's orders. In his own mind, he considered himself as a dead man; for he had not the most distant hope of any assistance coming to him. He had his fetters taken thrice from him, and was stretched on the floor; for the duke, at one time, would have him beheaded, at another drowned; and one or other of these deaths he would certainly have suffered, if it had not been for the lord de Laval. When he heard the duke give orders for the constable's death, he flung himself on his knees, and, with uplifted hands and tears, said, "Ah, my lord, for God's mercy, think better of this matter; do not act so cruelly against my brother-in-law the constable. He cannot have deserved death. Through kindness, tell me what it is that has so mightily angered you against him. I swear, that whatever may be his crime, he shall make such amends, in body and estate, or I for him, or both of us together, as shall surpass anything you may imagine, or condemn him to, excepting death or imprisonment. Remember, for God's sake, my lord, how you were educated together, in the same hotel with the duke of Lancaster, who is so loyal and gallant a prince, none ever was, nor will be his equal. For God's mercy, remember, my lord, how, in former times, before he had made his peace with France, he had always served you loyally; he assisted you in the recovery of your duchy; and you ever found him ready to support you in the field and in council. If you have not any very just cause indeed, that moves your passion, he cannot be deserving death." "Lord de Laval," replied the duke, "allow me to act as I please. Clisson has so frequently angered me, that it is now necessary I make him feel it. Go your ways, I want nothing with you: let me show my cruelty; for I am resolved he shall die." "Ah, my lord," replied the lord de Laval, "moderate your rage, and hear reason. If you thus put him to death, no prince will ever so completely disgrace himself; and there will not be a knight, squire, nor honest man in all Brittany, who will not mortally hate you, and do everything they can to drive you out of your duchy. Neither the king of England nor his council will thank you; and would you thus disgrace yourself for the life of one man? For the love of God, change your intention, as the one you want to carry into effect is not only good for nothing, but dishonorable. It would be infamous thus to put to death so great a baron and so gallant a knight as the lord de Clisson; and should you do so, it will be considered as traitorous, and a reproach to you before God and by all the world. You invited him to dine with you: he came. You then seek for him, in the most friendly manner, and desire him to accompany you to see your buildings: he does so: he obeys your every command, and drinks of your wine; and is all this affection you show him but a veil to cover your treachery, and the means to rob him of his life? Should you do so, no lord will be ever so disgraced: all the world will detest you, reproach you for it, and make war upon you. But, since your hatred is so violent against the constable, I will tell you how you shall act: you shall give him his liberty for a large sum of florins. This you may compound for; and, should he hold any castle that you may claim as yours, he shall deliver it up; and I will be his security for the due performance of whatever you may agree to."

When the duke of Brittany heard the lord de Laval thus address him, and never for one moment quit his presence, for he followed him the whole night, he paused awhile, and, being somewhat cooled, said, "Lord de Laval, you have been of the greatest service to your brother-in-law; for know, that he is the man whom I hate the most in the world, and, if you had not been here, he should not have been alive to-morrow morning: but your eloquence has saved him. Go to him, and ask if he be willing to pay down one hundred thousand francs; for I will have no other security but the money; and surrender to me three castles and one town, such as Château Broc, Château Josselin, Lamballe, and the town of Jugon. When he shall pay his ransom, and put me, or those I may send thither, in possession of these places, I will give him his liberty."* "My lord," replied the lord de Laval, "I give you a thousand thanks for having so graciously listened to my entreaties: be assured that all you ask shall be granted: the town and castles shall be given up, and the money paid, before he leave this place." The lord de Laval was rejoiced beyond measure when he found his brother thus freed from prison and death. He had the gate of the tower opened, which could not be done but by the duke's order, and, mounting the staircase, found the constable much alarmed, (for he was expecting every moment to be put to death,) and chained down with three pairs of fetters; but when he saw the lord de Laval, his heart revived, for he imagined some treaty had been entered into. The lord de Laval said to the guards, "Unfetter my brother Clisson, and then I shall talk with him;" and addressing himself to the constable, "Dear brother, will you consent to whatever I may have done?" "Yes, brother," replied the constable. At these words, his irons were taken off. The lord de Laval took him aside, and said, "Brother, I have, with much difficulty, saved your life; but it is on condition, that you pay down, before you leave this place, one hundred thousand francs, and surrender to the duke three castles and your town of Jugon, otherwise you will not have your liberty." "I agree to all this," replied the constable. "You are in the right, brother," said the lord de Laval. "But," said the constable, "who will go to Clisson and elsewhere to collect the money? I believe, fair brother de Laval, you must undertake this." "No," replied the lord de Laval: "I will never quit this castle until I have you with me; for I too well know the duke's cruel disposition; and he may repent of his bargain when I am gone, by some foolish conversation he may hear concerning you, and the whole be broken off." "And whom then can we send thither?" asked the constable. "The lord de Beaumanoir," replied his brother-in-law: "we will send him, for he is a prisoner like yourself, and he shall undertake to collect the whole." "Well," said the constable, "go down stairs, and order whatever you shall think for the best."

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR IS SET AT LIBERTY BY THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, THAT HE MAY COLLECT THE RANSOM FOR THE CONSTABLE, WHO OBTAINS HIS FREEDOM ON SURRENDERING THE PLACES AGREED ON. THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE CONSTABLE IS KNOWN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE.

The lord de Laval lost no time in going to the chamber of the duke, who was undressing himself for bed, as he had not slept the whole night. On his entrance he bowed, and said, "My lord, you must set at liberty the lord de Beamanoir, that brother Clisson may talk with him; for it is he who must go for the money, and give your people possession of the castles and town." "Well," replied the duke, "let his irons be taken off, and put them in an apartment together: I shall look to you for the performance of the treaty, as I do not wish to see them; and, when I shall have slept a little, return to me again, and we will talk more on the subject." "Very well, my lord," said the lord de Laval, and quitted the chamber, accompanied by two knights, who conducted him to the place where the lord de Beaumanoir was confined. He was in hourly expectation of being put to death: and, when the door opened (as he owned afterwards,) he thought they were come to lead him to execution. On seeing the lord de Laval, his spirits were raised, and still more when he said, "Lord de Beaumanoir, rejoice: your liberty is granted." On this his fetters were taken off, and he was led into an apartment, whither the constable was also conducted, and placed between them. Wine and plenty of provision were brought, and the whole of the household were much pleased when they heard how matters were going on, and that all would end well. They had very unwillingly witnessed what had been done to the constable and the lord de Beaumanoir; but they could not help it, bound as they were to obey their lord's orders, right or wrong. From the time the drawbridge had been raised, and the gates shut, no person whatever had entered the castle (for the keys were in the duke's chamber,) until he was awakened, which was not sooner than nine o'clock, when he arose. This alarmed those squires and varlets who were waiting without, and they knew not what to think of it. News of what had passed was already carried to Tréguier, where they said, "Do you know what

* The historian of Brittany, dom Morice, mentions the following castles and places which the duke insisted on having, with the hundred thousand francs, for the ransom of the constable: Josselin, Lamballe, Broon, Jugon, Blein, Guingamp, La Rocheder-rien, Chastellaudren, Clisson, and Château-gui, which were strong places, some belonging to the constable, and others to John of Brittany, count de Penthievre.

has happened? The duke of Brittany has imprisoned, in his castle of Ermine, the constable of France, the lord de Laval, and the lord de Beaumanoir, and, it is supposed, will murder them, if he has not already done it." Knights and squires were astonished, and deplored the event, saying, "Our expedition is at an end, for we shall lose the fine weather. Ah, constable! how unfortunate you have been to suffer weak counsel to deceive you. The parliament held at Vannes was purposely to entrap you. Your opinion formerly of the duke was such that you said, if he were to send you five hundred assurances of safety, you would never trust yourself with him, so strong were your suspicions then; but now you simply accompany him alone, and are miserably paid for it!"

The whole duchy of Brittany bewailed the treatment of the constable, and knew not how to act. The knights and squires of the fleet said, "Why do we stay here? why do we not go and invest the duke in his castle of Ermine? and, if he should have put the constable to death, confine him: if he detain him in prison, why do we not remain there until we have set him free; for Brittany has never suffered such a loss as now, by the capture of the constable." Such were the different conversations that passed; but no one moved, as they were waiting for further intelligence; and all were running to different quarters in search of it. Within two days, the king of France and his uncles were informed of what had happened to the constable, to their great astonishment. The duke of Bourbon had then left the court and was at Avignon, on his way to Castille, as he was desirous of first seeing the Pope. He, however, heard of it when at Lyon with the count Savoye. The count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, and the admiral of France, were on the point of embarking at Harfleur, when they learnt how the duke of Brittany had, by a trick, imprisoned the constable and the lord de Beaumanoir; and that it was currently believed in Brittany he had put them to death, for he hated them mortally. These lords were so astonished at the intelligence, that they said, "Our expedition is at an end: let us disband our men-at-arms, and make for Paris, where we shall know from the king what he would have us do." "It is well that we should go to Paris," replied the admiral; "but there is not any necessity for dismissing all our men-at-arms. Perhaps they may be wanted elsewhere, in Castille, whither the duke of Bourbon is gone, or in Brittany against this duke. Do you imagine the king of France will quietly suffer what he has done? No, by God: he will never escape without losing two hundred thousand florins at least, for the indignity he has shown a constable of France; and he will be lucky if he come off so well. Was ever anything heard or seen like this conduct, which has ruined the king's expedition, and prevented him from annoying his enemies? Let us stay where we are for two or three days, when we shall hear something more from Brittany or Paris."

LORD BEAUMANOIR PAYING THE RANSOM OF THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON.—Designed from Harl. MS. 3469 and a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DICTATES THE TERMS OF THE TREATIES, FOR THE SURRENDER OF DIFFERENT PLACES BY THE CONSTABLE. THE EXPEDITIONS FROM TREGUIER AND HARFLEUR ARE BROKEN UP. THE CONSTABLE, ON HIS DELIVERANCE, MAKES HIS COMPLAINT TO THE KING OF FRANCE, AND RESIGNS TO HIM HIS OFFICE OF CONSTABLE.

I WILL now return to the duke of Brittany. When he had reposed a little, he arose, dressed himself, and sent for the lord de Laval to his chamber, with whom he held a long conversation. A treaty was then written down, as the duke dictated, to bind the constable to the complete surrender of the places before mentioned, and to settle them on the duke and his heirs, absolutely and without appeal, which treaty was to be sealed by the constable.

The lord de Beaumanoir was ordered by the constable to go to his castles and town, to dismiss all his officers, and give possession to those whom the duke might send thither. With the surrender of all these places, it was necessary, likewise, to pay down one hundred thousand francs. On the gates being opened, the lord de Beaumanoir departed, accompanied by some of the duke's people, to fulfil the orders of the constable, who entreated him to make all speed for his deliverance. By them Vannes and the country, which was beginning to be in motion, learnt that the constable was not in danger of his life, having been ransomed. All those attached to him were greatly rejoiced; and such knights and squires as had taken it up the most warmly remained quiet; but, had matters been otherwise, they were determined to surround the castle of Ermine and inclose the duke within it, and would never have done anything with more willingness. News is soon spread abroad, on wings more speedy than the wind. The three barons of Harfleur were informed that the constable was out of danger of being murdered, but that he had very narrowly escaped; and was obliged, to save his life, to surrender three of his castles and a town, besides paying down as a ransom one hundred thousand francs. In their conversation, they said, "Things now go well, since his life is safe: as for his castles and ransom, the constable will soon regain them; and the king has enough for him, should he want any money. It is over: our expedition is put an end to; and we may now disband our people and go to Paris, to learn from the king what is to be done; for we know that all the armaments at Tréguier are countermanded, which is a sure sign that nothing will be attempted this season, and with reason; for the constable will be solely occupied to revenge himself for the insult the duke of Brittany has put upon him." These three lords, having dismissed all the men-at-arms and cross-bows that were in and about Harfleur, took the road for Paris, where the king resided. The lord de Beaumanoir was so active, that, within four days, he put the duke's officers in the possession of the three castles and the town of Jugon, to the satisfaction of the duke. He afterwards collected the amount of the ransom, and paid it according to the duke's pleasure. When this was all done, the lord de Laval said to the duke, "My lord, you have now received the whole of your demands: the three castles and Jugon, and one hundred thousand francs, deliver up to me, therefore, my brother-in-law, the constable." "Willingly," replied the duke: "let him depart: I give him his liberty." The constable was then given up, and instantly set out, with the lord de Laval, from the castle of Ermine.*

When they were at liberty, the constable made no long stay in Brittany, but, mounting a good courser, and attended solely by a page, made such haste, as to arrive at Paris in two days. He dismounted at his own hôtel, and instantly waited on the king and his uncles at the Louvre. His servants and equipage followed him in handsome array. The court had already been informed of his deliverance, but they knew not that he was so near. The doors of the king's apartments were, according to orders, opened to him; and, when in the presence of the king, he cast himself on his knees, and said, "Most redoubted lord, your father (may God pardon his sins) appointed me constable of France, which office I have truly executed

* This conduct of the duke of Brittany is differently related by dom Morice, the historian of Brittany, by which it appears that the constable very narrowly escaped death. The duke called to him sir John de Bazvalen, in whom he had the greatest confidence, and ordered him to put the constable to death, at midnight, as privately as possible. Bazvalen represented in vain the consequences that would ensue, for the duke said he had resolved on it, and would have it done. During the night, his passion being calmer, he repented having given such orders, and, at daybreak, sent for Bazvalen, and asked if his orders had been obeyed. On being answered in the affirmative, the duke cried out, "How, is Clisson dead?" "Yes, my lord he was drowned this night, and his body is buried in a garden." "Alas!" replied the duke, "this is a most pitiful good morrow. Would to God, sir John, I had believed what you urged against it. I see that from henceforward all comfort is lost to me. Quit my presence, and never again let me see your face." After the knight had allowed him to suffer for some time the pains of his remorse, he returned and said, "My lord, as I know the cause of your misery, I believe I can provide a remedy; for there is a cure for all things." "Not for death," replied the duke. Bazvalen then told him, that foreseeing the consequences and the remorse he would feel if his orders, then given from passion, were obeyed, he had not executed his commands, and that the constable was alive. The lord de Laval then entered, and the remainder is nearly as Froissart relates it.

to the best of my abilities, and there never has been any complaint made against me. If any one, excepting yourself and my lords your uncles, shall say to the contrary, or that I have acted otherwise than most loyally toward you and the crown of France, I will throw him my glove for him to prove it." Neither the king nor any other person made reply to this speech. Upon which the constable added, "Most noble lord and king, it has happened in Brittany, that while I was executing the duties of your office, the duke had me arrested and confined in his castle of Ermine; and would have put me to death, without any other cause than his own outrageous will, if God, and brother de Laval, had not assisted me. To deliver myself from his hands, I was constrained to surrender to him three strong castles and a handsome town, besides one hundred thousand francs paid down. The insult and loss, which the duke of Brittany has put on me, most nearly concerns your royal majesty; for the invasion of England, which I and my companions were eager to attempt, is now put an end to. I therefore resign into your hands the office of constable, for you to make such provision in the matter as you may please: I will not longer hold what I cannot gain any honor by."

"Constable," replied the king, "we have before heard the great insult you have suffered, which has been very much to our prejudice as well as that of the country. We shall summon our peers of France, and consider how we should act in such a case. Do not you trouble yourself about the matter; for you shall have ample justice done by us, whatever may be the consequence." He then took the constable by the hand, and made him rise, saying, "Constable, we will not that you thus resign your office, but that you continue to exercise its functions until we order otherwise." The constable again flung himself on his knees and said, "Dear sir, the insult and disgrace I have suffered from the duke of Brittany oppresses my mind so much, that I am unfit to hold the office, which is so considerable, that it requires the utmost attention. I am, besides, obliged to give answers, and converse with all manner of persons who come to me on business; and, indeed, at this moment, I am not capable of giving the orders I ought: I beg of you, therefore, to accept it, and appoint another for a time; for I shall be always ready and willing to obey your commands." "Well, sir," said the duke of Burgundy, "he offers very handsomely: you will consider of it." "That I will," replied the king, who again made him rise.

The constable advanced respectfully toward the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to converse with them on public affairs, and to inform them more particularly of what had passed in Brittany; for they were much interested in it, as they had the government of the kingdom. In the course of his conversation, the constable found they were more indifferent about the matter, than the king's answer made him believe; for they greatly blamed him for having gone to Vannes. He replied, he could not offer any excuses for it. The duke of Burgundy added, "How could you think of going thither, when your fleet, and the knights and squires, were ready, and waiting for you at Tréguier? Besides, when you were at Vannes, and had dined with him, why did you not return? for you had no business to remain their longer; and what could have induced you to attend him to his castle of Ermine?" "My lord," replied the constable, "he showed me so many attentions that I could not refuse it." "Constable," said the duke of Burgundy, "such attentions are always deceitful: I thought you had been more cunning. You may now go: the business shall have a favorable end; and we will, at our leisure, attend to it." The constable next addressed himself particularly to the duke of Berry, but soon discovered that these lords were more indifferent about him than the king, for not having acted according to their expectations: he therefore left the Louvre, and returned to his hôtel. Many great lords of the parliament and council came thither to visit and comfort him: among the number were, the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy and the admiral of France, who said, "Constable, be not cast down: you shall be amply revenged on the duke of Brittany, for he has now committed himself so strongly by the insult offered France that he may pay for it by the loss of his duchy. Go, and amuse yourself at your estate of Montléhery,* while we act for you here: the peers of France are summoned, and things shall not remain as they are." The constable followed their advice, and went to Montléhery, having for a time surrendered his office. It was said, that the lord Guy de la Tremouille was to succeed him; but it was not so: he was too prudent and wise ever to have accepted it over the head of sir Oliver de Clisson.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRES SENDS A CHALLENGE TO FRANCE IN FAVOR OF ENGLAND.

The same week in which the news came to Paris of the constable's imprisonment, there was intelligence from Germany highly displeasing to the king, his uncles, and the council. The duke of Gueldres, son to the duke of Juliers, had entered into an alliance with England, to make war on France, and had accepted of a subsidy of four thousand francs yearly. This pension his father, the duke of Juliers, formerly possessed, but had renounced it; and the son, who was young, had taken it, at the solicitations of the king of England and his council, on condition he should send his challenge to the king of France, and carry on a war against him to the utmost of his power. He was the more inclined to support the English because he was already at war with the duchess and country of Brabant, which country was favorable to France, for the reversion of it would fall to the duke of Burgundy and to his children. The duke of Gueldres, to show he was in earnest and determined to act against France, sent, during the time the news of the constable's misfortune was fresh, to defy the king of France, by letters sealed with his seal, that were very bitter and wrathful. They were not accepted with pleasure by the king nor his uncles, as I shall explain hereafter in the course of this history, when I speak more fully of the wars of Brittany and Gueldres.

The king, however, showed no outward signs of dissatisfaction, but handsomely entertained the squire who had brought this challenge. He had been very much terrified at Tournay; for, having shown the challenge to the provost and principal inhabitants, he wanted not to go further, saying, that it was fully sufficient to have delivered his commission at so grand a city as Tournay. This did not satisfy the provost, though Tournay belonged to France, and he arrested the squire and had him closely confined: he then wrote to the duke of Burgundy, to say what he had done, and to know his further commands on the subject. The duke ordered the provost to conduct the squire to Paris, who certainly thought that now he could not escape death. It fell out otherwise, for the king, his uncles, and the court, graciously received him; and the king of France gave him a silver goblet weighing four marcs, with fifty francs within it. He was well entertained, and, when he returned, had a good passport given to him. The king and the whole court were much troubled on this matter, when the constable arrived to make his complaints against the duke of Brittany; and this increased it, for, it was now apparent, difficulties were arising on all sides, and much prudence and good sense would be necessary to meet them. The king and his council, notwithstanding this vexation from Gueldres, were unwilling that the constable, who had so faithfully served the king in Flanders and elsewhere, should not have redress for the wrongs he had suffered from the duke of Brittany, by confining his person and seizing his castles and towns, without a shadow of right. The lord de Coucy and the admiral were particularly active in this business.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, who were carrying on a prosperous war in Galicia, and speak of their operations.

CHAPTER LXXI.

TWO BRETON CAPTAINS, HAVING VALIANTLY DEFENDED THE TOWN OF ORENSE AGAINST THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, CAPITULATE ON TERMS OFFERED BY THE ENGLISH.

You have heard that the king and queen of Portugal were present at the tilt between sir John Holland and sir Reginald de Roye, at Entença. The king, before he departed, told the duke of Lancaster, that on his return to Oporto, he would, within six days, take the field, for that his men were now quite ready. The duke ordered the lady Constance, his duchess, to remain at Saint Jago, under the guard of the lord Fitzwalter, a powerful English baron, with one hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers, saying, on his quitting Entença, "Lady, you will retire to the city of Compostella, while the king of Portugal, myself, and army, seek our enemies in Castille, and combat them wherever we may find them; and we shall then know if ever we be to possess any part of Castille." The lady replied, "God's will be done." They then separated for the present. The duchess was escorted out of danger by sir Thomas Percy and sir Evan Fitzwarren, with two hundred spears, who then returned to the duke. He had left Entença, and was marching toward a city in Galicia, called Orense, which would not acknowledge his claim to the crown. The place was strong, and had a garrison of Bretons, who had undertaken the defence at their own risk; and, as they expected the duke and his English would come thither, they had greatly added to its strength. The marshal of the army had received frequent information, that those of Orense had refused obedience to the duke, and were daily increasing the fortifications of the place: he therefore, in conjunction with the constable, sir John Holland, advised the duke to march thither.

When the army was tolerably near, it was halted and quartered thereabout. The first night was very fine, and so wondrous hot (for it was about Ascension day,) that the lords had their tents and pavilions pitched in the plain, under the beautiful olive-trees which were there. They remained within them all the night and following day, thinking the town would instantly surrender, without waiting to be assaulted. The townsmen would willingly have done so, if they had been the masters, but some adventurous Bretons governed it. Two gallant captains from lower Brittany, one called the bastard d'Aulroy, the other Pennefort, were the commanders. They were good men-at-arms, as it appeared, when they undertook to defend the town of Orense, without other assistance, against the army of the duke of Lancaster. On the third day, the English having well examined the place, to choose the weakest parts for their attacks, the

*Montléhery, a town in the isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

constable, the marshal, and the admiral, ordered their trumpets to sound for the assault. The army then armed itself and assembled on the plain, when it was formed in four divisions, to make as many different attacks. They marched slowly and in handsome array, with trumpets sounding before them, as far as the ditches, and halted. There was not any water in them; but there was a strong palisade in front of the walls, and so many thorns and brambles, that no man-at-arms could pass through. The attack, however, commenced at four places; and men-at-arms and lusty varlets crossed the ditches with hatchets on their wrists, with which they cleared away the thorns, to the utmost of their power. The Galicians annoyed them with lanching darts; and, had they not been well shielded, numbers must have been killed or wounded; but those men-at-arms, who entered the ditch, were defended by their servants, bearing shields before them. The English archers made such good use of their bows, from the top of the ditch, that scarcely any dared to appear on the bulwarks.

The duke of Lancaster came to view the attack, mounted on a very tall horse, which the king of Portugal had given him, and to notice those who behaved well, and was so delighted, that he stayed upward of three hours. All the thorns and brambles were cleared away by this first attack, so that the palisades might be approached. The retreat was sounded; for the duke said to the marshal, "Our men, sir Thomas, have done enough for to-day: let them retire, for they must be fatigued." "My lord, I am willing it should be so," replied the marshal, and ordered the retreat. The army returned to its quarters, carrying with them the dead and wounded, and there passed the night. They had plenty of wine, but it was so hot they could scarcely drink it; and, unless mixed with a great deal of water, those who made too free with it were rendered unfit for anything the ensuing day. On the morrow, they determined, in council, that, on account of the excessive heat, the fatigues the army had suffered, and the consequences of their having drank too much of this wine, there should not be any attack made the whole day; but that, on the next day, they would renew the assault before sunrise, in the cool of the morning, until eight o'clock. Orders were issued for the army to remain quietly in camp, and no one to arm until the trumpet of the marshal sounded.

The duke of Lancaster received this day intelligence from the king of Portugal. He had left Oporto, and was on his march toward Santarem; for he intended to enter Castille by that frontier, and the armies to join on the river Duoro, and besiege Beneventé or Vilalpando. Such was the plan of the king of Portugal, if, indeed, the king of Castille and his French allies, who were daily increasing, did not march to oppose him. Should they make no opposition, nor show any signs of offering battle, it was necessary the junction of the two armies be made as soon as possible. The duke was so well pleased with this news as to give the bearer of it ten nobles. On the appointed day for the renewal of the attack, the marshal's trumpet sounded at the first dawn of the morning. Knights and squires made instantly ready, and posted themselves under their banners and pennons; but it was upward of an hour before they were all drawn up. The duke remained in his pavilion, and did not rise thus early, for there was not any need of it. The marshal advanced into the plain, knowing well the duties of his office; and those ordered for the attack placed themselves under his pennon. News was spread through Orense, that the English were marching to the assault: for the Bretons on guard had discovered it from the sounding of the marshal's trumpet. The men and women of the town were on the alert; and the Bretons cried to them: "Hasten to the bulwarks: be men of courage, and not frightened at what you may see; we are not frightened; for we know the place is very strong, and we have plenty of darts, and well-tempered lances, to repulse our enemies, besides stones and flints to cast down on them: we know, also, that should we be hard pushed, they will receive us favorably; and that is the worst we can suffer." "By God," said the captains who were present, "we have been in many weaker places than this, and were never the worse for it." The Galicians, whether they would or not, took courage from the exhortations of the Bretons. This would not have been the case if the Bretons had not been in the town; for they would have surrendered on the first summons. To say the truth, the common people of Castille and Galicia are good for nothing in war; they are badly armed, and of poor courage. The nobles, who call themselves gentlemen, are tolerably well; but they like better to prance about, spurring their horses, than to be engaged in more serious matters.

The English arrived about sunrise before Orense, and, having entered the ditch, which, though dry, was deep enough, advanced to the palisades, with hatchets and iron bars, and began to break down and level them. When this was done, they had still another ditch to cross, before they could approach the wall, which was as wide as the other, and many parts full of mud; but they were indifferent to this, and rushing into it, came to the walls. Those on the battlements were not dismayed at what they saw, but defended themselves valiantly. They lanched darts at the enemy, the stroke of which is very deadly; and it required strong armor to resist their blows. The English, having prepared ladders the preceding day, had them brought and fixed to different parts of the walls; and you would have seen knights and squires, eager for renown, ascend them with targets on their heads, and fight, sword in hand, with the Bretons: who, in truth, defended themselves gallantly; for I hold such conduct valorous, in allowing themselves to be so often attacked, knowing well they should not have assistance from any quarter. The king of Castille and the French knights had determined to permit the English to overrun Galicia, or any other parts, if they could, without offering them the chance of a general combat, and with this the Bretons had been made acquainted.

Some of the English said: "Ah, if all the towns in Castille give us as much trouble as this, we shall never have done." Others replied: "There is much to be pillaged within it, that has been brought thither from all parts; and it is this which induces them to make so obstinate a resistance, that they may surrender on terms, and preserve their wealth and merchandise from being plundered." Some asked: "Who are the captains?" "They are two bastard Bretons, good men-at-arms, who know what sieges and assaults are, for they have been at many. Their names are the bastard de Pennefort and the bastard d'Aulroy." "Whoever they may be, they are valiant fellows thus to hold out, without any appearance of succor coming to them." Those who mounted the ladders were sometimes repulsed so severely, as to be tumbled to the ground, which caused much shouting among the Castillians. When the duke of Lancaster was risen and had heard mass, he said he would go and view the attack. He mounted a courser, but unarmed, and had his pennon, that was emblazoned with the arms of Castille, England, and France, borne before him, which fluttered in the wind, so that the extremities touched the ground. On the duke's arrival, the besiegers exerted themselves the more, in order to be noticed and praised. The enemy, observing the pennon, knew the duke was come, and they also gained courage to continue the defence. Thus were both parties employed until it was eight o'clock; and there did not seem any probability that Orense would speedily be won by such attacks. The duke asked who were the captains of the garrison. On their being named, he said: "Tell the marshal to treat with them; or send some one to know if they be willing to enter into a negotiation for surrendering the town, and placing it under our obedience: I do not believe that question has been put to them. Go," added he, to one of his knights, "sir William, and bring the marshal to speak with me."

The knight left the duke, rode to the marshal, and said: "Sir Thomas, my lord wishes to speak with you." The marshal went to him; and, when in his presence, the duke said: "Marshal, do you know whether these Bretons, who hold the place against us, would be willing to put themselves under our obedience? We are fatiguing and wounding our men, and wasting our ammunition, when we know not how soon we may be in greater want of it. I therefore beg you will go, and inform them you are willing to treat." "My lord," replied sir Thomas, "I will cheerfully do so; and since you wish to show them mercy, it is just they should be heard." The marshal then returned to the assault, and, calling to him a herald, said: "Go, and manage to speak with the besieged; our men will make way for thee; and tell them I am willing to enter into a treaty." The herald said he would do so, and entered the ditch clothed in a coat of arms which had belonged to the duke of Lancaster, saying, "Open your ranks, and make way for me: I am sent by the marshal to parley with these Bretons." As he said this, they made room for him to pass. The bastard d'Aulroy, seeing him push through the crowd, for he had observed from the ramparts what had passed between him and the marshal, advanced on the battlements, and, showing himself, said: "Herald, what is it you want? I am one of the captains in this town, with whom I fancy you come to speak." "It is so," replied the herald, whose name was Percy: "my lord marshal bids you come to the barriers, for he is desirous to parley and treat with you." "I will do so," said the bastard, "if he will order the attack to cease and his men to retire, otherwise not." "I believe you," answered the herald, and returned to relate his answer to the marshal. The marshal called his trumpet, and said: "Sound the retreat;" which was done, and the assault ceased on all sides. Upon this, the captains in the town passed the gates, and came to the barriers, where they met the constable, sir John Holland, the marshal, and many others of the English. "How, my fair sirs," said the marshal, "can you think of thus holding out and suffering yourselves to be taken by storm, by which you may probably be slain, and for certain will lose all. We know well that the townsmen are very willing to surrender to our lord and lady, and would long ago have done so, if you had not been with them. You may repent of it; for, let happen what will, we shall never depart hence until the place be ours by fair means or foul. Consult together, and then come with your answer, for I have full powers to treat with you."

"Sir," replied the bastard Aulroy, "we have already consulted and formed our resolution. If you will consent that we, and what belongs to us, be conducted in safety to Vilalpando, or wherever else we may please to go, we will surrender the town; but the inhabitants of both sexes, who may choose to remain in it, shall be permitted so to do, without any risk or molestation, provided they submit themselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, as other towns in Galicia have done. We know that you are the marshal of the army, part of whose office is to enter into treaties with an enemy,

and likewise that the duke will ratify whatever engagements you may enter into." "That is true," answered sir Thomas: "now suppose I consent to all you have asked, I will not that the town be pillaged, under pretence of its wealth having been gained from the adjacent country, for that would cause riots between your men and ours." "Oh, no," said the bastard: "we will only carry away what is our own: but, if any of our men shall have taken or bought anything without paying, we will not enter into any dispute on that account. With regard to provisions, I do not believe our men have paid one penny since they have been here in garrison." "As for that," replied the marshal, "it is nothing: it is an advantage our men will take as well as yours: but I speak of moveables." "Sir," answered the bastard d'Aulroy, "we have not our men under such command but that some will transgress." Sir John Holland now interfered, and said: "Let them pass: what they have got belongs to them: we shall not be so strict as to search their trunks." "Be it so, then," said the marshal.

Everything was now settled, and they were to march away on the morrow. The English returned to their quarters to disarm, and refresh themselves with what they had brought. The Bretons employed the whole day in packing up the great plunder they had made, even from Castille, for the king had abandoned the whole country to them, which enriched prodigiously the first comers. While thus employed, they seized from the inhabitants of Orense whatever they could conveniently lay their hands on, such as furs, cloth, and jewels; and when the poor people said: "Gentlemen, this belongs to us; you did not bring it hither;" they answered, "Hold your tongues, ye wicked people: we have a commission from the king of Castille to pay ourselves. We have served you faithfully and valiantly: you are therefore bound to increase our pay, and it is thus we take it." The next morning the marshal mounted his horse, and, attended by about sixty lances, rode to the barriers of Orense, where he waited awhile for the Bretons. When they came, he asked, "Are you all ready?" "Yes," they replied: "give us our passport and escort." "Whither do you wish to go?" "To Vilalpando." "It is well," replied the marshal: "here is your escort:" and, calling to him an English knight whose name was Stephen Eastbury, said, "Take ten of our lances, to escort these Bretons, and return to-morrow." He obeyed the marshal's orders, and the Bretons marched away well packed and heavily laden.

When they were all gone, the marshal and his men entered the town, where he was received with the greatest respect; for they took him for the duke of Lancaster, which was the reason of their humility. He asked some of the townsmen, "These Bretons, who are gone away so heavily laden, have they carried off any of your properties?" "Of ours, my lord! yes, by God, a great deal." "And why did you not complain to me? I would have made them restore it." "My lord, we were afraid; for they threatened to murder us, if we said one word: they are a cursed race, for there is not one but is a thief; and how can we complain when they rob one another?" The marshal laughed, and, having paused, demanded the principal persons of the town. When they arrived, he made them swear to preserve the town of Orense in obedience to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, in like manner to other towns in Galicia: which being done, he renewed the officers of the town, who took similar oaths. All being finished, he and his company drank some wine, and returned to the duke of Lancaster, who was reposing under the shade of the olive-trees; for it was so very hot, neither man nor horse could withstand the heat of the sun, and after eight o'clock it was impossible to go abroad and forage. The greatest pleasure the duke could have received would have been the information, that the king of Castille was on his march to offer him battle; for he was well aware he could never otherwise succeed in his claim on that kingdom. He was continually making inquiries how the king of Castille was employed, and he was answered: "My lord, we learn from the pilgrims who come to Saint Jago, that he is not making any preparations to take the field, but has shut himself and his men up in garrisons. The duke of Bourbon is not yet arrived, nor is there any intelligence received of his coming." The duke was advised to remain but five days in Orense, and then march to Zamora, and endeavor to force a passage over the Duoro by the bridge. The knight, on his return from escorting the Bretons to Vilalpando, was asked what were the numbers in garrison; he said, "He had heard sir Oliver du Guesclin was there, with one thousand spears, French and Bretons." "It will be a good thing, my lord," said the constable and sir Thomas Percy, "if we go thither and skirmish with them. Perhaps they may come out, and accept our challenge, for some of them are very impatient to signalize themselves." "I agree to it," replied the duke; "let us dislodge and march hence, for we can gain nothing by staying longer here." Orders for decampment on the morrow were issued, and for the army to march toward Vilalpando, and then to Zamora.

We will now say something of the king of Portugal, and what befel him on his entrance into Castille to form a junction with the duke of Lancaster.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL, BEING REPULSED IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO STORM THE CASTLES OF SANTAREM, BURNS THE TOWN. HE MARCHES TO FERROL IN GALICIA.

The king of Portugal, on his departure from Oporto, left his queen, his sister-in-law, and the city, under the guard of the count de Novaire, with one hundred lances, of Portuguese and Gascons who had come to serve him. When the king took the field, he halted the first day at the distance of only three leagues from Oporto. On the morrow, he dislodged, and marched in three battalions; but, on account of the infantry, which consisted of twelve thousand men, and the baggage, he could but advance at a foot's pace. The main battalion with the king followed, which was a thousand good spears, and in it were don Galois, Fernando Portelet, John Fernando Portelet, Guadaloupe Fernando Portelet, and Pounass d'Acunha, sir Vasco Martin d'Acunha, who bore the king's banner, John Radighos, Peter John Gomez de Salnes, Joao Rodriguez de Sâ, and the master of Avis, Fernando Rodriguez de Sequeira, all great barons. The constable of Portugal commanded the rear battalion, consisting of five hundred spears; with him were the count d'Angouse, the count de l'Escalle, le petit Danede, Mondest Radighos, Roderigo de Valconsiaux, Ange Salvese de Geneve, John Ansale de Popelan, all barons and knights.

In this manner did the Portuguese continue their march toward Santarem. They advanced by short marches, and halted every third day: they also lay by the greater part of the day. They arrived at Aljubarota, where they halted for two days, and took as many in going from thence to Ourem. At last they came to Santarem, and quartered themselves therein; for they found the town had been abandoned since the battle of Aljubarota, for fear of the Portuguese, and the inhabitants had retired with their effects into Castille. The castles, however, were well garrisoned with Bretons and Poitevins, who had been sent thither for their defence. The king of Portugal was advised to attack these castles, which were situated at each end of the town; for he could not, in honor, pass by without attempting some deeds of arms: besides, as the Castillians had conquered this place from the Portuguese, they wished to try if they could recover them. They had brought machines of war from Oporto, for they knew they should have need of them on their march. The king and his army were quartered in and about Santarem, which is situated at the entrance of Castille, on the Tagus. By means of this river, they could have all their provision and stores conveyed to them from Lisbon or Oporto, of which they took the advantage; for they were upward of thirty thousand men.

The constable, with his division and one half of the commonalty of Portugal, posted himself opposite the eastern castle, called la Perrade. The marshal with his battalion, and the other half of the commonalty, did the same at the opposite castle, called Callidon. Morice Fonchans, an able man-at-arms, and a knight from Brittany, commanded in la Perrade; and sir James de Mont-merle, a knight from Poitou, in Callidon. They might each have with him fifty lances. Fifteen days passed without anything being done: their machines were, indeed, pointed against the walls, and cast heavy stones ten or twelve times a day, but did little damage, except to the roofs of the towers, which they ruined; but the garrisons paid no attention to this, for their lodgings were well arched: and no engine nor springall could hurt them with any stones they could throw. When the Portuguese saw they had no hopes of success, they grew tired, and resolved to decamp and enter Galicia, to join the duke of Lancaster, which would increase their strength, and the king and duke might then advise together, whither to march. When they departed from Santarem, they so completely burnt the town, that there did not remain a shed to put a horse in. The garrisons, seeing them depart, were so much rejoiced, that they sounded their trumpets, and, with other signs of joy, continued playing until the whole were out of hearing. The army marched that day for Pontferrant, in Galicia, in their route to Val-Sainte-Catharine, and arrived at Ferrol, which is a tolerably strong town, and in the interest of the king of Castille, and they halted before it.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL, NOT BEING ABLE TO TAKE FERROL BY STORM, GAINS IT BY AN AMBUSCADE, AND PUTS IT UNDER THE OBEDIENCE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

The king of Portugal and his army found a plentiful country at Ferrol, which they surrounded; and the constable and marshal said, they would storm it, as it was to be taken. They were two days, however, without making any attempt, for they expected that it would surrender without an assault, but they were mistaken; for there were in it some Bretons and Burgundians, who said they would defend it to the last. The machines were brought forth on the third day, and the marshal's trumpets sounded for the attack, when all made themselves ready, and advanced to the walls. The men-at-arms in Ferrol hearing the trumpets, knew that they should be stormed, and made preparations accordingly. They armed themselves, and all men capable of defence, and ordered the women to gather and bring to them stones, to throw down on the enemy. You must know,

that the women in Galicia and Castille are of good courage to defend themselves, and equally useful as the men. The Portuguese marched in handsome array to the ditches, which, though deep, were dry, and merrily entered them. They began to ascend the opposite bank with much courage, but were sorely treated, unless well shielded, by those of the town, who, from the walls, cast down on them stones and other things, that wounded and killed several, and forced them to retreat whether they would or not. There was much throwing of darts on both sides; and thus lasted the attack until eight o'clock, when the day became exceedingly hot, without the least wind or breeze, insomuch that those in the ditches thought they should be burnt: this heat was so excessive, that the attack was put an end to, though the machines cast stones into the town merely for the chance of success. The Portuguese retired to refresh themselves, and attend to the wounded. The marshal resolved not to renew the attack but by his machines, for otherwise it would cost too many lives; and to skirmish at the barriers, to amuse the young knights, and enure them to deeds of arms. This being settled, there were, almost daily, skirmishes at the barriers; and these within the town were accustomed to post themselves without the gates, between them and the barriers, the better to engage their enemies.

Sir Alvarez Pereira, the marshal of Portugal, who was subtle, and had been long used to arms, observing this conduct, planned upon it an ambuscade. Opening himself to don Juan Fernando, he said, "I see these soldiers, when skirmishing, sometimes venture beyond the gates: I have formed a plan, which, if you will assist me to execute, I think we may discomfit them. I propose that we form an ambuscade, as near the barriers as possible, of five or six hundred men, well mounted, and then commence a skirmish, as usual, but in no great number; and retreat by degrees, the moment they seem willing to pass their barriers, which I think the avarice and eagerness will induce them to do. We must then turn about and attack them lustily, and the ambuscade will gallop between them and the gates. The garrison will now be alarmed, and hasten to order the gates to be opened, and whether they will or not, we shall enter the place with them. But should the townsmen refuse to open the gates, all those who are without must be our prisoners." "It is well imagined," replied don Juan. "Well," said the marshal, "do you command one party, and I will take the other. You, sir Martin de Mello, and Pounass d'Acunha, shall have the ambuscade, and I will skirmish, as that is part of my office." This plan was adopted, and five hundred men, well armed and mounted, were chosen to form the ambuscade.

For three days there had not been any skirmishing, to the surprise of the garrison, who said to the inhabitants: "See, wicked people as ye are, ye wanted to surrender to the king of Portugal without striking a blow, and would have done so, if we had not been here to defend the honor of your town; this we have so successfully done, that the king of Portugal is on the eve of his departure, without having effected anything."

On the fourth day, according to what had been laid down, the marshal advanced to the skirmish with but few followers: the great ambuscade remained behind. The Bretons, eager to make rich prisoners, having already captured six, seeing the Portuguese at the barriers, had the gates opened, which they left unfastened, in case of failure (for they had no great dependence on the townsmen,) and the wicket wide open, and sallied forth to skirmish with darts and lances, as is usual in such combats. The marshal, when he saw the time was come, made his men wheel, and act as if they were tired, retreating by degrees. Those within the place, observing this, and thinking they should make prisoners of them all, opened the whole of the barriers, sallied forth, and, falling on the Portuguese, captured five-and-twenty. In the struggle and pursuit, the Bretons never thought of closing the barriers; and the marshal now made his signal for the ambuscade to advance, which it did full gallop, and, by getting between the Bretons and the place, made themselves masters of the barriers. The French and Bretons now hastened to reënter the gates, but it was of no avail, for the Portuguese entered with them; and thus was the town won. Very few were slain, and the soldiers in garrison were made prisoners, except ten or twelve, who escaped by a postern gate, and went to Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin was in garrison, with one thousand French lances at least, and these runaways related to him how Ferrol had been lost. In this manner was the town won by the Portuguese, and put under the obedience of the duke of Lancaster, for whom they made war. The king of Portugal was much pleased at the success of his men, and instantly sent intelligence of it to the duke, adding, he had greatly increased his inheritance by the capture of a town; and that he and his army were desirous and active to conquer the rest.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE ARMY OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER COMES BEFORE NOYA IN GALICIA. THE ENGLISH ARE RECEIVED, AT THE BARRIERS, BY BARROIS DES BARRES AND HIS COMPANIONS.

The duke of Lancaster was much rejoiced at the news from the king of Portugal: he had left Orense, and was on his march toward Noya, where le Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châtelmorant, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir Reginald de Roye, sir William de Montigny, and many other knights and squires were in garrison. When the duke came within sight of the castle, the marshal said, "There is Noya: if Coruña be one of the keys of Galicia toward the sea, the castle of Noya is another toward Castille; and whoever wishes to be lord of Castille must be master of those two places. Let us march thither, for they tell me that Barrois des Barres, one of the ablest captains of France, is within it, and let us have some skirmishing with the garrison at the end of the bridge." "We are willing to do so," said sir Maubrun de Linieres and sir John d'Ambreticourt, who were riding by his side. The van battalion now advanced, consisting of five hundred men-at-arms, for the duke was desirous of making a good appearance to those within the castle; and he knew also that his marshals would offer to skirmish, should they find any to accept their challenge. The watch on the castle, seeing the van of the English approach, began to sound his horn so agreeably, it was a pleasure to hear him.

Le Barrois and his companions, to the amount of one hundred men-at-arms, hearing that the English were at hand, armed themselves, and, in good array, advanced to the barriers, where they drew up under twelve pennons. Sir John des Barres, being the most renowned, was the commander-in-chief, and next to him, sir John de Châtelmorant. When sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal of the army, found himself near the place, he halted, and, having dismounted as well as his companions, they gave their horses to the pages and servants, and marched in a compact body, each knight and squire with his spear in hand, toward the barriers: every six paces they halted, to dress themselves without opening their ranks. To say the truth, it was a beautiful sight. When they were come as far as they wished, they halted for a short time, and then advanced their front to begin the action. They were gallantly received; and, I believe, had the two parties been in the plain, many more bold actions would have taken place than it was possible to find an opportunity for where they were; for the barriers being closely shut, prevented them from touching each other. The marshal hit sir John de Châtelmorant with his lance, as did sir John the marshal; for each was eager to hurt the other, but from the strength of their armor, they could not. Sir Thomas Percy attacked Barrois des Barres; Maubrun de Linieres, sir William de Montigny; sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Reginald de Roye; the lord Talbot, sir Tristan de la Jaille; so every man had his match: and when they were fatigued or heated they retired, and other fresh knights and squires renewed the skirmish. This was continued until past eight o'clock: indeed, it was twelve before it was entirely over. The archers next came to the barriers; but the knights withdrew, for fear of the arrows, and ordered their cross-bows and Castillians to oppose them, which they did until noon, when the lusty varlets continued the skirmish until sunset, and the knights then returned fresh and vigorous to renew it.

Thus was the day employed until night, when the English retired to their quarters, and the knights into the castle, where they kept a good guard. The English were quartered about half a league from Noya, on the banks of the river, which was very welcome to them and their horses, for they had great difficulty in procuring water on their march. They intended to remain there five or six days, and then march to Vilalpando, and look at the constable of Castille and the French there in garrison. They had also heard from the king of Portugal, who was encamped in the plains of Ferrol, and intended marching for the town of Padron,* in Galicia, which was in the line of march of the English; and I believe the king and duke were to meet in this town, to confer together on the state of affairs, and determine on a plan for carrying on the war. They had already been one month in the enemy's country, and had conquered all Galicia, except one or two places, without having any intelligence of the king of Castille or the French, which greatly surprised them; for they had heard that the king of Castille had issued his summons from Burgos, where he resided, to all parts of Castille, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, Leon, Valladolid, Soria, and had collected sixty thousand men, not including six thousand men-at-arms from France. The duke of Bourbon was likewise daily expected, for he had quitted Paris.

It was for this reason the English and Portuguese wanted to unite their armies, to be in greater force, and better enabled to meet the enemy; for they believed all that had been told them respecting the French and Castillians as true, and outwardly showed much joy thereat. They would willingly have encountered their enemies, for they were convinced they could never bring their dispute to any decision without a battle.

Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were always about the king's person, and accompanied him wherever he went; for they had two or three times a week intelligence from France of what was going on, and likewise from the duke of Bourbon. They were waiting for him, as he had begun his journey by way of Avignon, to visit the pope and cardinals; and would not therefore offer combat during his absence, nor would it have been becoming them so to do. Among the news they had from France, the most surprising was the account of the duke of Brittany's arrest and confinement of the constable in the castle of Ermine, until he ransomed himself, by paying

* Padron is situated on the river Ulla, four leagues to the southward of Saint Jago; it was formerly a bishopric, but is now transferred to Saint Jago.

down one hundred thousand francs and the surrender of three castles and a town, by which the intended invasion of England was prevented. They were greatly astonished, and could not imagine what the duke of Brittany meant by it: they however supposed that he must have been instigated thereto by the council of England.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS SOME OF HIS NOBLES TO DEMAND FROM THE DUKE OF BRITTANY THE REASON OF THE INSULT OFFERED HIM IN THE PERSON OF HIS CONSTABLE.

THE court of France, more particularly the king's uncles, and the principal lords, were much distressed by the defiance that was sent by the duke of Gueldres; for it was outrageous and rude, and not in the common style of such challenges, as I shall explain when I mention the particulars. They were likewise much vexed at the late conduct of the duke of Brittany, which had broken up the expedition to England by the imprisonment of its leader. This had been greatly prejudicial to the king, nor could they discover any cause he had to assign for such conduct. The king did not pay such attention to these matters, which, considering his youth, was not to be wondered at, as if he had been of more advanced years; for some of the lords, who remembered former times, said, "That by a similar act the kingdom had been much agitated, when the king of Navarre assassinated sir Charles d'Espaign, who at the time was constable of France, for which king John could never afterwards bear the king of Navarre, and had deprived him, as far as he was able, of all his possessions in Normandy." "Do you suppose," said others, "that if king Charles, the father of our king, were now alive, who loved so much the constable, he would not have made the duke pay dearly for this insult? By my faith would he, and instantly have declared war against him, and, cost what it would, have driven him out of his duchy." Thus was the matter discussed through France, where all agreed that he had acted very ill. The king and his uncles, to pacify the people, who were much dissatisfied, and to inquire into the grounds of this business, resolved to send a prelate, and three able and prudent barons, to hear the duke's reasons, and to summon him to Paris, or wherever else the king might please, to make proper excuses for his conduct. Sir Milon de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, was nominated as principal: he was a most able man, of great eloquence, and was to be accompanied by sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil, and the lord de la Riviere, who had received full instructions what they were to say; but to be the more particularly informed of what had passed, the bishop of Beauvais went to Montlhery, the residence of the constable, to learn from him the most minute details. This town and castle, with its dependencies, had been given to him and to his heirs by king Charles. The bishop, during this visit, was seized with an illness that forced him to keep his bed, and after fifteen days' struggle against the fever, it carried him off, so very severe was the attack. The bishop of Langres was nominated in the place of the bishop of Beauvais, who set out, with the before-mentioned barons, for Brittany.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

FROISSART MENTIONS THE PERSON FROM WHOM HE LEARNT THE ARREST OF THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON; WHO LIKEWISE INFORMS HIM THAT SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN OUGHT TO BE CALLED DU GLAY-AQUIN.

I MAY, perhaps, be asked, how I became acquainted with the events in this history, to speak so circumstantially about them. I reply to those who shall do so, that I have, with great attention and diligence, sought in divers kingdoms and countries for the facts which have been, or may hereafter be, mentioned in it: for God has given me grace and opportunities to see, and make acquaintance with the greater part of the principal lords of France and England. It should be known, that in the year 1390, I had labored at this history thirty-seven years, and at that time I was fifty-seven years old: a man may, therefore, learn much in such a period, when he is in his vigor, and well-received by all parties. During my youth, I was five years attached to the king and queen of England, and kindly entertained in the household of king John of France and king Charles his son. I was, in consequence, enabled to hear much during those times; and, for certain, the greatest pleasure I have ever had, was to make every possible inquiry, in regard to what was passing in the world, and then to write down all that I had learnt.

I will now say from whence I heard of the arrest of the constable, and the consequences that followed. I was riding about the time this passed, or perhaps a year after, from Angers to Tours, and had slept at Beaufort en Vallée.* On the morrow I overtook a knight from Brittany, called sir William d'Ancenis, who was going to visit madame de Maille in Touraine, who was his cousin, as she had lately become a widow. I made acquaintance with the knight, for he was courteous and obliging in speech, and inquired the news from him; more particularly about the imprisonment of the constable, the truth of which I was eager to know. He gave me the information I wanted; for he said he had been at the parliament at Vannes, with his cousin the lord d'Ancenis, a powerful baron in Brittany. In the same manner as sir Espaign du Lyon told me all that passed in Foix, Béarn, and Gascony, and as don Juan Fernando Portelet the events in Castille and Portugal, did the gallant knight converse with me, and would have continued it longer, had I rode farther in his company. We had advanced four long leagues between Montlihargne and Preuilly, riding at a gentle pace, when he told me many things on the road respecting Brittany, which I treasured up in my memory. As we were thus riding, we entered a meadow near to Preuilly, when he dismounted, and said; "Ah, may God keep the soul of the good constable of France; for he had, on this spot, a most honorable combat, and greatly profitable to the country; but he was not then constable, and served under the banner of sir John de Bueil, on his return from the expedition into Spain." "Pray have the goodness to relate it to me." "I will," said he; "but let us remount our horses." We did so, and, continuing our journey, he thus began:

"In the time I am speaking of, this country was quite filled with English, and thieves from Gascony, Brittany, Germany: adventurers from all nations had fixed their quarters on both sides of the Loire, for the war between England and France was renewed. A party of them had fortified themselves in the castle of Beaufort en Vallée; which you have seen, and supported themselves by plundering the country all round it. But to come to the immediate object of my story: some English and Gascons had possessed themselves of Preuilly, and strengthened it so much, that none attempted to dislodge them: they had also some other smaller forts near; and when they made any excursions, they could assemble between eight hundred and a thousand combatants.

"The constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir John de Bueil, the lord de Mailly, and other knights, determined to deliver the country from these people, and collected about five hundred spears. They learnt that the English intended marching toward Saumer; that all the captains of the different forts were to unite their forces; and that the place of meeting was Preuilly, which you see before us. Our men, having crossed the river, placed themselves in ambuscade, in the wood below us, on the right hand. The enemy left Preuilly at sunrise, to the amount of nine hundred fighting men: and when our party in ambush saw them advancing, they knew a combat to be inevitable. They held a council on what should be their cry, and were desirous it should be 'Sir Bertrand!' but he would not consent, and declared he would not display either banner or pennon, but be under that of sir John de Bueil. Our enemies entered the mead, where we just now dismounted, and they had scarcely done so before our men sallied out of their ambush to meet them. On seeing us, being of good courage, they drew themselves up in handsome order. We did the same, and both parties advanced to the combat, which instantly commenced with such thrusting of lances, that many were thrown down on each side. It lasted a considerable time without either giving way; but, to say the truth, we were all picked men, and with the enemy were numbers badly armed and plunderers. They gave us, however, full employment; but sir Morice Trisequedy, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry Kerimel, and Morfonace, joining sir Bertrand du Guesclin, full gallop, reinforced us with sixty good spears, whom they brought with them, and, attacking the English on horseback, threw them into a confusion they never could recover. The leaders of these pillagers, perceiving the event was likely to turn out unfavorable to them, mounted their horses, but not all; for seven lay dead on the field, with three hundred of their men. The pursuit lasted as far as St. Maur, where sir Robert Cheney, Robert Hervey, Richard Giles, and James Clerk, got into a boat, and saved themselves by crossing the Loire. They made for four castles the English had on that side the river, wherein they did not long remain, but hastened for Auvergne and Limousin, as they fancied the constable was still at their heels.

"By this defeat, my good master, was all this country delivered from pillagers, and never since that time have any English or others established themselves here. I therefore say, that constable Bertrand was a gallant man, and of great honor and advantage to France, for he regained large tracts of territory from her enemies." "By my faith, sir, you say truly: he was indeed a very valiant man, and so is sir Oliver du Guesclin." On my naming him du Guesclin, the knight laughed; and I said, "Sir, what do you laugh at?" "Because you call him du Guesclin, which is not his proper name, nor ever was, although he is generally so called, even by us who come from Brittany. Sir Bertrand was during his lifetime desirous to alter this, but could not; for this word is more naturally pronounced than the one he wished to substitute for it." "Pray, sir," said I, "have the kindness to tell me if there be any great difference between them." "No, God help me: the only difference is Glay-aquin instead of Glesquin, or Guesclin. I will tell you whence this surname is derived, according to what I have heard the old people in Brittany say, and it is certainly true, for you may find it written in the old chronicles of Brittany." This speech gave me great pleasure, and I replied; "Sir, I shall think myself much obliged by your so doing; and what you say shall not be forgotten, for sir Bertrand du Guesclin was so renowned a knight, that his reputation ought to be augmented by every possible means." "That is true," said the knight, and thus began:

"In the reign of Charlemagne, that great conqueror, who added

* Beaufort en Vallee—or Beaufort la Ville, a town of Anjou, on the river Authion, six leagues from Angers, sixteen from Tours.

so much to Christendom and France; for he was the emperor of Rome as well as king of France and Germany; and whose body lies now at Aix-la-Chapelle; this king Charles, as is seen in the ancient chronicles (for you know that all the knowledge we possess in this world we owe to writing, and upon no other foundation can we depend for truth but on what is contained in approved books,) was several times in Spain, where he once remained for nine years without returning to France, but conquering all before him. At this time there was a pagan king, called Aquin, who reigned over Bugia and Barbary, that lie opposite to Spain. The kingdom of Spain was very considerable, if you follow its coasts from St. Jean du Pied des Ports, for it then contained all Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Oporto, Coimbra, Lisbon, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Leon, and these formerly were conquered by this great king. During his long residence in Spain, Aquin, king of Bugia and Barbary, assembled an army and embarked for Brittany, where he landed at the port of Vannes. He brought his wife and children with him, and, having established himself and his army in the country, proceeded to make further conquests. King Charles was duly informed of what was passing in Brittany; but he would not let it interfere with his present undertaking, saying; 'Let him establish himself in Brittany: it will not be difficult for us to free the country from him and his people; but we will first complete the conquest of this country, and submit it to the Christian faith. This king, Aquin, built a handsome tower on the sea-shore near to Vannes, called the Glay, wherein he took pleasure to reside. When Charlemagne had accomplished his expedition to Spain by the delivery of Galicia and other provinces from the Saracens, whose kings he had slain, and, by driving out the infidels, had brought the whole kingdom under the Christian faith; he sailed for Brittany, and gave battle to king Aquin and his adherents, with such success that the greater part of the infidels were killed, and king Aquin forced to fly, in a vessel that lay ready prepared for him at the foot of the tower of Glay. He was so hard pressed by the French, he could only embark himself, his wife, and some of his family, and in the hurry forgot a young child, of about a year old, that was asleep in the tower. The king having escaped, this child was brought to Charlemagne, who was much pleased with him, and had him baptized. Roland and Oliver were his godfathers at the font, and the emperor gave him handsome presents and the lands his father had won in Brittany. This child, when grown up, was a valiant knight, and called Oliver du Glay-aquin, because he had been found in the tower of Glay, and was the son of king Aquin.

"Such was the foundation of the family of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, which, as you see, ought to be called du Glay-aquin. Sir Bertrand was used to say, that when he should have expelled don Pedro from Spain and crowned don Henry de Transtamare, he would go to Bugia, as he should have only the sea to cross, and demand his inheritance: and would undoubtedly have executed it; for don Henry would gladly have supplied him with men and ships; but the prince of Wales, by bringing back and replacing don Pedro on the throne of Castille, put an end to it. Sir Bertrand was made prisoner by sir John Chandos, at the famous battle of Najarra, and ransomed for one hundred thousand francs. He had been before ransomed by the same knight, and for the like sum, at the battle of Auray. The renewal of the war between England and France put an effectual stop to this African expedition, and gave him so much employment that he could not attend to anything else. He was, nevertheless, the direct issue from king Aquin, who reigned over Bugia and Barbary. Thus have I traced to you the descent of sir Bertrand du Guesclin." "That is true," replied I, "and I am very thankful to you for it, which I will not forget." As I said this, we arrived at Preuilly.*

CHAPTER LXXVII.

EMBASSADORS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE WAIT ON THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RESPECTING THE ARREST OF HIS CONSTABLE. THE DUKE, HAVING HEARD THEM, GIVES THEM HIS ANSWER.

If I could have been as long with sir William d'Ancenis as I was with sir Espaign du Lyon, when we travelled together from Pamiers to Orthès in Béarn, or with sir Juan Fernando Portelet, he would have told me many interesting things: but it could not be; for, soon after dinner, we came to two roads; one leading to Tours, whither I was bound, and the other to Mailly, which he was to follow. Here then we took leave of each other, and separated; but on our road from Preuilly, before our separation, he told me many things about the bishop of Langres, who had succeeded the bishop of Beauvais in the embassy to the duke of Brittany with sir John de Beuil, and the answer they received from the duke. Upon the authority of what the knight said, I have written as follows:

The embassadors, having taken leave of the king and council, continued their journey until they came to Nantes, where they inquired the residence of the duke. They were told, that he chiefly resided at or near Vannes in preference to any other place. They left Nantes, and did not stop until they arrived at Vannes, as it is only twenty leagues distant, and dismounted in the town, for the duke lived in the castle called La Motte. When they had equipped themselves in a manner becoming their rank, they waited on him, who received them outwardly with much affection. The bishop of Langres, being a prelate, was the spokesman, and harangued in a handsome manner, in the presence of his two companions, sir John de Vienne and sir John de Beuil, saying, "Lord duke, we are sent hither by the king our sovereign, and by my lords his uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to say they are wondrously surprised you should have prevented the invasion of England from taking place, when on the point of sailing, and have ransomed the constable of France for such an immense sum, besides seizing three of his castles in Brittany and the town of Jugon,* which, should they turn against the country, may seriously injure it. We are, therefore, charged to order you, on the part of our sovereign lord the king, and of our lords his uncles, to restore sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, those parts of his inheritance you now withhold from him, and give him peaceable possession thereof, according to justice, in the same condition they were in before they were surrendered up to you through constraint, and not according to any just claim you had upon them, and also the sum of money you have received, wholly and fully, wherever he shall be pleased to have it paid. The king and his council likewise summon you to appear at Paris, or wherever else they may direct, to excuse yourself for what you have done. The king is so good-tempered and forbearing, that, from ties of blood, he will readily listen to your excuses. Should they not be quite satisfactory, our lords, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, will so fashion them to the utmost of their abilities, and by entreaties or otherwise manage the matter so that you shall remain friend and cousin to the king, as it is reasonable you should be."

The bishop, turning to sir John de Vienne, said, "Do you agree in my sentiments?" "Yes, sir," he replied. Sir John de Beuil made a similar answer: when this passed, there were but these four in the apartment. The duke, having heard the bishop, was very thoughtful, and not without reason, for the words were so clear they required no expounding. At length he said, "Sir, I have well heard what you had to say: it was proper I should do so, as you come from my sovereign lord the king of France, and my lords his uncles. I am therefore bounden to pay you, as coming from them, every honor and respect, and am willing to do so. What you have said, however, demands consideration; and I shall take the advice of my council, that I may give you such an answer as may please you, for I would not act otherwise. "You say well," replied the embassadors, "and we are satisfied." They then took leave, and returned to their hotel. Toward evening, they received an invitation from the duke to dine with him on the morrow, which they accepted. The next day they went to the castle, where they found the duke and his knights, who received them magnificently. Shortly after their arrival, basins and ewers were brought, for them to wash before they sat down to table. The bishop of Langres, in respect to his prelacy, was seated above all the company: next to him was the duke, then sir John de Vienne and sir John de Beuil. The dinner was very splendid, sumptuous, and well served: when it was over, they entered into the presence-chamber, where they conversed on different subjects, and amused themselves in hearing the minstrels.

The lords from France thought they should have then received their answer, but were disappointed. Wine and spices were brought, which having partaken of, they retired to their hotels, and remained the whole evening comfortably at home. On the ensuing morning, it was signified to them that the duke wished to see them at the castle, whither they went; and, being introduced to the apartment where the duke was, he received them kindly, and thus spoke: "My fair sirs, I know you are anxious for an answer to what you have been charged to tell me from my sovereign and other lords, that you may report it to them: I therefore declare, that I have done nothing to sir Oliver de Clisson that I repent of, except that he has escaped too cheaply and with his life: this I spared solely on account of his office, and not in any manner out of personal regard; for he has behaved so very ill to me, in several instances, that I hate him mortally; and, begging my sovereign's and their graces' pardon, I have not prevented the expedition to England taking place by the arrest of the constable. Of this I am willing and able to exculpate myself; for the day I had him arrested, I was thinking no harm against it:† it is proper to take advantage of an enemy wherever it may be found. If he had been slain, I believe the kingdom of France would not have been the worse governed for having lost the supposed benefit of his counsel. With regard to the castles he surrendered to me, and of which I am in possession, I shall keep them until the king by force dispossesses me of them. As to the money, I reply, that from the hatred of sir Oliver de Clisson, I have incurred

* The high reputation of Bertrand du Guesclin gave rise to many false reports of his origin the above is one. To detect this, it is only necessary to state, 1st, There never was a prince in Brittany of the name of Aquin. 2ndly, Charlemagne conquered that province by his lieutenants, and was never there in person. 3rdly, That the original name of the house of du Guesclin was not Glay-aquin, but Guarplic, a compound of two Breton words, Gwar and Plic, which signifies a creek, and describes the situation of the old castle du Guarplic, that was built on a creek, or gulf, in Concale bay, in the parish of Saint Coulomb, diocese of Dol

For further particulars, see l'Histoire de la Brétagne.

* Jugon must have been a place of considerable consequence for I believe there is an old proverb

"Qui a Bretagne sans Jugon
A un chappe sans chaperon."

† The original runs, "nul mal je n'y pensoye."

debts in this and other countries, and have from this sum repaid those to whom I was indebted." Such was the answer the duke of Brittany gave to the embassadors from the king of France. Many debates ensued, to induce the duke to send a more moderate answer; but his replies were always to the same effect as what he had before spoken. When they found they could not obtain anything more, they desired to take their leave, which being granted, they prepared for their departure, and journeyed until they arrived at Paris; thence they went to the castle of Beauté, near Vincennes, where the king and queen resided. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy soon followed them, as they were impatient to hear the duke of Brittany's answer, which as you have heard I will not repeat. But as those sent into Brittany had not succeeded in any one point, the king and council were greatly displeased with the duke, and said he was the proudest and most presumptuous man alive, and that matters should not remain as they were; for the consequences would be too prejudicial and disgraceful to the crown of France. It was fully the intention of the king and his council to make war on the duke of Brittany.

The duke expected nothing less: for he knew he had angered the king of France as well as those of his council; but his hatred against the constable was so deep, it deprived him of the use of his reason; and he sorely repented that, when in his power, he had not put him to death. Things remained in this state a considerable time. The duke resided at Vannes, but seldom went abroad for fear of ambuscades: he paid great court to the principal cities and towns in the duchy, and made secret treaties with the English: he also garrisoned his strong places the same as in times of war. His opinion continually varied, as to what had passed: sometimes he said, he wished he had not arrested the constable; at others, to excuse himself, he declared that Clisson had so grievously insulted him, he had good reason for what he had done. This conduct had caused him to be feared in the country; for the lord hath small authority who is not feared by his subjects;* for whenever he pleases he may be at peace with them.

We will now leave the duke of Brittany, and return to the affairs of England, which, at this moment, were in a troubled and dangerous state.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER, UNCLES TO THE KING, CONFEDERATE, WITH OTHER BARONS, AGAINST HIM AND HIS COUNCIL. THE PEOPLE ARE DISCONTENTED WITH THE DUKE OF IRELAND. THE LONDONERS, THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND HIS FRIENDS, OBTAIN FROM THE KING, THAT A DAY SHOULD BE FIXED FOR THOSE WHO HAD MANAGED THE FINANCES TO RENDER AN ACCOUNT OF THEM.

You have before heard, that the dukes of York and Gloucester had confederated with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham, and the archbishop of Canterbury, against the king and his council, with whom they were very much dissatisfied. They said, "This duke of Ireland doth with the king and the realm as he pleases: the king has only base knaves about his person, without any regard to noblemen; and as long as he attends to no other advice than that of those now near him, things cannot go on well; for no kingdom can prosper when governed by wicked men. It is well known, that when a poor person is exalted and supported by his lord, he corrupts the people, and destroys the country: for what can a base-born man feel of honor? his sole wish is to enrich himself: just like the otter, who, on entering a pond, devours all the fish therein. Whence comes it that this duke of Ireland hath such power over the king, (we know his origin) and governeth all England at his pleasure, while the king's uncles are disregarded? Such conduct is no longer to be suffered. We are not ignorant who the earl of Oxford was, and that in this country he had not one good quality, either of sense, honor or gentility allowed him." "Sir John Chandos," added a knight, "made him feel this very sharply once, at the palace of the prince of Wales, at St. Andrews, in Bordeaux." "How so?" demanded another, who wished to know the particulars. "I will tell you," replied the knight, "for I was present. Wine was serving round to the prince of Wales and a large party of English lords, in an apartment of his palace; and, when the prince had drunk, the cup was carried to sir John Chandos, as constable of Aquitaine, who took it and drank, without paying any attention to the earl of Oxford, father to this duke of Ireland, or desiring him to drink first. After sir John Chandos had drunk, one of his squires presented the wine to the earl of Oxford; but, indignant that Chandos had drunk before him, he refused it, and said, by way of mockery, to the squire who was holding the cup, 'Go, carry it to thy master, Chandos: let him drink.' 'Why should I go to him? for he has drunk. Drink yourself, since it is offered you: for, by St. George, if you do not, I will throw it in your face.' The earl, afraid lest the squire should execute what he had said, for he was bold enough to do so, took the cup and put it to his mouth and drank, or at least pretended to drink. Sir John Chandos was not far off, and heard and saw the whole, and his squire, while the prince was in conversation with others, came and told him what had passed. Sir John Chandos took no notice of it until the prince had retired, when, stepping up to the earl of Oxford, he said, 'What, sir Aubrey,* are you displeased that I drank first, who am the constable of this country? I may well drink and take precedence before you, since my most renowned sovereign, the king of England, and my lords, the princes, assent to it. True it is, that you were at the battle of Poitiers; but all now present do not know the cause of it so well as I do: I will declare it, that they may remember it. When my lord, the prince, had finished his journey to Languedoc, Carcassone and Narbonne, and was returned to this city of Bordeaux, you took it into your head that you would return to England; but what did the king say to you? I know it well, though I was not present. He asked, if you had accomplished your service; and, afterwards, what you had done with his son. You replied, "Sir, I left him in good health at Bordeaux." "What!" said the king, "and have you been bold enough to come hither without him? Did I not strictly enjoin you, and the others who accompanied him, never to return without him, under the forfeiture of your lands? and yet you have dared to disobey my commands. I now positively order you to quit my kingdom within four days and return to the prince; for if you be found on the fifth day, you shall lose your life and estates." You were afraid to hazard disobedience, as was natural, and left England. You were so fortunate, that you joined the prince four days before the battle of Poitiers, and had, that day, the command of forty lances, while I had sixty. Now, consider if I, who am constable of Aquitaine, have not the right to take precedence, and drink before you do.' The earl of Oxford was much ashamed, and would have willingly been anywhere but there. He was forced, however, to bear with what sir John Chandos said, who spoke aloud that all might hear him." "After this," said another knight, "we ought not to be surprised that the duke of Ireland, who is the son of this earl of Oxford, is not more considerate, and does not keep in his memory what may be told him of his father, instead of ruling the whole kingdom of England, and setting himself above the king's uncles." "And why should he not do so," replied others, "since the king wills it?"

There were great murmurings throughout England against the duke of Ireland; but what injured him the most was his conduct to his duchess, the lady Philippa, daughter of the lord de Coucy, earl of Bedford, who was a handsome and noble lady, and of the highest extraction. He fell in love with a German lady, one of the attendants of the present queen; and, by his solicitations at the court of Rome, pope Urban VI. granted him a divorce from the lady Philippa, without any title of justice, but through presumption and indifference. When he married this lady, king Richard consented thereto; for he was so blinded by the duke of Ireland that, if he had declared that black was white, the king would not have said to the contrary. The mother of the duke was mightily enraged with him for this conduct, and took the lord de Coucy's daughter to her home and made her her own companion. The duke certainly acted ill, and evil befel him for it, as this was one of the principal causes of the hatred all England bore him.† It is but just that what is conceived in evil should have an unfortunate end; and this duke confided so much in the affection of the king, he thought no one would dare to injure him.

It was reported through England, that a new tax was to be levied on every fire, and that each was to pay a noble, the rich making up for the deficiencies of the poor. The king's uncles knew this would be difficult to bring about; and they had caused it to be spread in the principal towns how greatly the inhabitants would be oppressed by such taxes, and that, as there must remain great sums in the treasury, the people ought to insist on having an account of their expenditure from those who had the management, such as the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, sir Simon Burley, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Peter Gouloufre, sir John Salisbury, sir John Beauchamp, and the master of the wool-staple; and, if these would render an honest account, there would be found money enough for the present demands of the kingdom. It is a well known maxim, that no one pays willingly, or takes money from his purse, if he can avoid it. These rumors were soon spread throughout England, and especially in London, which is the chief key of the realm, so that the people rose in rebellion, to inquire into the government of the country, for that there had not for some time been anything known concerning it.

The Londoners first addressed themselves to Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, though he was younger than the duke of York; for he was much beloved for his valor, prudence, and steadiness in business. When they were in his presence, they said, "My lord, the good city of London recommends itself to your care; and its citizens, as well as all England, entreat you would take upon you

* Car c'est petite seigneurie de seigneur qui n'est craint et doubté de ses gens.

* This earl of Oxford's name was Thomas. Sir Alberic de Vere was his brother. He was employed in different negotiations by Richard II.

Robert was the son and heir of Thomas, the last earl of Oxford, and created duke of Ireland.

See Dugdale's Baronage.

† Walsingham, speaking of this transaction says: "Accidit his diebus, ut Robertus Vere, elatus de honoribus quos rex impendebat eidem jugiter, suam repudiaret uxorem juvenculam, nobilem, atque pulchram, genitam de illustri Edwardi regis filia Isabella, et aliam duceret, quæ cum regina Anna veneratæ de Boemia (ut fertur) cujusdam Cellarii filiam, ignobilem prorsus atque fœdam ob quam causam magna surrepsit occasio scandalorum cujus nomen erat in vulgaria idiomate Lancecrona.) Favebat sibi in his omnibus ipse rex, nolens ipsum in aliquo contristare, vel potius (prout dicitur) non valens suis votis aliqualiter obviare, qui maleficus cujusdam fratris (qui cum dicto Roberto fuit) rex impeditus nequaquam quod bonum est et honestum cernere, vel sectari valebat."

the government of the realm, and learn from those who have possessed themselves of the kingdom how it has been hitherto governed; for the common people make bitter complaints, that taxes upon taxes are continually imposed, and that the kingdom, since the coronation of the king, has been more grievously oppressed by these and other extraordinary aids, than for fifty years preceding it. No one knows how these sums have been expended, nor what is become of them. You will be pleased to inquire into this, and provide a remedy, or things will turn out ill, for the discontents of the people are very strong." The duke of Gloucester replied, "My good sirs, I have attentively listened to what you have said; but I alone can do nothing. I know you have well-founded cause of complaint, as well as the rest of England; but notwithstanding I am son to a king of England, and uncle to the present king, if I were to interfere by speaking to him, he would not attend to me; for my nephew has counsellors near his person in whom he confides more than in himself, and these counsellors lead him as they please. If you wish to succeed in having your grievances redressed, you should enter into a confederacy with the principal towns, and with some of the nobles and prelates, and come before the king, where my brother and myself will cheerfully meet you, and say to the king, "Most dear lord, you have been crowned when very young, and have hitherto been very badly advised, nor have you attended to the affairs of your kingdom, from the mean and weak counsellors you have chosen. This has caused the mismanagement of affairs, as you must have seen; and if God, out of his mercy, had not stretched forth his hand, the country must inevitably have been ruined. For which, most redoubted lord, we supplicate you, in the presence of your uncles, as good subjects should entreat their lord, that you attend to these matters, that the noble kingdom and crown of England, which has descended to you from the most powerful and gallant king this country ever possessed, may be supported in prosperity and honor, and the common people, who now complain, be maintained in their just rights and privileges. This you swore to perform on the day of your coronation. We also entreat, that you would assemble the three estates of the realm, that they may examine into the late manner of your government. Should it have been managed in a manner becoming a person of your rank, those who have governed will acquire profit and honor, and shall remain as long as they choose, and while it may be your good pleasure, in their offices. But if those who may be appointed to examine into these matters find anything contrary to good government, they will provide a remedy by quietly dismissing from your person those who have so acted, and replacing them by others better qualified; but with your consent first had, then that of your uncles and of the prelates and barons of the realm, who will pay attention in the choice to your honor and to that of your kingdom."

"When you shall have made this remonstrance to the king," said the duke of Gloucester to the Londoners, "he will give you an answer. If he should say, 'We will consider of it,' cut the matter short, and declare you will not have any delay; and press it the more to alarm him, as well as his minions. Say, boldly, that the country will not longer suffer it; and it is wonderful they have borne it so long. My brother and myself will be with the king, and also the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury and Northumberland; but say nothing should we not be present; for we are the principal personages in England, and will second you in your remonstrance, by adding, that what you require is but reasonable and just. When he shall hear us thus speak, he will not contradict us, unless he be very ill advised indeed, and will appoint a day accordingly. This is the advice and the remedy I offer you." The Londoners replied, "My lord, you have loyally spoken; but it will be difficult for us to find the king and as many lords as you have named, at one time in his presence." "Not at all," said the duke: "St. George's day will be within ten days, and the king will then be at Windsor; you may be sure the duke of Ireland and sir Simon Burley will be there also. There will be many others. My brother, myself, and the earl of Salisbury, will be there. Do you come, and you will act according to circumstances."

The Londoners promised to be at Windsor on St. George's day, and left the duke of Gloucester, well pleased with their reception. When that day came, the king of England held a grand festival, as his predecessors had done before him, and, accompanied by his queen and court, went to Windsor. On the morrow, the Londoners came thither with sixty horse, and those from York and other principal towns in like numbers, and lodged themselves in the town. The king was desirous of leaving the place for another three leagues off, when he heard of the arrival of the commons of England, and still more so, when told they wanted to speak to him; for he dreaded greatly their remonstrances, and would not have heard them: but his uncles and the earl of Salisbury said, "My lord, you cannot depart, for they are deputed hither by all your principal towns. It is proper you hear what they have to say: you will then give them your answer, or take time to consider of it." He remained, therefore, but sore against his will.

The commons were introduced to the presence, in the lower hall, without the new building, where the palace stood in former times. The king was attended by his two uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Northumberland, and several others of the nobility. The commons made their harangue to the king, by their spokesman, a citizen of London, called Simon de Sudbury, a man of sense and oratory. He formed his speech from what the duke of Gloucester had said to them; and, as you have heard that, I need not take more notice of it. The king, having heard it, replied: "Ye commons of England, your requests are great and important, and cannot be immediately attended to; for we shall not long remain here, nor are all our council with us: indeed the greater part are absent. I therefore bid each of you return quietly to your homes, and there peaceably remain, unless sent for, until Michaelmas, when the parliament shall be assembled at Westminster. Come thither and lay your requests before us, which we will submit to our council. What we approve shall be granted, and what we think improper refused. For think not we are to be ruled by our people. That has never been; and we can perceive nothing but what is right and just in our government, and in those who govern under us." Upward of seven instantly replied to the king, and said, "Most redoubted lord, under your grace's favor, your justice is weak, indeed, in the realm, and you know not what behooveth you to know: for you neither make inquiry, nor examine into what is passing; and those who are your advisers will never tell you, for the great wealth they are amassing. It is not justice, sir king, to cut off heads, wrists, or feet, or any way to punish; but justice consists in the maintaining the subject in his right, and in taking care he live in peace, without having any cause of complaint. We must also say that you have appointed too long a day by referring us to Michaelmas. No time can be better than the present: we, therefore, unanimously declare, that we will have an account, and very shortly too, from those who have governed your kingdom since your coronation, and know what is become of the great sums that have been raised in England for these last nine years, and whither they have passed. If those who have been your treasurers shall give a just account, or nearly so, we shall be much rejoiced, and leave them in their offices. Those who shall not produce honest acquittances for their expenditure shall be treated accordingly, by the commissioners that are to be nominated by you, and our lords your uncles."

The king, on this, looked at his uncles to see if they would say anything, when the duke of Gloucester said, "That he saw nothing but what was just and reasonable in the demands they had made: what do you say, fair brother of York?" "As God may help me, it is all true," he replied, as did the other barons who were present; but the king wished them to give their opinions separately. "Sir," added the duke of Gloucester, "it is but fair that you know how your money has been expended." The king, perceiving they were all united, and that his minions dared not utter one word, for they were overawed by the presence of the nobles, said, "Well, I consent to it: let them be sent away; for summer is now approaching, and the time for my amusement in hunting." Then, addressing the Londoners, he added, "Would you have the matter instantly dispatched?" "Yes, we entreat it of you, noble king: we shall likewise beg of these lords to take part, more particularly our lords your uncles." The dukes replied, they would willingly undertake it, as well on the part of their lord and king, as for the country. The commons then said; "We also wish that the reverend fathers, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, be parties." They said, they would cheerfully do so. When this was agreed to, they nominated the lords present, such as the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, sir Reginald Cobham, sir Guy de Bryan, sir Thomas Felton, sir Mathew Gournay, and said there should be from two to four of the principal persons from each city or large town, who would represent the commons of England. All this was assented to, and the time for their meeting fixed for the week after St. George's day, to be holden at Westminster; and all the king's ministers and treasurers were ordered to attend, and give an account of their administrations to the before-named lords. The king consented to the whole, not through force, but at the solicitations and prayers of his uncles, the other lords, and commons of England. It, indeed, concerned them to know how affairs had been managed, both in former times and in those of the present day. All having been amicably settled, the assembly broke up, and the lords, on leaving Windsor, returned to London, whither were summoned all collectors and receivers, from the different counties, with their receipts and acquittances, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS CONDEMN SIR SIMON BURLEY TO BE IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON. SIR THOMAS TRIVET IS KILLED BY A FALL FROM HIS HORSE. SIR WILLIAM ELMHAM IS ACQUITTED OF HAVING TAKEN MONEY FOR THE SURRENDER OF BOURBOURG AND GRAVELINES.

THE assembly of the commissioners of accounts was held at Westminster, consisting of the king's uncles, the prelates, barons, and deputies from the principal towns of England. It lasted upward of a month. Some of those who appeared before it, not producing fair or honorable accounts, were punished corporally, and by confiscation of whatever they possessed.

Sir Simon Burley was charged with defalcations to the amount of

two hundred and fifty thousand francs, notwithstanding he had been tutor to the king, and had assisted him in the government from his earliest youth. When called upon to account for what had become of it, he cast the blame on the archbishop of York and sir William Neville, saying he had never acted but with them and by their advice, and in conjunction with the king's chamberlains, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Robert Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, sir Nicholas Bramber, and others; but those, when examined, excused themselves, and flung the whole fault on him. The duke of Ireland said to Simon privately; "I understand you are to be arrested and sent to prison until you shall pay the sum you are charged with. Do not dispute the matter, but go whither they may order: I will make your peace with the king, though they had all sworn to the contrary. You know the constable of France owes me forty thousand francs for the ransom of John of Blois, and this sum he will shortly pay: I will offer the amount to the commissioners, which, for the moment, will satisfy them: but the king is sovereign; he will pardon you all, for the balances must be paid to him and to none other." "If I did not depend," replied sir Simon Burley, "that you would strongly support me with the king, and assist me personally in this matter, I would cross the sea and go to the king of Bohemia. I should be well received there, and remain for a time until all this bustle were blown over." "I will never forsake you," said the duke of Ireland: "are we not companions, and equally implicated? You must ask time for payment. I know well that you can pay when you please, in ready money, one hundred thousand francs. Do not fear death, for they will never push matters so far as that; and before Michaelmas, things shall have a different turn from what these lords think: let me only once have the king in my power, and I will have him, for all that he now does he is forced to. We must satisfy these cursed Londoners, and put an end to all this discontent they have raised against us and our friends."

Sir Simon Burley put a little too much confidence in these words of the duke of Ireland, and presented himself before the commissioners, when called upon. They said; "Sir Simon, you have been a knight who has done honor to our country, and were greatly beloved by our lord the late prince of Wales. You and the duke of Ireland have been the principal ministers of the king. We have carefully examined all your accounts that have been laid before us, and must tell you, they are neither fair nor honorable, which has displeased us for the love we bear you. We have therefore unanimously resolved that you be sent to the Tower of London, there to be confined until you shall have repaid, in this chamber, according to our orders, the sum you have received for the king and realm, and for which, from the examination of the treasurer, you have never accounted: the sum amounts to two hundred and fifty thousand francs. Now, have you anything to say in your defence?" Sir Simon was much disconcerted, and said; "My lords, I shall willingly obey, as it is proper I should, your commands, and go whither you may please to send me. But I entreat that I may have a secretary allowed me to draw out an account of the great expenses I have formerly been at in Germany and Bohemia, when negotiating the marriage of our king and lord. If I should have received too much, grant me, through the king's grace and yours, that I may have a reasonable time for repayment." "To this we agree," replied the lords; and sir Simon Burley was then conducted to the Tower.

The accounts of sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Elmham were next examined. They were not popular with any of the barons of England, nor with the people, on account of their conduct in Flanders: for it was said no Englishman had ever made so shameful an expedition. The bishop of Norwich and the governor of Calais, who at that time was sir Hugh Calverley, had cleared themselves from any blame: but the charge laid to the two knights, of taking money for the surrender of Bourbourg and Gravelines, prevented them doing the same: and some in England wanted to have their conduct (which has been before related) construed into treason; and the knights had given security for their appearance, when called upon, to the king, his uncles, and the council. This charge was now renewed, and they were summoned before the commissioners. Sir William Elmham appeared; but sir Thomas Trivet did not come, and I will tell you the cause. The same week the summons from the commissioners was brought to his house, in the north, he had mounted a young horse, to try him in the fields. His horse ran away with him over hedge and through bushes, and at length fell into a ditch and broke the knight's neck. It was a pity, and his loss was much bewailed by the good people of England. Notwithstanding this, his heirs were forced to pay a large sum of florins to what was called the king's council; but the whole management was well known to rest with the uncles of the king, and the commissioners they had nominated. For, although the duke of Gloucester was the youngest of the king's uncles, he was the most active in business that concerned the country; and the better part of the prelates, nobles, and commons, looked up to him.

When the composition-money of the late sir Thomas Trivet, who was killed as you have heard, was paid, the blame cast on sir William Elmham was much lightened. His former deeds in the Bordelois, Guienne, and Picardy, where he had displayed much valor in support of England, pleaded for him, having behaved like a gallant knight, so that nothing could be laid to his charge but having taken money for Bourbourg and Gravelines. But he excused himself by saying; "My lords, when any one is placed as we were, in respect to these two towns, it appears to me (from what I have heard sir John Chandos and sir Walter Manny, who had abundance of good sense and valor say,) that when two or three means offer, the one most profitable to ourselves, and that which can hurt our enemies the most, ought ever to be adopted. Sir Thomas Trivet and myself, finding ourselves surrounded, so that succor could no way come to us, and that we should not be able long to withstand their assaults, (for they were such knights and squires as few in England ever saw, and in such numbers, from the account of our herald, as to amount to sixteen thousand men-at-arms, and forty thousand others, while we were scarcely three hundred lances, and as many archers; our town was also so extensive we could not attend to all parts of it, which we soon felt to our cost, for, while we were defending one side, it was set on fire on another,) we became very much confused, which the enemy perceived. And, in truth, the king of France and his council acted handsomely by granting us a truce, for if they had on the morrow renewed their attack, in the situation we were in, they must have had us at their mercy. They honorably treated with us, through the duke of Brittany, who took much trouble on the occasion. We ought to have paid for this, but they gave us money; and instead of being worsted by our enemies, we despoiled them. We certainly overreached them, when they paid us, and suffered us to depart safe and well, carrying away whatever we had gained by this expedition in Flanders. Besides," added sir William, "to purge myself from all blame, should there be in England, or out of England, any knight or squire, except the persons of my lord the dukes of York and of Gloucester, who shall dare to say that I have acted disloyally toward my natural lord the king, or have been any way guilty of treason, I am ready to throw down my glove, and with my body try the event by deeds of arms, such as the judges may assign me."

This speech, and the known valor of the knight, exculpated him, and freed him from all fear of death, which he was in danger of at the beginning. He returned to his estate, and was afterwards a renowned knight, much advanced, and of the king's council. Sir Simon Burley was still confined in the Tower, for he was mortally hated by the king's uncles and the commons of England. The king did everything in his power to deliver him from prison, during the time he resided at Sheene;* but the commissioners, being determined to oppress him, dissembled, and said they could not as yet set him at liberty, for his accounts were not closed. The king, accompanied by the duke of Irreland, journeyed toward Wales, by way of Bristol; and wheresoever he went he was followed by the queen, and all the ladies and damsels of her court.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND HAVING LEFT LONDON, SIR SIMON BURLEY IS BEHEADED, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE KING AND QUEEN. A CHANGE OF THE MINISTRY.

ALTHOUGH the king of England had left London, his uncles there remained with their advisers. You have often heard, that when any disorder is in the head, all the other members of the body are affected by it, and that this sickness must be purged away by some means or other. I say this, because the duke of Ireland was in such favor with the king, that he managed him as he pleased, and governed him at will. Sir Simon Burley was also one of the principal advisers; and between them both they ruled, for a long time, king and kingdom. They were suspected of having amassed very large sums of money, and it was rumored they had sent great part of it for safety to Germany. It had also come to the knowledge of the king, his uncles, and the rulers of the principal towns in England, that great cases and trunks had been secretly embarked from Dover castle in the night-time, which were said to contain this money sent fraudulently abroad by them to foreign countries, in consequence of which the kingdom was greatly impoverished of cash. Many grieved much at this, saying, that gold and silver were become so scarce as to occasion trade to languish. Such speeches increased the hatred to sir Simon Burley, and the commissioners declared they thought he deserved death. In short, they, on finishing his accounts, condemned him to suffer this punishment, instigated thereto by a desire to please the country, and by the archbishop of Canterbury, who related to the lords that sir Simon wanted to remove the shrine of St. Thomas from Canterbury to Dover castle, as he said, for greater security, at the time the French invasion was expected; but it was commonly believed that he meant to seize it, and carry it out of England. Many, now he was in prison, came forward against him; and the knight was so overpowered, that nothing he could say in his defence availed him; so that he was carried forth out of the Tower, and beheaded, as a traitor, in the square before it. God have mercy on his misdeeds! Notwithstanding I thus relate his disgraceful death, which I am forced to by my determination to insert nothing but truth in this history, I was exceedingly vexed thereat, and personally much grieved; for in my youth I had found him a gentle knight, and, according to my understanding, of great good sense. Such was the unfortunate end of sir Simon Burley.

* Richmond.

His nephew and heir, sir Richard Burley, was with the duke of Lancaster in Galicia, when this misfortune befel his uncle, and one of the most renowned in his army, after the constable; for he had once the chief command of the whole army, and instructed sir Thomas Moreaux in his office of marshal; he was likewise of the duke's council, and his principal adviser. You may suppose that, when he heard of the disgraceful death his uncle had suffered, he was mightily enraged; but, alas! this gallant knight died in his bed, in Castille, of sickness, with very many more, as I shall fully relate when arrived at that part of my history.

When king Richard, who was amusing himself in Wales, heard of the death of sir Simon Burley, he was very wroth; for he had been one of his tutors and had educated him; and he swore it should not remain unrevenged, for he had been cruelly put to death, and without the smallest plea of justice. The queen also bewailed his loss; for he had been the principal promoter of her marriage, and had conducted her from Germany to England. The king's council began now to be seriously alarmed, such as the duke of Ireland, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, and sir Michael de la Pole. The archbishop of York, whose name was William Neville, brother to the lord Neville of Northumberland, was dismissed from his office of lord treasurer, which he had held a considerable time, and forbidden, by the duke of Gloucester, if he valued his life, ever again to intermeddle with the affairs of England; but he might retire to his bishopric of York, or to any other part of his diocese, for that of late he had been by far too busy. He was told that, from consideration of his dignity and birth, many things had been overlooked that were highly disgraceful to him; and that the greater part of the deputies from the cities and towns were for having him degraded from the priesthood, and punished in like manner to sir Simon Burley. He soon left London, and went to reside on his bishopric in the north, which was worth to him about forty thousand francs a year. His whole family was much enraged, and thought his disgrace had been caused by Henry of Northumberland, though he was his relation and neighbor.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who was valiant and learned, and much in favor of the king's uncles, succeeded to the treasurership: he was of the family of the Montagues and the earl of Salisbury was his uncle.* The commissioners appointed the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Devonshire, the earl of Nottingham, and the bishop of Norwich, who was called sir Henry de Spencer, the king's council; but the bishop of Winchester retained his office of chancellor, and continued near the person of the king's uncles. The most renowned of the council, after the duke of Gloucester, was sir Thomas Montague, archbishop of Canterbury; and well was he deserving of it, for the great pains he took to reform the abuses of government, and withdraw the king from the management of his minions. He spoke very frequently on this subject to the duke of York, who replied, "Archbishop, matters will, by degrees, turn out differently from what my nephew and the duke of Ireland imagine. But we must wait for a favorable opportunity, and not be too pressing; for what is done in haste is never well done. I agree with you, that if we had not in time taken up this business, the king would have been so governed, that the kingdom must have been ruined. The king of France and his council were well acquainted with our state; and for this did they make such immense preparations, to take the advantage to invade us."

CHAPTER LXXXI.

WHILE THE COUNCIL, ON THE STATE OF THE NATION, IS SITTING AT LONDON, KING RICHARD, BY THE ADVICE OF THE DUKE OF IRELAND, DETERMINES TO WAGE WAR AGAINST HIS UNCLES AND THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS.

In like manner as the king's uncles and the new council of state were devising at Westminster on the means of reforming abuses in the government, and of having the king and realm under their power, the duke of Ireland and his council were plotting day and night how they could keep their places, and destroy the uncles of the king, by means which I will now explain.

When king Richard, accompanied by his queen,† arrived at Bristol, which is a handsome and strong town, he fixed his residence in the castle. Those in Wales, and at a distance, thought he had done so to favor the duke of Ireland, who had caused it to be reported that he intended going thence to Ireland, and to assist him with money to increase his followers, for that had been agreed on by the parliament. It had been ordered that the duke, on setting out for Ireland, where he was to remain three years, should have the command of five hundred men-at-arms and fifteen hundred archers, paid by England, and that money for this purpose should be punctually remitted to him.‡ But the duke had no inclination to go thither; for, as the king was so young, he managed him as he pleased, and, should he leave him, he was afraid the king's affection would be cooled. Add to this, he was so greatly enamored with one of the queen's damsels, called the landgravine, that he could never quit her. She was a tolerably handsome pleasant lady, whom the queen had brought with her from Bohemia. The duke of Ireland loved her with such ardor, that he was desirous of making her, if possible, his duchess by marriage. He took great pains to obtain a divorce from his present duchess, the daughter of the earl of Bedford, from Urban VI., whom the English and Germans acknowledged as pope. All the good people of England were much astonished and shocked at this; for the duchess was grand-daughter of the gallant king Edward and the excellent queen Philippa, being the daughter of the princess Isabella. Her uncles, the dukes of York and Gloucester, were very wroth at this insult; but, notwithstanding their hatred, which he held cheap, the duke of Ireland was so smitten and blinded by his love, he was using every means to obtain a divorce, and had promised the lady he would make her his wife, if he had the king and queen's consent, and a dispensation from Rome, which the pope would not dare refuse him; for his present lady was a Clementist, and the lord de Coucy, her father, had made war in Italy for Clement, against Urban, which inclined the latter not to be over-fond of him, and induced him to listen too readily to the proposals for a divorce. Thus was he urging on matters, according to his promise to the landgravine of Bohemia,-and would not have any connection with his wife by legal marriage. But this duke of Ireland had a mother living, the countess dowager of Oxford, who, so far from approving her son's conduct, greatly blamed him for his follies, saying that he would by them anger Heaven, who would one day punish him severely, when it would be too late to repent. She had the duchess home with her, and gave her as handsome an establishment as she could, so that all who loved the young lady were pleased with this conduct.

In such a situation was the kingdom of England; but, to bring the history to a conclusion, I will continue the subject from the information I then received. You have heard that the duke of Ireland kept close to the king during his residence at Bristol and in Wales, solely occupied night and day with the means of succeeding in his plans. He was assiduous in his attentions to the king and queen, and to all knights and squires who waited on them at Bristol and at the hunts in that neighborhood, to draw them over to his faction; for the king suffered him to act as he pleased.

The duke, during this period, took infinite pains in visiting all the gentlemen near to Bristol, and went frequently into Wales, where he complained to all who would listen to him, that the king's uncles, from their ambition to obtain the government, had driven from the council the most noble and wisest members, such as the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of London, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir John Salisbury, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, and himself; that they had put to death, without any justice whatever, that valiant knight sir Simon Burley; and, if they continued to govern as they had begun, they would soon destroy all England. He repeated this so often, and with such success, that the greater part of the knights and squires of Wales and the adjoining countries believed him. They came to Bristol, and demanded from the king, if what the duke had told them had his approbation. The king replied it had, and begged of them, from their affection to him, to put every confidence in the duke, for that he would avow whatever he should do; adding, that in truth his uncles were too ambitious, and that he had his fears they intended to deprive him of his crown. Those from Wales, who had always loved the prince of Wales, father to the king, having heard of the transactions in London, were firmly persuaded that the king and the duke of Ireland had been wronged, and demanded from the king how he wished them to act. The king answered, "He would gladly see the Londoners, who had been the chief movers in this business, punished and brought to their senses, as well as his uncles." The Welchmen said they were bounden to obey his commands, for he was their king and sovereign lord, to whom, and to none else, they owed faith and homage. They were therefore willing to go whithersoever he would order them. The king and the duke of Ireland were well satisfied with this answer; and the latter, seeing the king take up the matter as personal to himself, was extravagant in his joy, and said to the council, "they could not act better than return to London to show their force, and, by fair or other means, bring the citizens back to their obedience; and he also said, and always represented to the king, that whenever there were so many rulers in a kingdom, it must be its ruin." The king said, "that his opinion was the same, and that, if hitherto he had suffered things to be so carried, he would not any longer, but bring forward such a remedy that other countries should take example from it."

Now, consider in your own mind if I had not good cause to say, that England was, at this period, in the greatest peril of being ruined past recovery. It certainly was, from the causes you have heard; for the king was exasperated against his uncles and the principal nobility of the kingdom, and they were so likewise against him and many nobles of his party. The cities and towns were quarrelling with each other, and the prelates in mutual hatred, so that no remedy for all these evils could be looked for but from God alone. The

* This must be a mistake. In 1381 William Courtney was archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1391 Thomas Fitzallan, son of the earl of Arundel.

† So says Jean Petit, "et la rayne avecques lui."

‡ There is a variation in the copies of the original, as Jean Petit runs thus "When he departed from the king and his uncles, it was agreed with him, that in case he should go on this voyage, he should have, at the charge of England, five hundred men-at-arms and fifteen hundred archers. It was ordered that he should abide there three years, and that he should be always well paid." This reading appears to be simpler than that of the text. See Jean Petit's edition, vol. III. p. 46.

duke of Ireland, when he perceived he had gained the king, and the greater number of those in Bristol, Wales, and the adjoining parts, proceeded to say to the king, "My lord, if you will appoint me your lieutenant, I will lead twelve or fifteen thousand men to London, or to Oxford, which is your and my city, and show my strength to these Londoners and your uncles, who have treated you with such indignity, and have put some of your council to death, and, by fair words or otherwise, reduce them to obedience." The king replied, he was satisfied; adding, "I now nominate you lieutenant-general of my kingdom, to assemble men wherever you can raise them, and to lead them whithersoever you shall think it most for the advantage of our realm, that all may see the whole of it to be our inheritance and right. I order you to bear our banner, guidon, standard, and other our proper habiliments of war, which we ourselves should have done, had we taken the field. I should imagine, that all conditions of men, on perceiving my banners, would flock to enrol themselves under them, and would be fearful of incurring, by a contrary conduct, my displeasure." This speech greatly rejoiced the duke of Ireland

RICHARD II. AT BRISTOL. Designed from Illuminations in the Metrical History of Richard II.—Harleian MS. 1319.

CHAPTER LXXXII

THE KING OF ENGLAND ISSUES HIS ORDERS FOR ALL CAPABLE OF BEARING ARMS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF BRISTOL TO MARCH TO LONDON. SIR ROBERT TRESILIAN, SENT THITHER AS A SPY, IS DISCOVERED, AND BEHEADED BY COMMAND OF THE KING'S UNCLES.

THE king of England issued his summons to many great barons, knights, and squires in Wales, in the country round Bristol, and on the Severn-side. Some excused themselves by sending satisfactory reasons; but others came and placed themselves under the obedience of the king, notwithstanding their conviction that it was impossible to augur anything good from the enterprise.

While this army was collecting, the king and the duke, in a secret conference, determined to send one of their confidential friends to London to observe what was going forward, and, if the king's uncles still remained there, to discover what they were doing. After some consideration, they could not think on a proper person to send on this errand; when a knight, who was cousin to the duke, and of the king's as well as of his council, called sir Robert Tresilian, stepped forth, and said to the duke, "I see the difficulty you have to find a trusty person to send to London: I will, from my love to you, risk the adventure." The king and the duke, well pleased with the offer, thanked him for it. Tresilian left Bristol disguised like a poor tradesman, mounted on a wretched hackney: he continued his road to London, and lodged at an inn where he was unknown; for no one could have ever imagined that one of the king's counsellors and chamberlains would have appeared in so miserable a dress.

When in London, he picked up all the news that was public, for he could not do more, respecting the king's uncles and the citizens. Having heard there was to be a meeting of the dukes and their council at Westminster, he determined to go thither to learn secretly all he could of their proceedings. This he executed, and fixed his quarters at an ale-house right opposite the palace-gate: he chose a chamber whose window looked into the palace-yard, where he posted himself to observe all who should come to this parliament. The greater part he knew, but was not, from his disguise known to them. He, however, remained there, at different times, so long, that a squire of the duke of Gloucester, saw and knew him, for he had been many times in his company. Sir Robert instantly recollected him, and withdrew from the window; but the squire having his suspicions, said, "Surely that must be Tresilian;" and to be certain of it, he entered the ale-house, and said to the landlady, "Dame, tell me, on your troth, who is he drinking above: is he alone or in company?" "On my troth, sir," she replied, "I cannot tell you his name; but he has been here some time." At these words, the squire went up stairs to know the truth, and having saluted sir Robert, found he was right, though he dissembled by saying, "God preserve you, master! I hope you will not take my coming amiss, for I thought you had been one of my farmers from Essex, as you are so very like him." "By no means," said sir Robert: "I am from Kent, and hold lands of sir John Holland, and wish to lay my complaints before the council against the tenants of the archbishop of Canterbury, who encroach much on my farm." "If you will come into the hall," said the squire, "I will have way made for you to lay your grievances before the lords." "Many thanks," replied sir Robert: "not at this moment, but I shall not renounce your assistance." At these words, the squire ordered a quart of ale, which having paid for, he said, "God be with you!" and left the ale-house. He lost no time in hastening to the council-chamber, and called to the usher to open the door. The usher, knowing him, asked his business: he said, "he must instantly speak with the duke of Gloucester, on matters that nearly concerned him and the council." The usher, on this, bade him enter, which he did, and made up to the duke of Gloucester, saying, "My lord, I bring you great news." "Of what?" replied the duke. "My lord, I will tell it aloud; for it concerns not only you but all the lords present. I have seen sir Robert Tresilian, disguised like a peasant, in an ale-house close by the palace gate." "Tresilian!" said the duke. "On my faith, my lord, it is true; and you shall have him to dine with you, if you please." "I should like it much," replied the duke; "for he will tell us some news of his master, the duke of Ireland. Go, and secure him; but with power enough not to be in danger of failing."

The squire, on these orders, left the council-chamber, and, having chosen four bailiffs, said to them, "Follow me at a distance; and, as soon as you shall perceive me make you a sign to arrest a man I am in search of, lay hands on him, and take care he do not, on any account, escape from you." The squire made for the ale-house where he had left sir Robert, and, mounting the staircase to the room where he was, said, on entering, "Tresilian, you are not come to this country for any good, as I imagine: my lord of Gloucester sends for you, and you must come and speak with him." The knight turned a deaf ear, and would have been excused, if he could, by saying, "I am not Tresilian, but a tenant of Sir John Holland." "That is not true," replied the squire; "your body is Tresilian's, though not your dress." And, making the signal to the bailiffs, who were at the door, they entered the house and arrested him, and, whether he would or not, carried him to the palace. You may believe there was a great crowd to see him; for he was well known in London, and in many parts of England. The duke of Gloucester was much pleased, and would see him. When in his presence, the duke said; "Tresilian, what has brought you hither? How fares my sovereign? Where does he now reside?" Tresilian, finding he was discovered, and that no excuses would avail, replied, "On my faith, my lord, the king has sent me hither to learn the news: he is at Bristol, and on the banks of the Severn, where he hunts and amuses himself." "How!" said the duke, "you do not come dressed like an honest man, but like a spy. If you had been desirous to learn what was passing, your appearance should have been like that of a knight or a discreet person." "My lord," answered Tresilian, "if I have done wrong, I hope you will excuse me; for I have only done what I was ordered." "And where is your master, the duke of Ireland?" "My lord," said Tresilian, "he is with the king our lord." The duke then added, "We have been informed that he is collecting a large body of men, and that the king has issued his summons to that effect: whither does he mean to lead them?" "My lord, they are intended for Ireland." "For Ireland!" said the duke. "Yes, indeed, as God may help me," answered Tresilian.

The duke mused awhile, and then spoke: "Tresilian, Tresilian,

your actions are neither fair nor honest; and you have committed a great piece of folly in coming to these parts, where you are far from being loved, as will be shortly shown to you. You, and others of your faction, have done what has greatly displeased my brother and myself, and have ill-counselled the king, whom you have made to quarrel with his chief nobility. In addition, you have excited the principal towns against us. The day of retribution is therefore come, when you shall receive payment; for whoever acts justly receives his reward: look to your affairs, for I will neither eat nor drink until you be no more." This speech greatly terrified sir Robert, (for no one likes to hear of his end,) by the manner in which it was uttered. He was desirous to obtain pardon, by various excuses, and the most abject humiliation, but in vain; for the duke had received information of what was going on at Bristol, and his excuses were fruitless. Why should I make a long story? Sir Robert was delivered to the hangman, who led him out of the palace to the place of execution, where he was beheaded, and then hung by the arms to a gibbet. Thus ended sir Robert Tresilian.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

WHEN THE NEWS OF THE DEATH OF SIR ROBERT TRESILIAN IS BROUGHT TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND SIR NICHOLAS BRAMBER, THEY CONFIRM THE KING IN HIS INTENTION OF MAKING WAR ON HIS UNCLES. THE DUKE OF IRELAND, AS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, LEADS THE ARMY TO OXFORD.

Intelligence was hastily carried to king Richard at Bristol, that sir Robert Tresilian had been put to a shameful death. He took it sorely to heart, and swore things should not remain in the state they were; for that his uncles were conducting themselves ill, and putting to death, without the least plea of justice, his knights and servants, who had loyally served him and the prince his father, plainly showing their intentions were to deprive him of his crown, and that such conduct touched him too nearly not to resent it. The archbishop of York had been the chief of his council for a considerable time, and, being then with the king, said: "My lord, you ask counsel, and I will give it you. Your uncles behave shamefully, and want to make the world believe you have only traitors near your person, and that you take counsel from none but them. Great danger now hangs over the country; for if the commons rise, and the nobility be united, much mischief will ensue. I therefore advise, that you settle all these things by force: you are now in a very populous country: issue your summons for all capable of bearing arms, gentlemen and others, to join you here; and, when they be assembled, march them under the orders of the duke of Ireland, who will gladly take the command, toward London; and let there be no other banners but those with your own arms, to show more distinctly the business is your own. The whole country, on their line of march, will join them, and perhaps the Londoners also, who have no personal hatred to you, who have never done them any injury. All the mischief that could have been done you has already been effected by your uncles. Here is sir Nicholas Bramber, who has been frequently mayor of London, and whom you created a knight for the gallant service he performed in former times;* consult him, for he ought to be well acquainted with the Londoners, being a fellow-citizen, and must, likewise, have some steady friends among them. You run a risk of losing your kingdom from those tumultuous and disloyal proceedings.

The king, on this, turned to sir Nicholas Bramber, and desired him to speak. "My lord," said sir Nicholas, "since you command me, I will speak my sentiments before these lords, according to the best of my judgment. In the first place, I do not believe, nor ever shall, that the majority of the Londoners are wanting in affection to our lord who is present. They greatly loved my lord, the prince his father, of happy memory; and they gave proofs of their loyalty, when the rabble of peasants rose in rebellion: for, to say the truth, had they been inclined to have joined them, there would have been an end of the king and monarchy. The uncles of the king have it now all before them, and laugh at the citizens, whom they make believe whatever they please; for there is no one to contradict them, or to show what falsehoods they daily publish. They have put aside all the king's officers, myself in the number, and replaced them with others of their way of thinking. They have sent the king to a corner of his kingdom; and one cannot suppose any good will follow, for we are perfectly ignorant what their ultimate intentions may be. If matters continue in this state much longer, the king will be driven out of his kingdom; for they act by force, and the king by kindness. Have they not already put to death that gallant knight sir Simon Burley, who had performed such meritorious services beyond sea? and have they not, publicly, imputed to him the greatest falsehoods, which they knew to be untrue, such as, that he intended to deliver to the French the town and castle of Dover, and that, for that purpose, he had caused them to assemble at Sluys and other parts of Flanders? Have they not, also, in despite to the king, disgracefully slain his knight sir Robert Tresilian? and they will treat the rest in the same manner the very instant they can lay hands on them: I therefore advise, that the king use rigorous measures. It is well known throughout England that he is king; that he was educated by our late valiant and good king Edward, at Westminster, who made all his subjects, great and small, swear obedience to him as their king, after his decease, which oath the king's uncles also took. It appears to many, if they dare speak out, that he is not now considered as king, nor does he keep the state or manner of a king; for he is not suffered to act as he pleases: they have only allowed him and his queen a pension, and plainly show them, that they have not sense to govern the realm, and that their whole council is made up of traitors and evil-designing men. I say, therefore, that such conduct is not longer to be borne; and I would rather die than remain in such a state of danger, and see the king thus treated, and ruled as he is by his uncles." The king interrupted him by saying: "What is now doing does not please us; and I tell you, that the advice you have given seems to me both honorable and good for us and for our realm." The conference now broke up; but not before the duke of Ireland was ordered, as king's lieutenant, to march, with all the force he could collect, toward London, to try the courage of the citizens, and see if, by negotiation and the greatest promises on the part of the king, he could not turn them to his faction. It was not long before the duke, with fifteen thousand men, left Bristol on his march to Oxford, where they quartered themselves, and in the country round about. They bore banners and pennons with only the arms of England, for the king would have it known it was his personal quarrel.

News was carried to the dukes of York and Gloucester, that the duke of Ireland was on his march to London with fifteen thousand men; that they were already at Oxford, and that he bore the king's own banners. It was time for them to consider how to act: they summoned all the principal leaders in London for wealth or power to a conference at Westminster, wherein they told them how the duke of Ireland was marching against them with a large force. The citizens, like persons prepared to obey the will of the king's uncles, for they were in truth all so inclined, replied: "Be it so, in God's name: if the duke of Ireland demand battle from us, he shall have it. We will not shut a gate for his fifteen thousand men: no, nor for twenty thousand, if he had them." The dukes were much contented with this answer, and instantly employed numbers of persons to assemble knights and squires from all parts, and archers from the principal towns. Those whom the dukes had summoned obeyed, as was just, for they had sworn so to do. Men came from the counties of Norwich, Kent, Southampton, from Arundel, Salisbury, and the country round London. Many knights and squires came thither also, without knowing whither they were to be sent or conducted.

* Alluding to his conduct at the time Wat Tyler insulted the king in Smithfield.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE DUKE OF IRELAND SENDS THREE KNIGHTS TO LONDON TO LEARN INTELLIGENCE. THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER TAKE THE FIELD AGAINST THE DUKE OF IRELAND AND HIS ARMY.

I will now say something of the duke of Ireland, who had fixed his quarters at Oxford. He had indeed fifteen thousand men, but the greater part had joined him more through constraint than goodwill. The duke, to sound the Londoners, resolved to send thither sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Peter Gouloufre, and sir Michael de la Pole: they were to enter the town by the Thames, and to hoist the king's flag, and observe how the citizens, on seeing it, would act. These three knights, in compliance with the duke's orders, left Oxford with only thirty horse, and rode secretly to Windsor, where they lay that night. On the morrow, they crossed the Thames at the bridge of Staines, and dined in the king's palace at Sheene,* where they remained until late in the evening, when they departed and rode for another of the king's palaces at Kensington, nearer London, three leagues distant, where they left their horses, and, having entered boats, took advantage of the tide, and passed through London-bridge unobserved, for the watch had not any suspicions of their arrival. They entered the Tower of London, and found the governor whom the king had appointed. From him they learnt many things relative to the king's uncles, and what was passing in London. He told them, they had run great risks in coming to him. "How so?" said they. "We are knights attached to the king's person, and may surely lodge ourselves in any of his castles." "You will not find things so," answered the governor; "for though this town and all within it are willing to submit themselves to the obedience of the king, they will only do so as long as he will allow himself to be governed by his uncles, and no longer. What I tell you is for your welfare; and I am bound to advise you, as far as my abilities and understanding will enable me; for I suspect that when day shall return to-morrow, if it please God, and news get abroad that there are arrived in the Tower persons on the part of the king, you will see this castle besieged by the citizens on all sides, who will not depart until they have gained admittance and have seen who are here lodged. Should they find you, they will carry you to the king's uncles, and you may guess what will be the result. I am satisfied they are so much enraged against the duke of Ireland, and the other advisers of the king, that if once they lay hold of you, you will never escape with life. Consider well what I have said, for it is all true."

* Richmond.

The three knights, who thought they should do wonders, were in despair at what they heard: they held a council, and determined to remain where they were until the morrow, but in so secret a manner that none should know of their arrival. The governor loyally promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, and, in their presence, took possession of all the keys that gave admittance. When day came, the three knights held another council, on their future proceedings; and, having well considered their situation, they were afraid of waiting until it should be known they were in the Tower, for they were convinced they would be shut up in it; so that when it was dark, and the tide flowing, they embarked in a large boat, and left the Tower, without having dared to display the king's banners. They slept that night at Kensington, and on the morrow, at daybreak, mounted their horses and rode by Chertsey to Windsor, where they dined and lay. The next day they arrived at Oxford, where was the duke of Ireland and his army: they told all that had passed, which you have heard; and that, although they were received into the Tower of London, they dared not abide there. The duke was mightily cast down on hearing this, and knew not what to say, nor how to act; for he was already sensible that the force he had assembled were not all of the same way of thinking, nor well affected to his cause: not knowing whether to stay where he was or return to the king, he called a council of his knights. The council determined, that since the king had appointed him lieutenant-general, to punish all who were in rebellion, he must keep the field; for, should he act otherwise, he would be greatly blamed, incur the indignation of the king, and prove clearly that he did not think the cause just or good: and that it would be better to risk the event, and die with honor, than show any want of courage. He was advised to inform the king of his situation, and to be thankful he was able to keep his ground without any opposition, for none had hitherto advanced to meet him. The duke sent messengers from Oxford to the king, to signify his situation, and to entreat he would send him more men, which he did.

When the dukes of York and Gloucester heard at London, that the duke of Ireland was at Oxford with a powerful army, they called a council to consider how to act. All the chief lords of their party were present, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Northumberland, and many other great barons, with the whole magistracy of London. It was there resolved (for the duke of Gloucester would have it so,) instantly to prepare and take the field, and that the mayor of London should arm by constablewicks, all such as he might think capable of assisting them; for he declared he would march to meet the duke of Ireland, and fight with him wherever he should find him. The mayor of London was himself a soldier, and he only selected his men from those between twenty and forty years of age; and the lords above mentioned had at least one thousand men-at-arms retainers on them. This army marched from London, and lodged at Brentford and the adjoining villages; on the next day at Colebrook, their force increasing all the way. They followed the road to Reading, to gain a passage over the Thames; for the bridges of Staines and Windsor had, by command of the duke of Ireland, been broken down, by which they had a better and more level country for their march. The duke of Ireland, hearing they were fast approaching Oxford, was much alarmed, and demanded counsel. He was advised to draw up his army in battle-array, with the king's banners displayed in front; and if it pleased God, the day would be his, for he had a good cause. This plan was followed: the trumpets sounded to arm, and march out of Oxford, which was done, and the army drawn up with the king's banners displayed. The day was delightful, and the weather clear and pleasant.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE KING'S UNCLES GAIN A VICTORY OVER THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WHO SAVES HIMSELF BY FLIGHT WITH OTHERS OF HIS ARMY.

News was brought to the duke of Gloucester, who was encamped in a handsome mead along a river that falls into the Thames, three leagues from Oxford, that the duke of Ireland had taken the field, and had drawn up his force in order of battle. The duke was well pleased with this intelligence, and said he would offer him combat, but they must cross the Thames. The trumpets sounded to dislodge, and the army was formed as if for immediate battle. They were within two leagues of the enemy, lying in ambush, until they could cross the river. The duke of Gloucester sent scouts to have the fords examined, who brought word the river had not, for thirty years, been so low as it then was. The scouts after this easily crossed, and advanced to observe the position and countenance of the enemy.

On their return, they said to the duke, "My lord, God and the river are for you: it is so low, it does not reach the bellies of our horses. We have seen the army of the duke of Ireland, which is well and handsomely drawn up. We know not if the king be there in person, but his banners are; and we could not perceive any other banner than those of the king, emblazoned with the arms of England and France." The duke replied, "God assist us! my brother and self have a right to those arms. Let us advance, in the name of God and St. George; for I will have a nearer look at them." His men began their march, and in higher spirits, on knowing the river was so easy to be crossed. The horse passed first, and then the main body. When the duke of Ireland was told that the king's uncles had passed the Thames with their army, and that shortly there must be a battle, he was much frightened; for he well knew, that if he were taken by the duke of Gloucester, he would not accept of any sum for his ransom, but put him instantly to a disgraceful death. He called, therefore, sir Peter Gouloufre and sir Michael de la Pole, and said to them, "My courage entirely faileth me this day; for I dare not abide the event of a battle with the king's uncles, who, if they take me, will put me to a shameful death. How the devil could they have crossed the Thames? This is a bad omen for us." "What do you intend to do?" asked the two knights. "I mean to save myself: do you the same," added the duke, "and the whole army, if it can." "Well," replied the knights, "let us keep on one of the wings, and we shall have two cords to our bow. We shall see how our men behave: if they do well, we will remain, for the honor of the king who has sent us hither: if they be defeated, we can make off, and have the advantage of going whithersoever we like."

This plan was adopted; and the duke changed his horse for a very active one, as did also the knights. They rode round the army, showing a good countenance, and telling the men to behave well: that they should have the day, if it pleased God and St. George, for they had the right; and the quarrel was the king's, which was to their advantage. Thus dissembling, they got out of the crowd, and, making for a corner of the army, formed part of a wing. They had scarcely done so, when the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the other lords, were seen advancing, with banners displayed, and trumpets sounding. The king's army no sooner perceived their array than they were panic-struck, quitted their ranks, and turned their backs; for it was the general report that the duke of Ireland and his friends had fled. All was now in disorder, every one running away for the fastest, without making the smallest defence. The duke and his knights were soon at a distance, for they were not desirous of returning to Oxford.

The duke of Gloucester, on seeing the condition of the king's army, felt compassion, and would not do the ill he might; for he knew the greater part had been assembled through fear, or by the excitement of the duke of Ireland. He therefore said to his men, "Sirs, the day is ours; but I forbid, under pain of death, that any of our enemies be slain, unless he make a defence. If you find knights or squires, take them, and bring them to me." This order was obeyed: few were killed, except in their flight, by riding over or against each other. Sir John, called the Little Beauchamp, and sir John Salisbury, were made prisoners in the pursuit, and brought to the duke of Gloucester, to his great pleasure. The lords marched to Oxford, where they found the gates open; and those who could do so lodged themselves there, though much straitened. When the duke of Gloucester inquired if the duke of Ireland were taken, he was told that he had escaped. The duke remained two days at Oxford, when he gave liberty for the men-at-arms to return to their homes, after having thanked them for their services. He told the mayor of London and the leaders of the bands, that they might now return to London, which they cheerfully did; and thus the expedition ended.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WITH SOME OF HIS COMPANIONS, ESCAPES INTO HOLLAND. THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IS SENT BY THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER TO TREAT WITH THE KING. HE CONDUCTS HIM WITH HONOR TO LONDON.

I will now say what became of the duke of Ireland, sir Peter Gouloufre, and sir Michael de la Pole, on the day on which they had, like their army, saved themselves by flight. In truth, this was wisely done; for, had they been taken, they would have been put to death without mercy. I do not believe they fled to the king at Bristol: if they did, they made no long stay, but hastened out of England as quickly as they could. I heard that they rode through Carlisle to Edinburgh, where they embarked on board a vessel bound for Holland and the Texel, and landed at Dordrecht. They were much rejoiced at thus being in a place of safety; and it was told me, that the duke of Ireland had, for a long time before, made large deposits of money at Bruges, by means of the Lombards, to be prepared for every event; for, though he knew his power over the king of England, he was much afraid of the nobles and the people. During his prosperity he had made very ample provision of money in Flanders and in other places, where he thought he might need it. I heard, also, that the first payment of sixty thousand francs, for the ransom of John of Brittany, was waiting his orders, and the time was nearly elapsed for the receipt of the other sixty thousand francs. He had, therefore, provided himself with money for a long time.

When the duke Albert of Bavaria, who was regent of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, for his brother, count William, then alive, was informed that the duke of Ireland had fled from England, and had taken up his residence at Dordrecht, he mused awhile, and thought it improper he should make any long stay there. He had quitted England as a fugitive, and was in the ill-favor of his cousins-german, the dukes of York and Gloucester, to whom he owed love and affection: he had, besides, behaved shamefully to his duchess, who was the

daughter of his cousin, the princess Isabella of England. In consequence, he sent to tell the duke, that since he had displeased his fair cousins of England, and had broken his marriage to connect himself with another woman, he must instantly leave his country and seek other quarters; for he would never suffer the duke of Ireland to inhabit any town of his. When he received this order, he was much alarmed lest he should be arrested and given up to his enemies, and humbled himself exceedingly to those who brought the order, saying he would cheerfully obey the duke's commands. He instantly directed all his accounts to be settled and paid, and embarked on board a vessel, with attendants, for Utrecht, which is a town solely dependent on its bishop, where he arrived, and tarried there until other intelligence was brought him. We will now leave him, and return to the affairs of England.

When the army of barons had been disbanded at Oxford, I know not if the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the archbishop of Canterbury, did not remain there some days longer; during which time the two knights, sir John Salisbury and the little Beauchamp, were beheaded. After this execution they returned to London, where they stayed some time, expecting to hear from the king; but all they learnt was that he continued in Bristol. It was determined in council at Westminster, through the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, to send a deputation from the chief barons to the king, to remonstrate with him, in an amicable manner, on his opposition to the principal persons of his kingdom, who were naturally bound to guard his honor, and for having placed his confidence in a set of minions; which conduct had nearly lost him his crown. While this was going forward in the council, sir Nicholas Bramber had been taken in Wales, and brought to London. The king's uncles were rejoiced at this, and said they should not wait long, but that he should suffer a similar death to his friends. Sir Nicholas, unable to offer anything to prevent his execution, was led to the usual place, without the town, and there beheaded. He was lamented by some of the citizens, for he had, in former times, been their mayor, and had, during that time, well and honestly governed the city. He had also been of essential service to the king at the time of the peasants' rebellion, by slaying, with his own hand, Lister; which dismayed the insurgents greatly, and put them to flight; and for this the king had created him a knight. He was beheaded like the others, for having too readily put his faith in the duke of Ireland.

The king's uncles, seeing that now all those of the king's council whom they hated, were either dead or had quitted the country, thought it time to put the government on a stable footing; for, notwithstanding they had put to death, or banished, all who were obnoxious to them, they never intended to deprive the king of his crown, but only to reform and regulate his government more to his own and country's honor. They therefere said to the archbishop of Canterbury, "You will go with your state to Bristol, where you will find the king, and remonstrate with him on the affairs of his realm, and the condition they are now in: recommend us to him, and say, that we entreat he will not put any belief in what he may hear to our discredit: for he has too long done so, against his own honor and profit, as well as to the hurt of the kingdom. You will likewise say, that we and the good city of London beg he will return hither, where he will be received with the utmost joy; and we will agree to his having the nomination of his council in any way most agreeable to him. We charge you, however, archbishop, on no account to return without him, for those who are now attached to him will be made discontented. Tell him, also, not to be angered for such traitors as were near his person, who may have been slain or driven out of the kingdom, for by them his crown was in danger of being lost."

The archbishop promised to accomplish the matter as well as he was able, and, having soon made his preparations, set out for Bristol in grand array, such as became so reverend a prelate, and fixed his lodgings in the town. The king lived very privately, for all those who used to be with him were either dead or banished, as you have heard. The archbishop was one whole day and two nights in the town before the king would see him, so sorely vexed was he with his uncles for having driven away the duke of Ireland, whom he loved above all mankind, and for having put to death his chamberlains and knights. At length, he was so well advised that he admitted the archbishop to his presence. On his entrance, he humbled himself much before the king, and then addressed him warmly on the subjects the dukes of York and Gloucester had charged him with. He gave him to understand, if he did not return to London, according to the entreaties of his uncles, the citizens of London, and the greater part of his subjects, he would make them very discontented; and he remonstrated, that without the aid of his uncles, barons, prelates, knights, and commons, from the chief towns, he would be unable to act, or to have any compliance given to his will. This he had been charged to tell him, and likewise that he could not more rejoice his enemies, nor more effectually hurt his country, than by making war on his friends. The young king was inclined to listen to the arguments of the archbishop; but the insult that had been offered him, by beheading those of his council in whom he had no fault to find, was too fresh in his memory for him instantly to comply. Many plans were proposed to him; at last, by the good advice of the queen, and of the most prudent of his counsellors, who had remained with him, such as sir Richard Stenor and others, he restrained his choler, and said to the archbishop, that he would cheerfully accompany him to London. My lord of Canterbury was highly pleased on hearing this; and he gained much honor by having brought matters to so happy a conclusion. The king did not remain at Bristol long after this, but leaving there his queen, set out with his retinue toward London, the archbishop accompanying him. On his arrival at Windsor, he stopped three whole days.

When news was brought to London that the archbishop of Canterbury had so far succeeded in his mission, that the king was on his return to the city, the whole town was rejoiced; and they determined to go out to meet and conduct him, in the most honorable manner, to his palace. The day on which he left Windsor, the whole road from London to Brentford was covered with people on foot and horseback. The dukes of York and Gloucester, and prince John of York, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Northumberland, and many barons and prelates, went, in great state, to conduct the king. They met him within two miles from Brentford, and received him most affectionately, as good subjects should their lord. The king, who had their late proeeedings still rankling in his heart, scarcely stopped when he met them, nor cast his eyes toward them. The person he talked the most to on his road was the bishop of London. On their arrival in Westminster, the king dismounted at his palace, which had been prepared for him. He there partook of wines and spices, as did his uncles, the barons, prelates, and knights, who were entitled to the honor. Several of them now took leave, and those who resided in London went home, but the king's uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole of the council, remained to keep him company, to be on better terms together, and to consult on the affairs of the nation, for they had formed their plans, and were lodged, some in the palace, and others in the abbey.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

THE KING, BY THE ADVICE OF HIS UNCLES AND COUNCIL, SUMMONS THE NOBILITY AND COMMONERS OF THE REALM TO A PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER, AND TO RENEW THEIR HOMAGE TO HIM.

A SPECIAL parliament being ordered to meet at Westminster, all the barons, prelates, knights, and chief citizens from the principal towns, were summoned to attend, and all who held fiefs from the king. The reason for this parliament being made so general, was, that the archbishop of Canterbury had remonstrated in the council, and to the king's uncles, that when they had crowned king Richard, though all who held fiefs under him had made their homage, and held their lands accordingly, he was not of a proper age legally to receive their oaths. A king by right must be twenty-one years of age before he can justly govern the kingdom, and, until that time, should be under the tutelage of his uncles, if he have any, or under those of his subjects the nearest related to him. The archbishop added, that as now the king was of the proper age, he advised, for greater security, all who held any lands under him should renew their homage, and acknowledge him for their lord. This opinion of the archbishop was acceded to by the king's uncles, and was the cause of so general a summons being sent abroad for all persons to attend this parliament. Every one having obeyed, London and Westminster were much crowded.

On the day appointed, the king heard mass royally clothed, with the crown on his head, in the chapel of the palace,* which is very handsome and richly decorated. The archbishop of Canterbury said mass, and performed divine service. He was attentively heard, for he was an excellent preacher. When the service was over, the king's uncles kissed him, in sign of homage, and swore faith and duty to him for ever. Then came the barons, prelates, and all who held anything under him, and with joined hands, as was becoming vassals, swore faith and loyalty, and kissed him on the mouth. It was visible that the king kissed some heartily, others not; for though he checked himself as much as possible, all were not in his good graces; but he dissembled, for he wished not to act contrary to his uncles. If he had possessed the power, he would not have behaved thus, but have wreaked a cruel revenge on those who had, as he thought, so undeservedly put to death sir Simon Burley and his other knights.

The archbishop of York was summoned by the council to attend to do his homage, and purge himself from the things that had been laid to his charge; for he had always been a partisan of the duke of Ireland, and in opposition to the king's uncles. When he received this summons, knowing he was not beloved by the dukes of York or Gloucester, he was fearful of the event, and therefore sent his nephew, the son of lord Neville, to make his excuses. He instantly set out for London, and, on his arrival waited on the king first, to whom he made excuses for his uncle, and performed, as proxy, the homage of the archbishop. The king received his excuses, for he loved this archbishop more than that of Canterbury, and bore him out before the council, otherwise he would have been heavily fined: through attention to the king the council admitted his excuses, and he was suffered to remain in his diocese. For a long time, however, he was

* This chapel was afterwards converted into the house of commons, and continued to be used as such till its destruction by fire in 1834. When it was enlarged for the admission of the members from Ireland on the union, many of the paintings and other ornaments were discovered, and have been engraven and published.

afraid to reside at York, but lived at Newcastle on Tyne, near the castles of his brother Nevile and cousins. Thus were affairs in England; but the king had not for some time the command of his council, which was under the control of his uncles, and the barons and prelates before named. We will now return to what was going forward in Castile and Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL AND DUKE OF LANCASTER [illegible] WHEN DISTRESSED TO CLOSE [illegible] PEOPLE. [illegible] PRISONER OF WAR, [illegible]

It is right, since the matter requires it, that I now say something of the expedition of the duke of Lancaster, and how he persevered in it this season in Galicia. I will continue it from where I left off, as I have a great desire to complete this history.

When the duke and his army had conquered the town and castle of Orense, they halted there four days to refresh themselves, as there were plenty of provisions. On the fifth day, they departed, taking the road to Noya. They quartered themselves, for four days, in a large meadow along the river-side; but the ground was already burnt up by the great heat of the sun, and the water was so bad that the horses would scarcely drink it: many that did so died. Orders were given to dislodge and return to Orense: for the marshals, sir Thomas Moreaux and sir Richard Burley, had declared the castle of Noya to be impregnable but by a long siege, with great expense of money, and many assaults. The duke of Lancaster, likewise, when there, received intelligence of the approach of the king of Portugal and his army, consisting of three thousand spears and ten thousand serviceable men: so that, when the two armies should be united, something essential might be done; for the duke had with him fifteen hundred knights and squires, and six thousand archers. This intelligence greatly pleased the duke; he decamped from before Noya, where he had done nothing, and returned to Orense. He sent for his duchess and ladies, declaring he would there wait the arrival of the king of Portugal.

The king of Portugal and his marshals, having taken possession of Ferrol, marched for Orense to meet the duke of Lancaster. On their road, they came to Ville-de-Padron, which at first showed symptoms of rebellion, but, when the army appeared, they submitted. The king and his army remained in the town and adjoining country fifteen days, and greatly wasted its provisions, notwithstanding a sufficiency came to them from Portugal. Galicia was ruined by these two armies; and the weather was now become so exceedingly hot, that none could venture abroad, after eight o'clock in the morning, without risk of death. While the duke and duchess of Lancaster remained in Orense, their men and horses were suffering greatly for want of forage and water: there were neither fresh grass nor green food, for the ground was too parched for any seeds to spring. The whole country was burnt up; and the English were forced to send their foragers twelve, sixteen, nay twenty leagues, for food for themselves and horses. Consider what their difficulties must have been. The knights and squires of England found the wines so strong and ardent, that they affected their heads, stomachs, and bowels, and they had not any remedy; for there was a great scarcity of good water, to temper them with, or to cool them. Their food was contrary to what they had always been accustomed to; for in their own country they live at their ease, while now they were burnt with external and internal heat. The greatest lords were in the utmost poverty and distress; and such effects as were natural, followed, which I shall relate to you.

The English knights and squires, seeing their difficulties increase, from the scarcity of forage and the extreme heat of the weather, began to murmur and say, "Our expedition seems drawing to a poor end; for we remain too long in one place." "That is true," replied others: "and we have another thing much against us; we have brought women, who only wish to remain quiet; and for one day that they are inclined to travel, they will repose fifteen. It is this which has checked us, and will be our destruction; for if, on our landing at Coruña, we had advanced into the country, we should have succeeded in putting it under our obedience, for none would have dared to oppose us; but these long residences have encouraged our enemies, who have strengthened their strong places, and reinforced their towns and castles with men-at-arms from France; and have also posted them in the narrow passes, and along the rivers, to guard and defend them. They will defeat us without a battle; for they know it would be more to their advantage to decline it. This kingdom of Castille is not so pleasant a country to make war in as France, where there are plenty of large villages, a fair country, fine rivers, ponds, rich pastures, and agreeable and substantial wines for men-at-arms to refresh themselves with, and a sun and climate finely temperate; but here everything is the reverse." "What the deuce," said others, "what business had the duke to bring his wife and daughters with him, since he came hither for conquest? It was quite unreasonable, for they have been a great hindrance to him. It is well known throughout all Castille, that he and his brother are the lawful heirs of the crown, in right of their wives, who were daughters of don Pedro; but, with regard to the conquest or the surrender of any towns, ladies can do but little." This was the language held in different parts of the English army, by many knights and squires when among themselves. They were much rejoiced on learning that the king of Portugal was near at hand; and when he was within two miles of the town, the duke of Lancaster and his knights mounted their horses, and went forth to meet him. There was much apparent joy, and the king and the duke, as well as the English and Portuguese knights, testified great pleasure at meeting. The army of Portugal was behind, under the command of six great barons of that country, namely, Pontasso d'Acosta, Vasco Martin de Merlo, the posdich Dosnedegousse, Salvâse de Merlo, sir Alleyne Pereira, marshal, and Joao Rodriguez de Sâ. Several barons were with the king, whose escort was but three hundred spears. On their arrival at Orense, the king was lodged becoming his state, and much at his ease, and the place was full of horses. The king, duke, and lords, were five days in council, and determined to make an excursion, with the united armies, toward Medina del Campo and Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, and the largest garrison of Frenchmen, were stationed. They were puzzled how to cross the Duoro, which at times is dangerous, and more so in the summer, from the melting of the snows on the mountains, than in the winter, when it is frozen, like all other streams. Notwithstanding this difficulty, they resolved to march to Campo, in the hopes of finding a ford; and orders were issued to the armies to this effect. They were well pleased to receive them, for they had suffered very severely at Orense, and in those parts; and many had been carried off by sickness.

The king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster left Orense together; but their armies were separated, because they were not acquainted, nor understood each other's language, and likewise to prevent any disputes or riots that might fall out between them; for the Portuguese are passionate, overbearing, and not easily pacified, and the English are spiteful and proud. The constables and marshals of each army, when they sent out parties to forage, ordered them to take separate routes. These armies, which were sufficient to combat what force the king of Castille and his allies could bring to the field, continued their march until they came to the river Duoro. This was not easy to pass; for it is deep, with high banks, and full of broken rocks, except at certain bridges, which had either been destroyed, or so strongly fortified and guarded, it was not possible to attempt them with hopes of success. While they were considering how they could cross it, it chanced that sir John Holland, the constable, sir Thomas Moreaux and sir Richard Burley, the marshals, or their foragers, during an excursion, fell in with a squire of Galicia, called Domingo Vargas, who was riding through the country, having passed the river; he knew that all the bridges were broken down, but he was acquainted with a ford that could easily be passed on horseback or on foot; and when he saw the enemy, he had turned back, and was riding for this ford. He was made prisoner, and brought to these lords, who examined him as to a ford; and the constable told him, that if he would show them a safe one, for he had heard there were such, he would not only give him his liberty, but make him a handsome present besides. The squire was not well advised, and too eager to gain his liberty and the constable's gift; he therefore said, that he would show them a place where the whole army might cross in safety. The constable and marshals were so joyful on hearing this, that they sent to acquaint the duke with the good news. The armies followed the vanguard of the constable, which had arrived at the ford. The squire entered the river as their guide; and when they saw there was not any danger, all passed in the best manner they could.

The van, having crossed, halted on the bank to guide the main army over. Sir John Holland kept his promise with the Galician squire, by giving him his liberty and a present; and he instantly set off for Medina del Campo, where the king of Castille then was. It is a handsome and strong city in that country. The duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal rode in company, and came to this ford, which is called Place-ferrade, where the gravel is sound and firm. They crossed without difficulty, as did their armies; the rear division crossed on the morrow, and they all encamped themselves on its banks. News was soon carried to Roales Castrorerís, Medina del Campo, Vilalpando, Saliagan, and to the other towns and castles in Castille, that the English had passed the Duoro, having discovered a ford. They were much surprised, and said they must have been shown it through treachery; for, if it had not been made known by some of the natives, they would never have found it out. There is nothing but what sooner or later is discovered, by servants or otherwise. The lords attached to the king of Castille learnt that Domingo Vargas had pointed out to them this ford; he was instantly arrested, and having acknowledged what he had done, was condemned to death. He was carried to Vilalpando, and there beheaded.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC ADVISE THE KING OF CASTILLE NOT TO RISK A BATTLE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON. A PARTY OF THE ENGLISH SKIRMISH WITH THE GARRISON OF VILALPANDO. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS DISPIRITED BY HIS OWN ILL HEALTH AND THE GREAT SICKNESS OF HIS ARMY.

The king of Castille, on hearing that the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster were fast approaching with so great a force, was much alarmed, and sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac, to whom he said, "I am exceedingly surprised that the duke of Bourbon is not arrived. Our enemies have taken the field, and, if no one oppose them, will destroy my whole country. My subjects are very discontented that we do not offer them combat. Tell me, my fair sirs, how I had best act." The two lords, who from great experience, knew more of arms than the king, and for this had they been sent from France to Castille, replied, "Sir king, depend upon it, the duke of Bourbon will come. On his arrival, we will consider what is to be done; but, until then, do not make any preparations to meet your enemies. Let them make what excursions they please: they keep the field, and we the towns and castles, which are well provided with everything, and garrisoned by good men-at-arms. They are suffering from the heat of the sun and weather, while we enjoy the shade and refreshing breezes. They have found the country wasted, and the further they advance they will have so much the greater scarcity of forage. It was for the chance of their entering your country, that all the small forts have been demolished, wherein the farmers intended placing their wealth. This was, sir king, wisely done; for they would by their means have been enabled to keep possession of those parts where they now are; but at present they can find nothing but what they have brought with them, except the great heat of a burning sun, which you may be assured must soon destroy them. Though all your towns and castles are well provided and garrisoned, we can believe that some may be attacked and won, for that is the delight of men-at-arms. In such way they love to pass their time, and for this do they seek adventures through the world. Do not, therefore, be any way cast down; for in this business, we engage, you shall not suffer any great loss." This speech greatly comforted the king of Castille, and he was well pleased with them, for he felt that what they had said was the truth.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, who, though they kept the field, would have willingly gained some town to refresh themselves; for the foragers could not find anything, and were forced to unite in large bodies for fear of ambuscades. They were so hard pressed, that when, in their excursions, they saw at a distance a large village, they were rejoiced, and cried out, "Come quick: let us hasten to that village, where we shall find enough to forage and enrich ourselves." They hastened their march; but when they arrived, they found only the bare walls: there was neither inhabitants, nor even a dog, nor fowl, so completely had the French ruined this part of the country. They thus lost their time and expectations, and returned to their lords empty-handed. Their horses were in sorry condition from the want of proper food, and they were fortunate whenever they could meet with any green pastures. Some were so feeble they could not advance, and dropt dead on the road, through famine and heat. Their masters were not in a much better condition, from fevers caused by the oppressive heat of the day, and the chill of the nights, without having anything proper to refresh or recover themselves. Thus was it in the duke's army; for the English have a weaker constitution than the Portuguese, who bore all these difficulties without hurt, being hardy and accustomed to the climate of Castille. In this melancholy state were the English: many died of their disorders, more especially such as were not well attended, and had not wherewithal to provide proper remedies.

Sir Richard Burley, sir Thomas Percy, the lord Fitzwalter, sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Thierry and William de Soumain, with two hundred lances of such as were desirous to seek renown, mounted the best horses in the army, with the intent to surprise the French garrison in Vilalpando. They had heard that sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, had with him there, in garrison, some of the ablest knights of France. They left the army one morning, after drinking a cup, equipped like foragers, and came to a small brook that runs below Vilalpando, which they crossed by spurring their horses over. The alarm was soon spread through the town, that the English were at the barriers. You would have seen, had you been there when this was known, knights arming themselves hastily, and advancing toward the lodgings of the constable, servants saddling horses and hurrying with them to their masters. Sir Oliver du Guesclin would have restrained his companions from sallying forth to meet the English, had he been able; but their courage was too impetuous, so out they sallied, gallantly mounted on horses that had been inactive and well fed. Among the first were sir John des Barres, the viscount de Besliere, sir Robert and sir John de Braquemont, sir Peter de Villaines, sir Tristan de la Jaille.

When the English had made their course before the town, they repassed the brook in the same manner as before, and retreated to a large sand bank, when they drew up in handsome array, about three bow-shots distant from the brook. The French knights advanced, shouting their cries, with their spears in their rests; and, when near, the English being prepared, stuck spurs into their horses to meet them. The shock was very great; and several of each side were unhorsed on the sand. This would not have ended so speedily, and other weapons would have been resorted to when the lances failed; but the dust from the movements of the horses, was so great and disagreeable, they could not know each other; their horses were covered with dust as well as themselves; and it was in such clouds that they could not breathe without swallowing large mouthfuls. This caused the attack to cease, and the French and English to withdraw from the combat: the first returned to Vilalpando. There was not any slain, nor much hurt on either side. The English knights went not more than one league beyond Vilalpando before they returned to their army, when they disarmed themselves; for they were seized with fevers and other disorders, which brought them to death's door.

The duke of Lancaster was greatly dispirited, and knew not how to act; for he saw his army daily wasting away, and was grieved to find that the greater and better part were confined to their beds. He himself was so unwell, that if he had not been afraid to dishearten his men, he would gladly have kept his chamber. He addressed himself to the king of Portugal, and desired him to say what, in the present circumstances, should be done; for he was much alarmed at this mortality in his army. The king replied; "That, from appearances, it did not seem probable the Castillians would offer them combat at this season: for they showed more inclination that they should waste themselves and their provision." "How then would you advise me to act?" asked the duke. "I will tell you," answered the king: "as the weather is now so exceedingly hot, I would advise that you march your army into Galicia, and give your men permission to recruit themselves wherever they please; but to return prepared to recommence the campaign in March or April. Endeavor to procure large reinforcements from England, under the command of one of your brothers, and provision in plenty for the winter season. A kingdom is not soon conquered, nor a climate instantly rendered agreeable to the constitution of strangers. Your army will be quartered in the different towns now under your obedience, and will pass their time as they can."

"This may be right," said the duke; "but the consequence will be, that as soon as our enemis shall know we have separated, and are acquainted that you are retired to Portugal with your army, and I with mine to St. Jago or Coruña, they will take the field; for I have heard that the king of Castille has four thousand lances, French and Bretons, and he will collect as many or more, in his own country. Add to this, that the duke of Bourbon is on his march with two thousand men-at-arms, and will be eager to signalize himself on his arrival. Now, consider, should all this force enter Galicia, what is there to oppose it? Before we can collect our men and form a junction, they will have done us considerable damage." "Well, then," replied the king of Portugal, "in the name of God, let us keep the field: my men are fresh and unhurt, and equally willing with myself to abide the event." The conference now broke up; and it was resolved they would wait the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, to see if, when he had joined the Castillians, they would offer them battle. The English and Portuguese desired nothing more eagerly; for the season was passing, and the heat increasing: it was about St John's day, when the sun is at its height, and intolerably hot, especially in Castille, Granada, and countries far to the south. There had not fallen any rain or dew since the beginning of April, so that the whole country was burnt up. The English ate plentifully of grapes wherever they found them; and, to quench their thirst, drank of the strong wines of Castille and Portugal: but the more they drank the more they were heated; for this new beverage inflamed their livers, lungs, and bowels, and was in its effect totally different from their usual liquors. The English, when at home, feed on fresh meats and good rich ale, which is a diet to keep their bodies wholesome; but now they were forced to drink hard and hot wines, of which they were not sparing, to drown their cares. The early part of the night is warm, from the great heat of the day, but toward sunrise, it is very cold, which afflicted them sorely; for they slept without covering, and quite naked, from the heat of the weather, and the wine, so that when morning came they were chilled by the change of the air, which checked all perspiration, and flung them into fevers and fluxes, so as to carry them off instantly to their graves. Thus died very many of the barons and knights, as well as of the lower ranks; for these disorders spared none.

CHAPTER XC.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DISBANDS HIS ARMY. THREE ENGLISH KNIGHTS, HAVING OBTAINED PASSPORTS, WAIT ON THE KING OF CASTILLE, TO NEGOTIATE A RETREAT FOR THE MEN-AT-ARMS THROUGH HIS KINGDOM.

Good or evil fortune depends upon a trifle. You may readily believe that the duke of Lancaster, having gained a footing in Castille, would never have lost, by any defeat in battle, such numbers as he was now daily doing by sickness. He himself was almost dead of the pestilence I have mentioned. Sir John Holland, constable of the army, saw, with great concern, the miserable situation it was in from

this disorder, from which scarcely one escaped; and was forced daily to hear the complaints of high and low, in such terms as these; "Ah, my lord of Lancaster, why have you brought us to Castille? Accursed be the expedition. He does not, probably, wish that any Englishman should ever again quit his country to serve him. He seems resolved to kick against the pricks. He will have his men guard the country he has conquered; but when they shall all be dead, who will then guard it? He shows but poor knowledge of war; for, when he saw that no one came to oppose him, why did he not make an opportune retreat into Portugal or elsewhere, to avoid the losses he must now suffer? for we shall all die of the confounded disorder, and without having struck a blow." Sir John Holland was much hurt on hearing such language, for the honor of the duke, whose daughter he had married; and, as it was increasing, he determined to remonstrate with him on their situation, which he could, from his connection, more freely do than any other. He therefore addressed him; "My lord, you must immediately alter your plans, for your army is wholly laid up with sickness. If any attack should be now made on you, you could not draw any service from it; for the men are all worn down and discontented, and their horses dead. But high and low are so discouraged by this disorder, that I repeat, you must not expect any service from them." "What can I do?" replied the duke: "I wish to have such advice as is reasonable." "My lord," said sir John Holland, "I think you had best give permission for your men to retire whithersoever they please; and I would advise that you yourself go to Portugal, or return to Galicia, for you are not in a state to undergo hardships." "That is well considered," answered the duke: "I consent to what you propose; and you may give our men notice, that I permit them to go into Castille, France, or wherever else they may choose, so they enter not into any treaty with our enemies; for I clearly see this campaign is over. Let them be fully paid for their services as far as our treasury can go, and also for the expenses of their journey, and then make our chancellor deliver them their discharge."

The constable replied, that he would see this done. He ordered the intentions of the duke to be signified throughout the army by sound of trumpet, and gave notice to the captains to come to him with their accounts, when they would be settled and paid, to their satisfaction. This order was agreeable to all, particularly to those who hoped change of air would restore them to health. The barons and knights held a council how they were to return to England: by sea it was impossible, for they had no vessels, and were at a distance from any seaport. They were, besides, so emaciated and weak, from the fevers and fluxes, that they would have been unable to bear a sea voyage. Having considered the matter well, they found they had no other choice than through France; but some said: "How can we go thither? we have enemies in all the countries we must pass. First, there is Castille: we are now carrying on a destructive war against it: then Navarre and Arragon. These two kingdoms are allied, the one to Castille, and the other to France. Arragon has already showed its spite, for the sénéschal of Bordeaux informs us, that since our arrival in this country, he has thrown the archbishop of Bordeaux into prison at Barcelona, who had gone thither to demand from the king the arrears that are due to England. Should we send to ask passports from France, the journey would take up too much time; and, when our messenger should be arrived, we have little hopes that the king, who is young, or his council, would grant them; for the constable of France, sir Oliver de Clisson, hates us mortally, and this is increased by his imagining his enemy, the duke of Brittany, intends turning to England. Others, who were farther sighted, and of more sense, said; "Let all doubts be laid aside. The best thing we can do is to try the king of Castille, who may perhaps not only allow us to pass peaceably through his country, but also obtain for us the same permission from Arragon, France, and Navarre."

This measure was adopted, and a herald, called Derby, sent for, to whom were given letters addressed to the king of Castille. The herald set off, and followed the road to Medina del Campo, where the king then resided. When in his presence, he cast himself on his knees and presented his letters, which were written in French. When the king had read them, and understood their meaning, he smiled, and, turning to a knight who was the steward of his household, said; "Take care of this herald: he shall have his answer to-night, that he may return early to-morrow morning." The king entered his closet, and sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac, to whom he showed the letters, and asked what answer he should send. The substance of these letters was, in a few words, as follows. Sir John Holland, constable of the English army, desired the king of Castille to send passports for three knights to come to him and return, that they might have a conference with him. The two knights replied; "It will, my lord, be right that you grant these passports, for then you will know what it is they want." "I agree to it," said the king, and instantly ordered a passport to be drawn out for the coming and return of six knights, if it were agreeable to the constable, with their attendants. When this was sealed with the great seal, and with the king's signet, it was given to the herald, and twenty francs with it: having received the whole, he returned to the duke of Lancaster and the constable at Orense.

The herald gave the constable the passport, who appointed sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Thomas Moreaux, and sir John d'Ambreticourt, embassadors to the king of Castille. They set off as soon as possible, for there was much want of physicians and medicines, as well as of fresh meat for the numerous sick who were scattered in different parts. These embassadors passed through Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin received them handsomely, and entertained them at supper. On the morrow, one of the knights called Tintemach, a Breton, was their conductor, to secure them against the numerous parties of Bretons which were abroad. They arrived safely at Medina del Campo, where they found the king impatient to know what had brought them thither. When they had refreshed and dressed themselves at a hotel that had been prepared for them, they were conducted by some knights of the household to the presence of the king, who apparently received them with pleasure. They presented him letters from the constable, but from none else; for the duke of Lancaster excused himself, and would not at this time, nor on such a subject, write to him.

The knights and squires of France were not present at this interview, although they were of the king's privy council, and nothing was done respecting the war without their consent. The embassadors addressed the king, saying: "Sir king, we are come hither on the part of the constable of the army the duke of Lancaster has brought from England. But unfortunately very great sickness and mortality have befallen it: the constable therefore entreats, that you would have the goodness to open your country and towns to such as may desire to try change of air for the recovery of their health, if it may be recovered, and to enter your towns to recruit their strength; and if some should wish to return to England by land, he begs you would interest yourself with the kings of France and Navarre, that they may, at their own costs, freely pass through their territories, in their way home. This is the sole object of our mission, and the request we have to make you." The king very graciously replied; "We will consider what will be proper for us to do, and give you our answer." The knights replied, they were satisfied.

CHAPTER XCI.

THE ENGLISH EMBASSADORS OBTAIN PASSPORTS FROM THE KING FOR THEIR SICK TO PASS IN SAFETY THROUGH CASTILLE, OR TO REMAIN THERE TO RECOVER THEIR HEALTH. MANY KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES DIE IN CASTILLE. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DANGEROUSLY ILL AT ST. JAGO.

The English knights, on taking leave of the king, went to their lodgings, where they remained until the third day, when they returned to the palace. The king of Castille was much rejoiced at their request; for he saw there would be an end to the war for a long time, when his enemies solicited leave to march peaceably through his kingdom. He was determined what answer to make, though his council had advised otherwise; and, wishing to pay due honor to the French knights, he sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac. Having explained to them the object of the English knights' embassy, and the request of the constable, he demanded from them how he should act; and desired sir Walter to give him his opinion. Sir Walter was unwilling to speak before the members of the council; but, as the king would have it so, he said; "Sir, matters are come to the conclusion we always foretold, that your enemies would be worn down and destroyed, without striking a blow. Since their sick so humbly ask assistance and comfort in your country, you should grant their request; but on condition that, if they recover, they do not return to the duke of Lancaster or to the king of Portugal, but continue their road straight homeward, and that they engage not to bear arms against you, nor the realm of Castille, for the term of six years. We also hope you may be successful in obtaining leave for them to pass with safety through Navarre and France." The king was well contented with this advice, for it was what he was inclined to; and he was indifferent what terms were made, so that he got rid of the English. He replied to sir Walter, "You have loyally counselled me, and I thank you: it shall be done as you propose."

The English knights were sent for, and conducted into the presence-chamber, where were the king and his whole council. The bishop of Burgos, as chancellor, and a great orator, thus addressed them: "Ye knights of England, attached to the duke of Lancaster, who have been sent hither by his constable, listen to the answer the king gives to your requests. Out of his great pity and goodness he is desirous of doing to his enemies all the kindness in his power. On your return to the constable, you will tell him from the king of Castille, that he may publish, by sound of trumpet, throughout his army, that this country is open and ready to receive, sick or well, all knights, squires, and their attendants, who may be desirous of coming hither, on condition that, at the gates of whatever city or town they may wish to enter, they there lay aside their armor and arms, when they will be conducted, by those ordered for the purpose, to hotels prepared for them. They will then have their names written down and delivered to the governor, in order that those who may have resided in any towns may not, on any pretext whatever, return to Galicia or Portugal, but quit the country as soon as may be. In addition, the king of Castille engages to obtain a safe passage for such as may intend to go to Calais, or any other seaport they may choose, in Brittany, Saintonge, Normandy, or Picardy, through the kingdoms

of France and Navarre. It is the king's command, that those knights and squires, of whatever nation they be, who shall undertake this journey, do not bear arms against the kingdom of Castille, under any pretence, for the space of six years: this they will solemnly swear to observe at the time the passports are delivered to them. You will carry with you all these conditions, fairly written, to the constable, and to your companions, who have sent you hither."

The knights thanked the king and his council for the answer they had received, but added, "They would not say that all the conditions should be accepted: if they were not, they would send back their herald; and should he not return, they might conclude the whole were accepted." "We are satisfied," replied the council. The king withdrew to his closet; but sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac remained with the knights, and conducted them to a handsome apartment where a dinner was provided for them. They all dined together: when the dinner was over, they partook of wines and spices in the king's closet, and then took their leave, as their passes were ready for them. On their return to their hotel, they instantly mounted their horses; for the king's harbingers had supplied them with all things at his expense, and, leaving Medina, they rode to Vilalpando, and lay at Noya. The next day they came to Orense, where they found the constable. During the time they had been on this embassy, the lord Fitzwalter,* one of the greatest barons in the duke's army, had died: he was a valiant knight, and much lamented; but none can strive against death. His obsequies were very honorably performed, and the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster attended them.

The three knights waited on the duke, to show him their papers, and relate what they had seen and heard. Some said the conditions were hard; but others denied it, and said they were courteous enough, considering the situation and danger they were in. It was known in the army, that the duke would discharge all who desired it, and that they might enter Castille with safety. Those who felt ill or feeble, and wished to change the air, took leave of the duke and constable, and left the army as soon as they were able; but, before their departure, many received their whole pay in hard money, others had sufficient security for it, so that they were all well contented. Some went to Vilalpando, others to Ruelles, to Noya, to Medina del Campo, to Caleforis, or to St. Phagon. They were everywhere well received, and had lodgings found them, and had their names written down and given to the different governors in the manner I have mentioned. The greater part of the nobility went to Vilalpando, because it was garrisoned by foreigners, Bretons, French, Normans, and Poitevins, under the command of sir Oliver du Guesclin. The English had more confidence in those I have named, and with reason, than in the Castillians.

Thus was the expedition of the duke of Lancaster put an end to, and every one sought the best he could for himself. You may suppose that this was a bitter disappointment to the duke, for he saw all his ambitious expectations annihilated: he bore, however, his misfortunes like a gallant prince as he was, for he perceived he could not any way amend it. The king of Portugal, finding the business was over, dismissed his army, retaining only three hundred spears, and left Orense, with the duke of Lancaster, who returned with his duchess to Saint Jago de Compostella. The king remained there with them four days: on the fifth he departed, with all who had accompanied him, for Oporto, where his queen resided.

I must now relate what befel many of those knights and squires who, on leaving the duke, had retired into Castille, and were lodged in different towns. Those who had been afflicted with the disorder, notwithstanding they had changed the air and medicines, could never recover, and several died in Vilalpando. Many barons and knights of England died in their beds to the great loss of their country, while the king of Castille was obtaining them passports to travel through Navarre and France; but the distance, and other obstacles delayed the accomplishment. Three great and powerful barons died at Vilalpando; sir Richard Burley, who had been chief marshal of the army, the lord Poinings,† and sir Henry Percy, cousin-german to the earl of Northumberland. Sir Maubrun de Linieres died at Noya: he was a valiant and able knight from Poitou. Lord Talbot,‡ a great baron in Wales, died at Ruelles: and of this pestilence there died, in different places, twelve potent barons, full eighty knights, and two hundred squires, all gentlemen. Consider what an unfortunate loss this was, and to be sustained without having a battle or striking a blow. Of archers and other men, upward of five hundred died; and I was told by an English knight with whom I conversed, on his return through France, whose name was sir Thomas Queensbury, that of fifteen hundred men-at-arms and about four thousand archers whom the duke of Lancaster had brought with him from England, not one-half ever returned home.

The duke of Lancaster fell dangerously sick, and became very low-spirited, at Saint Jago. He was so ill, that it was frequently reported through Castille and France that he was dead: indeed, he very narrowly escaped. Thierry de Soumain, who was of great valor, and squire of the body to the duke, was attacked by this disorder, and died at Betancos. He was born in Hainault, and his death was much bewailed. His brother William continually attended him during his illness, by which he ran great risk of his life. You must know, that there were none so bold, so rich or so fair, but were afraid, and were daily expecting death. The disorder solely attacked the duke's army, for the French were no way affected.

This caused great murmurings among them and the Castillians: they said: "The king allows these English to recruit themselves in his towns, which may cost us dear by their bringing the disorder among us." But others replied: "They are Christians like ourselves, and we ought to have compassion on each other." True it is, that at this period a French knight died in Castille, who was greatly lamented: for he was courteous, gallant, and bold in arms: his name was sir John de Roye, and he was brother-german to sir Tristan, sir Reginald, and sir Lancelot de Roye. I will relate the cause of his death. While in garrison in a town of Castille, called Segbonne, he had an imposthume in his body. Being young and lusty, he paid no attention to it, and one day mounting his courser, in galloping him over the plains, this imposthume broke. On his return, he was laid on the bed, and all seemed well, but on the fourth day he died. There were very great lamentations made after him by all his friends: he was deserving of them for his amiable character and gallantry in arms.

CHAPTER XCII.

SIR JOHN HOLLAND TAKES LEAVE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AND RETURNS WITH HIS LADY, THROUGH CASTILLE, NAVARRE, AND BAYONNE, TO BORDEAUX. SIR JOHN D'AMBRETICOURT GOES TO PARIS, TO ACCOMPLISH A DEED OF ARMS WITH THE LORD BOUCICAUT.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disorder was so very infectious that the greater part of the English fled from it, sir John Holland and several knights and squires remained with the duke. The knights, seeing there was an end to the war, were impatient to change the air, and said to the constable: "Sir, permit us to set out on our return to Bayonne or Bordeaux, to escape the effect of this pestilence, for our lord of Lancaster desires it. When he shall wish to have our services, he can easily so do by writing his commands; and we shall serve him more effectually when we have recovered our health, than in the state of languor we now fatally experience." They repeated this so often, that sir John Holland told the duke of their discontents. The duke answered: "Sir John, I am willing that you and such knights as choose, set out on your return home, and that you take all our people with you. Recommend me to my lord the king, and salute from me my brothers, and such and such persons," whom he named. "I will cheerfully do so," replied the constable; "but my lord, are you aware, that though the council of Castille has handsomely allowed our sick to enter any towns they may please for the recovery of their health, they must not, when well, return to you in Galicia, nor in Portugal? And if we pass through France, in our road to Calais, the French knights of the council of Castille have conditioned that we do not arm against France for the space of six years, unless the king of England command in person."

"Sir John," said the duke, "you must know that the French, whenever they have an opportunity, will take every advantage over us. But I will tell you how you shall act. You will pass through Castille in a courteous manner, and, when you shall be on the frontiers of Navarre, send to the king: he is our cousin: formerly we were strongly united, and the connection is not broken; for, ever since we bore arms for him in his war against our adversary of Castille, we have constantly kept up a mutual correspondence, like cousins and friends. We have never had any quarrel, nor have we, like the French, made war upon him. For these reasons, he will readily grant permission for you and your men to pass through his country. On your arrival at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, take the road through Biscay to Bayonne: that is our inheritance: and thence you may go to Bordeaux without any danger from the French, to refresh yourselves. When recovered, you may there embark, traverse the deep, and land in Cornwall, or Southampton, as the wind may be favorable." Sir John replied, he would punctually follow the plan he had laid down, and began to make his preparations accordingly. It was not long after this that the constable, with all the men-at-arms and others, took their departure; and the duke and duchess remained at Saint Jago, attended by their household only. Sir John Holland carried his lady with him, and arrived at the city of Zamora, which is large and handsome, where he met the king of Castille, sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac. They politely received him and his company, as lords do when they meet. In truth, the king was more rejoiced at the departure of the English than at their arrival; for it seemed clear to him that the war was completely at an end, and that the duke of Lancaster would never be able to bring again so large a force to Castille from England, for he was well informed how much that country was disunited within itself.

When the English, who had retired to the towns in Castille for

* "Lord Fitzwalter." See Dugdale, who mentions his gallantry in the attack on the block-house before Brest, but omits taking notice of his death in Spain. Indeed, he only says, that, "he departed this life the year ensuing (10th Richard II.) on a Wednesday preceding the feast of St. Michael. This does not tally with the season of the year when the heats are so great in Spain. † "Lord Poinings."—See DUGDALE.

‡ This must be a mistake, for Lord Talbot did not die until the 20th Richard II.—DUGDALE.

the recovery of their healths, heard that sir John Holland was on his march with the remnant of the army homeward, they were greatly rejoiced, and made instant preparations to join him. Among the number were, the lord de Chameaux,* sir Thomas Percy, the lord de Leluyton,† and the lord Bradestan, with many more, to the amount of a thousand horse. Those that were sick looked on themselves as half recovered the moment their hopes were raised of returning to England, so much had they of late suffered.

When sir John Holland took leave of the king of Castille, he showed to him and his barons much affection, and gallantly presented them with handsome mules; he likewise ordered all the expenses of their journey to be defrayed. On their departure, they took the road to St. Phagon, where they rested three days: they were well received in all places they passed; for they were accompanied by some knights of the king's household, who paid for whatever they wanted or wished. They continued their route until they were out of Castille, and arrived at Najarra, where the famous battle had been fought, then they proceeded to Pamiers‡ and Logrono, where they halted: for they were uncertain if the king of Navarre would allow them to pass through his kingdom.

They deputed to him two knights, whose names were sir Peter Bisset and sir William Norwich, who found the king at Tudela. They had an interview with him, and managed so well, they obtained permission to pass, on paying for whatever they should want. When the knights returned, they left Logrono for Pampeluna, and passed the Pyrenées at Roncesvalles: they then quitted the road for Béarn, and took that through Biscay, for Bayonne, where they arrived. Sir John Holland and his countess remained there a considerable time, but several of his countrymen continued their route to Bordeaux. Thus ended this expedition of the duke of Lancaster.

It happened, during the most active part of the campaign in Castille, when knights and squires were eager after adventures and deeds of arms, that the lord Boucicaut had taken the field, and had sent a herald to demand from sir John d'Ambreticourt three courses with spears on horseback. Sir John had agreed to meet him, with the addition of three courses with daggers, and the same with battle-axes, all on horseback. Sir John, having so readily assented, sought for him everywhere; but I know not for what reason he had not advanced to that part of the country. I do not, however, say, nor mean to say, that the lord Boucicaut was not equal to such a challenge, nor even to one of more hardy adventure. When sir John d'Ambreticourt was at Bayonne, with sir John Holland, he thought much on this challenge, which, having accepted, he considered himself bound to accomplish; and that he could not honorably leave France without doing so, lest the French might say he had returned to England dishonorably. He consulted his companions, but especially sir John Holland, how to act. He was advised to pass through France, as he had a good passport, which the duke of Bourbon had obtained for him, and go to Paris in search of the lord Boucicaut: he might hear of him on his road, or at Paris, and the matter would be settled to his honor. This advice being agreeable to him, he departed, and took the road through the country of the Basques, and came to Orthès in Béarn, where he found the count de Foix. The count received him handsomely, detained him some short time, and, on his going away, presented him with two hundred florins and a very fine horse. Sir John d'Ambreticourt continued his road through Béarn, Bigorre, the Toulousain, and Carcassonnois. He was accompanied by William de Soumain and other squires from Hainault, who were returning to their own country. On their arrival at Paris, he learnt that the king was at that moment in Normandy, and the lord Boucicaut, as they said, in Arragon. Sir John, to acquit himself honorably, waited on the principal barons of France that were then at Paris, and having staid there eight days to amuse himself, he continued his journey to Calais, and those from Hainault went home. Thus were the different captains of the army of Castille separated.

CHAPTER XCIII.

THE DUKE OF BOURBON, ON LEAVING AVIGNON, CONTINUES HIS MARCH TO BURGOS, WHERE HE MEETS THE KING OF CASTILLE. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, BEING INFORMED OF THIS, ADDRESSES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL. THE DUKE OF BOURBON, AFTER A SHORT STAY, TAKES LEAVE OF THE KING OF CASTILLE, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.

The duke of Bourbon, who had been nominated commander-in-chief of the French in Castille, was duly informed of everything that was passing; but, had he imagined the king of Castille had been so much pressed, he would have hastened his march: for he had taken a long time on his journey, and, besides, had followed a round-about road. He first went to Avignon, to visit the person who styled himself pope Clement, where he staid some time, then to Montpelier, where he halted five days, and as many at Bezieres and Carcassonne; from thence he went to Narbonne and Perpignan, and entered Arragon; for he was desirous of seeing the young king of Arragon and his cousin, the lady Jolante de Bar. The duke continued his journey to Barcelona, where he met the king and queen of Arragon, with a numerous body of earls and barons of the country, who had come thither to receive and feast him. When he had been thus entertained for the space of six days, he departed, and went to Valencia. It was there he first heard that the English army had retreated, and that sir John Holland had led the greater part into Navarre; that there had been a great mortality among the English; and that his cousin, the duke of Lancaster, lay dangerously ill at Saint Jago: the report was, that he was actually dead. Notwithstanding this intelligence, which rendered his march useless, he continued advancing, and informed the king of Castille of his arrival, who was much rejoiced thereat, and appointed Burgos for their place of meeting. The king ordered all things to be properly prepared in that city for his reception, and went thither; for many of the French, who were with him, were anxious to see the duke of Bourbon. The duke, having passed Valencia and Saragossa, entered Castille and came to Burgos. He was most kindly received by the king, barons and prelates of the realm. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Passac, sir John des Barres, sir John and sir Reginald de Roye, and several knights of France, were present, who had left their garrisons to meet the duke of Bourbon. They had no longer any fears of the English or Portuguese, for they had all retreated, and the English had already given up those towns they had conquered in Galicia; for they knew that, as their army had left the country, they could not withstand the power of France.

The news was carried to Galicia, that the duke of Bourbon was arrived in Castille, with a large body of men-at-arms from France; and, as it was spoken of, this force was multiplied to more than double its number. The country, at first, was alarmed lest the duke of Bourbon should march thither to reconquer such towns as had surrendered; and though the duke of Lancaster was with them, and comforted them as much as he could, they could not get rid of their fears. When the duke of Lancaster heard his cousin, the duke of Bourbon, was with the king of Castille at Burgos, he instantly sent to the king of Portugal, to entreat he would not disband his army; for he knew not what the French might intend, now the country was in so defenceless a state. The king of Portugal, having dismissed his army, was desirous to oblige the duke, from the connection between them, and left Lisbon for Coimbra, whence he issued a summons for all men-at-arms instantly to prepare themselves and march to Oporto, to the assistance of the duke of Lancaster, whose illness would not suffer him to take the field in person, although he was daily recovering his health.

The duke of Bourbon remained with the king of Castille at Burgos, where he received the greatest honors from the king, the barons and lords of the realm. Many councils were held, as to what they should now do: whether to enter Galicia or return to France. The king and his ministers saw very clearly which was most to their advantage, and said, when together, "Our country is wasted and ruined by the French; and although they have defended it against the English, we have paid dear enough. It will be just we thank the duke of Bourbon for the trouble he has had in coming thither, and entreat him, through affection to us, to withdraw his men, for there was not now any appearance of war to detain them; that as for Galicia, they could invade and conquer that province themselves, whenever they pleased, as it was a trifling matter." The king's ministers added: "If we keep these men, they will expect pay, and, if that be not given to them, they will rob and plunder the country. There are, already, many discontents on this subject; and it behooves us to dismiss them in a handsome manner." This measure was adopted; for the king knew well that his kingdom could not be hurt, without his suffering from it. The archbishop of Burgos therefore, in the presence of the king and many knights from France, proposed the matter to the duke of Bourbon. The duke, as well as his knights, instantly agreed to it; for they most certainly preferred returning to France, which is a different country in all respects from Castille, and gave their orders accordingly. The duke of Bourbon, though he came the last, was the first to return, and declared his intentions were, to pass through Navarre, that his people might make preparations for so doing. On taking his leave of the king, very rich presents were made him: he might have had more, had he chosen it but he refused several that were pressed on him, and accepted only mules, horses, and dogs called Allans* in Castille.

Proclamation was made for all persons to leave Castille and return to France, according to the orders which had been given by the commander-in-chief; but sir Oliver du Guesclin and the marshal, with about three hundred lances, Bretons, Poitevins and Saintongers, were to remain behind. The duke of Bourbon, having taken leave of the king, queen, and barons, was escorted as far as Logrono, when he entered Navarre. Wherever he passed, he was most honorably received, for the duke was courteous, gallant, and much renowned. The king of Navarre entertained him very kindly, and showed not any appearance of the hatred he bore to the king of France for having seized his inheritance of the county d'Evreux in Normandy. He knew that the present king, who was so nearly related to the duke of Bourbon, was no way to blame, for at the time he was an infant. He mentioned his complaints in an amicable

* "Lord de Chameaux." Q. Chymwell.
† "Lord de Leluyton." Q. Some copies read Helmson. ‡ "Pamiers." Q.

* "Allan—a kind of big, thick-headed and short-snouted dog; the breed whereof came first out of Albania, old Epirus."
"Allan de boucherie, like a mastiff—Allan gentil, somewhat like a grayhound—Allan sautre, a cur to bait wolves," &c.—COTGRAVE'S *Dictionary*.

manner to the duke, and entreated him to mediate between him and his cousin of France, for which he should hold himself much obliged. The duke promised to use his endeavors; and on this they parted, and the duke continued his journey with his men-at-arms peaceably through Navarre, and, having crossed the mountains at Roncesvalles and traversed the country of the Basques, entered Béarn at Sauveterre.

CHAPTER XCIV.

THE COUNT DE FOIX RECEIVES THE DUKE OF BOURBON MOST MAGNIFICENTLY, AND MAKES HIM HANDSOME PRESENTS. THE MEN-AT-ARMS WHO WERE UNDER SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC SACK THE TOWN OF ST. PHAGON, ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM CASTILLE. THE KING IS VERY WROTH FOR THIS AGAINST THE TWO CAPTAINS WHO HAD REMAINED WITH HIM.

Count Gaston de Foix was well pleased, on hearing the duke of Bourbon was at Sauveterre. He summoned at Orthès, where he resided, a gallant company of chivalry, and set out with a grand array of five hundred knights and squires excellently mounted. They had advanced two leagues before they met the duke, who was likewise attended by a large company of knights and squires. On their meeting, they embraced and showed every token of friendship, such as well-educated princes know how to do. After they had conversed together a short space, as I was informed when at Orthès, the count de Foix withdrew with his company into the plain, but the duke remained where they had met. Then three knights, sir Espaign de Lyon, sir Peter Campestan and sir Menault de Nouailles, advanced to the duke and said, "My lord, we come to offer you a present from the count de Foix on your return from Castille, as he knows you have been at a heavy expense. He first welcomes you to his country of Béarn, and presents you with eight thousand florins, this mule, two coursers and two palfreys." "My fair sirs," replied the duke, "I am very much obliged to the count de Foix. With regard to the florins, we cannot receive them; but as for the rest we accept them with great pleasure." The florins were therefore returned, and the horses and mule kept. Shortly afterwards, the count placed himself beside the duke, and conducted him, under his pennon, to Orthès, when he was lodged in the castle, and his attendants in the town.

The duke of Bourbon remained for three days at Orthès, magnificently entertained with dinners and suppers. The count de Foix showed him good part of his state, which would recommend him to such a person as the duke of Bourbon. On the fourth day he took his leave and departed. The count made many presents to the knights and squires attached to the duke, and to such an extent that I was told this visit of the duke of Bourbon cost him ten thousand francs. The duke took his road to France by Montpelier, the city of Puy, and county of Forêts, of which he was lord in right of his duchess. Though the duke of Bourbon had thus left Castille, the men-at-arms under sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were not impatient to do so. They were upward of three thousand spears and six thousand others, who in small parties were daily quitting the country. Many of them, having expended their pay, and being weary of the war, set out on their return ill mounted and in rags, so that the meeting them was unfortunate, for they dismounted such as were on horseback, and made war on all passengers and on whoever had remained in the open country, whether churchmen or not, and plundered them, under the pretext that the king of Castille had not given them their pay, and that they had been ruined by the war. They said they would pay themselves, and all towns not well inclosed were under great alarms. Every place shut its gates against them, for whatever they could find was seized on unless well fought for. Such knights and squires as returned through Foix, and waited on the count, were well received by him, and received magnificent presents. I was told that this expedition, including the going to Castille and return, cost the count de Foix, by his liberalities, upward of forty thousand francs.

After the departure of the duke of Bourbon, an accident befel the town of St. Phagon, that I am about to relate, which caused the deaths of five hundred men. You must know, that when sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac first came into Castille, their force, which was very considerable, quartered themselves over the country near St. Phagon, which is rich, and abundant in all sorts of provision. Among these men-at-arms were many Bretons, Poitevins, Saintongers, who, riding first to St. Phagon, entered the town in parties of six, ten, fifteen and twenty, so that at last they amounted to more than five hundred, including servants. As they entered, they lodged themselves, and began to pillage and pack up every valuable they could find. The inhabitants, noticing their conduct, secretly closed their gates, that no more should enter; and, when these strangers thought to repose themselves, the townsmen cried "To arms!" and entering the chambers where they lay, slew them without pity or mercy: happy were they who could escape, for they murdered upward of five hundred. News of this was brought, in the morning, to the French lords quartered near the town, and they held a council to consider how they should act. They thought it improper at the moment to retaliate on them for this conduct, for if they should begin by burning towns and villages, the whole country would rise against them, to the great joy of their enemies; but they determined that, when the expedition should be ended, and they on their return they would then talk to them, and make them pay severely.

When this army was on its return to France, which included all except those who remained with sir Oliver du Guesclin, they said among themselves: "Our arrival at St. Phagon cost us dear, but they shall fully repay us on our return." They were all of this mind, and, having assembled about one thousand, they entered the town, as there was neither guard nor watch; for the townsmen had forgotten what had passed, and hoped the French had done so likewise, and that no more quarrels would happen between them. It was not so, to their great loss; for, when they thought themselves secure, the cry of "To arms!" resounded from more than one hundred places, accompanied with voices shouting, "Let us kill and destroy all the scoundrels of this town, and plunder what they may have, in revenge for their murders of our countrymen." The Bretons instantly began to put these threats into execution, and to enter every house where they expected pillages, killing the inhabitants, breaking open desks and trunks, and doing every mischief in their power. There were, this day, more than four hundred slaughtered, the town robbed and half burned, which was a great pity. Such was the revenge the companions took on St. Phagon, and then marched away.

Intelligence was sent to the king of Castille that the men-at-arms, who had been under sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, had, on their return, pillaged the good town of St. Phagon, murdered upward of four hundred of its inhabitants, and set the town on fire. They added, that if the English had taken it even by storm, they would not have treated it so cruelly. At the time this was told the king, the two above-named knights were with him, and were severely reprimanded by him and his council. They excused themselves, saying, "That as God may help them, they were ignorant of the intentions of their men: they had, indeed, heard they were much displeased with the inhabitants of St. Phagon, who, on their coming to Castille, had murdered many of their companions, for which revenge had lurked in their hearts; but that, in truth, they thought it had been forgotten." The king of Castille was forced to pass it over, as it might have cost him more had he thought of punishing it; but he was very ill pleased with these two commanders, which he showed, when they took leave of him to return to France. Had he been contented with them, it may be supposed they would have had more magnificent presents. The duke of Bourbon, his knights and squires, having quitted the king to his satisfaction, and left the country first, had carried off the flower of the presents.

The French marched out of Castille in various directions, some through Biscay, others through Arragon. Many knights and squires, who had lived on their pay, disdaining to plunder, returned poor and sorrily mounted; while others, who had seized on whatever they could meet with, were well furnished with gold and silver, and heavy trunks. Thus it happens, in these adventures, some gain and others lose. The king of Castille was very much rejoiced when he found himself and kingdom freed from such men.

CHAPTER XCV.

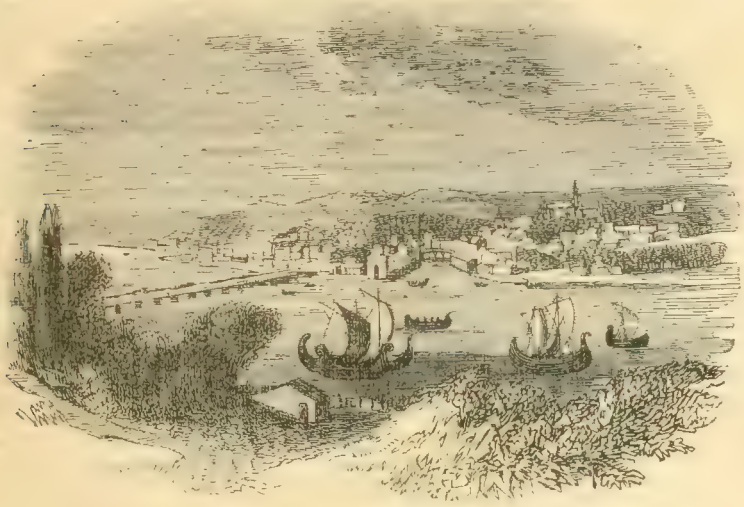
THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LEAVES SAINT JAGO, FOR COIMBRA, AND THENCE GOES TO BAYONNE.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster, whom we left ill in bed at Saint Jago, where he resided with his duchess and daughter Catherine. You may suppose, the duke felt many mortifications, from the complete failure of his hopes of the crown of Castille, and the great loss of his chivalry, whom he daily and nightly lamented, and whom he had brought with such difficulty from England. He had now no expectation of making a treaty of peace that should allow the duchess any right to the crown, or yield up, by way of composition, to her any part of the kingdom; for he had heard from pilgrims, to Saint Jago, from Brabant, Hainault and other countries, who had passed through the French army in Castille, that the Castillians and French made their jokes on him, saying to the pilgrims, "Ye are going to Saint Jago, are ye? Ye will find there the duke of Lancaster, who, for fear of the sun, keeps his chamber. Give our compliments to him, and ask him, on his faith, if we French know how to make war, and if we have not fought him fairly, and if he be contented with us. The English used to say, that we knew better how to dance and sing than to fight; but the tables are now turned: it is they who repose and sing, and we keep the field and guard our frontiers, so that we have not lost anything."

The duke of Lancaster, like a wise man, bore all this patiently, for he could not do otherwise; and, when he was able to ride, he departed from Saint Jago with his duchess and family. The king of Portugal had sent his constable, the count de Novaire, and sir John Fernando Portelet, with five hundred lances, to escort him. Among these knights were the Pounasse d'Acunha, Egeas Colle, Vasco Martin de Merlo, Galopes Fernando, sir Alvarez Perez, John Radighos de Sar, Gaynes de Falnes, all barons. With this escort, the duke and his family left Compostella, and continued their march to Oporto, where the king and queen of Portugal were waiting for them, and entertained them handsomely. Soon after the arrival of the duke, the king and queen left Oporto, and went to Coimbra, which is but one day's journey distant. The duke of Lancaster re-

mained there for two months and attended to his affairs, and to the making of preparations for his departure. By the king's orders, the high admiral of Portugal, don Alphonso Brecart, had equipped some galleys for his reception; on board of which, when the weather and wind were favorable, they embarked, and, weighing anchor, took to the deep, and in one day and a half were at Bayonne, which is upward of seventy-two leagues. On their arrival, they were disappointed in not meeting sir John Holland and the other English; but they had left it for Bordeaux, where they had embarked, and had landed in England.

The duke of Lancaster made a long residence at Bayonne, and enforced the payments of arrears, and other dues from the duchy of Aquitaine, and such parts as were under the obedience of king Richard; for he had a commission to impose and receive all taxes to his own use, and he styled himself duke and governor of Aquitaine. We will now leave the duke and the English, until it shall be proper to return to them, and speak of other matters.



BAYONNE, as it appeared in the seventeenth century. From an old French print.

CHAPTER XCVI

THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC TAKES GREAT PAINS TO PREVAIL ON THE FREE COMPANIES TO GIVE UP THEIR FORTS FOR A SUM OF MONEY. THE COUNT DE FOIX, UNDERHAND, PREVENTS HIS SUCCESS.

THE count d'Armagnac, at this period, resided in Auvergne, and was negotiating with such free companies as held forts in Auvergne, Quercy and Limousin. The count took great pains, from his attachment to France, to make the leaders of these garrisons, who did great mischief to the country, surrender them up, and depart to other places. All the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noire, who held Ventadour, seemed willing to accept his terms, and receive, in one sum, two hundred and fifty thousand francs. On payment of this sum, they were all to quit the country, which would gladly have seen them depart; for the inhabitants could not till the earth, nor carry on trade, for fear of these pillagers, unless they had entered into composition with them, according to their wealth and rank; and these compositions amounted, in the year, to as much as was now demanded for the evacuation of the forts. Although these garrisons made war under pretext of being English, there were very few of that nation; but the greater part Gascons, Germans and Foixiens, and from different countries, who had united together to do mischief.

When this treaty had been fully concluded with all the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noire, the count d'Armagnac entreated the count dauphin d'Auvergne, who was a great baron and able negotiator, to join him in this treaty, and from his affection to him, to undertake a journey to Paris, to the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who at that time governed the kingdom, to explain what he had done in regard to these free companions, and to have their consent; for without their orders the sum of money to pay them could not be raised in the country. The count dauphin complied with this request, and rode to Paris; but the king was gone to Rouen, whither the count followed him. He there explained to the king and his council the state of the country, and the treaty the count d'Armagnac had made with the companions. He did not soon accomplish the object of his coming; for the lords of the council knowing well what sort of people these free companions were, had no faith in their professions, and dreaded they would not abide by any treaty. They said to him, "Count dauphin, we know that you and the count d'Armagnac are anxious to promote everything for the honor and advantage of the kingdom; for both of you have rich and extensive inheritances within it: but we very much suspect that these Gascons and Béarnois, when they shall have received the sums agreed for, and the country shall be weakened, will, in the course of three or four months, return, regain possession of their castles, and commit greater waste than they have hitherto done." The count dauphin replied to the council, "My lords, it is our intention, that when this sum be raised, it shall be deposited at Clermont or Riom, and there remain until we have certificates of these companies having quitted the country."

"That is well said," answered the dukes of Berry and Burgundy: "we are willing the money be raised and put in a place of safety; for at all events, should they refuse to conform to the treaty, it will serve to collect forces to make war upon them, and drive them out of their forts. This sum shall be under the direction of you, the count d'Armagnac, and the bishops of Clermont and Puy: you will take care that it be honorably disposed of, and for the advantage of the realm." Having declared he would do so, he took leave of the king, his uncles, and council, and departing from Rouen, continued his road until he came to Clermont, where he found the count d'Armagnac, his brother, and numbers of lords, waiting his arrival. He related to them that the king and his council had their doubts of the captains of the free companies, and the manner this money was raised, and deposited in a place of security until the intentions of these captains, who by force kept possession of forts and castles in the realm, should be known. They replied, "that such was their wishes; and, since it is agreeable to the king, we will finish the business; but we must first conclude a peace or truce with the leaders, that the country may be assured the tax we are about to raise will be properly applied for their security." Commissaries were sent by the count d'Armagnac to parley with Perrot le Béarnois, and Amerigot Marcel, who were the principal chiefs of the forts on this side the Dordogne, in conjunction with the bourg de Compane, Bernard des Isles, Olim Barbe, Abton Seghin, the lord de l'Exemplaire, and many more. These captains could never agree as to terms, for what one party acceded to in one week, the next it was refused: the reason was, that being from different countries, they had various opinions. Those from Armagnac, who were a sort of retainers to the count, readily assented to what he offered; but the greater part, and most determined pillagers, were from Béarn and Foix.

I do not mean to say that the count de Foix ever wished anything but what was honorable and advantageous to France; but when he first heard of these negotiations with the captains of strong places in Auvergne, Quercy, and Rouergue, he was desirous to know upon what terms they were made, and the cause why the count d'Armagnac was so busy in the matter, and would be informed, when these places should be evacuated by the companions, what road they intended to take, and where they meant to fix themselves. He was answered: "My lord, it is the intention of the count d'Armagnac to engage these men-at-arms, when they shall have surrendered the forts, to lead them into Lombardy, where his brother-in-law (who, you know, married his sister, the widow of your son Gaston,) has great difficulty in defending his inheritance, for there seems every probability of a war in Lombardy." The count de Foix made no answer to this, seeming not to have heard it, but turned about to those present, and conversed with them. He was not, however, the less thoughtful about what had been said, and determined secretly to prevent any of these treaties being concluded: at least, from the sequel it so appears.

The count d'Armagnac could never succeed, notwithstanding his repeated attempts, toward inducing any of the captains who were from Béarn, or Foix, to yield up their forts, or accept of any engagement, to serve the count or his brother Bernard. The count de Foix, who was prudence itself, considering that these two lords, his cousins, and those of Albreth, were very powerful, and acquiring friends on all sides, was unwilling to add to their strength by those who were his retainers: he therefore determined what line he would follow, as was told me, when at Orthès, by sir Espaign de Lyon, the bourg de Compane, captain of Carlat in Auvergne, and the bourg Anglois. The count de Foix was at war with the Armagnacs, though at this moment there was a truce, which was usually renewed five or six times every year; and, should the Armagnacs and Albreths obtain the assistance of these captains of free companies, who were so hardy and cunning in war, they would be enabled to bring a large force into the field, and do the count de Foix great mischief. This was the principal cause why the captains who were dependent on him would never accept terms from the count d'Armagnac.

They indeed gave him hopes of agreeing with him; but although many appointments were made for a meeting, they kept none, but ran over the country, and pillaged it at their pleasure, just the same as before any treaty was talked of. The count was daily expecting to conclude one; and the captain he was most anxious to gain over was Perrot le Béarnois, who held the strong castle of Chaluçet, and was the principal commander in Auvergne and Limousin, for his compositions extended as far as La Rochelle. The others were, William de Sainte Foix, who held Bouteville; Amerigot Marcel, who resided at Loyse, near St. Flour in Auvergne; the bourg de Compane and the bourg Anglois, who held Carlat. He said, he could at any time have Amerigot Marcel; but he was desirous of gaining over Perrot le Béarnois, and Geoffry Tête-noire, who held Ventadour, and was the chief of them all. They only laughed, and made their jokes of the count, disdaining to enter into any treaty with him or any one else. Geoffry knew his castle was impregnable, and provided with stores and a sufficient garrison for seven or eight years; and it was not in the power of any lord to shut him up, so that he could not be prevented from making sallies whenever he chose. Geoffry began all his passports and treaties of composition with, "Geoffry Tête-noire, duke of Ventadour, count of Limousin, sovereign lord and commander of all the captains in Auvergne, Rouergue, and Limousin." I will now leave these matters, and speak of what was passing in my own country, from the peace which was granted to the Ghent men, on the conclusion of their war, by the duke and duchess of Burgundy, who signed and sealed it in the noble city of Tournay. To add strength to my history, I must speak of what was passing in Gueldres and Brabant; for the king of France and duke of Burgundy were much affected by the events that happened in those countries, and took great part in the war that ensued.

CHAPTER XCVII.

A DIGRESSION ON THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRES. THE LIFE OF COUNT REGINALD OF GUELDRES AND HIS SUCCESSORS, UNTIL THE REIGN OF CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE. THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, BEING AN ALLY OF ENGLAND, SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO FRANCE. THE CAUSE OF THIS CHALLENGE.

THERE had been, for some time, a hatred between the houses of Brabant and Gueldres: their countries border on each other; but the origin of this hatred of the Brabanters was on account of the town of Grave, which the dukes of Gueldres had taken possession of, and kept by force. This the Brabanters complained of, as it is situated on their side of the river Meuse; and, though many conferences were held on the subject, their hatred was not abated. Those of Gueldres complained, that the duke of Brabant had, in revenge, seized on three castles on their side of the Meuse, and at the entrance of their country, called Gambet, Buct, and Mille.* These quarrels between the two dukes were frequently embittered; but it was the opinion of many able knights and squires in arms, that if the lord Edward of Gueldres, (who was unfortunately slain by an arrow from an archer of the dukes of Luxembourg or Brabant, at the battle of Juliers,†) had survived and gained the victory, he was so valiant, he would have reconquered these three castles.

I will now relate, according to my promise, how these castles came into the possession of Brabant, that I may embellish my history; and I will begin with speaking of the dukes of Gueldres.‡ It was not long before I began to indite this work, that there lived a count of Gueldres, called Reginald. Gueldres is not so rich, nor so extensive a country as Brabant: notwithstanding this, count Reginald, coming to his property when a young man, had every inclination for expense, and cared not what his pleasures cost him. He attended all tilts and tournaments in the greatest magnificence, and expended, yearly, four times more than his usual revenue. He was generous and liberal, and made extravagant presents, so that he borrowed from the Lombards on all sides, and was soon so indebted he knew not whither to turn himself. His relations were greatly angered by such conduct, and blamed him exceedingly; but in particular the archbishop of Cologne, who was his uncle by his mother's side. One day, when he had him in his closet, he said; "Reginald, my fair nephew, you have managed your affairs so well, that you will soon find yourself a poor man; for your lands are mortgaged all round. In this world, poor lords are not valued. Do you imagine that those to whom you have made such great gifts will return them to you? No, as God may help me; they will fly from you when they know you have nothing more to give, and will laugh at and mock you for your foolish expenses, and you will not find one friend to assist you. Do not depend on me; for though I am archbishop of Cologne, I will not curtail my establishment to repair your fortune, nor give you the patrimony of the church: no, I vow to God, my conscience forbids it, and neither the pope nor cardinals will consent to it. The count of Hainault, who has not kept the state you have, has married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Gemany. He has three more whom he will also marry very nobly. Had you lived as was becoming you, and had you not mortgaged your lands, towns, or castles, you were a proper person for such an alliance; but, situated as you now are, you will never obtain one of them. You have nothing to dower a wife with, if you had one: not even one poor lordship."

The earl of Gueldres was thunderstruck at this reprimand of his uncle, for he felt the truth of it. He requested, out of love to him, he would give him advice. "Advice!" replied the archbishop: "It is now, my fair nephew, too late: you wish to shut the stable-door when the steed is stolen. I see but one remedy for your distress." "And what is that?" said the count. "I will tell you," answered the archbishop. "You are much indebted to Bertaldo of Mechlin, who is at present the richest merchant in the world, from the great commerce he carries on with all parts of it by sea and land. His galleys and vessels sail as far as Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus, with cargoes of the value of one hundred thousand florins: he also has a mortgage on the greater part of your lands. Bertaldo has one daughter now of an age to marry, and no other children. Several great barons of Germany and other countries have demanded her in marriage, but, I know not why, unsuccessfully: he may perhaps fear some as being too high, and others he may hold cheap: I therefore advise you to treat with Bertaldo, who may listen to you, and give you his daughter, that you may clear yourself of all your debts, and regain possession of your lands; for I should suppose, from your birth and in consideration of your having your possessions, between the Meuse and the Rhine, so well filled with populous towns, he will comply with your request." "By my faith, uncle," replied the count, "you advise me well, and I will follow what you have said."

Count Reginald, shortly after, summoned those of his friends in whom he had the greatest confidence and affection, and declared to them his intentions of marrying the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin. He requested them to go thither and demand her, and he would make her countess of Gueldres, on such conditions as the archbishop of Cologne should be agreeable to. His friends complied cheerfully, and made instant preparations for their journey to Mechlin, where they waited on Bertaldo, and told him the object of their coming. Bertaldo received these knights and clerks from the count de Gueldres very graciously, entertained them well, and said he would consider of their demand. Being so very rich, for he was worth at least five or six millions of florins, he was anxious for the advancement of his daughter, and, thinking he could no way ally her more nobly than to the count de Gueldres, had partly in his own mind assented to it. Before he declared it, he had many doubts, and said to himself, "If I give Mary to the count, he will wish to be my master, and I shall no longer have a will of my own. Besides, should she have children and die, which may happen, he, who will be enriched by my wealth and repossessed of all his lands in the country of Gueldres, may marry again, and as nobly as he pleases, and have children by his second wife, who, from the high blood of their mother, may hold my daughter's children in contempt, and perhaps disinherit them. I must have all these doubts cleared up before I give my consent. I will, however, mention all this to the friends of the count, and make them such an answer as this: That their coming has pleased me much, and that my daughter would be very happy to be so nobly married as to the count de Gueldres: but at this moment it was well known the affairs of the count were in the utmost disorder; that all his lands between the Meuse and the Rhine were under mortgage, and that, to clear off his incumbrances, he has demanded my daughter in marriage. Before I consent to this union, I wish to know how he means to settle his estates, and that my daughter's children, should she have sons or daughters, may succeed to the inheritance of Gueldres, notwithstanding any other marriage take place in case of her death. On this point I am determined, and I must likewise have this succession assured by himself, his relations, and all who may have any claims thereto, as well as by the nobility and principal towns in the country." Thus did Bertaldo form the answer he was to give to the commissioners from the count de Gueldres.

On the morrow, at a proper hour, Bertaldo signified to the count's friends he was prepared with his answer. They were well pleased on hearing this, and repaired to the hôtel of Bertaldo, where everything displayed his riches. He met them in the hall, and, after some agreeable conversation, conducted them to an apartment fitted up in a manner becoming a king, where some of his friends were assembled. When the door was closed, Bertaldo desired them to declare the cause of their visit to him, and he would give them his answer. Upon this, the dean of Cologne, cousin to the count de Gueldres, and a valiant clerk, explained so eloquently the object of their embassy, it was a pleasure to hear him. Of his speech I need not make any further mention, for the subject of it has been told, and it related solely to the advantages of this alliance, and its conveniency to both parties.

Bertaldo, who, the preceding day, had formed his plan, answered as follows: "My fair sirs, I and my daughter shall hold ourselves much honored by so noble an alliance as the one you have proposed; and when such matters are brought forward, the less delay afterwards the better. I say this, because an alliance by marriage, between so powerful and renowned a lord as count Reginald de Gueldres, with Mary, my daughter, pleases me right well. You require that his estate, which is now much entangled, by his debts to Lombards and others, should be cleared by this marriage, and every incumbrance

* Q. Goch, Beeck, and Megen. † 1372.

‡ They were first created dukes of Gueldres by the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, 1339, at Frankfort.

done away. Thanks to God, I have the ability as well as inclination so to do; but I must first see the following settlements fairly engrossed and sealed, so that, hereafter, no contention ensue between any of the parties: first, my daughter's children shall inherit the country of Gueldres, comprehended within its present limits; and, if my lord Reginald should die before her, without having any heirs from her body, she shall peaceably retain the possession of that country during her life, and then it may revert to the next lawful heir. If it should happen that my daughter have an heir or heirs by my much honored prince, count Reginald, and she die before him, the count de Gueldres shall not, on account of any secondary marriage, disinherit, or otherwise deprive the heir or heirs of my daughter of the succession of Gueldres. I consent, however, that if it shall be his good pleasure in such case to marry again, he may dower the lady with those acquired lands on the other side of the Meuse, bordering on the bishopric of Liege and duchy of Brabant, but without charging any part of the country of Gueldres. When the relations and friends of the honorable prince, count Reginald, and all those who may, from their family connections, have any claims on the duchy of Gueldres, and the chief towns, shall have signed and sealed settlements drawn up in the manner I have mentioned, I give my consent to the marriage. You may now, therefore, make any reply you have been charged with."

The knights from Gueldres, after some short conversation together, said: "Sir, we have well heard your terms; but, not being commissioned to say anything in confirmation, or otherwise, on the subject, we must be silent. We will return to our lord, and relate punctually to him and his council what you offer, and very shortly you shall have from him his answer." "God grant it may be favorable," replied Bertaldo; "for I wish it." On this they all left the apartment and went away. As you have heard everything that passed on this subject, I shall not dilate on it more. When the commissioners were returned home, matters seemed likely to be soon brought to a conclusion; for the count thought, in his present situation, he could not do better than marry the daughter of Bertaldo, who was powerfully rich. For greater security, all the settlements were drawn up, and engrossed in his house: when they were finished, the count signed and sealed them, as did all his relations whose names were mentioned therein, and the nobility and magistrates of the principal towns.

Bertaldo being now satisfied, the marriage was consummated, the debts of the count were paid, and all his lands freed from every incumbrance. Thus was the count de Gueldres made rich: he took a new hôtel, and formed a different establishment. If, formerly, he had been thought to keep a magnificent one, this was superior; for he had now wherewithal to support it, as he never wanted for any money Bertaldo could give him. The count behaved right honorably to his lady, who was very handsome, good, prudent, and devout. At the end of four years, the lady died, leaving a daughter of the name of Isabella. The count, being a young man when he became a widower, married again very nobly; for king Edward of England, father of that king Edward who besieged Tournay and conquered Calais, gave him his daughter Isabella.* By this lady he had three children, two sons and a daughter, sir Reginald, sir Edward, and Joan, who was afterwards duchess of Juliers.†

When king Edward III., who was uncle to these children of Gueldres, came first into Germany to visit the emperor, and had been appointed by him vicar-general of the empire,‡ as is contained in the first volume of this history, the county of Gueldres was made a duchy, and the marquisate of Juliers a county, to elevate those families in dignity. But to come nearer to our time, and connect this with our history, it happened that, after the decease of this count Reginald we have been speaking of, his son, also called Reginald, nephew to the king of England, died without heirs.§ Sir Edward of Gueldres succeeded to both: he was married to the eldest daughter of duke Albert of Hainault;‖ but she was so young, that sir Edward never carnally knew her, and he died also without heirs; for, like a valiant knight, he was slain in battle, in a war against duke Winceslaus of Brabant, before Juliers.¶

Sir Edward's sister-german was married to count William of Juliers, and her brother dying without issue, she claimed Gueldres as her inheritance, and brought forward her pretensions. Her elder sister, by the first marriage,** made a similar claim, and said, since no mention is mentioned from the second marriage, the duchy became her right, according to the settlements that had been made and signed. As this dispute ran high between the two sisters, the elder was advised to unite herself, by marriage, with some person well allied, that would defend her rights. She followed this advice, and desired the archbishop of Cologne, at that time with the lord John de Blois,* whose brother, count Lewis, was still alive, to open the matter to him, and, if he were agreeable, she would make him duke of Gueldres; for, by the death of her two brothers, without male issue, the duchy had become her inheritance, and none other had any legal claim to it. The lord John de Blois, who had been brought up in Holland and Zealand, having fair inheritances there, and speaking the language, willingly listened to the proposal; for he would never marry in France, thinking he should acquire a large tract of country in the parts he liked best. The knights of his council, in Holland, advised him to accept of the lady. He consented to this; but, before he made it public, he rode to Hainault, to consult his cousin, duke Albert, and hear what he would say to it.

Duke Albert, in truth, knew not what advice to give him, or, if he did, he kept it to himself, and delayed so long, before he could make up his mind, that lord John de Blois was tired of waiting, and, mounting his horse, rode to Gueldres, married the lady I have mentioned, and took possession of the duchy. He was not, however, acknowledged duke by the whole country, nor were her claims universally allowed; the majority of knights, squires, and chief towns, inclined more to the lady of Juliers, who, having a handsome family of children, had gained their hearts. The lord John, therefore, had with his wife a war, which cost him much. By the death of his brother, count Lewis, he became count of Blois, lord of Avesnes in Hainault; and the rich inheritances of Holland and Zealand fell likewise to him. Notwithstanding this, his council advised him to pursue the claim of his lady on Gueldreland. He did so, to the utmost of his power; but Germans are a covetous people, and they only continued the war as long as they were duly paid. The dispute cost lord John very large sums, and was never of any service to him. This gallant count, lord John de Blois, died in the castle of the good town of Schoonhoven, in the month of June, of the year of grace 1381, and was carried to the church of the Cordeliers and Valenciennes, and buried beside his grandfather, sir John of Hainault.†

The lord Guy de Blois succeeded his brothers in all their possessions in France, Picardy, Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, as well as in the country of Blois. I know not how many years the lady of lord John survived him, but, on her decease, her sister, the countess of Juliers, remained peaceable possessor of the duchy of Gueldres. It was, however, settled, at the request of the nobility and inhabitants of the duchy, that lord William de Juliers, eldest son of the count of Juliers, should be duke of Gueldres; for it had reverted to him in direct succession from his uncles, and, on this account, duke Albert and his duchess had given him their daughter in marriage, who had been betrothed to the duke Edward, as before mentioned. Thus was this lady still duchess of Gueldres, and this last marriage was more suitable, for they were both nearly of the same age. The duke resided constantly in his own country; but the more he increased in age the greater was his love for tilts, tournaments, and such amusements, and he was more attached to the English than to the French, which he showed as long as he lived. He had always rankling in his breast a similar hatred to what had subsisted between his ancestors and the dukes of Brabant, and was ever seeking for occasion of quarrel with them for two reasons: one, because he was the ally of king Richard II.; the other, because Winceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg, had purchased from the count de Mours, a great baron in Germany, those three castles I have before mentioned, but will now mention again, to make the matter clearer, Goch, Beeck, and Megen; they are situated beyond the Meuse, on the territory of Fauquemont. The dukes of Gueldres‡ had in former times been lords of these castles, and the present duke was much vexed that he could not add them to his inheritance; but as long as duke Winceslaus lived he kept all this to himself.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

FROISSART RETURNS TO THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRES, WHICH HE HAD LEFT UNFINISHED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, AND CONTINUES THE HISTORY OF THE DUKES OF GUELDRES TO DUKE WILLIAM, WHO SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO CHARLES VI. KING OF FRANCE.

Duke Reginald of Gueldres, cousin-german to the prince of Wales, had mortgaged the three above-mentioned castles for a sum of florins to a great baron of Germany, called the count de Mours. He kept possession of them for a time; but, when no intention was shown

* There seems some mistake here, but I cannot make it out, nor find in any of the genealogical accounts of the counts of Gueldres, notice of this marriage with the daughter of *the merchant* Bertaldo of Mechlin.

"Reginald II., the 9th count of Gueldres, married, in 1343, Sophia, *countess of Mechlin*, and 1359, Eleanora of England."—ANDERSON'S *Royal Genealogies*.

† William, the sixth marquis, and afterwards duke of Juliers, married Mary, a daughter of the count de Gueldres, but by his first wife, Sophia of Mechlin. Two children only, Reginald and Edward, are ascribed to the second marriage in *L'Art de verifier les Dates*.—ED. ‡ In 1338.—ED.

§ Reginald III. died in 1371, leaving no children by his wife Mary, daughter of John duke of Brabant.—ED.

‖ He married Catherine, daughter of Albert, regent of Holland, on the 16th May, 1371.—ED.

¶ He died on the 24th August, 1371, from the effects of a wound received at the battle of Battweiler, two days before. He was only thirty six years old.—ED.

** Froissart's account of the genealogy of this family is not correct. The dispute was between Mary, countess of Juliers, the half-sister of Edward and Reginald, and William, her grandson, on the one part, and Matilda, Mary's elder sister, widow of John, first count of Cleves, on the other part. Whether Mary and Matilda were both the daughters of Sophia of Mechlin, or whether Reginald the second married thrice, and had Matilda by a prior wife to Sophia, is uncertain; but no mention of a third marriage is to be met with in any records of the time.—ED.

* John de Chatillon, count of Blois, married Matilda in 1372.—ED.

† The lords Lewis, John and Guy, were sons of the count Guy de Blois, brother to Charles de Blois, duke of Brittany, by a daughter of sir John of Hainault, who conducted queen Isabella of France to England, with her son Edward III. Annotation X.—DENYS SAUVAGE.

of paying back the money he had lent on their security, he grew melancholy, and sent legal summons for payment to duke Reginald. But he made light of this, as he had not any money to acquit himself of the debt, which frequently happens to many great lords when they are called upon for payment. When the count de Mours perceived this, he made advances to the duke of Brabant, and offered him these castles for the money for which they were mortgaged. The duke eagerly accepted the proposal, for they were on the confines of the territory of Fauquemont, of which he was lord. The duke was desirous to increase his inheritance, for he thought surely to survive his present duchess, the lady Johanna.*

He took possession of these castles, and placed in them, as governor, the lord de Kale. When, upon the death of duke Reginald, the lord Edward succeeded to the duchy of Gueldres, he sent embassadors to the duke of Brabant, to request he might have his castles for the money he had paid them. The duke, not having purchased them for this end, returned a positive refusal. The duke of Gueldres was highly indignant at this answer, and in consequence was hard on his sister in-law, the widow of the lord Reginald, and younger sister to the duchess of Brabant, by preventing her from receiving her dower. The lady went to Brabant, and laid her complaints of the vexations which the duke of Gueldres was occasioning her, before the duke and duchess. On account of the long-subsisting hatred between the Brabanters and those of Gueldres, for the seizure of Grave, the first were well inclined to aid the lady by force of arms. A large body of men-at-arms were indeed once collected in Brabant, and advanced to Blois-le-Duc, to the amount of twelve hundred spears. The duke of Gueldres had likewise assembled his forces, and it was generally thought a battle would have been the consequence; but duke Albert, the count de Mours, and the count of Juliers this time interfered, and they separated without coming to blows.

The Emperor constituting the Duke of Brabant Languefride, or Keeper of the Public Roads. Designed from MSS. Illuminations of the Fifteenth Century.

This same year duke Winceslaus was victorious over some free companies, who had overrun and despoiled his lands in Luxembourg: he banished many, and put to death their leader, called the Little Mesclin, in the tower of the castle of Luxembourg. In this year also, the lord Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, appointed the duke of Brabant chief of an institution called in Germany Languefride, which signifies an association for the repairs and security of the public roads, so that persons may travel from one part to another without danger. The emperor gave him also great possessions in Alsace on both sides of the Rhine, that he might guard the country against the Linfars, who are a most wicked people, robbing all without mercy. He gave him likewise the sovereignty of the large city of Strasburg, and, to add to his dignity, created him a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. He certainly could not give him too much, for this duke Winceslaus was generous, amiable, courteous to all, and gallant in arms. Great things must have been expected from him, had he been granted longer life, but he died in the flower of his age; on account of which I, the author of this history, greatly grieve, and wish he had enjoyed a course of eighty years or more, for he would have done much good to mankind. The schism in the church afflicted him greatly, as he often expressed himself to me, who lived with him on the most intimate and friendly footing. And notwithstanding that I have seen and personally known upward of two hundred powerful princes in my various travels, I have never found any more courteous and amiable than this duke of Brabant, and my very good lord the count Guy de Blois, who commanded me to indite this Chronicle. These were the two princes, of my time, of the greatest liberality, humility, and goodness, who lived magnificently on their revenues, without malice or any way oppressing their subjects by taxes, and issuing any hurtful edicts through their territories. But I will now return to the principal subject of this chapter.

When the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, who were brothers by marriage, and whose hearts were too much attached to the English (for they had long been the allies of the kings of England, and strongly united to each other,) heard of the dignities conferred by the emperor on the duke of Brabant, they were much exasperated; not from any wish to do good or correct the wicked, but that such honors should be conferred on their enemy: more particularly that he should have the appointment of Languefride, and execute the office with severity, for it affected their lands. This institution had been first formed for the security of those merchants of Hainault, Brabant, France, Flanders, and Liege, who travelled thence to Cologne, Treves, Lucca, Constance, and other cities and fairs in Germany. Merchants could not enter those countries without risk, through the states of Juliers or Gueldres. It happened there were some robberies committed on the highways by these Linfars, who had escaped into the territory of the duke of Juliers; and it was told me, that the duke had even lent them horses and the use of his castles. Heavy complaints were made of this to duke Winceslaus, who at that time was resident in Brussels, and that the Languefride was held in contempt; that the persons who had violated it were retired into the duchy of Juliers, where they lived unmolested.

The duke of Brabant, at that time young and chivalrous, high in birth and rich in fortune, was greatly piqued at this conduct, and hurt by the complaints of those who had been robbed; he declared he would speedily provide a remedy, and, being nominated chief of the Languefride, would not that any blame should fall on him for negligence in the due support of it. To be assured of the fact, and through the advice of his friends, he sent to the duke of Juliers some of the first men in his country, such as the lord d'Urquon, the lord Bourgueval, sir Scelar archdeacon of Hainault, Geoffry de la Tour grand-routier of Brabant, and several more, to remonstrate with him in an amicable manner on the impropriety of his conduct, and that proper excuses must be made for the offence, as it affected too strongly the duke of Brabant as chief of the Languefride.

The duke of Juliers paid but little attention to their remonstrances, for he seemed rather to prefer war to peace, which displeased so much the envoys from the duke of Brabant, that they took leave of him, and returned to relate all that had passed. The duke of Brabant, having heard them, asked their advice how to act. "Sir," they replied, "you know it full well yourself: speak your will." "Well, then," said the duke, "it is not my intention to let this matter sleep, nor shall it be said, through cowardice or weakness of heart I have suffered any robberies to be committed within my jurisdiction with impunity, as I will make my cousin, the duke of Juliers, and his adherents, very soon feel, and that the business is personal to me." The duke was not idle, but instantly set clerks to work in writing letters to all from whom he expected any assistance: some he entreated, others he commanded, and gave sufficient notice to the duke of Juliers and his allies of his intentions. Each of these lords provided themselves as ably as they could: but the duke of Juliers would have made an indifferent figure without his brother-in-law the duke of Gueldres, who greatly reinforced him with men-at-arms and friends. These two lords collected men secretly from Germany; and as the Germans were avaricious, and had not for some time had any opportunity of gain, they accepted their pay, and came in greater numbers

* Winceslaus was the second husband of Johanna, heiress of Brabant and Lunbourg. She was married to him, 1355. After the death of Winceslaus, the 8th December, 1384, and his son, she constituted Anthony, second son of the duke of Burgundy, her heir. 1404. Her first husband, William, count of Holland, died, 1345, without issue. Johanna died 1406.—Ande son's R. G.

as they were ignorant they were to be employed against the duke of Brabant.

The duke of Brabant left Brussels in grand array, and went to Louvain, thence to Maestricht, where he found upward of one thousand good spears waiting for him: other forces were coming to his aid from France, Flanders, Hainault, Namur, Lorrain, Bar, and different parts, so that his army amounted to full two thousand five hundred lances. Four hundred spears, under the lord of Geant, were on their march to join him from Burgundy; but they arrived too late, from not knowing when an engagement would take place, and were much vexed when they heard that it was over without their being present. While the duke of Brabant remained at Maestricht, he could not obtain any intelligence of his enemies: he therefore determined to advance and enter their lands, which he did on a Wednesday, and there encamped. He halted that day and the next, and learnt from his scouts that the enemy had taken the field. He commanded the army to advance into the territory of Juliers and burn it. This Thursday he halted at an early hour. The van was commanded by Guy de Ligny, count de St. Paul, and the lord Waleran his son, who though very young, being no more than sixteen years old, was then made a knight. The Brabanters encamped very close together, and, as it appeared, the Germans were better informed of their state than the Brabanters were concerning them: for, on the Friday morning, as the duke had heard mass, and all were on the plain, not thinking a battle would soon take place, the dukes of Juliers and Guledres made their appearance, with a large and well-mounted body of men-at-arms. The duke of Brabant was told: "Sir, here are your enemies: put on your helmets quickly, in the name of God and St. George." He was well pleased on hearing this; and that day he had near his person four squires, well informed, and of courage to save such a prince, having been engaged in many deeds of arms and pitched battles: their names were John de Valcon, Baldwin de Beaufort, Gerard de Bles, and Orlando de Cologne.

The men of Brussels surrounded the duke: some were mounted with their servants behind them, who carried flagons of wine, and salmon, trout, and eel-pies, neatly packed in handsome towels attached to their saddles. These people, with their horses, filled up the place so much, that no proper orders could be given. At length, Gerard de Bles said to the duke, "Sir, order all these horse away that surround us: they are greatly in our way, and prevent us from knowing what has become of the van and rear division, under your marshal sir Robert de Namur." "I consent," replied the duke, and gave his orders. Upon this, Gerard and his companions, sword in hand, began to lay about them, on helmets and horses, so that the place was instantly cleared; for no one would willingly have his horse wounded or killed. To make an end of the business, the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres advanced full gallop on the van, under the command of the count de St. Paul and his son, which they broke and defeated, and many were slain and made prisoners. This division made the greatest resistance, and the count de St. Paul and his son were among the dead. Fortune was unkind to the duke of Brabant and his allies; for this battle was so severe, few men of honor escaped death or captivity.

The duke of Brabant, sir Robert de Namur, sir Lewis, his brother, sir William de Namur, son to the count de Namur, were made prisoners, and such numbers of others, that their enemies were fully occupied when they surrendered to them. There were many slain on the side of the duke of Juliers: but you know it is a general observation, a defeated army always suffers the most. The Brabanters, however, had one satisfaction in their great loss, in the death of duke Edward of Gueldres; for it was the opinion of all, that had he survived, he would have overrun the country, and conquered the whole, as well as Brussels, without meeting any opposition; for he was a most outrageously bold knight, and detested the Brabanters, on account of the three castles they held from him. The duke of Juliers gained this victory on a Friday of August, the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord, 1371.

The duchess of Brabant, in her distress, had recourse to king Charles V. of France, who was nephew to the duke. The king advised her to apply in person to the emperor of Germany, as being brother to the duke of Brabant, and because he had suffered in support of the emperor's rights. The lady did so, and went to Coblentz, where she found the emperor, to whom she made her complaints. The emperor heard her with attention, and was bound by several reasons to grant her relief and comfort; first, because the duke was his brother, and because he had appointed him his vicar of the empire, and chief of the Languefride. He consoled the duchess, and told her, that before the ensuing summer were passed, he would provide an ample remedy for what had happened. The duchess returned to Brabant greatly comforted. The emperor, lord Charles of Bohemia, was not inactive; for as soon as the winter was passed, he went to the noble city of Cologne, where he made such vast provision of stores, as if he were about to march to the conquest of a kingdom. He wrote to all counts and dukes who held lands under him, to meet him the third day of June,* at Aix-la-Chapelle, each accompanied by fifty horse, under pain of forfeiture of his lands for disobedience. He particularly summoned duke Albert, earl of Hainault, to Aix, with fifty horse, who obeyed.

* 1372.—Ed.

When all the lords who had been summoned were arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, the place was much crowded, and the emperor then declared he would instantly enter the duchy of Juliers to destroy it, on account of the great outrage that had been offered him, by the duke of Juliers taking up arms against his vicar and brother; for such had been the sentence adjudged in the courts of the empire. The archbishop of Treves, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Mentz, the bishop of Liege, duke Albert of Bavaria,* his brother, and many great barons of Germany, relations of the duke of Juliers, having consulted together, thought that to destroy the whole of the territories of so valiant a knight, was a punishment too severe. They therefore proposed that the duke of Juliers should be summoned, and brought to acknowledge his error. This being agreed to, all parties labored to bring about a reconciliation.

Duke Albert and his brother went to Juliers, where they found the duke so much dismayed at this large armament of the emperor, that he knew not how to act, nor what counsel to follow, for he had heard it was intended against him, unless his friends exerted themselves to avert it. The duke of Juliers was much rejoiced and comforted by the arrival of two such lords as duke Albert of Bavaria and the duke Otho, his brother, besides being his relations; for he knew they would not allow him to suffer any disgrace, but would give him the best advice for his conduct. They counselled him as follows: To send some of his principal knights for his cousin the duke of Brabant, whom he had detained a prisoner at large in the town and castle of Judeque.† When he was brought to them, these lords paid him every respect that was his due. They then all left Juliers together, and rode to Aix, where they dismounted at the hotels which had been prepared for them. Duke Albert, his brother, and the before-mentioned prelates, who had been mediators in this business, went to the emperor and his council, and told them, that the duke Juliers was, of his own free will, come to wait on him, and was willing to put himself, without reservation, in his power, as he acknowledged him for his sovereign and liege lord. These humble words greatly softened the anger of the emperor, and he replied, "Let the duke of Juliers come hither."

When the duke of Juliers was in the presence of the emperor, he cast himself on his knees, and said, "Most redoubted and sovereign lord, I understand you are much displeased with me for having detained so long in prison your brother of Brabant. I am willing to refer the whole matter to your noble self, and will conform to whatever may be your judgment and that of your council." The emperor made no answer to this speech; but his son, the king of Bohemia, replied, "Duke of Juliers, you have behaved very outrageously, in keeping so long our cousin of Brabant prisoner; and had it not been for your well-beloved cousins, the dukes of Bavaria and Austria, who have so warmly interceded for you, this matter would have turned out very disagreeably to you, and you would have well deserved that it should do so. Continue your harangue, and manage that we be satisfied with you, and that we have never again any cause to complain of your conduct; for another time it will cost you very dear."

The duke of Juliers was still on his knees before the emperor, seated on his imperial throne, and thus spoke: "My very redoubted and sovereign lord, I acknowledge that I have been guilty of contempt to your imperial dignity, by raising an army, and engaging with it my cousin, your brother, the vicar of the holy empire. If the fortune of war gave me the day, and your brother was taken prisoner, I now restore him to you free of all ransom; and, if you please, there shall never again be ill-will or revenge thought of between us." The prelates and princes, standing round, said, "Most renowned lord, accept the excuses and offers which your cousin the duke of Juliers makes you, and let them satisfy you." "We are willing to do so," said the emperor; and, as it was told me, in further confirmation he took the duke of Juliers by the hand, as he rose, and kissed him on the mouth. The king of Bohemia and duke of Brabant did the same.

Thus was Winceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, delivered from prison, by the power of the emperor, without ransom, as were all that had been made prisoners by the duke of Juliers, and who had not paid their ransoms, by the treaties that were drawn up in consequence of this reconciliation. When this matter had been concluded, the assembly broke up, and all returned to their homes. The emperor went to Prague, the duke of Brabant to Brussels. When the duke of Brabant had there arrived, he imposed a very heavy tax on the country, to make restitution to the knights and squires for some part of the losses they had suffered.

CHAPTER XCI.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN BRABANT AND GUELDRES. ON THE DEATH OF DUKE WINCESLAUS, THE YOUNG WILLIAM OF JULIERS, DUKE OF GUELDRES, ENDEAVORS BY EVERY MEANS TO REGAIN THE THREE CASTLES. HE ALLIES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, BECAUSE FRANCE SUPPORTS THE RIGHTS OF THE WIDOW-DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

I HAVE taken much pains to detail all the particulars of this matter in my history, to bring it to the point I aim at, which is to explain

* Otho V., surnamed "le fameant," margrave of Brandenburg.—Ed.
† "Juduque." Q. If not Julich, Juliers.

why king Charles of France led a powerful army into Germany. I might indeed have passed it more briefly over, if I had chosen; but the dates of all these circumstances ought to be inserted in this history. In truth, I have my own manner of relating things, which, though pleasing to me, is indifferent enough. When I learnt that the kings of France and England were about to interfere in this business, I exerted myself to examine more deeply into the subject than I had hitherto done, and shall continue it as follows.

On the return of duke Winceslaus to Brabant, freed from all dangers of prison, as you have heard, he was desirous of visiting his states and castles, as well in the duchy of Luxembourg as elsewhere. He took therefore his road toward Alsace and the city of Strasburg, through the territory of Fauquemont. He visited those three castles which had caused the hatred of the duke of Gueldres, and found them strong, handsome, and well situated. If he liked them before, he was now still more pleased with them, and ordered the tenants around to assist in strengthening their fortifications. He employed masons, carpenters and ditchers, to repair and ornament them; and before his departure, he appointed a prudent and valiant knight called sir John Grosset, as governor in chief, with orders to guard and defend them at his peril. The duke continued his journey through his states, stopping at various places, according to his pleasure, and then returned to Brabant, which was his fixed place of residence.

Sir John de Blois had at this period married the duchess-dowager of Gueldres, to whom that duchy had fallen by the death of lord Edward, slain, as you have heard, at the battle of Juliers: but the duchess of Juliers opposed her claim on Gueldres, and was supported by the majority of the nobility and principal towns; for she was more popular with them than her eldest sister, because she had a fine son, of an age to defend them in war, and neither her sister nor her husband, sir John de Blois, had ever peaceable possession of the duchy. The war to support the claim of the duchess, in which he was forced to engage, cost him upward of one hundred thousand francs; and after all William de Juliers, son to the duke of Juliers, (who had early shown in his youth that chivalry and love of arms had descended to him by blood on both sides,) remained duke of Gueldres. A union was concluded between him and the eldest daughter of duke Albert, who was married to the lord Edward of Gueldres, but the marriage, on account of her extreme youth, had never been consummated. By this union with lord William, she remained duchess of Gueldres.

Time and seasons pass and change; and this young duke increased in honor, strength, and understanding, with a great desire for deeds of arms, and a strong inclination to add to his sister states. His heart was more English than French, and he had declared in his younger years that he would always aid the kings of England in their wars; for, being more nearly connected by blood with them than with the kings of France, he bore them greater affection. When his council gave him to understand that the Brabanters did him much injury by the detention of the three castles which the duke and duchess held from him, he replied, "Be it so: wait a while: everything has its turn. It is not yet time for me to exert myself, for our cousin of Brabant has too many powerful friends; but a time may come, when I will rouse myself in earnest." Things remained in this state, until God was pleased to call to him duke Winceslaus, who died duke of Brabant and Luxembourg, as has been already related in this history. The duchess and the states suffered a great loss by the death of this gallant duke.

The young duke of Gueldres, who was now of an age to maintain his pretensions by arms against his enemies, began to take measures for the regaining these three castles, which had created such hatred between Brabant and his uncle, the lord Edward of Gueldres. He sent persons properly authorized to treat with the duchess of Brabant for the surrender of the castles, on payment of the sum they had been mortgaged for: but the lady replied that, as they were now legally in her possession, she would keep them for herself and her heir, as her lawful inheritance; and that if the duke were in earnest in his professions of friendship to Brabant, he would prove it by yielding up the town of Grave, which he unjustly detained. The duke of Gueldres on hearing this answer, which was not very agreeable to him, was much piqued, but did not the less adhere to his plans. He now attempted to gain over to his interest the governor of those castles, sir John Grosset, by purchase or otherwise. The knight was prudent and steady: he told those who had been sent secretly to treat with him, never again to mention the subject, for, were he to die for it, he would never act dishonorably, nor be guilty of treason to his lawful sovereign. When the duke found he had not any hopes of succeeding with the governor, he (as I was informed) addressed himself to sir Reginald d'Esconvenort, and excited such a hatred between him and sir John Grosset, for a very trifling cause, that the knight was shortly after murdered in the plains, either by sir Reginald, or by his people, or through an ambuscade, to the great vexation of the duchess of Brabant and that country. The three castles were put under another governor by order of the duchess and her council. Affairs remained some years in this state; but their mutual hatred was privately kept up, as well for these castles as for the town of Grave. Those of Gueldres that bordered on Brabant did as much mischief as they could to their neighbors, more particularly the inhabitants of Grave, which is but four leagues distant from Bois-le-Duc, and a fine open country to ride over: they therefore harassed greatly the Brabanters near that part.

During the time these things were passing, the duke of Gueldres crossed the sea to England, to visit his cousin king Richard, and his relatives the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, who were then at home, and the great barons of England. They made him good cheer, for they were desirous to see and make acquaintance with him, having before heard how much the duke was attached to England. In this journey he entered into an alliance with the king of England; and although he had not hitherto received anything from the king to induce him to become his liegeman, he now accepted a pension of one thousand marcs on the king of England's treasury, which, according to the value of the coin, was equal to four thousand francs ready money.* He was advised to renew his claims on Brabant, and was promised to be effectually assisted by England, that no loss should accrue to him. In return for which, he swore to be for ever loyal in his services to England: all this he too readily entered into. When this treaty had been concluded, he took leave of the king and his barons, and returned to Gueldres, when he told the duke of Juliers what he had done, and how he had strengthened himself by his alliance with England.

The duke of Juliers, who, from age, had more experience than his son, was not much rejoiced on hearing it, and said, "William, what you have done may be the cause that both you and I shall dearly pay for your visit to England. Are you ignorant of the power of the duke of Burgundy, and that he has not his equal in this respect? He is the next heir to the duchy of Brabant, and how can you think of succeeding in any opposition to him, or of resisting so potent a prince?" "How!" replied the duke of Gueldres, "the more rich and powerful he is, the better to make war on. I had rather have for my enemy a rich man, who has large possessions, than a little baron from whom nothing can be gained: for one blow I receive, I wish to give six; besides, the emperor of Germany is so much connected with England, that I may look for assistance from him should there be occasion." "By my faith, fair son William, you are mad; and more of your schemes will fall to the ground than will be accomplished."

I will explain why the duke of Juliers thus checked his son, and doubted of the success of his enterprises. The late king of France exerted himself much to gain friends in different parts: and, though he could not prevail on many to join him in his wars, yet, by gifts and other compliments, he kept them quiet, and by such means acquired several friends in the empire and elsewhere. When the emperor had forgiven the duke of Juliers' conduct to the duke of Brabant, and the last, by obtaining his liberty, was reconciled to the duke of Juliers, he, at the desire of the king of France, waited on him at Paris, where he was most kindly received. The king gave to him and his knights very rich presents of jewels, to the great satisfaction of the duke. In this visit the duke was presented with Vierson† and its lordships, which he held as a fief from the king, to whom he swore he would never bear arms against France. Vierson was originally dependent on the counts de Blois, is situated between Blois and Berry, and may be worth about five hundred francs a year. During the reign of Charles V., he truly kept his oath, and, as long as the king lived, neither bore arms himself, nor entered into any treaty with the enemies of France. When Charles VI. began his reign, he was so much embroiled with the wars with Flanders and England, that he could not attend to everything. The duke of Juliers, not being summoned, did not renew his homage for Vierson; and the duke of Berry, noticing this, seized the lands, which he said were dependent on him, and thus deprived the counts of Blois of their rights. This, however, caused no quarrel between the families, for I saw them frequently together, and, indeed, from their connection it was right they should be good friends; for Lewis, son of the duke of Berry, was married to the lady Mary, daughter of the count de Blois. The duke of Juliers had thoughts of claiming the lands of Vierson, until he found his son had so hastily, and, as he thought, imprudently allied himself with England, which he imagined would never turn out to his advantage. He had therefore spoken to him in the manner I have related, when the duke of Gueldres returned from England; but he paid not any attention to it, and, as he was young and rash, replied to his father, that he would not do otherwise than he had said; and that he preferred war to peace, and war against the king of France to a contest with a poorer person.

CHAPTER C.

THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT SENDS EMBASSADORS TO FRANCE FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRES. THEY ARRIVE AT THE SAME TIME THE DUKE'S CHALLENGE IS BROUGHT, AND RECEIVE FAVORABLE ANSWERS.

THE duchess of Brabant, who resided at Brussels, was well informed of everything that was passing, and that the duke of Gueldres menaced the Brabanters with war. She was fearful that he would put his threats in execution, and said: "Ah, may God graciously pardon my deceased lord; for, had he been alive, the duke

* See the Fœdera, an. 10 Ricardi II. where the treaty is at length. The pension was for life, of one thousand pounds sterling.

† "Vierson,"—a city of Berry, on the Cher diocese of Bourges, twenty-two leagues from Orleans.

of Gueldres would not have dared to use the expressions I hear he has done; but, because I am a woman, and old, he wants to attack and make war on me." The duchess assembled her council on the occasion; for she knew her opponent was of a hasty temper, and that action would soon follow his words. At the time this council was held, the duke of Gueldres had sent his defiance to the king of France, which had caused great slander in all countries where it had been told; for the duke was but a petty prince in comparison with others; and the tenor of this challenge was, as I heard, written in such imperious and coarse language as astonished all who saw it. This challenge was spoken of variously, according as the different persons to whom it was told were attached.

The council of the duchess, in answer to her which she demanded their advice, said, "In the name of God, lady, what you ask may be speedily given. We advise, that you send embassadors to the king of France and to the duke of Burgundy. You have a good opportunity; for the duke of Gueldres has sent his defiance to the king of France and all his allies. Should he carry his threats into execution, and, as it is reported, make war on that kingdom, in conjunction with the English and Germans, he cannot gain a more convenient entrance into it, than through your duchy. It is right, therefore, the king and the duke of Burgundy be prepared, and that all your castles on the frontiers be well supplied with men-at-arms; for there is no enemy so contemptible, but that he should be feared. We do not mean to say that against him alone, nor for what the Gueldrians may be able to do against us, we should seek for assistance or allies: oh, no; but on account of the connections he may have formed with foreign countries, especially with the English, in whose cause he is now arming, and the Germans, who are avaricious, and eager to make war on France for the wealth they hope to find there." The duchess replied, "Your advice is good, and I will that attention be paid to it." The envoys to France were chosen from among the privy counsellors of Brabant, and were the lord de Bourgueval master of the household, sir John Opem, a most amiable knight, sir Nicholas de la Monnoye, and John de Grave, a clerk. When their credential letters were drawn out and sealed, they left Brussels and took the road to Paris. At that time, however, the king and the duke of Burgundy were at Rouen, whither the embassadors went.

On their arrival at Rouen, they waited first on the duke of Burgundy, who entertained them handsomely, as he knew well, and showed him their credential letters. The duke having perused them, at the proper hour led them to the king, who received them graciously, from his regard to their duchess. The king, after reading their papers, said: "What you request, demands consideration: keep near our fair uncle of Burgundy, and your business shall be attended to, and concluded as speedily as may be." This answer was satisfactory to them, and, having taken leave of the king and the duke of Burgundy, they returned to their lodgings. The king of France, his uncles and the lords of his council, had, at this moment, full employment, and were daily in council respecting different matters which required it. The challenge of the duke of Gueldres was not very agreeable; and they knew not the intentions of the duke of Brittany, from his strange conduct in regard to the constable of France. They had likewise heard he was busy in providing all his towns and castles with stores and men-at-arms; and that his correspondence was now more frequent than ever with the king of England and his two uncles: for the duke of Lancaster was still in Galicia. The council of France had, therefore, enough to do, to weigh well these matters; and were so much occupied on them, that the Brabanters waited some time for their answer. At length the duke of Burgundy gave it them as follows: "You will return to our fair aunt, and salute her many times in my name. Give her these letters from the king and from me; and tell her, that we consider her affairs as our own, and desire her not to be alarmed at anything, for she will have speedy aid; and tell her that the country of Brabant shall not, in any way, be hurt or damaged." This answer was very agreeable to the embassadors, who instantly returned to Paris, and thence to Brussels, and gave the duchess a detailed account of what had passed, and of the answer they had received, so that she was perfectly contented.

CHAPTER CI.

CONCERNING THE RUMORS OF THE SIGNS OF SANCTITY WHICH WERE MANIFESTED BY THE CARDINAL DE LUXEMBOURG AFTER HIS DEATH. THE EXTRAORDINARY END OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.

About this period, there were many rumors, that the body of Saint Peter de Luxembourg, who had been a cardinal, showed miraculous powers in the city of Avignon. This holy cardinal was the son of the lord Guy de Saint Paul, slain at the battle of Juliers. I must say, that the cardinal led a most holy and devout life, doing works agreeable to God; for he was courteous, modest, chaste, and a great almsgiver. He kept from his church preferments merely sufficient for his maintenance, and gave all the rest to the poor. He was the greater part of the day and night in prayer, and shunned all worldly vanities. His life was so devout that it pleased God to call him in his youth; and, instantly after his death, his body, which he had ordered to be buried in the common sepulchre with the poor, performed miracles, for his whole life was full of humility, but it was interred in the chapel of St. Michael. When the pope and cardinals perceived that miracles increased from this holy body, they sent an account of them to the king of France, and to the elder brother of the saint, count Waleran de St. Paul, inviting him to come to Avignon. The count could not refuse, and, when he went thither, presented those fine silver lamps which are now before his altar. It was wonderful the great faith that was in this saint, and the numbers who came thither when I was at Avignon; for by that city I returned from Foix, to witness this. His miracles and votaries daily multiplied, and it was said he would be canonized; but I never heard more about it.

Since I have related the death of this holy cardinal, I will mention that of a different person, for I have not yet spoken of the death of a king who has supplied ample materials for many a part of this history. His actions, however, were the reverse from those of the preceding personage, for by them the realm of France was nearly destroyed. You will readily guess I mean the king of Navarre. It is a truth well known, that nothing is more certain than death. I repeat it because the king of Navarre, when he died, did not think his end so near. Had he supposed it, he probably would have taken more care of himself. He resided in the city of Pampeluna, and took it into his head that he would raise two hundred thousand florins by a tax on his country. His council dared not contradict him, for he was a cruel man to all who did so. The principal inhabitants of the great towns were summoned, and, fearful of disobeying, they came. When all were assembled in the palace, the king himself, who was a subtle and eloquent man, explained to them the reasons why he wanted money; and that two hundred thousand florins must be raised from the country, in such wise that the rich should pay ten francs each, the middling ranks five, and the poor, one franc. This demand much astonished his audience; for the preceding year there had been a battle in Navarre, which had caused a tax to be laid for one hundred thousand florins: he had, besides, in the same year married his daughter the lady Jane to the duke of Brittany, and there were large arrears of the tax of her dower yet unpaid.

The king having demanded their answer, they requested some time to consult together; he allowed them fifteen days, when they were all to meet again in the same place, that is to say, those who had come from the cities and towns: on which they departed. When the news of this heavy tax was known, the whole country was in consternation. At the end of the fifteen days, they assembled again at Pampeluna, and the deputies from the principal towns amounted to about sixty persons. The king would hear their answer in person, and he ordered them to make it in a large orchard, which was distant from the palace, and inclosed with high walls. In giving their answer, they explained how impossible it was for the country to pay this new tax, from the poverty of the kingdom, and from the arrears of former taxes being still unpaid. They were unanimous in this declaration, and begged of him, for God's sake, to have pity on them, for the country could not in truth bear any additional tax.

When the king of Navarre found he had not any hopes of success, he was silent and discontented: on leaving them he said, "You have been badly advised: consult together again:" and then went away, followed by his council. The deputies were shut up in this orchard, with orders for no one to be suffered to go out of it, and very little meat or drink to be given them. They remained thus in great fear of their lives, and none dared open their lips. It may be supposed he succeeded at last in his plan; for he beheaded three of the most determined in their opposition, to frighten the others to his will. At this moment an extraordinary event happened at Pampeluna, which seemed a judgment from God. I will relate it, as several persons from Pampeluna told it me at Foix, which is but three days' journey off.

It was reported, that the king of Navarre was fond of women, and had at this time a very handsome lady for his mistress, with whom he occasionally amused himself, for he had been long a widower. Having passed a night with her, he returned to his own chamber, shivering with cold, and said to one of his valets, "Prepare my bed, for I want to lie down and repose myself a little." When ready, he undressed himself and went to bed; but he was no sooner laid down than he began to shake, and could not get warm He was of a great age, about sixty, and accustomed to have his bed well warmed with heated air to make him sweat; and this practice he had long continued without any visible harm. He ordered his servants to warm the bed as usual; but this time, either by the will of God or the devil, it turned out very unfortunate, for the flames somehow set fire to the sheets, and it could not be extinguished before they were destroyed, and the king, who was wrapped up in them, horribly burnt as far as his navel. He did not instantly die, but lingered on, in great pain and misery, fifteen days; for neither surgeon nor physician could apply any remedies to prevent his death. Such was the end of the king of Navarre, which, however, freed his poor subjects from the tax he would have laid on them. His son Charles was a young, handsome, and gallant knight; he was acknowledged king of Navarre by all his subjects, and soon after the obsequies of his father was crowned in the city of Pampeluna.*

* "Charles king of Navarre died in 1387, aged 55 years. His death was worthy of his life. He was wrapped up in cloths that had been dipped in spirits of wine and sulphur to reanimate the chill in his limbs, caused by his debaucheries, and to cure his leprosy.

CHAPTER CII.

THE DUKE OF BERRY BESIEGES VENTADOUR.*

You have before read of the treaties the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne attempted to make with the captains of the free companies who held castles and forts in Auvergne, the Gevaudan, and Limousin, and were at war with their neighbors. Many of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, for they thought they had sufficiently plundered France, and wished to do the same elsewhere. The count d'Armagnac promised to lead them into Lombardy: but the count de Foix, whom it was not easy to deceive, imagined that was not his intention, and made secret inquiries as to the progress of the business, and whither the men-at-arms were to march on quitting their strongholds. The common report was, that they still continued their courses, for the men of the country so related it to him. Upon hearing this, he shook his head, and said, "Such men-at-arms will not be trifled with. The count d'Armagnac and his brother Bernard are young, and I know they neither love me nor my country: these men-at-arms, therefore, may perchance fall on me, unless I shall take proper order to guard against them. The proverb says, 'Long provision beforehand maketh sure possession.'"

The count de Foix was not, in truth, wrong in his conjectures, as appearances at one time showed, which I shall relate, if I carry my history to that length. You have heard how that Breton, Geoffry Tête-noire, had long held the castle of Ventadour, on the borders of Auvergne and Bourbonnois, and had refused to surrender for any money that had been offered him. He considered this castle as his own inheritance, and had forced all the surrounding country to enter into composition with him to avoid being plundered. By this means every one could labor the ground at their pleasure, and he was enabled to keep the state of a great baron. He was a cruel man, and very ferocious in his anger, minding no more killing a man than a beast. You must know, that when the tax for the redemption of these castles was first raised, those in Auvergne, imagining that Ventadour would be surrendered to the duke of Berry, and the country delivered from the oppressions of the garrison, very cheerfully paid their quota. But when they saw, that of those garrisons who continued their inroads, that of Ventadour was the most daring, they were very disconsolate and considered the tax that had been raised as thrown away. They declared, that until the garrison of Ventadour was prevented from overrunning the country, they would never pay one farthing of any future tax. This was carried to the duke of Berry, who was lieutenant of Limousin, Gevaudan, and Auvergne, and he declared to his council, that those who had made such declaration were in the right, and that the promises that had been held out were badly kept, by their not having so closely besieged the place, as to prevent the garrison sallying forth. The duke then ordered that four hundred spears should be collected, and paid by the country, and placed under the command of sir William de Lignac and sir John de Bonne-lance, a courteous and valiant knight from the Bourbonnois, for them to invest Ventadour completely on all sides with block-houses.

These knights and men-at-arms laid their siege as closely as they could to the castle, and erected four block-houses: they also had large trenches cut by the peasants, and every obstruction thrown across the roads they used to take, so that the garrison was completely shut in. Geoffry, however, was indifferent to this; for he knew he had provision and stores to last for seven years, and that his castle was so strongly placed upon a rock that it could not be taken by storm; and, notwithstanding these block-houses, and this supposed complete blockade, he, at times, with some of his companions, made sallies through a postern that opened between two hidden rocks, and overran the country in search of wealthy prisoners. They never brought anything besides with them to the castle, on account of the difficulty of the passes. This opening could not be closed, and, to the surprise of the country, they were found abroad seven leagues distant: if they were by accident pursued, and had once regained their mountains, though the chase lasted for three leagues, they considered themselves as secure as if in their fort. This manner of harassing the country was long continued; and the siege of the castle in the manner I have related, lasted for more than a year: by it the country was saved the large sums they used to pay as composition-money. We will, for the present, leave Ventadour, and, by way of variety speak of other matters.

By some accident, they caught fire, as they were sewing them about him, and burnt the flesh off his bones. It is thus that almost all the French historians relate the death of Charles, but in the letter of the bishop of Dax, his principal minister, to queen Blanche, the sister of this prince, and widow of Philip de Valois, there is not one word said of this horrid accident, but only of the great pains he suffered in his last illness, and the resignation with which he bore them. Voltaire pretends that Charles was not worse than many other princes. Ferrerus had said before him, that the French surnamed him Charles the Bad, on account of the troubles he had fomented in the kingdom; but that, if his actions were examined, he would be found not sufficiently wicked to deserve such a surname. It is, however, precisely his actions that have caused it. He was, says father Daniel, treacherous, revengeful, cruel, and the sole cause of the ruin of France. Father Daniel speaks exactly like Mariana, who has painted with energy his cruelties, his infamous debaucheries, and his treasons. Our best historians have done the same. But it is one of the follies of our age to attempt the reestablishment of the most worthless characters, and to cry down those reputations that have been the most exalted."—*Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique.*

For more of Charles de Navarre, see les Memoires de l'Académie.

* "Ventadour" a castle in the diocese of Limoges

CHAPTER CIII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS FOUR HUNDRED SPEARS TO THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT. THEY SURPRISE AND BURN THE TOWN OF SEAULLE IN GUELDRES.

The duke of Burgundy was not forgetful of his promise to his aunt, the duchess of Brabant. He assembled a body of four hundred good men-at-arms, from Burgundy and other parts, and appointed two knights for their commanders: the one was sir William de la Trémouille, a Burgundian; the other, sir Gervais de Merande, a German: and said to them, "You will conduct these men-at-arms to that par of the frontiers of Brabant and Gueldres our fair aunt and her council have fixed on, and make a severe war on her enemy, for such are our commands." The knights replied, they were ready and willing to obey his orders. When all their stores and men were assembled, they set out for Brabant, and having entered the duchy of Lexembourg, sent to inform the duchess of their coming. The marshal of Brabant went to meet and conduct them, and, by the directions of the council, quartered them in the three castles the duke of Gueldres claimed, of which they now formed the garrison, and, being on the enemy's land, went forth daily in hopes to meet them. The duke of Gueldres, perceiving that hostilities were begun, reinforced all his towns and castles, and made every preparation to withstand his opponents. Sir William de la Trémouille, desirous to gain renown, and to do some act that should make it known he was in the country, cast his eyes on a town of Gueldres, about four leagues from the castle wherein he was, in hopes to gain it: it was called Seaulle. Having secretly opened his mind to sir Gervais de Merande, and explained his intentions, he agreed to accompany him; for he was equally anxious for deeds of arms. Having collected men from the different garrisons, they marched off at midnight, at a brisk trot, under the care of able guides, who brought them to Seaulle near the point of day. They then halted, and formed another disposition, which, as it was told me, was as follows: sir Gervais, with only thirty lances, was to leave the main body, and, if possible, to gain and keep the gate, until sir William should arrive with the remainder; for if the whole had advanced, an alarm might have been given, but so few would possibly be taken for a party whom the duke of Gueldres had sent to reinforce the place, or some of his men who were riding from one town to another.

As they had planned, so was it executed: sir Gervais left the army with thirty German spears, and rode toward the town. He passed indeed many people on his road thither; for it was market-day, and, as he passed, saluted them in German, which made them all suppose they were their countrymen, attached to the duke of Gueldres, and going to the garrison. Sir Gervais rode on until he came to the gate, which he found wide open and slightly guarded: indeed it was so early, that few were out of bed. They there halted, and were scarcely masters of the gate when sir William de la Trémouille, with the main body, came up full gallop, and entered the town, shouting their cry. Thus was the town won without any defence being made: the garrison never imagined the French would have been so enterprising, and the greater part were still in bed. It was on the Martinmas eve this deed was done. Three days before, an English knight had entered the town with ten spears and thirty archers, whom the king of England had sent thither. The knight's name was sir William Fikaoul;* and, at the moment of the first noise and bustle, he was getting out of his bed. Hearing the town was taken, he asked by whom; he was told by Bretons. "Ha!" said he, "Bretons are wicked fellows: they will pillage and burn the town, and then leave it: whose cry have they?" "In the name of God," cried a knight, "they cry Trémouille!"

Sir William Fikaoul, upon this, armed himself, and made his men do the same, and barricade his house, to see if any would come to his rescue, but in vain; for every one was so frightened, they were flying in all directions, some for the church, others to escape by an opposite gate to that the enemy had entered, abandoning all they possessed. The French set fire to the town to alarm others at a distance, but there were many houses of stone and brick which could not be affected by it: however, the greater part was burnt down and pillaged, for nothing worth taking was left; and they carried away some of the richest inhabitants prisoners.

The English knight was taken doing his duty. When he saw all was lost, he ordered his house to be cleared of the barricades; for he was fearful of fire, as his hall was full of smoke, and placing himself and men in front, fought very valiantly, but at length was made prisoner by sir William de la Trémouille: his men were likewise taken, for few were slain. When the French had done all they listed at Seaulle, in Gueldres, and their servants had packed up the plunder, they departed, for it would have been folly to have remained longer, and marched to their different garrisons. Such was the success of this first blow the duke of Gueldres received: he was much vexed when he heard of his loss, and hastened thither with a large body of men-at-arms, hoping to find the French still there. He

* "Fikaoul." Ferard has Vilzraoul, and my MS. Fitz-Paul. Lord Berners has the same as in the text.

strengthened and repaired the town, and placed therein a garrison, who were more diligent in guarding it than the preceding one had been. Thus it happens in war; sometimes one side loses, and sometimes another.

The duchess of Brabant was highly pleased with the success of sir William de la Trémouille and sir Gervais de Merande, and they acquired much renown for it throughout the country. It was the common talk in Brabant, that in the course of the ensuing summer, they would renew the attack, and keep possession of it, for they should then have a sufficient force. The duke of Burgundy was well pleased to hear such satisfactory accounts of the good conduct of those he had sent to Brabant; and, to encourage them to persevere, he frequently wrote to his knight, sir William de la Trémouille. They guarded so well the castles on the frontier, that no loss happened; and the enemy was more careful in regard to their towns than they had been before the capture of Seaulle. I will now relate an exploit of Perrot le Béarnois in Auvergne, and detail the whole history of it at length.

CHAPTER CIV.

GERONNET DE MAUDURANT, ONE OF THE CAPTAINS OF PERROT LE BEARNOIS, HAVING BEEN MADE PRISONER BY JOHN BONNE-LANCE, AT MONTFERRANT IN AUVERGNE, FINDS MEANS, AFTER HIS RANSOM WAS PAID, TO PUT LE BEARNOIS IN POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT.

This same year, about the middle of May, forty bold companions set out from Chalucet,* in the possession of Perrot le Béarnois, in Limousin, to seek adventures in Auvergne, under the command of a squire from Gascony, called Geronnet de Maudurant, an able man-at-arms. On account of the dread this country and the borders of the Bourbonnois had of these people, the duke of Bourbon had appointed, for its defence, one of his knights, a valiant man-at-arms, called sir John Bonne-lance, who was courteous, amorous, and eager to display his courage. When he heard these companions were abroad, he asked how many they might be: and when they said, "About forty," he replied, "As for forty lances, we do not fear that number: I will take as many to meet them." He then departed from the place where he had heard of this excursion, but his greater force was before Ventadour, and collected about forty or fifty of his men-at-arms that were dispersed on the borders of Limousin, Auvergne, and the Bourbonnois, for he was very desirous to perform some deed of arms. He had with him sir Lewis d'Ambiere, sir Lewis d'Abton, and the lord de St. Obise. They took the field without following any particular road, for they were well acquainted with the country, and came to a pass through which they imagined the enemy must cross, and nowhere else, on account of the mountains, and a river which is wide and deep from the melting of the snow. They had not been there half an hour when the enemy appeared, no way suspecting this meeting. Bonne-lance and his party, with their spears in their rests, charged them, shouting their cry as they were descending the mountain on foot. When they found they must fight, they put a good countenance on it, and prepared for their defence: Geronnet, who was a stout squire, set them the example. Many were, at the first onset, beaten down on both sides; but, to say the truth, the French were by far better men-at-arms than these adventurers, which they showed, for not one turned his back but the servants, who by flight saved themselves while their masters were fighting. Two-and-twenty were made prisoners, and sixteen left dead on the field: their leader surrendered himself prisoner to Bonne-lance.

The victorious party set out on their return, carrying their prisoners with them. On the road, Bonne-lance recollected that, about a month ago, when at Montferrant in Auvergne, he had been well received by the ladies and damsels, and that, as they were amusing themselves, they said to him, "Fair brother Bonne-lance, you are often in the field, and must at times meet your enemies." A lady, who was much in his good graces, added, "I am sure you have frequent engagements with them, and I say so because I should like to see an Englishman. I have often heard, from a squire of this country with whom you are well acquainted, of the name of Gourdines, that they are determined men-at-arms, and as expert as any in this country. Indeed, they prove it by their gallantry, and by taking from us towns and castles, and keeping possession of them." "By God, fair lady," replied Bonne-lance, "if I have the good fortune to make one of them my prisoner, you shall see him." "Many thanks," answered the lady. When Bonne-lance remembered this, he had taken the road to Clermont in Auvergne, as the engagement had been hard by; but he quitted it, and followed that to Montferrant, which lay about one league off on the left hand. The inhabitants of Montferrant were in high spirits at the success of Bonne-lance over these adventurers, and gave him a hearty welcome.

When he and his people had dismounted at the hôtel, they disarmed and took their ease. The ladies and damsels assembled to entertain and feast Bonne-lance, whom they came twenty times to see. He gallantly received them, for he was a prudent knight, and addressing himself to the lady who was so anxious to see an Englishman, said, "Lady, I am come to acquit myself of the promise I made you about a month ago, that if I should, by good fortune, take an Englishman prisoner, I would show him to you. Through the grace of God, I have this day fallen in with a party of very valiant ones; but, although they gave us enough to do, the field is ours. They were not indeed real Englishmen, but Gascons who wage war under that name, and come from Béarn and upper Gascony. You may view them at your leisure; for out of my love to you, I shall leave them in this town until they have paid me their ransom." The ladies laughed, turned the matter into merriment, and said they were obliged to him. When they departed, he accompanied them, and remained in Montferrant for three days, amusing himself with the ladies and damsels. Bonne-lance, during his stay, gave good entertainment to Maudurant and his companions, as he saw they were poor, but bold fellows in the field; it would have been better for the town had he killed or drowned them than to have left them there.

When he was going away, he said to Geronnet, "You will remain here as hostage for your companions, who are to seek your ransom; and, when you shall be prepared to pay, I have ordered a person to receive it for me; and, the moment you have acquitted yourself to me, you may depart, for I have left instructions that you may meet with no impediment. Remember, Geronnet, that I have treated you handsomely; and, if any of our men fall into your hands, do you treat them in like manner." "On my faith," replied Geronnet, "my fair lord and master, that I will cheerfully do, for we are bounden to it by your generous conduct." Bonne-lance returned to the siege of Ventadour, and twelve of his prisoners remained in Montferrant. The ten others, according to agreement, returned to Chaluçet, to seek from Perrot le Béarnois two-and-twenty hundred francs; for this was the sum their ransoms had been fixed at. The twelve in Montferrant were lodged in a handsome house, and lived at much expense. They were not strictly watched; and, during the fifteen days they staid, they went about the town to amuse themselves, and made such observations on the state of it as cost it afterwards one hundred thousand francs.

When the captain of Chaluçet heard of the ill success of Geronnet de Maudurant, and that he and his companions had been defeated by sir John Bonne-lance, he was very indifferent about it, and said to those who had brought him the news, "You are come hither to seek for money to pay his and your ransoms: are you not?" "Yes," they replied, "for gain is not always to be looked for." "I know nothing of gain or loss," answered the captain; "but this I know, you will get nothing from me. I did not send you on this excursion: it was your own free election to seek an adventure. Send to, or tell your companions when you see them, that adventure must deliver them. Do you suppose that I will thus spend my money? No, my friends, that I will not, by my faith! I can always have men enough, who will make more prudent excursions than ye have done. I will not, therefore, ransom any man belonging to me, who is not taken when in my company." This was all the answer they could get respecting Geronnet's ransom. They consulted together, and thought it would be right to send three of them to give Geronnet information of this, that he might consider the matter. The three who were sent, passing without the walls of Clermont, gave their horses water at the mill brook, which runs hard by. They remained some time in the brook observing the walls of Clermont, and noticing they were not too high to be scaled. "By the head of St. Anthony," said they among themselves, "this town may be easily taken: if we come here some night, we may have it, provided the guard is not very strong." They then added, in their Gascon dialect, "We will bargain for it now, and another time buy it: one cannot bargain and buy in the same day." They then passed on, and arrived at Montferrant, where they found Geronnet and his companions. They related to them, word for word, all that had passed between them and Perrot le Béarnois, which, as they knew not where else to seek for money to pay their ransoms, vexed them exceedingly, and for a day and night they were outrageous at his conduct.

Geronnet having calmly considered the matter, said to those who had come from Chaluçet, "Brother-soldiers, return to our captain, and tell him from me, that ever since I have been under his command, I have loyally and faithfully served him, and, if he pleases, will continue to do so; and let him know, that if I shall be forced to turn to the French to obtain my liberty, he will not gain by it. I shall, however, delay doing this as long as I can; and it will be always against my own inclinations. Tell him also, that if he will pay our ransoms, I will, within one month after our deliverance, conduct him to such a place, that it will be his own fault if he does not gain one hundred thousand francs from it." The three companions returned to Perrot, and punctually gave him the message that Geronnet had charged them with. On hearing it, he mused a while, and said, "It may be so: I will speedily give him his liberty." He ordered a large coffer to be opened, that contained upward of forty thousand francs, money acquired by pillage, you must understand, and not from the rents of his estate in Béarn; for the town wherein he was born, and always resided before he left Béarn, has but twelve houses, and belongs to the count-de Foix. The name of it is Dadam, three leagues from Orthès. Perrot le Béarnois had counted out before him two-and-twenty hundred francs, and one hundred for their expenses, which he put into a purse, and calling to him the three companions who had returned from Montferrant, said, "I give you three-and-twenty hundred francs: a friend in need

* "Chaluçet," election of Limoges, near Pierre-buffiere.

is a friend indeed. I shall ask them for Geronnet's freedom, for I am able to pay it now, if he pleases, as much again if necessary."

The companions took the money and set out again for Montferrant, which was fifteen long leagues distant; but they had very good passports, which procured them to pass and repass. Geronnet, on learning that they had returned with the money, was overjoyed: he went for those to whom sir John Bonne-lance had given it to pay it, and said to them, "Count it: you will find there one thousand two thousand francs, which is all we are to pay you." After this he paid liberally, and to the satisfaction of all, the expences they had been at. When this was done, Geronnet borrowed and hired horses and men to conduct them to Chaluçet, sir John Bonne-lance having received a certificate of the ransom being paid. I am ignorant whether sir John Bonne-lance sent for this money or left it in Montferrant, trusting to the strength of the place: for sir Peter de Giac, at that time chancellor of France, had there deposited his wealth, of which he lost the whole, or at least as much as could be discovered, according to what you will hear told.

When Geronnet de Maudurant returned to Chaluçet, his companions gladly received him, and made him good cheer. After three or four days, Perrot le Béarnois called him, and said, "Geronnet, you are obliged to the fair offers you sent me, for your freedom, and to them alone; for you know, I was not any way bound to pay your ransom when taken in excursions made without my orders: now, keep your word, and prove the truth of your offer; otherwise we shall be on bad terms, and you will incur my serious anger: for know that I have not learnt to lose, but to win." "Captain," replied Geronnet, "you have reason to say so; and I now offer to put you in possession of Montferrant within fifteen days, if you be willing to undertake it. In this town there is great wealth and wherewithal to plunder; for, besides its riches in silk and merchandise, many of the inhabitants have much money. Sir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, who knows well where to seek for money, has deposited, as I have been informed, a very large sum in this town of Montferrant; and I must say, it is the weakest and worst guarded town in the realm; this is the offer I sent to you, and the promise I entered into." "In God's name," answered Perrot, "it is well said, and I accept it: I will secretly make preparations: you know all the outlets of the town: but will it require many men?" "Three or four hundred spears," said Geronnet, "will do the business; for they do not seem people likely to make any great resistance." "Well, by God," replied Perrot, "I will undertake it, and make it known to the captains of the forts that are near us, and when we be all assembled, will march thither."

PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND A COMPANY OF PILLAGERS.—Designed from a MS. Illumination of the 15th Century.

In consequence, Perrot le Béarnois got himself in readiness, and sent information of his intentions to the captains of the forts in the neighborhood, and fixed their rendezvous at the castle of Donzac,* in the bishopric of Clermont, that was not far distant from Montferrant: Olim Barbe, a Gascon, and famous pillager, was the captain of it. The companions from seven forts attached to the English met, on the appointed day, at Donzac, and were upward of four hundred lances, well mounted, whence they had only six leagues to ride to Montferrant. The first captain who arrived was Perrot le Béarnois, to show he was the chief of the expedition, and to consult with the other leaders before the whole came thither, and lay their plans according to the information which had been given by Geronnet de Maudurant, and as to the time he had fixed for their coming to the town.

Geronnet, with eleven companions, dressed themselves in coats of friese, like to traders, and each leading a horse well laden, according to the custom of the country, set out from Donzac before day, conducting their horses on the road, as carriers: they arrived about noon in the town of Montferrant. No one made any inquiries who they were, never suspecting them to be otherwise than traders or carriers, as their dresses showed, and supposing that they were come to purchase draperies and linens at the fair; for they had travelled, they said, from beyond Montpelier for this purpose; and already much merchandise had arrived from the neighboring towns. Geronnet carried his company to the Crown Inn, where, having put their horses in a stable, they chose a handsome apartment for themselves, where they remained in quiet, not venturing abroad, in the town, lest their plan might be discovered, but thought only of enjoying themselves, as they intended others should pay their reckoning. Toward evening, they took a great deal of care of their horses, and gave the host, hostess, and servants to understand, as they had come afar off, it was necessary they should be well attended to. They called so loudly for candles, they could not satisfy them; and would not go to bed, but kept drinking and roaring in their chamber. The host and hostess, becoming the merry life they led and not having the smallest suspicion of the case, went to bed

I will now return to Perrot le Béarnois and his companions. This same day, toward evening, they left Donzac, under the command of seven captains. Perrot le Béarnois was the chief, then the bourg de Copane, whose name was Amerigot Marcel, the bourg Anglois, le bourg Carlat, Apton Seighin, Olim Barbe, and Bernadon des Isles: there was also with them a grand pillager from Béarn, called the lord de Lance-plaine. It was from him and the bourg de Copane I learnt all this business, and the manner of its being undertaken, after Candlemas, when the nights were long and cold. The weather this night was so severe, with wind and rain, that the captain of the guard would not leave his house, but sent his son, a boy about sixteen years old, to examine the state of the guard. On his arrival, between the outward and inward gate, he found four old men, almost frozen with cold, who said to him, "Take from each of us a halfpenny, and allow us to go and warm ourselves." The youth was eager for the money, which he took, and suffered the guard to go home. Geronnet or some of his people were constantly on the watch at the gate of the Crown, for the relief of the guard. Observing the youth return, and the guard with him, they said, "Things go well: it will be a good night for us: there are none in the town but those who are now in bed, and, as the guard is dismissed, we have nothing to fear."

Perrot and his companions were making all the haste they could but they were obliged to pass under the walls of Clermont. When within one league of that place, they met Amerigot Marcel, governor of Aloise, near St. Flour, with about one hundred spears. When they were known to each other, there was much joy; and they mutually asked whither they were going in such bad weather, and what were the objects of their being abroad. Amerigot Marcel said, "I come from my castle of Aloise, and am going to Carlat." "In God's name," replied the two captains of Carlat, the bourg Anglois, and the bourg de Copane, "here we are, if you have anything to say to us. Do you want anything?" "Yes," said he: "you have some prisoners who belong to the dauphin d'Auvergne, and you know he is in treaty with us through the count d'Armagnac. I wish, therefore, to have those prisoners in exchange for some others who are in my fort, as I have been earnestly requested to get them by the lady dauphin, and she is so good a lady, one cannot refuse her anything." The bourg de Copane replied, "Amerigot, you are indeed bounden to oblige this lady, for you had from her, three years ago, five thousand francs of her money for the ransom of the castle of Mercier. Where is now the lord dauphin?" "They tell me," says Amerigot, "that he is at Paris, negotiating the treaties you know we have engaged in with him and the count d'Armagnac." "Come with us," said Perrot le Béarnois, "and leave all these things: you will gain by it, for you shall have a share of our booty." "Whither are you going?" asked Amerigot. "By my faith, brother-soldier, we are going straight to Montferrant, as that town is to be delivered to me this night." Amerigot replied, "Perrot, what you are about is very wrong; for you know we have entered into a treaty with the count d'Armagnac and this country, which, on that account, thinks itself in a perfect state of security. You will act indeed very ill, if you execute what you have said, and by it break off all our treaties." "On my troth, companion, I will never keep any treaty," said Perrot, "as long as I am master of the field, for we must live. Come with us, for you have nothing to do at Carlat, as the captains are here, and

* "Donzac," a village in Armagnac, diocese and generality of Auch.

those they have left behind will never give you admittance into the fort."

"With you," replied Amerigot, "I will not go, but, since things are thus, return to my own castle." The parties then separated, and Perrot continued his road toward Clermont and Montferrant. When they were below Clermont, they suddenly halted, for a new thought had struck some of them from what the Gascons told who had been backward and forward to Chaluçet from Montferrant. They said to the captains who were collected together: "This city of Clermont is large and rich, and as easy to be taken as Montferrant: since we have ladders with us, let us scale the walls; we shall gain more than at Montferrant." On hearing this, they had almost resolved to put it into execution; but their captains, having considered it, said: "Clermont is a strong town, populous, and well provided with arms: if once we alarm them, they will collect together and defend themselves. There is not a doubt of our having the worst of it; and if we be repulsed, and our horses taken or lost, we shall be disabled from advancing any farther. We are at a distance from our castles: the country will rise against us: we shall be pursued, and run the greatest hazard of loss of life or liberty. It will be more advisable to continue our road, and finish what had been first fixed on, than to attempt any new exploit that may cost us too dear." This advice was followed, and not one word more said on the subject. They passed Clermont as quietly and quickly as they could, and, on the point of eleven o'clock, came before Montferrant. They suddenly halted, when they perceived the town about two bow-shots off, and Perrot said: "We are now at Montferrant: our people must be within it. Do you wait here, and I will go by these ditches to see if I can learn anything of Geronnet, who has brought us hither; and do not you stir until I return." "Go," replied his companions: "we will wait for you."

On this, Perrot le Béarnois, with three others, went away; but it was so very dark, they could not see the length of an acre, and it rained, snowed and blew, most unmercifully. Geronnet was at this hour on the walls, impatiently listening to hear of the arrival of his friends. He looked down, and saw, as he thought, the shadows of men entering the ditches: on this he began to whistle. He was heard by Perrot, who advanced more into the ditch, for there was no water in it on that side; and Geronnet asked, "Who is there?" Perrot knew him from his Gascon pronunciation, and said, "I am Perrot le Béarnois: is it thou, Geronnet?" "Yes," replied he: "if you will make yourself ready, and advance your men, you shall enter the town at this place: we cannot fail of success, for the inhabitants are all in bed." "At this place!" said Perrot, "God forbid: I will never enter that way; and, if I do at all, it shall be through the gate." "Then you will not enter at all," replied Geronnet, in a passion. "On my troth, Perrot, it is not in my power: come hither with your rope-ladders, and none will attempt to oppose your entrance." "Listen to me, Geronnet," said Perrot: "thou hast promised to give me entrance into this town; and, according to thy engagement, I will enter it in no other way than by the gate." "I cannot help it," said Geronnet, "for it is impossible to enter by the gate, as it is closed and guarded, although the men may be asleep."

While they were thus disputing, some of Perrot's men came near the ditch to hear if anybody were stirring. Near to where they were, was a small insulated house, adjoining the walls, in which lived a poor tailor, who, having been hard at work until that hour, was going to bed. As the wind carried the sounds of their voices, and as persons hear better in the night than in the day-time, he fancied he heard some loud talking on the bulwarks. He left his house, and, advancing on the walls, saw Perrot's men walking about; on which he cried out, "Treason!" when one of Geronnet's companions seizing him by the throat, said: "If thou utterest another word, thou art a dead man." On this, fearing to be murdered, he was silent, and Geronnet, turning toward them, said: "Do not kill the fellow, for he comes so opportunely, it must be through the mercy of God that he is sent, since by his means we shall completely succeed in our enterprise." Then addressing himself to Perrot, he added: "Do you return to your men; and, when you shall hear the inner gate open, do you attack the outward one with axes to gain admittance." He then told him the use he meant to make of the tailor. Perrot went to his men, and related to them all you have heard. When he was gone, Geronnet said to the tailor, "If thou dost not promise to do all I shall order thee, thou art instantly a dead man." "And what do you want me to do?" "I want thee to go with me to the gate of the town, and awaken the porters, and tell them the governor has sent thee thither to order them to open the gates, or to let thee open them, to some merchants from Montpelier, who are without, heavy laden with merchandise for the fair." "I do not think they will believe me," said the man. "Yes, they will if thou tell them, as a token of being sent by the governor, that he could not come himself to relieve the guard, but sent his son in his stead. If thou dost not well perform all I have now told thee, or should we fail in our exploit, I will slay thee with this dagger."

The poor man, seeing himself menaced with death, for the Gascons are ready enough at this business, promised to do everything according to the orders given to the utmost of his power. They went to the gate, and after knocking at it for some time, awakened the porters: they asked: "Who are ye that awaken us at such an hour?" "I am such a one," naming himself, "who have this night carried home some work to the governor's house; and as I was coming this way, news was brought that some merchants from Montpelier were without the gate, quite jaded and wet with their journey and loads. He has therefore sent me to tell you to open the gates, or to give me the keys to do so; and, as a proof I am sent by him, I was to say he did not relieve the guard this evening, but sent his son." "That is true," replied they: "thou shalt have the keys: only wait a moment." One of them arose, and taking the keys, that were hanging on a peg, opened a small window, and gave them to him. The moment after, Geronnet snatched them from him, and went to the bars of the gate. The first key he put into the lock luckily opened it: and he then went to the outward gate, thinking to do the same there, but in vain.

Perrot and his companions were on the outside, waiting its opening; but, as Geronnet's endeavors were fruitless, he said to them, "My fair sirs, give some assistance; for I cannot any way open this gate." Then those who were provided with axes and wedges, began to use them like carpenters. As soon as they had made a hole, Geronnet gave them hatchets and saws to cut the bars. Several of the inhabitants, on hearing the noise, quitted their beds, wondering what it could be; for they never imagined the English were come to awaken them at such an hour. The porters at the gate, who had so badly guarded it, hearing the clattering of armor and the neighing of horses, knew they had been deceived and surprised. They went to the windows over the gate, and bawled out, "Treason! treason!" which alarmed the whole town: many rose and fled to save themselves and fortune in the castle, but few were allowed to enter it: for, when the governor heard the English had surprised the town, for fear of consequences he would not lower the drawbridge. He received, indeed, some of his friends at the first moment, by means of a plank; but when he heard the cries of the women and children, he withdrew the plank, and would never replace it, but made his preparations for defence, in case the castle should be attacked.

I have said how the first gate was opened: the second was cut down with axes, and the captains, with their companions, marched into the town without any opposition. They did not, at first, enter a house, for they knew not if any bodies of men were collecting to resist them, but went through the town to be assured of it. They only found a few, who were attempting to enter the castle, that made any resistance, but they were soon either slain or made prisoners. Why should I make a long story of it? The town of Montferrant was thus surprised, on a Thursday night, the thirteenth day of February, by Perrot le Béarnois and his accomplices. When they saw themselves masters of the place, they took up their lodgings at different hôtels, without doing violence to any one; for Perrot had ordered, under pain of death, that neither woman nor damsel should be violated, that no houses should be burnt, nor any prisoners made without his knowledge; and that no one, under the same penalty, should hurt church or churchman, nor take away anything from thence. These were the orders Perrot le Béarnois always gave; and he had made them strictly observed ever since he had entered France, to carry on a war against its towns and castles.

Such was not the conduct of Geoffry Tête-noire: it was indifferent to him whether churches were plundered or not, so that he gained by it. When news was brought to Clermont, which is but a short league distant, of the capture of Montferrant by the English, the inhabitants were greatly alarmed, and not without cause, for their enemies were too near. They knew not well how to act; but they made preparations for the defence of the town. This intelligence was also carried to Château-neuf, on the Allier, Thionne, Vic, Yssoire, Riom, Aigue-perse, and the strong castle of Montpensier: all, or the greater part, of these places belonged to the duke of Berry. Those who heard it, or were any way affected by it, were exceedingly surprised: and the neighboring parts of Auvergne, Bourbonnois, Forêts, and even as far as Berry, trembled. When the news came to Paris, the king and his uncles were, as was natural, very wroth. The count-dauphin of Auvergne was at this time in Paris, on the affairs of his country, and greatly hurt when told of the surprise of Montferrant; for, as he was with the count d'Armagnac, lieutenant for the king over these countries, he was afraid blame would be imputed to him for being absent from his government. But his excuse was, that he was at Paris for the completion of the treaties that had been entered into with the captains of the free companies, and that, on the faith of them, the country had thought itself in perfect security. The dauphin, however, set out from Paris, for Auvergne, the moment he heard of it, leaving his state behind, and, only attended by one page, took the road for Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, changing horses daily. In this haste, he came to St. Pierre le Moustier,* where he learnt other intelligence, which I will relate to you.

* "St Pierre le Moustier"—a town in the Nivernois, seven leagues from Moulins.

CHAPTER CV.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS DETERMINE NOT TO KEEP POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT. THEY MAKE A SALLY ON SOME TROOPS FROM CLERMONT, WHO HAD ADVANCED TO THE BARRIERS OF THE CAPTURED TOWN, AND INSTANTLY DEFEAT THEM.

On the Friday morning these captains, being complete lords of Montferrant, and having had all the inhabitants tied together, so that they could not any way oppose them, searched their houses, and packed up whatever they thought would be profitable to them, in draperies, cloths, furs, dresses, and other articles. When at breakfast they had a long consultation, whether to keep the town or not: some were for keeping and fortifying it; but the majority were of a contrary opinion, and said it would be madness to do so, for they would be at too great a distance from their own castles, and be inclosed within it. Should they be besieged, they were not in force to hold out, and too far from any assistance. They would be starved into a surrender; for there were numbers of gentlemen in the towns and cities about; and the duke of Berry, as soon as he should hear what they had done, would order thither the marshal of France, the lord Lewis de Sancerre. The count d'Armagnac and the dauphin would advance to the siege with a great force, without waiting to be sent to; for they had under them the following great barons: the lords de la Tour, d'Apton, d'Aptiel, de Renel, de la Palisse, and several more; but, above all, sir John Bonne-lance would come hither, with a large body of friends; for it had been said the town was lost by his imprudence and neglect.

Such were the arguments urged against keeping the town, particularly by Perrot le Béarnois and Olim Barbe. Many other reasons were added; for, should they be taken, they would lose all they had, be punished for what they had done, and their forts would be taken from them. They therefore resolved to march away that evening, and carry away their booty and prisoners, of whom they had more than two hundred. To prevent any hindrance to this plan, they posted strong guards at all the gates, so that no one could leave the town.

I will now relate a skirmish that passed between them and some from Clermont. When news first came to Clermont that Montferrant was taken by the English, they were much alarmed at having such neighbors, and held many consultations on the subject. There was, on the road from Clermont to Montferrant, the handsomest, strongest, and best built church, belonging to the mendicant friars, in France. It had large inclosures, surrounded by high walls, within which were very productive vineyards; for, one year with another, these friars made from one hundred to six score hogsheads of wine. In these consultations, some advised the destruction of this monastery; as they said it was so near the town, that it was not unlikely to be its ruin, if in the hands of these pillagers. The pulling it down had been in agitation formerly, and they were now eager to effect it. But others said, it would be a pity to destroy such handsome buildings; and that it would be better to march to Montferrant, and skirmish with the conquerors, at the barriers, and, if possible, invest the place, to prevent the enemy leaving it; for, within four days, the knights and squires of the Bourbonnois and Forêts would be collected and lay siege to it. While these conversations were going forward in the city of Clermont, about sixty men-at-arms, well mounted, were ready to march toward Montferrant, and skirmish at the barriers, and then return home again. No one checked their ardor: for there were among them some of the noblest in the town, who seemed eager to perform deeds of valor. Being all equipped, they set off for Montferrant, taking with them thirty cross-bows. Upward of two hundred volunteers left Clermont and followed them on foot.

It was told to the companions in Montferrant, that a party from Clermont, were at the barriers. This news pleased them much: upward of one hundred of the most expert having armed themselves, and mounted their horses, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and fell upon those from Clermont, shouting, "Saint George!" When the party saw themselves thus vigorously attacked, they were panic-struck and instantly defeated, without making the smallest defence, but flying in all directions. The best mounted, on leaving Clermont, took the lead, and said on the road they would be the first to attack these pillagers; but shortly they were the first to return to their town, and the Gascons at their heels. Had the last had as good horses, all or the greater part would have remained with them: they, however, chased them until they met the volunteers on foot, who, when they perceived the defeat of their townsmen, kept no longer any order, but ran away for the fastest, leaping from hedge to hedge, and from ditch to ditch, to save themselves. The cross-bows from Clermont kept in better array when the others fled, and drew themselves up in a vineyard with presented bows, making a show of defence. They there remained until the English had returned to Montferrant, for they never thought of going after them. The Clermontois lost twenty of their men, six killed and fourteen made prisoners.

CHAPTER CVI.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS, HAVING PLUNDERED MONTFERRANT, RETREAT TO THEIR FORTS. HIS ANSWER TO THE DAUPHIN OF AUVERGNE, WHO COMPLAINS OF HIS HAVING SURPRISED THIS TOWN DURING THE TIME TREATIES WERE IN AGITATION FOR HIS LEAVING THE COUNTRY.

When this business was over, they were busily employed until near night in packing up their plunder. On the point of six o'clock, having completed it, they were on foot, except about sixty on horseback, and conducted down the streets more than four hundred horses laden with cloths, furs, and whatever they had seized. They had found in the houses of the rich, caskets full, but had left them empty. Having bound all the inhabitants, two and two, they had the gates opened after nightfall and departed, not having staid at Montferrant more than eighteen hours. They sent their baggage and prisoners before, with those on foot; and the captains followed close after on horseback. It was dark night; and, as the country did not suspect their stay would have been so short, they were not pursued. About midnight they came to Donzac, which they had left two days before, and there unpacked and examined their plunder. I heard, when in that country, that they gained by this expedition upward of one hundred thousand francs, besides prisoners; for sir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, alone lost more than thirty thousand francs in gold.

The companions had wisely resolved to leave Montferrant as they did: had they staid two days longer, they could not have attempted it without great danger of their lives. The whole surrounding country were collecting, and advancing in great bodies to lay siege to them, under the command of the lords de la Tour, de Montague, d'Aptheir, d'Apthon, sir Guiscard Dauphin, the marquis of Gaiulhat, sir Lewis d'Ambiere, the lord de la Palisse, sir Ploustrac de Chastelux, and the sénéschal de Montaigne. None remained at home, and the count dauphin was very active in the matter. He would have been there within two days, had he not heard that the Gascons had retreated to their forts: at the same time, he received an account of all the mischief which they had committed. When he was assured this intelligence was true, he travelled more slowly to Saint Pourçain, and thence to Moulins in the Bourbonnois, where he met his daughter, the duchess of Bourbon, who had been very much alarmed, but was rejoiced on hearing the enemy had retreated, though those of Montferrant had suffered severely by their visit, as her country was now freed from such near and troublesome neighbors. "On my faith," said the count-dauphin, "though it were to cost me a very large sum of money, I wish these pillagers had remained at Montferrant, for it should have ended badly with them. We in Auvergne could never have had so fair an opportunity of punishing them, and gaining their forts. They prove their abilities in war by having so expeditiously finished the matter. They have now reëntered their forts, and their plunder is in safety." Thus did the count-dauphin of Auvergne and his daughter, the duchess of Bourbon, converse together.

Perrot le Béarnois, Olim Barbe, le bourg de Copane, le bourg Anglois, Apthon Seighin, and the other captains of the free companies, on their arrival at Donzac, made a division of their pillage and prisoners; some they ransomed, others were carried with them to their different forts, when they separated at Donzac for Carlat, Chaluçet, and their other garrisons. The country of Auvergne was now better guarded than ever. The count d'Armagnac and the count-dauphin sent, however, to tell Perrot le Béarnois, that he had treacherously and wickedly surprised and plundered Montferrant, during the time when treaties were negotiating between them, and that, as he had assented to such treaties, they expected he would make reparation for the mischief that had been done. Perrot replied to this message by saying, that "under their graces' favor, neither he nor any of the seven captains, who had plundered Montferrant, had ever entered into any treaty with them: that they had not taken the town treacherously nor by scalado, but had fairly entered by the gate, which had been opened to them on their arrival: that if they had assented to a treaty, legally sworn and sealed, they would, on their part, religiously and loyally have adhered to it; but that was not the fact, nor had they any intentions of ever entering into any treaty with him." Things remained in this state, nor could these lords gain anything more. Sir Peter de Giac was much vexed at his loss, and the townsmen of Montferrant recovered themselves as well as they could from such an unfortunate adventure.

CHAPTER CVII.

THE LORD LEWIS OF BLOIS MARRIES THE LADY MARY OF BERRY, AND THE LORD JOHN OF BERRY THE PRINCESS MARY OF FRANCE, WHO DIES SHORTLY AFTER. THE DEATH OF THE LADY JANE OF ARMAGNAC, DUCHESS OF BERRY.

Count Guy de Blois, in company with his countess and a handsome attendance of knights, squires, and ladies, set out in the month of August, in the year of our Lord 1386,* in grand array, from his

* Denis Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, that Froissart having omitted to notice these marriages at their proper time, prefers mentioning them here rather than omit them entirely.

castle of Blois, for Berry. They carried with them their young son, who, the preceding year, had been betrothed to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry; and it was the intention of all parties, that on their arrival at Bourges the marriage should be consummated. When the contracts had been signed, the marriage ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St. Stephen, at Bourges, by a valiant prelate, the cardinal of Avignon. The chancellor of Berry and the bishop of Poitiers had betrothed them to each other the year before. There were many grand feasts and entertainments at this wedding of lord Lewis of Blois with the lady Mary of Berry, and the tilts and tournaments of the knights and squires lasted for eight days. The count and countess of Blois, when all was over, took leave of the duke of Berry and returned to Blois, accompanied by their daughter-in-law.

This same year, John of Berry, son of the duke of Berry, and styled count de Montpensier, was married to lady Mary of France, sister to king Charles. The duchess of Berry, with her son and the lady Mary of France, paid a visit to the count and countess of Blois during the Lent of the ensuing year. They and their attendants were grandly received in the castle of Blois, as the count understood these matters well. I was present at the time of this visit. When the duchess and her children had staid three days, they departed for Poitiers; but they went by water down the Loire as far as Amboise, and from thence travelled in cars and on horseback to Poitou. The duchess and her children resided for the most part in the fair castle of a handsome town called Chinon.*

In this year died the lady Mary of France, the young bride of the count de Montpensier. Soon after died also, the lady Jane d'Armagnac, duchess of Berry. Thus the duke and his son were left widowers: they, however, married again, but not immediately. I shall speak of these second marriages, more especially of that of the duke, at a proper time, as our history claims that mention be made of it.

CHAPTER CVIII.

WHILE THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE IS IN DELIBERATION WHETHER OR NOT TO MARCH AN ARMY AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, THE DUKE OF BERRY SENDS THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, TO ENDEAVOR TO WIN HIM OVER TO THE PARTY OF FRANCE, AFTER HAVING ALIENATED HIMSELF FROM IT BY THE ARREST OF THE CONSTABLE.

I HAVE before mentioned the challenge which had been sent by the duke of Gueldres to the king of France. It was much talked of everywhere, from the uncourteous and indeed rude language it was said to contain. I was in truth shown some rough drafts, which were said to be exact copies of this challenge; but as I never saw the original, nor any certified copy, I did not give much credit to what so nearly concerned a little prince, like the duke of Gueldres, and a king of France. It was evident that this conduct had greatly angered the king of France, who seemed determined to have reparation, and expected excuses to be made for it by the duke of Gueldres. The king's council had resolved it should not remain quiet: for the great barons had declared, that if the king did not show his resentment, whatever sums it might cost France, they would be alone to blame: for the king had proved, when in Flanders, his willingness to pursue his enemies. The king was young, indeed, but of good courage; and if he suffered such insults with patience, foreign countries would hold the nobility of France very cheap, as they were the king's advisers, and had sworn to guard his honor. The lord de Coucy took great pains in the council, that no blame might fall on him; and showed clearly he personally felt the insult. He was better acquainted with the character of the Germans than many others, from his disputes with the duke of Austria, and from different transactions in which he had been engaged with them.

The king's ministers saw that the greater part of the nobles of the realm were for war against Gueldres, and, in particular the duke of Burgundy, on account of the warfare the duke was carrying on against his aunt, the duchess, and the country of Brabant. This duchy reverted to him after the decease of his aunt and her sister,† who were both old ladies. The duke of Burgundy would very gladly have seen the duke of Gueldres, who was chivalrous enough, checked by fair or foul means. It was necessary, however, the kingdom should be unanimous in this disposition; for it was a great distance the king of France would have to march into Germany, to make conquests and put lords under his obedience; and he must carry with him the whole force of the kingdom; for, as the Germans were so avaricious, it was uncertain if they would not all unite in the support of the duke of Gueldres. In addition, the duke of Burgundy and the other nobles were aware of the consequences the conduct of the Duke of Brittany might lead to; for he showed his preference of war to peace with France; and the lords of the council knew he was laying provision of stores and artillery in all his strong towns and castles for their defence, in case of being besieged. Besides this, he was constantly sending over letters and messengers to England, to the king and his council, in the most affectionate terms, offering henceforth the strongest friendship, so that the English might continue the war with the most flattering hopes of success.

The council were unwilling to decide on any bold measures, until this cloud, which hung over Brittany, was removed by some means or other, so that the kingdom might not have any fear from that quarter; for, should the king march into Germany, the country would be left defenceless, and they knew not well how to bring about an accommodation. Those who had been sent into Brittany, the bishop of Langres, sir John de Vienne, and sir John de Bueil, were returned, and had told the king and his uncles of their ill success. Upon this the duke of Berry resolved to send thither his cousin, the count d'Estampes, who was a valiant man and able negotiator. He therefore addressed him in such words as these: "Fair cousin, I entreat you would go to Brittany: it is absolutely necessary you should do so, to negotiate with our cousin, the duke of Brittany; and should you find him hot and imperious in speech, do not mind it, nor put yourself in any passion. Treat him gently, and with the greatest attention, and endeavor to make him listen to reason: tell him that the king, myself, and brother of Burgundy, wish him everything good, and bear him the strongest affection; and that, if he would come and live with us, he would find us always ready to serve him. In respect to the castles which he holds from the constable, say, jokingly, that, to be sure, he had seized them unjustly, and that, if he would be pleased to render them back it would redound greatly to his honor, and the king would give him as rich and as strong ones in any part of the kingdom he may choose. Exert yourself, dear cousin, to bring us back good news; and do not quit him, however you may be delayed, without bringing matters to some sort of a conclusion, taking care to remember all the duke's answers, and to examine well the state of the duchy." The count d'Estampes assured the duke he would cheerfully undertake it; and he made no long delay, from the time of his conversation, in his preparations for the journey. When ready, he set out for Brittany, taking his road through Chartres and Mans, and the rich country of Maine to Angers, where he met the queen of Naples, widow of the duke of Anjou, who had styled himself king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, duke of La Puglia, and count de Provence. Her two sons, the lords Lewis and Charles, were with her.

The queen received her cousin, the count d'Estampes, handsomely, and becoming her situation; and they had many conversations together, such as lords and ladies are accustomed to have. John of Brittany was likewise there, who was not in the good graces of the duke of Brittany, whither the count was going: but he carried it off as well as he could; for, not having any forces to support his pretensions, he was obliged so to do. The count remained at Angers a day and night, and then took his leave, and departed for Chantoceaux,* where he arrived that day, and then continued his journey to Nantes, where he refreshed himself, and inquired after the duke of Brittany. He was told that he was at Vannes, or in that part of the country, which was his usual place of residence. He took the road for Vannes, where, on his arrival, he waited on the duke, who received him very kindly, for they were nearly connected by blood. The count d'Estampes, knowing well how to conduct himself with great princes and dames, for he had been brought up and educated with them, acquitted himself with much prudence when in the presence of the duke, and, dissembling with him, did not, for some days, discover the object of his coming. When he found a proper opportunity, he began upon it with great caution and humility, to gain the duke's affection, in manner something like the following: "My lord and very dear cousin, you must not be surprised if I am come to see you from such a great distance, for I was very desirous of so doing." He then continued to inform him, word for word, what the duke of Berry had charged him to say. The duke of Brittany did not seem to pay any great attention to what he said, but, when he had done, replied to the count d'Estampes, "We have in truth heard before what you now tell us, and will consider of it, for we have not as yet done so. You will remain with us as long as you please, for your coming has given us much pleasure."

The count could not, for the present, obtain any other answer: but he continued with the duke, and was lodged within his castle. He staid about fifteen days with the duke of Brittany in Vannes and thereabouts, who treated him with much affection. He showed him his fair castle of Ermine, which he had had newly repaired and beautified, as he there enjoyed himself the most. The count, one day finding him in good humor, again remonstrated with him on his late conduct, and repeated the cause of his coming; but, though the duke's answers were fair, there was no dependence to be placed on his restitution of the hundred thousand francs and the castles to the constable. He did at length restore them; but it was of his own free-will, without any request being made, and when it was the least

* "Chinon," an ancient town of France, election of Tours. It is remarkable for the death of Henry II. of England, and the residence of Charles VII. of France. Rabelais was born very near to it.

† In the 12th annotation of Denis Sauvage, he makes the following observations "*Sister.*" "I should suppose this sister to be Jane, widow of the late William count of Hainault, according to the 29th and 117th chapters of the first volume, if the 257th of the same volume, and the 209th of the second, did not incline me to believe, that this widow was the Jane of Brabant married again to Winceslaus, last duke of Brabant, who acquired, by his union with her, that duchy. The countess of Flanders, who was sister to this duchess, died five years before her husband, count Lewis of Flanders, who deceased in the month of January, 1384; so that I suspect the reading should be, 'after the decease of his aunt who was now very old,' for I cannot say who this sister was."

* "Chantoceaux,"—a small town, diocese of Nantes.

expected, as I will relate in the course of this history, according to the information I received. The count d'Estampes, finding that a longer stay in Brittany would be useless, determined to take his leave of the duke, and return to France, to the duke of Berry, who had sent him thither. The duke of Brittany parted with him very affectionately, and presented him with a handsome white palfrey, saddled and equipped as if for a king, and a ring with a rich stone, which had cost at least one thousand francs.

The count, on leaving Brittany, went to Angers, where he waited on the queen of Naples and John of Brittany, who were anxious to hear what had passed. They said, "Fair cousin you must have been well employed, for you have made a long stay in Brittany." He related to them partly what he had done, but the conclusion was, that he had been unsuccessful. When he had remained with them one day, he departed for Tours, and continued his journey into Berry, and found the duke of Berry at Mehun-sur-Yevre,* where he had lately built a very fine castle, and was daily adding to it. The duke of Berry entertained the count well, and inquired what had passed in Brittany. The count told him, word for word, the conversation between him and the duke, and that it had been impossible to turn him from his purposes, whatever they might be. The duke of Berry, seeing nothing better could be done, made light of it, and, shortly after, returned to the king and duke of Burgundy, to relate to them the ill success of the journey the count d'Estampes had undertaken, at his request, to Brittany. As they saw they could not do more, affairs remained in this state tugal had held such language to induce his father-in-law to take courage, the duke was not ignorant that England was in a very troubled state, that the council had many weighty things to attend to, as well

Duke of Brittany presenting Count d'Estampes with "a handsome white palfrey, saddled and equipped as if for a king." Designed from a MS. Illumination of the 15th century.

CHAPTER CIX.

THE CASTILLIANS AND FRENCH, AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FROM GALICIA, RECONQUER, IN A VERY SHORT TIME, ALL THE TOWNS AND CASTLES HE HAD WON. THE ENGLISH ABUSE CASTILLE, WHEN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL INVITE THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WHO HAD FLED FROM ENGLAND, TO PARIS.

You have before heard how the English, who had come with the duke of Lancaster to Galicia, had departed, and how the duke and duchess had retired to Oporto, where they had resided some time with king John of Portugal, who had married the duke's daughter. The duke of Lancaster was very disconsolate that his affairs had taken so ruinous a turn, and that his best knights and squires had fallen victims to disease. The whole country of Galicia was now returned to its allegiance to the king of Castille; for the moment the Castillians, and the French knights under sir Oliver du Guesclin, heard of the duke of Lancaster's departure for Portugal, and that few English had remained behind, they sallied forth to conquer Galicia back again, which was soon done. The inhabitants of cities and towns were more attached to the king of Castille than to the duke of Lancaster, provided, however, he was able to keep the field; for the Castillians and Galicians resemble a good deal the Lombards and Italians, who are always on the side of the strongest, and shout out, "The conqueror for ever!"

All which the duke of Lancaster had been able to win before the beginning of July was regained, and the places garrisoned again by French and others under the obedience of the king of Castille. The English, who thought to pass the winter quietly there, were driven out by fair or foul means, for such as made resistance were put to death. Others, seeing affairs go badly, surrendered on having passports given them to return through Castille to Gascony by Bayonne and Bordeaux. The duke of Lancaster was duly informed of all this when at Oporto, and not being able any way to provide a remedy, it gave him great unquietness of heart. This may be readily believed, for the higher the spirit and expectations are, the more bitter are disappointments when things turn out contrary. He, however, kept up his courage tolerably well, and said at times that if he had been unsuccessful this year, through the grace of God he would do better another: for the fortunes of this world are so changeable, they cannot remain always the same. The king of Portugal comforted him as much as it was in his power, saying, "Sir, you will keep your state in this country, while you write to your brothers and friends in England the melancholy event of your expedition, though they now be fully informed of all, and press them to send you, early in March next, five or six hundred spears and two thousand archers. I will reassemble my forces, for my subjects are well inclined to fight the Castillians, and we will make an effectual war against them. A kingdom may be won and lost in one campaign."

The duke, on hearing the king thus discourse, was much pleased and returned him his thanks. But, notwithstanding the king of Portugal's language, he was not ignorant that England was in a very troubled state, that the council had many weighty things to attend to, as well respecting the affairs of the borders of Scotland, which gave them much uneasiness, as concerning the duke of Brittany, who was negotiating important treaties with them. He remembered also, that he had many difficulties to obtain the force he had brought with him to Galicia, and that, knowing his countrymen well, he had never had any intention of seeking a reinforcement, for he was aware the country at present was as heavily pressed as it was able to bear; that those who had gone home from Castille would never return thither, and he was fearful they would discourage any others from coming to his aid. Although he knew all this, he did not behave well to the king and barons of Portugal in hiding it from them. After residing some time at Oporto, he told the king, that many reasons urged him to return to Bayonne and the Bordelois; for that Portugal, though he was so agreeably received there by all, was not his own inheritance. He added, that as there were so many strong places and castles in the archbishopric of Bordeaux, on the borders of Foix, Armagnac, beyond the Garonne and Dordogne, in Quercy, Perigord, Limousin, Auvergne, and other parts, which were still attached to the English, and whose garrisons were carrying on a war under his name: it therefore was his duty to go thither, and give them aid and advice, should there be occasion. He was besides, when in Portugal, too remote to hear news from England; for the English dread the voyage to Portugal, for its length and danger of meeting Castillian, Galician, or Seville vessels, which cover that sea, either in going to, or returning from Flanders, with merchandise.

For these and other reasons, the duke of Lancaster made his preparations for departure; and when the galleys, which the king of Portugal had provided for him, under the command of his principal admiral Alphonso Bretat, were ready, and the weather favorable, he and his duchess took leave of the king, their daughter, and the barons of Portugal, and embarked and put to sea. They coasted the shores, and, having wind and weather fair, arrived safely at Bayonne in a few days. The inhabitants of Bayonne and the adjacent parts were much rejoiced at their arrival, for they desired greatly their coming, and waited on them to pay their respects. News of the duke and duchess being at Bayonne with their daughter, was spread far and near, and gave much pleasure to Bordeaux and the Bordelois.

Sir John Harpedon, séneschal of Bordeaux, and the séneschal des Landes, with other gentlemen of the country, such as the lord de Mucident, the lords de Duras, de Rosem, de Landuras, de Chaumont, de l'Esparre, de Copane, and several more of the principal barons and knights, paid their compliments to the duke. He received them kindly as they came, for they arrived separately. All offered him such services and affection as are due to a lord. The duke resided this season at Bayonne. He frequently wrote to the king of England and to his brothers; but, for whatever he could urge, he had not any reinforcement of men-at-arms or archers; and, as things were then situated, the duke of Lancaster and his concerns were totally disregarded. Those who had returned to Castille gave such accounts as discouraged others from going thither. They said, "The voyage was so long, a war with France would be far more advantageous. France has a rich country and temperate climate, with fine rivers; but Castille has nothing but rocks and high mountains, a sharp air, muddy rivers, bad meat, and wines so hot and

* "Mehun sur Yvre," a town in Berry, on the Yvre, four leagues from Bourges

harsh there is no drinking them. The inhabitants are poor and filthy, badly clothed and lodged, and quite different in their manners to us, so that it would be folly to go thither. When you enter a large city or town, you expect to find everything, but you will meet with nothing but wines, lard, and empty coffers. It is quite the contrary in France; for there we have many a time found, in the cities and towns, when the fortune of war delivered them into our hands, such wealth and riches as astonished us. It is such a war as this we ought to attend to, and boldly hazard our lives, for it is very profitable, and not in a war with Castille or Portugal, where there is nothing but poverty and loss to be suffered."

Such were the conversations of the English who had returned from Castille, so that the ministers who ruled the country, perceived that any expedition thither would be very unpopular. The country was not as yet recovered from the late troubles, which the executions of sir Robert Tresilian and others, and the flight of the duke of Ireland, had thrown it into. The king had also new counsellors, with whom he was not, at that time, well reconciled. All these things prevented any attention being paid to what related to the duke of Lancaster, who still resided at Bayonne. The situation of England, with respect to its internal divisions, the desperate state of the affairs of the duke of Lancaster, and all that related to the duke of Ireland and his partisans, were perfectly known to the king of France and his council. To gain more information on these subjects, the king, by the advice of his uncles, resolved to invite the duke of Ireland into France, and to send to him at Utrecht, where he resided, proper passports for his coming thither, and for remaining as long as it should be the king's pleasure, and to return whenever the duke should please. It was necessary to send special messengers, and that his passport should be particularly made out, otherwise the duke would not quit Utrecht; for he knew he was in the ill graces of the lord de Coucy, (who was a great baron, and of high birth in France,) and not without cause, for, to say the truth, he had very scandalously treated his duchess, the daughter of the lord de Coucy. This certainly was the principal reason that had blasted his character in France and elsewhere; for he was there as much hated and despised as in England. When this was discussed in the council of France, the lord de Coucy strongly opposed it; but they gave so many reasons for the advantages that might be reaped from the duke's coming, as to induce him to yield; indeed as the king willed it, he could not say more.

The king, being young, was desirous to see the duke of Ireland, because he had been told he was a gallant knight, and that the king of England's love for him had been unbounded. A knight and clerk, who was one of the king's notaries, were sent to seek him. The duke of Ireland was very much astonished when he first heard the king of France wished to see him, and had many ideas what could be the cause of it. Having considered the passport, he found he might safely go to the king of France, and return to Utrecht when he pleased. He therefore left Utrecht, in company with those who had been sent for him, and continued his journey until he arrived at Paris, for the king then resided at the castle of the Louvre. The duke was well received by the king and his uncles; and the king was desirous he would fix his residence in France, and had a hotel appointed for him to live and keep his state. He had wherewithal to do so handsomely, for he had brought immense sums of money with him from England, and the constable of France was still much indebted to him for the ransom of John of Brittany, as the whole had not been paid. The duke of Ireland made frequent visits to the king, who entertained him well; and he was invited to all the feasts, tilts and tournaments.

CHAPTER CX.

THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE DISAGREE, AS TO THE KING'S GOING INTO GERMANY, ON ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THE REALM. THE DUKE OF BRITTANY STRENGTHENS HIS GARRISONS, AND FORMS ALLIANCES WITH ENGLAND AND THE KING OF NAVARRE. THE ENGLISH RAISE A LARGE ARMY.

You have before heard how the count d'Estampes was sent by the duke of Berry into Brittany, in the hopes of conciliating the duke of Brittany, and had returned unsuccessful, to the great vexation of the duke of Berry, but more particularly to the king's council; for they knew the eagerness of the king to march to Germany, to revenge himself for the rude and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had sent him. The wisest of the council, foreseeing what might happen, thought it would be too dangerous for the king, at this moment, to leave the realm. They now clearly saw the duke of Brittany would not listen to terms of accommodation, and felt his conduct, in arresting, confining, and ransoming the constable for one hundred thousand francs, three castles and a town, highly offensive to the honor of France. They heard also, that the duke had entered into a strong alliance with the king of England, and was laying up stores of all kinds in his different towns and castles. He was seeking friends on all sides, so that his barons and knights knew not how to act, (or at least the greater part,) whether to go to France, or remain with the duke and abide the event; but they would never have taken arms against France, for the knights and squires of Brittany are too loyal Frenchmen to be induced to be guilty of such conduct. The council were fearful, and with reason, should the king march to Germany with a large force, and he could not do otherwise, that the duke of Brittany would introduce the English into his country, by Saint Malo, Saint Matthieu, Kemper, Treguier, Guerrande, Vannes, or on some other parts of the coast, for they could not gain a better entrance into France. They were, therefore, much puzzled, how they could, without compromising the king's honor and that of the realm, bring about a reconciliation with the duke. But some of the council said, "that it would be very blameable in the king to put off his expedition for this duke of Brittany, who was not master of his own country; and he might be assured that the knights and barons of Brittany would never side with him against the king of France. Let the king, in God's name, undertake the expedition, and the constable, with his Bretons, may stay at home to guard the country." This opinion was ably supported in the council; but others opposed it, saying, "It cannot be done, for the king will never undertake it without the constable, as he knows more of war than any other knight." Some argued, saying, "Let the king then remain, and send thither one of his uncles, for instance my lord of Burgundy, with two thousand lances and seven thousand lusty varlets; for, as the war principally affects him, he is bound to go thither, from his connection with Brabant, which is the seat of war; and he will be joined, when in that country, by seven hundred spears, and from twenty to thirty thousand of the common people." "What you say is to no purpose," others replied, "for the king is determined to go, as commander-in-chief: he says, since he has been challenged, he will not refuse it. It is proper he should therefore go; and, as he is young, the oftener he bears arms, the more will he like them." "All this is well," said some, "but who will be bold enough to advise the king to march so far into Germany, and among such proud and crafty people? The entrance may be easy enough, but not so the return; for, when they know that the king of France and his nobles are in the heart of their country, they will collect together at some of the passes they are acquainted with, and of which we are ignorant, and completely destroy us. They are the most avaricious of mankind, and the most cruel to their prisoners; for, when they take any in war, they throw them into close dungeons, loaded with fetters, and such-like prison furniture: they are cunning enough in these matters, in order to obtain a larger ransom for them. They are in the highest spirits when they make captive a nobleman or man of rank, and carry him with them into Bohemia, Austria, or Saxony, and confine him in some uninhabited castle, where you must seek for him. Such people are worse than Pagans or Saracens, for their extreme covetousness robs them of all ideas of honor. Now, if you conduct the king to such a country, and any melancholy event happen, and who can foresee what unfortunate accidents may not occur? it will be said that we have advised him, like traitors, to his ruin, and not for the welfare of him or the kingdom. But, should the king persist in this expedition (God defend the realm from harm!) whom will he take with him, and what nobles are to attend him? for he must be properly accompanied, and the country, being left empty of defenders, is in risk of total destruction. Who will now advise the king to undertake this matter in person?" "What can be done then?" said others, in reply. "Why," answered those who had more maturely considered the matter, and weighed all the difficulties attending it, "let the king think no more of it, nor send any considerable force thither. The duke of Gueldres is young and hot-headed, and puffed up with having challenged a king of France. It has not proceeded from any solid understanding, but from the self-sufficiency of a young man, who wants to fly before he has wings. Since he has sent his defiance, let him follow it up: the kingdom of France is large, and the moment he shall enter it, whatever part it may be, the king will be informed of it, and have just cause for calling on his subjects for support, and for marching to repel the invader, should he have remained in France, or for pursuing him into Germany. The king will, by such conduct, acquire honor for himself and his kingdom, at a much cheaper rate than by marching into Gueldres. We have been informed, by those well acquainted with the country, that there are four large rivers to cross before you arrive at the duke's territories, and that the smallest is as wide as the Loire at Nemours or La Charité, and the country was covered with heath and offered no place fit for encampment. Now, those who please may advise the king to undertake his expedition through such a country."

Thus, as I have said, was the council divided respecting this expedition to Gueldres, which the king was very anxious to accomplish. Indeed, more progress would have been made toward it, if they had not been afraid of the mischief that might come from Brittany; and this delayed it much. There was cause for their fears; for the duke, who had received information of the challenge of the duke of Gueldres, and of the king's eagerness to march against him, was only waiting until the king had quitted the kingdom, to introduce the English, with whom he had formed an alliance, into his duchy. The duke had by his subtle arts gained over the principal towns to his interest, such as Nantes, Vannes, Rennes, Treguier, Guerrande, Lamballe, St. Malo, and St. Matthieu de Fine-Pôterne, but had failed in his attempts to gain the nobles. He hoped, indeed, they would accompany the constable into Germany and give him freer scope for his war. He filled his towns and castles with all sorts of stores, artillery and provisions, plainly showing he preferred war to peace. He had likewise formed a strict alliance with his brother-in-law, the

young king of Navarre, and had promised him, that if he succeeded in his attempt to bring over a body of English men-at-arms and archers, he would lead them instantly to Normandy, and recover for him all those towns and places the late king of France had won from his father by himself, or the lord de Coucy and others. The king of Navarre indulged in these hopes, and paid every respectful compliment to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne, with whom he entered into an alliance.

On the 7th day of April, in the year of grace 1388, it was determined in the council of the king of England, by the dukes of York and Gloucester, that Richard earl of Arundel should be appointed commander in chief of a naval expedition. He was to have under him one thousand men-at-arms and three thousand archers, who were to assemble at Southampton, the 15th of May, when the fleet would be ready prepared to receive them, and it was fixed that those who were to accompany him were immediately to begin their march to Southampton. The king of England kept a grand feast on St. George's day, this year, at Windsor, which was attended by a number of the lords, who were to accompany the earl of Arundel, and who there took leave of the king, the queen, his uncles and ladies. The whole of this armament were at Southampton or in those parts, on the appointed day, and embarked on board the fleet the twentieth day of May, when the weather was fine and clear. With the earl of Arundel were, the earls of Nottingham and Devonshire, the lord Thomas Percy, the lord Clifford, sir John de Warwick, sir William Leslie, the lord Camois, sir Stephen de Liberie, sir William Helmon, sir Thomas Moreaux, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Robert Scot, sir Peter de Montberry, sir Lewis Clanborough, sir Thomas Cook, sir William Paulet, and several more: in the whole, there were one thousand good men-at-arms and about three thousand archers. They embarked no horses with them; for they hoped, if successful, to find horses in plenty in Brittany. The day they weighed anchor the sea was so calm and serene, that it was beautiful to behold. They made for the shores of Brittany or Normandy, with a determination to land nowhere else, unless other intelligence should be sent them. They had in their fleet some light vessels (called Balniers Coursiers) which drew but little water, and these were sent in advance, to seek adventures; in the same manner as knights and squires, mounted on the fleetest horses, are ordered to scour in front of an army, to see if there are any ambuscades. We will, however, leave this army, and speak of the affairs of Gueldres, Brabant, and of the siege of Grave.

CHAPTER CXI.

THE BRABANTERS LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF GRAVE. THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE GAINS THE TOWNS OF SAINT MALO AND SAINT MATTHIEU DE FINE-POTERNE, AND GARRISONS THEM WITH HIS MEN.

I HAVE before given an account of the ancient dukes of Gueldres, and how the eldest son of the first duke married Bertaldo of Mechlin's daughter, in order to redeem his inheritance, and had mortgaged three of his castles to the count de Mours, who, unable to regain the money he had lent, had sold them to Winceslaus, duke of Brabant, for the same sum, and all the subsequent events to the time of duke William of Gueldres, son of the duke of Juliers. The duke of Gueldres, finding he could no way succeed in recovering his before-mentioned three castles on the Meuse, which had been part of his patrimonial inheritance, resolved to secure himself the possession of Grave from the Brabanters. He had married his bastard-daughter to the young lord of Bruk, who claimed the town of Grave as lord paramount. There was an amicable treaty made between them, such as should be made when fathers and children are concerned: and the young lord of Bruk yielded to the duke all his claims on Grave, and the territories thereto belonging, in the presence of the knights of Gueldres and Juliers. The duke of Gueldres gave him, in return, the town and territory of Breda, situated on the river Merck, in the duchy of Gueldres, bordering on Holland, below Brabant. It had a handsome castle: the town was extensive and of much trade, but Grave was more valuable. The duke had made this exchange to strengthen himself against the claim of the Brabanters; but the duchess and her subjects said, that the lord of Bruk was only mortgagee in possession, and that she or her heirs might redeem it whenever they pleased. The duke of Gueldres denied this, and hence arose their mutual hatreds and wars.

The Brabanters this year, in the month of May, came with a powerful force of barons, knights, and squires, to lay siege to the town of Grave. They brought with them springalls, and various other machines of attack, and they amounted altogether to forty thousand men. There were almost daily skirmishes at the barriers. The town of Grave is situated on the Brabant side of the Meuse, over which there is a bridge that connects it with Gueldres. This siege was a bold enterprise: but great plenty was in the army of Brabant, and everything was to be had there for money, and as cheap as at Brussels. In these continual skirmishes at the barriers, where the cross-bows sometimes ventured, the success was variable, as must always happen when the parties are nearly equal.

The duke of Gueldres was regularly informed of everything that passed at the siege, for he had fixed his residence only four leagues off at Nimeguen. He wrote frequently to England for assistance, and was in hopes the armament at sea, under the earl of Arundel, should the winds prove favorable, would come to raise this siege. He knew the town of Grave was strong, and that it was amply supplied with stores and provisions, and could not be won by storm. As it could only be gained by capitulation, he felt assured on that head, as he depended on the fidelity of the inhabitants, that they would never desert him. This siege, therefore, lasted a very considerable time. The earl of Arundel's fleet was still at sea, and though no landing had been attempted, it hovered along the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, so that the Normans from St. Michael's Mount along the shore to Dieppe, Saint Valéry, and even Crotoy in Ponthieu, were much alarmed, and uncertain at what place they would disembark. All these seaport towns were well provided with men-at-arms, by orders from the king of France, to oppose any invasion.

The marshal de Blainville, who commanded on the coast, sent the lord de Coucy and the lord de Hambre, two great Norman barons, to the town of Carentan, which is situated on the sea-shore, and formerly belonged to Charles king of Navarre. The constable of France took possession of the towns of Saint Malo and Saint Mathieu de Fine-Pôterne; and, as soon as he learnt the English were at sea, he placed sufficient garrisons in both, in the name of the king of France. It was thought in France that war would be declared against the duke of Brittany. The knights and squires said, that this appearance of the English fleet was another instance of the duke's perfidy; for, by their continued hovering along his coasts, it was clear that he had invited them thither. They never quitted their stations, unless forced by stress of weather, and, when favorable, returned to them again.

CHAPTER CXII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER HAS THOUGHTS OF MARRYING HIS DAUGHTER TO THE DUKE DE LA TOURAINE, BROTHER TO THE KING OF FRANCE. THE DUKE OF BERRY PROPOSES HIMSELF FOR HER HUSBAND. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS MUCH SATISFIED THEREAT.

I HAVE before said that the duke of Lancaster had quitted Castille and Portugal. His thoughts on the unfortunate event of his expedition, were not very agreeable; for he saw his hopes annihilated, and that fortune, as very often happens in worldly affairs, had suddenly turned against him, at a time when it was the least expected: for he had left England well accompanied with men-at-arms, and with every expectation of finishing his campaign in a different manner. It was told him, that his adversary had regained within fifteen days after he left the country, all his conquests, which had occupied him six weeks. His army had been wasted away by sickness, and he despaired of any assistance from home; for the English were tired of this war, as it was at such a distance, and the accounts they had heard of the country disgusted them: besides, the duke knew that England was much troubled within itself. He foresaw little hope of amendment in his affairs; and though he said not much on this subject, he thought a great deal. At times, he compared himself and his expedition to the duke of Anjou and his march to Naples; for, when he set out from France, he was so magnificently equipped, nothing was ever seen like to it, and attended by multitudes of knights, squires, and men-at-arms; but the end had been, that all were either killed or ruined.

It was not surprising that the duke, considering his hopes were totally destroyed, should be sometimes melancholy; for the count de Foix, who was one of the wisest princes, in conversation with his knights, had declared the duke of Lancaster's expectations, in regard to the crown of Castille, were completely at an end. The duke was, however, of a high spirit, and sought consolation in the prospect of the elevation of his children. He had with him a handsome daughter, by the lady Constance, daughter of don Pedro, in whose right he made war on Castille: he, therefore, musing on this subject, said, "If fortune is now unfavorable to me, it may be otherwise to my daughter, who is young and handsome, and by her grandfather and mother the true heiress of Castille. Some gallant prince of France may seek her in marriage, either for the above right or her high birth; for she may boast that she springs from the best blood in christendom." He would gladly have had some overtures made him from France on this subject; for he knew the king had a younger brother, in the duke of Touraine: "and," added the duke, "we might, through this means, recover our inheritance of Castille; for it has been solely through the aid of France that our adversary has kept his crown: should that power turn against him, which would be the case if a marriage took place with the duke of Touraine, he must speedily surrender his throne to my daughter." Such were the expectations the duke of Lancaster flattered himself with, and his imaginations were in a way to be realized; not, indeed, by the king of France's brother, but by one who was well qualified to change the face of affairs in Castille, and who had the complete government of France, for without his consent nothing was done: I mean the duke of Berry.

You have before heard how he and his son were made widowers nearly at the same time. What I am about to relate, I know from my own knowledge; for I, the author of this book, was at the time in the country of Blois, on the borders of Poitou and Berry, with

my very dear and honored lord, the count Guy de Blois, by whose desire and encouragement this history was undertaken. The duke of Berry had, among his other thoughts and plans, a desire to marry again. He frequently said to those near his person, that a lord was nothing without a lady, nor a man without a wife. Those in whom he had the greatest confidence replied, "Very well, my lord, marry then your son John: your house will be more pleasant, and better managed." "Ah," said the duke, "he is too young." "That is nothing, my lord: do not you see the count de Blois has married his son, who is of the same age, with your daughter Mary?" "That is true," answered the duke: "well, name then a lady for him." "We name the daughter of the duke of Lancaster." The duke mused a while, and was some time before he made any reply, when, addressing himself to them, he said, "You propose marrying my son John with my cousin, the daughter of the duke of Lancaster: by St. Denis, you have made me imagine that she will be an excellent match for myself, and I will shortly write to the duke on the subject. He resides, as I hear, at Bayonne; and I will signify to him that some of my council shall very speedily wait on him to treat of this marriage with me, I say: not for my son John, whom I will marry elsewhere." Those to whom he had spoken, on hearing the above, burst out into laughter. "What do you laugh at?" said the duke. "We laugh, my lord, because it seems that you prefer to have a good thing yourself, rather than give it your son." "By my faith, I am in the right; for my fair cousin of Lancaster will not so readily give his daughter to my son as he will to me."

Letters were instantly written and sent to the duke of Lancaster. The messengers, on their arrival at Bayonne, presented the letters to the duke, who, having opened them and perused their contents, was highly delighted, and made those who had brought them good cheer, giving them to understand that their intelligence was very agreeable to him. The duke returned such answers by the messengers as showed the proposal was very satisfactory, and had given him much joy. The messengers, on their return, found the duke of Berry in Poitou, but preparing to return to Paris; for the king and the duke of Burgundy had expressly sent for him, to consider of the state of Brittany. Having read the answer from the duke of Lancaster, which afforded him much pleasure, he determined to persevere in the business, although he could not defer his journey to Paris. He resolved, however, to proceed in it by the shortest mode, and sent letters to one of his knights, called sir Helion de Lignac, who at that time was séneschal of La Rochelle, ordering him to place the town under the government of those he could depend upon, and then, without fail, to hasten to him at Paris. Sir Helion, on receiving the duke's orders, sealed with his seal, and noticing the haste in which he was summoned to follow him, lost no time in putting La Rochelle and its dependencies under the command of two valiant knights of Beauce, called sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Peter Taillepié. When this was done, he took the shortest road he could to join the duke, who he knew, from the tenor of his letter, would be impatient to see him.

We will now return to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne, and say what were his thoughts on the proposal from the duke of Berry. He was not willing it should be kept secret: on the contrary, he published it everywhere, that his enemies might be alarmed, and the matter known in the court of his adversary of Castille. The duke, in consequence, wrote several letters, detailing the whole business, with copies of the duke of Berry's proposals, and his answers of consent, to the count de Foix; because he knew there was a continual intercourse of knights and squires from all countries at Orthès, going or returning to Castille, or on pilgrimage to or from Saint Jago. He did the same thing to the king of Navarre, who had married the king of Castille's sister, and by whom he had a numerous family, that the intelligence of this marriage might be more readily believed in Castille than if told by common report. He wrote also on the same subject to the king of Portugal, but was silent respecting it in his letters to the king and his brothers in England, for he knew the English would not be pleased at it: indeed, they gave proofs of their dislike to this marriage, as soon as they heard of it, as I shall relate when I come to that part of my history; but I must now return to the duke of Brittany, as that matter presses.

CHAPTER CXIII.

THE LORD DE COUCY AND OTHER BARONS OF FRANCE ARE SENT TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY. BEFORE THEIR ARRIVAL, HE HAD RESTORED TO THE OFFICERS OF THE CONSTABLE THE PLACES HE HAD TAKEN FROM HIM.

On the duke of Berry's arrival at Paris, many councils were held by those most in the confidence of the king and his uncles, such as the bishop of Langres and Laon, the lord de Coucy and other privy counsellors, as well on the affairs of Gueldres, whither the king was still very desirous of going, as of Brittany; for the duke would not accept of the advances that had been made him toward a reconciliation with France. They knew not whom they could send to make another attempt, since the former negotiators had failed. The council were much troubled on this account, for they had learnt that the duke of Brittany had been busily employed during the winter in victualling again and reinforcing all his towns and castles, which plainly indicated his wish to have been for war. The wisest of the council said: "You talk of going to Germany: you should rather go to Brittany, and destroy that insolent duke, who holds in contempt the crown of France and refuses to obey its orders. You will not obtain anything from him by treaty: and his presumption is so great, he must be taught his duty: he neither loves nor esteems any one but himself. It is clear, that if the king go to Germany, and leave the realm unprotected by men-at-arms, (and unless he be handsomely attended, he need not think of it,) this duke will introduce the English into his country, and give them an entrance to France. The appearances are now very strong that he will do so; for there is a large English fleet on his coasts, which never leaves them but when forced to it by stress of weather, and when fair it returns; so that I see no alternative; you must have open war or peace." "It would be well," replied others, "that we again send to him the bishop of Langres and the count de St. Pol, for this last is, by marriage, his brother-in-law."* "Oh, no, no," interrupted sir Yves d'Orient: "if you will send to him again, you cannot send one more agreeable to him, nor of greater weight, than the lord de Coucy: for they are connected by marriage, and have always had a great affection for each other; and to the lord de Coucy add whomsoever you please." "Since you have made this proposal, sir Yves," said the duke of Burgundy, "name those whom you think should accompany the lord de Coucy." "Willingly," replied sir Yves: "if you please, then, sir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere shall go with him. They are three very intelligent lords; and, if any can make him listen to reason, they will." "We agree to this," said the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

Although the three lords were instructed what they were to say, and how to act, and to use every amicable means to settle the business, they did not quit Paris immediately. The duke of Brittany heard, before these noblemen left France, of their mission, but those who had informed him knew not the particulars they were charged with. He was confident, however, it related to matters of great importance, by the lord de Coucy's appointment. He frequently meditated on the subject, and opened his thoughts to some of the most confidential of his council, for them to give him advice how to act. "It was commonly reported," he said, "that the duke of Lancaster was about marrying his daughter in France to the duke of Berry, and that matters had gone so far that sir Helion de Lignac was on his road to Bayonne to conclude the business with the duke, who was well inclined to it. Such a report surprised him exceedingly; for the duke of Lancaster, who was his brother-in-law, had never written to him on the subject, and all he knew was from public rumor. This silence had not been usual to him formerly, for whenever any of his affairs had a connection with France, he regularly had informed him of them." His council replied: "Sir, you must alter your plans, whatever they may be, or you may be too great a loser, and bring destruction on your country. This you should dread; for what occasion have you to go to war since you are now at peace, and they are begging you to remain so? Your lady is far gone with child, and you should pay attention that in her situation she be not alarmed. The king of Navarre can give you but little support, for he has enough to do himself. The duke of Lancaster is a valiant and wise prince; but he marries, as they say, his daughter to the duke of Berry. This will be the foundation for a long peace between France and England, and various treaties will be formed in consequence. You will see shortly the king of Castille driven from his throne; for, as the French seated him on it, they can as easily dethrone him: indeed, more easily, for they will have the aid of the duke of Lancaster and the English. We have in truth heard, that the lord de Coucy, the admiral of France, and the lord de la Riviere, are coming hither, and you may suppose it must be on affairs of the greatest consequence to the king and kingdom, or on the matter of the constable of France, whose cause the king has warmly espoused. They are probably ordered to know positively what are your intentions, and if you persist in your former opinions. Should this last be the case, we suppose (for one may judge tolerably well from appearances) that the immense force, now rumored to be destined against Gueldres, will be turned against you. Now consider from whom you may expect assistance, should war be declared by France, as it most certainly will be, unless you consent to a reconciliation, should the duke of Lancaster marry his daughter to the duke of Berry; and this he will do, for where can he ally himself better in regard to the recovery of his inheritance? The majority of prelates, barons, knights, and principal towns of the duchy, are in opposition to you. We therefore say, since you ask our advice, that it is at this moment more than ever requisite for you to consider well your situation, and to avoid risking the loss of your country, which has cost you so much labor and blood to gain. We know how great your hatred is to sir Oliver de Clisson, and that you have mutually shown your dislikes to each other; but you must soften it some little, at least in appearance, for since the king of France, his uncles and barons have taken up his quarrel, they will support him: he is and will continue their constable. Had the late king been alive, who loved him so much, and you had acted the same, we know it would have cost the king half his kingdom, but he would have made you suffer for the injury done

* The duke of Brittany and the count de St. Pol married two daughters of sir John Holland, earl of Kent.

him. The present king, his son, is young, and does not pay that attention to affairs which may be expected from him, if he live, ten years hence: he is coming on the stage, and you are going off. Should you, therefore, engage in a new war with France, after all we have said, it will be contrary to our opinions, and to those of every man who has any attachment to you. You must dissemble at present what your real inclinations may be. What is it to you the holding these castles from sir Oliver de Clisson, which form part of his inheritance, considering the manner in which you gained them? and, whether you have peace or war, they will cost you more to guard for three years than ever you will gain from them in twelve. Give them back, therefore, handsomely; and when the rumor shall be spread abroad, for there is no fire without smoke, that you have so done of your own free-will, you will pacify the anger of many, and greatly please the duke of Burgundy, who has never interfered so much in this business as he might, had he so pleased, through the good offices of your cousin the duchess of Burgundy: this we know for fact. She has a numerous family, who are now your nearest relations: recollect, therefore, whence your origin, and who are your connections, and do not estrange yourself from those with whom you ought to be more strongly united: it will be madness if you do, and you will be undeserving pity for what consequences may ensue. Have no connection with England: the English have sufficient employment at home. They will make you great protestations of friendship, in order to take their advantage of it, and nothing more: this you know, for you were in your youth brought up among them."

The duke was much struck on hearing such very forcible reasoning, and remained some time leaning over a window that opened into a court, without making any reply. His council were standing behind him; and, after some musing, he turned round and said: "I perceive clearly that you have well and honestly advised me. I want nothing but good counsel, and yet how can I pretend to cherish love where I only feel hate? How can I ever love sir Oliver de Clisson, who has given me such repeated causes for hatred? and the thing I most repent of in this world is, the not having put him to death when I had him in my castle of Ermine." "In the name of God, sir," replied those near him, "had you put him to death, you could never have possessed yourself of his estates, for there is an appeal from this duchy to the parliament of Paris. John of Brittany and the son of the viscount de Rohan are his heirs by marriage with his two daughters, and would of right have succeeded to his estates; and you are much blamed for what you have already done respecting the three castles, by their friends in France. The constable has made his complaints to the chamber of parliament at Paris, where sentence will be given against you, for you have no one there to make any defence for what he may accuse you of. When you shall have lost this cause, sir Oliver de Clisson and his heirs will be entitled to follow up the judgment by force of arms; and, should the king and country take part in enforcing them, you must have a greater power than we know you have at this moment to make any resistance. It will therefore be more to your advantage, if, while this matter is pending, you surrender up these castles, and be thanked for so doing, rather than wait until judgment be given against you, with heavy damages. You will also regain the good will of your subjects, which is certainly worth having, and live in peace with those whose affections you should wish to preserve; I mean the king of France, who is your sovereign and natural lord, and my lord of Burgundy and his children your cousins. You have seen an example in your own time in the late earl of Flanders, your cousin-german, who, though a valiant and wise prince, was, through extraordinary events, at the latter end of his days, nearly driven out of his inheritance; but, by humbling himself to the king of France and his uncles, they assisted him in the recovery of his country." "Well," replied the duke, "I see, since I have asked your advice, it will be proper for me to follow what you have said."

I believe everything went on well afterwards; at least, such were the appearances; for the duke of Brittany, who had hitherto kept possession of the constable's castles, now remanded his men from them, and gave up their possession to the officers of sir Oliver de Clisson. This was the first act of moderation on his part: but it did not satisfy the king nor council of France, who insisted on the restitution of the money that had been paid as part of the ransom, and that the duke should come to Paris, and personally make excuses for his conduct to the king, in the presence of the peers of France, and submit to such punishment as the king and his peers might, after great deliberation, adjudge him. The three envoys to Brittany were well pleased when they heard of the restitution of the constable's castles, and the lord de Coucy said, "Now, gentlemen, we have one obstacle the less to surmount, and I suppose the duke will listen to what we may have to say to him."

I was told, that before these three barons left Paris, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy held several private consultations with them, and recommended them to use every gentle method to bring matters to a favorable conclusion, in preference to harsh ones; and to prevail on the duke to come to Paris, or at least half way to the town of Blois, where they would meet him and hold a conference together. The three barons, who were prudent and had received their full instructions, said, they would use their utmost endeavors to comply with their wishes. On leaving Paris, they continued their journey until they came to the city of Rennes in Brittany, where, on asking for the duke, they learnt he was at Vannes, whither they went. Their coming was already known in the household of the duke, for they had sent forward servants to prepare their lodgings. The duke had assembled his council and the principal barons of Brittany near his person, to show them the more honor. They were well received on their entering Vannes, by the knights and others of the duke's household, who had gone forth to meet them, and in particular by the lord de Laval, who resided there.

They dismounted at their lodgings, and, having dressed and refreshed themselves with what they there found, remounted their horses, and rode to the castle de la Motte, the residence of the duke, who met and received them with much joy, telling them they were welcome, for that he was very happy in seeing them. He took the lord de Coucy by the hand, and showed him much kindness, saying, "Fair brother, you are welcome: I rejoice to see you in Brittany: before you leave me, I will give you fine sport with hunting stags, and in hawking." "Dear brother and lord," replied the lord de Coucy, "I thank you: and I and my companions will cheerfully partake of them." The duke showed them every attention, and conducted them, laughing and joking, to his apartments, where they amused themselves with much cheerfulness, as great lords are accustomed to do who have not seen each other for some time. All four knew how to keep up a brilliant conversation as well, if not better, than any lords I ever saw, not excepting the duke of Brabant, the count de Foix, nor the count de Savoy; and, in particular the lord de Coucy shone above all others, as was acknowledged by all lords and ladies, in whatever country he had visited, whether France, England, Germany, Lombardy, or any other places. He had seen much of the world, and had travelled to various parts, to which he was naturally inclined.

During the time these lords were in conversation, spices were brought in handsome silver comfit boxes, and fine wines in gold and silver cans. The lords partook of both, and shortly after took leave and returned to their lodgings. Thus passed the first day, without one word being said of the cause of their coming.

CHAPTER CXIV.

WHILE HELION DE LIGNAC, EMBASSADOR FROM THE DUKE OF BERRY TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IS NEGOTIATING THE MARRIAGE WITH HIS DAUGHTER, THE KING OF CASTILLE SENDS EMBASSADORS PRIVATELY TO BREAK IT OFF, AND TO DEMAND THE LADY IN MARRIAGE FOR HIS SON. HELION DE LIGNAC IS SENT AWAY, THE DAY OF THEIR ARRIVAL, WITH SOME TRUCES RESPECTING THE FRONTIERS OF AQUITAINE.

We will now return to sir Helion de Lignac, who had been sent by the duke of Berry to the duke of Lancaster. The knight arrived safely at Bayonne, and, having dismounted at his inn, made himself ready to wait on the duke, who had already been informed of his arrival, and, as a mark of honor, had sent two of his knights to visit him at his hôtel, and to conduct him to him. Sir Helion, on being introduced to the duke, saluted him very profoundly, as was proper, and he knew well how to acquit himself. The duke received him most honorably, raised him up in his arms, and took him by the hand to lead him into an apartment, for they had met in the hall. Sir Helion then gave him the letters he had been charged with from the duke of Berry. The duke, having opened and read them, advanced toward sir Helion, who declared the business he had been sent on. The duke very courteously replied, and said to sir Helion, he was welcome; that the matter he was come to treat on was of such importance, it was necessary he should deliberate with his council thereon, and that he could not instantly give him a decided answer.

Sir Helion de Lignac remained at Bayonne with the duke of Lancaster and his knights upward of a month, and was treated most kindly by words and otherwise, and made to understand that the duke was not unwilling to accept of the duke of Berry's proposals; but this was not the fact, for all these fine speeches and delays were fictions, and solely used to give more publicity to what was going forward, more especially that it should be known in the kingdom of Castille, for there his affections were placed. The duke of Lancaster said to sir Helion, that if his cousin of Berry married his daughter, he must unite all his force with him to wage war on his adversary of Castille, that his daughter's inheritance might be recovered. Sir Helion, in reply, said, "My lord, I am not charged to say anything respecting this matter: you will, before my departure, write down what you expect, and I will carry it to the duke of Berry, whose affection is, I know, so strong toward you, that he will enter into all reasonable alliances you may propose." "We wish for nothing more," said the duke. Things remained in this state during the time of sir Helion's residence at Bayonne, where he was gayly entertained according to the orders the duke had given.

In the meanwhile, news of this intended marriage was everywhere spread abroad; and, in particular, it was carried to the court of king John of Castille by those who said, "Do you know what is going forward? There are important treaties negotiating with the dukes of Berry and Lancaster, for a match between the duke of Berry and the lady Catherine; and, if this be concluded, as there seems every probability, it will not be done without strong alliances being made

between them. The duke of Berry has at this moment great power: he is the elder uncle of the king of France, and takes the lead in the government of that country. He will succeed in whatever he may propose, as to peace or long truces with England: and, on the other hand, the duke of Lancaster stands in the same relation to the king of England, is wise, and of great power; and, as it should seem, the English are tired of war. If, therefore, by means of this connection with France, a firm peace should be established with England, we shall have the war to support alone; for the duke of Lancaster will not give up tamely his claims on Castille, but, on the contrary, insist on establishing them, as his daughter's lawful inheritance and dower. We shall thus have war with France and England." Those most in the confidence of the king of Castille said to him, "Sire, have you heard the rumors that are abroad? You had never such need of good advice as at this moment. The dangers from the duke of Lancaster are thicker than ever, and the blast comes from France." "How!" replied the king: "what do you mean?". "In the name of God, sir, the report is everywhere current, that the duke of Berry is to marry the duke of Lancaster's daughter, and you may suppose this will not be done without great alliances being made between them; and you may in future suffer as much from the French as you have lately gained by them." The king, on hearing this, was very pensive, for he knew what they had said was true. He demanded advice from those who had ever been attached to him, how, in such a circumstance, he ought to act, and they gave him loyal and good counsel, as I will relate.

You have before heard, in this history, how king Henry of Castille had made his peace with the king of Arragon, on condition that his son John, the present king of Castille, married his daughter. This marriage brought peace to the two countries. King John had one son by this lady, who shortly after died; and then, by the advice of his council, he married again with the lady Beatrice, daughter to the king of Portugal. The son, by the princess of Arragon, was a promising youth, though very young. The council of Castille, in reply to the king's demand, said; "Sire, we can only see one remedy to avert the evils that may be consequent to this marriage with the duke of Berry." "What is it?" asked the king. "It is the infant don Henry your son, who is alone capable of preventing this match; for we are persuaded, that if the duke and duchess of Lancaster were informed you were willing to unite him with the lady Catherine, they would prefer him to the duke of Berry." "In God's name," answered the king, "you say well, and I will instantly set about it; for our subjects will be quite satisfied, that by such a marriage they will have peace with England on sea and land. Now, consider of the most proper persons to send to treat with the duke of Lancaster."

"Sire, it is necessary you should, in this matter, employ those of the greatest prudence and sagacity, and that it be treated with the utmost secrecy, lest you incur the hatred of the king of France. Great jealousies are now abroad, and persons are more eager to report scandal than good actions, for evil reports are sooner made public than others. When it shall be told to the court of France that you are in treaty with the duke of Lancaster, they will wish to know the subject and the particulars, lest it may prejudice the strong alliance the late king, your father of worthy memory, entered into with them, and on which account the French have assisted you in your wars. You must, therefore, send to the duke of Lancaster wise and discreet persons, that the matter may be secretly treated, and kept private until all things be completely settled." "What you have said is right," replied the king: "now name those whom you think capable of accomplishing the matter." "Sire," said they, "we will send your confessor, father Fernando de Torre, and the bishop of Geghene,* who was confessor to the late king, and Peter Gardelempos, who is a great orator." "Be it so, then," answered the king: "I consent; let them be sent for, and instructed what they are to say, and how to act; for formerly, when there was a treaty of peace in agitation, they were not listened to by the duke of Lancaster, who insisted, as a preliminary, that I should lay down my crown, and this I will never do."

The three above-mentioned persons were summoned to Burgos, where the king resided, and told from him on what object they were to be sent to Bayonne, to treat with the duke of Lancaster. They professed themselves willing to undertake it to the best of their abilities, and set out on their journey with few attendants, not like to embassadors going to form alliances, for they were not certain what success they should have. On entering Navarre, they made for Pampeluna, the residence of the king, who had married the king of Castille's sister. She entertained them kindly, but they did not discover to her, nor the king the object of their journey. They passed over the mountains of Pampeluna and Roncesvalles, through the country of the Basques, and arrived at the good town of Bayonne. At the time of their arrival, sir Helion de Lignac was still there, but made no long stay afterwards; for father Fernando, the king of Castille's confessor, waited privately on the duke of Lancaster, as better acquainted with him than the others, and gave him to understand the cause of their coming, and by whom they were sent.

The duke, on hearing this, opened his ears, for the intelligence was highly agreeable to him, and bade father Fernando a hearty welcome. This same day he gave sir Helion de Lignac leave to depart; and it seems to me that the duke consented to a truce for those who were carrying on the war under his name in the sénéschalships of Aquitaine, Bigorre, Toulouse, and other places, comprehending all within the river Loire, but not beyond it, to last until the first day of May 1389. This truce had been requested by the duke of Berry, that his people might pass and repass from him to the duke of Lancaster with greater security; for those of Mortagne-sur-mer, Bouteville, and the garrisons in Quercy, Perigord, and on the Garonne, were very cruel, sparing none, and acknowledging no lord. It was to keep these people in better order that the duke of Berry had solicited a truce, which was well observed. Sir Helion de Lignac left the duke of Lancaster on terms of the strongest affection, and he seemed sensible things were in the train he wished them, for the duke seemed very well satisfied with what the duke of Berry had offered. He had indeed declared, that he never could marry his daughter in France without the consent of his nephew the king of England and the English council; but matters were now so far advanced, he seemed to think there would not be any great difficulty to obtain them. On these assurances, sir Helion returned to France, delivered letters from the duke of Lancaster to the duke of Berry, and related to him all that had passed; with which he was much satisfied.

We will now speak of the embassadors from Castille. These were indeed cordially listened to by the duke and duchess, for their hearts were wrapped up in the hopes of regaining the crown for themselves or their child. They were very kindly received on their introduction at the castle by the duke and duchess, to whom they delivered their credential letters, and explained the object of their mission. They first proposed a treaty of peace with Castille, which the father-confessor discoursed much on, in the apartment of the duke where only the duchess was present, who interpreted to the duke what he did not understand, as she had in her youth been educated in Castille and understood the language perfectly well. The duke of Lancaster, at this first interview, did not discover his real sentiments, although he entertained them well, but said it would be difficult to exchange such hatred for peace, and to establish it with one whom they wanted to disinherit, and that it was not his intention to relinquish his claim to the crown of Castille. The friar and bishop replied; "that there was one means of reconciling his right and the right of their lord and king; and, my lord, we have found it." "What is it?" said the duke. "Sir, you have by your lady a beautiful daughter, of an age to marry, and our lord of Castille has a handsome and young son: if a union between those two could be brought about, the kingdom of Castille would have peace for ever; for what you claim will fall where it ought, to your own heir, who is the lineal descendant from our kings of Castille; and all the fatigues you have undergone in this war must have been for the ultimate succession of this young lady."

"That is true," replied the duke; "but I must have my expenses reimbursed, for I would have you know that my expedition to Castille has cost England and me upward of five hundred thousand francs. I should like, therefore, to hear what you say of repayment." "My lord," said the confessor, "if what we have proposed shall be agreeable to you, we will manage all other things to your perfect satisfaction." "Your coming hither," replied the duke, "has given us pleasure; and I shall certainly marry my daughter, before I return to England, to Castille or France, as I have had proposals from thence; but matters like these are of such importance, that an answer cannot be given at the first overture. With regard to my daughter, whom I consider as the rightful heiress of Castille, I would be well acquainted with him who should marry her." "That is but reasonable, my lord," said the confessor. Thus as I have related, were the proposals of marriage made from France and Castille, to the duke of Lancaster, for the marriage of his daughter. They were both well received, refusals made to neither, and the embassadors well entertained. The marriage, however, with Castille was more agreeable to the duke and duchess, because their daughter would in due time become queen of Castille.

We will now leave the duke of Lancaster, and return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAPTER CXV.

THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY LEAVE PARIS FOR BLOIS, TO HOLD A CONFERENCE WITH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, WHO MEETS THEM THERE. THEY PERSUADE HIM, AGAINST HIS INCLINATION, TO COME TO PARIS.

THE duke of Brittany, as I have said, received the French knights with much kindness, more particularly the lord de Coucy, whom he had been desirous to see. I was informed at the time, the lord de Coucy was the most instrumental in making the duke change his mind: not but that sir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere exerted themselves to the same purpose, but all princes, when they are entreated, will naturally incline to some persons more than others. The duke of Brittany consented, with great difficulty, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy at Blois: after many fair speeches, he said he would go thither, but not one step farther. The lord de Coucy replied, that they asked nothing more, unless it should be perfectly agreeable to him. These three lords stayed with the duke of Brittany I know not how many days, and then returned to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to tell them their success.

Upon this, the two dukes made preparations for going to meet the duke of Brittany at Blois, and sent before all purveyances suitable

* "Gegbene." Q.

to their rank. The duke of Berry arrived first at the castle, where he was kindly received by the countess of Blois, his son, and her daughter, as was becoming him and them. Count Guy de Blois was not at this time in the country, but at Châtel Regnaud, and, as the countess and her children were at home, he paid no attention to the arrival of the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgundy came in a grand style, accompanied by his son-in-law, lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, and his son John of Burgundy, called count de Nevers. The duke was also lodged in the castle, and held there his court.

The duke of Brittany came last, but with no great array, attended only by those of his household, in number about three hundred horse; for it was his intention to return to his own country as soon as these conferences should be over. Such, however, were not the intentions of the other dukes; for they said, whether he would or not they would force him to come to Paris. The duke of Brittany was lodged at the house of a canon of St. Sauveur, within the castle; but his attendants, with those of the other lords, were quartered in the town. These princes kept their state in the castle, which is large, and one of the handsomest in the kingdom of France.

Conferences were held between the three dukes; and those of France gave handsome entertainments to the duke of Brittany, showing him much affection, and repeatedly thanking him for coming to Blois. The duke dissembled as well as he could, and said, that indeed it was from his love to them he had undertaken such a journey, for that he was very unwell. In the course of their conversations they told the duke of Brittany, that since he had come so far, he would have done nothing if he did not continue his journey to Paris, for the king was very anxious to see him. The duke made every excuse for not complying with this proposal, saying his health was too bad to go so far; that he had not brought any attendants with him, but simply those of his household, meaning to return home directly. They kindly answered, that, begging his pardon, it would not be decorous to visit his lord paramount with too large a company; that if he were too ill to ride, they were provided with litters and cars that should be at his service; and that he was bound to pay his homage to the king, which he had never yet done.

The duke of Brittany, in excuse, said, that when the king should be of age, and take the reins of government, he would come to Paris, or to any other place whither he might order him, to perform his homage, for he was bounden so to do. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy replied, that he was of sufficient age and understanding to receive homage; and that every lord of France, and all who held fiefs under the crown, excepting himself, had done their homage, for the king was now in his twenty-first year. The duke of Brittany, finding his excuses of no avail, said, "Should I go to Paris, it will be much against my inclination, and very prejudicial to my interests; for, when there, I shall meet sir Oliver de Clisson, whom I hate, and we can never cordially love each other after what has passed: he will make me bitter and injurious reproaches, and consider what may be the consequences." "Oh no," answered the two dukes, but in particular the duke of Burgundy, "fair cousin, have no fear from that quarter; for we solemnly swear to you, that neither the constable nor John of Brittany, unless you wish it, shall see or speak with you: of this be assured: but you shall see the king, who is anxious for it, and the barons and knights of France, who will make you good cheer; and when you have completed the object of your journey, you shall return home without hindrance or hurt."

Why should I make a long story? The duke of Brittany was so sweetly entreated, that he consented to go to Paris; but he insisted that he should never see the constable of France nor John of Brittany, and that they should never be in the same company with him. The two dukes solemnly pledged themselves to all his requests; and on their faith he engaged to set out for Paris. They remained five or six days in the castle of Blois, and alternately gave grand entertainments to each other, the countess, and her children. Everything having been so settled, the two dukes took leave of the duke of Brittany and returned to Paris; but the lord William of Hainault did not accompany his father-in-law the duke of Burgundy. He attended the countess of Blois and her family to Châtel Regnaud, to visit count Guy de Blois, where he was kindly received and entertained for three days, when he took leave of them and went to Paris, by way of Chateaudun* and Bonneval.†

CHAPTER CXVI.

LEWIS OF ANJOU, SON TO THE LATE DUKE OF ANJOU, UNCLE TO KING CHARLES VI., MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS AS KING OF SICILY. THE DUKE OF BRITTANY COMES THERE SHORTLY AFTER. THOMAS HAPURGAN, AN ENGLISHMAN, AND JOHN DES BARRES, A FRENCHMAN, PERFORM A DEED OF ARMS BEFORE THE KING OF FRANCE AT MONTEREAU-SUR-YONNE.‡

THE duke of Brittany went to Beaugency, on the Loire, where he made his preparations for going to Paris. But before he came thither, there arrived the queen of Sicily and Jerusalem, widow of the late duke of Anjou, who had borne the title of king of those countries, as well as of Naples. She had brought with her her young son Lewis, who throughout France was acknowledged as king of Naples, and was likewise accompanied by her brother, John of Brittany. Before she entered Paris, she signified to her brothers, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy,* her arrival, with her son Lewis, their nephew, and desired to know whether he should make his entry as king, or simply as duke of Anjou. The two dukes, having considered the matter, sent for answer, that they desired he would make his entry as king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, although he was not as yet in possession of these kingdoms; for they would assist him, and prevail on the king of France to do the same, so effectually, that he should recover those territories, and peaceably possess them as his right, and what they had most sacredly promised to perform to their late brother the king of Naples. The lady, upon this, made preparations accordingly; and, having entered Paris, her son passed in grand cavalcade, through the street of St. James, to his hôtel in the Grêve, with kingly state, accompanied by numbers of dukes, counts, and prelates. The queen and her son, having established themselves there, waited on the king, who resided at the castle of the Louvre expecting the duke of Brittany.

The duke of Brittany, on his approach to Paris, stopped one night at Bourg la Reine, previous to his entry, which he made on the morrow. This was great news for the Parisians, on account of the late events of the arrest and imprisonment of the constable, and the fruitless embassies that had been sent to summon him;† his late conduct, and his coming now as it were of his own free will, were variously spoken of. It was on a Sunday, the vigil of St. John Baptist's feast, in the year 1388, at ten o'clock in the morning. The duke of Brittany entered Paris by the gate de l'Enfer,‡ and passing the whole length of the rue de la Harpe, crossed the pont de St. Michel, and came in front of the palace. He was handsomely accompanied by numbers of barons and knights; among whom was the lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant: his brother-in-law John of Burgundy, and the lord William de Namur rode before him. When he arrived at the castle of the Louvre, he dismounted, and, as he passed through Paris, was much stared at by the common people.

The duke entered the gate of the Louvre well prepared what to say, and how to act. He was preceded by the lord de Coucy, the count de Savoye, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir John de Beuil, the count de Meaux, sir Reginald de Roye and sir John des Barres: nearer to him, on each side, were the lord William de Namur, John of Burgundy, and the count d'Ostrevant: behind him were, the lord de Montfort in Brittany, and the lord de Malestroit, his relation and minister. There was a great crowd in the apartment, which was not only small, but the table was spread in it for the king's dinner, who was standing before it with his three uncles, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon. The moment the duke of Britanny entered the room, way was made for him, and an opening formed to the king, by the lords falling on each side. When in the presence, he dropped on one knee, but speedily arose, and advanced about ten or twelve paces, when he again kneeled: on rising, he came close to the king, keeled the third time, and saluted him bare-headed, saying, "My lord, I am come to see you: may God preserve you!" "Many thanks," replied the king. "I was anxious for your coming: we will see and converse with you at our leisure." On which he took him by the hand, and raised him up. When the duke had risen, he bowed to all the princes present, one after the other, and then stood opposite to the king without saying a word; but the king never took his eyes off him.

A signal was made to the masters of the household to bring water, when the king washed, and the duke of Brittany held the basin and towel. When the king was seated, the duke took leave of him and his uncles. The lord de Coucy, the lord de Saint Pol, and other great barons conducted him to the court where his horses waited, and, having mounted, he returned with his attendants the way they had come, through the street de la Harpe, and dismounted at his hôtel. None of those who had attended him remained, excepting such as had accompanied him from Brittany to Paris. The duke of Brittany had frequent conferences with the king of France and his uncles to their mutual satisfaction; and they religiously kept the promise they had made him, for he never saw, during his stay at Paris, John of Brittany nor the constable of France. When affairs were in so good a train that they had not reason to be suspicious of the duke of Brittany, (for if he had not consented to everything the king and his council wished, they would never have suffered him to escape from their hands, as they now had him in Paris,) they thought it time to prepare for the expedition to Gueldres for which the king was impatient to punish the duke of Gueldres, for the insolent and rude challenge he had sent him; which, the more it was considered, was the less to be borne.

The lord de Coucy was therefore ordered into the country, near Rheims and Châlons in Champagne, to mark out the line of march

* "Chateau dun," an ancient town in Beauce, diocese of Blois, twelve leagues from Chartres, thirty four from Paris.

† "Bonneval," a town in Beauce, four leagues from Chateau dun.

‡ "Monterea sur-Yonne," a town in Brie, seven leagues from Melun twenty and a half from Paris.

* Her brothers-in law, own brothers to her deceased husband Louis of Anjou.—ED.

† He had been summoned several times, and the king had expected his appearance ever since the month of May.—ED.

‡ "De l'Enfer." It is now the gate of Saint Michel. For more particulars, see Sauval, Antiquites de Paris, tom. i. p. 36.

for the king and his army, and to excite the knights and squires of Bar and Lorraine to join him. He was in no way to introduce the king's name, but to engage them for himself, as if preparing for an expedition into Austria. Upon this, the lord de Coucy left Paris, and went to Châlons, where he resided about one month, and retained knights and squires from all parts in Bar, Lorraine, Champagne, and in the Retholois. The king of France, after several conferences with the duke of Brittany, left Paris, though the duke's pleadings in his courts were not near concluded; for their proceedings, when they choose, are very tedious, and they make the suitors spend much money without any great advances in their suits.

PALACE OF THE LOUVRE as it appeared in the 16th century. From a print in Chastillon's Topographie Francoise.

The king went to Montereau-sur-Yonne, on the borders of Brie and the Gatinois, where he held his court, and frequently amused himself with hunting stags and other animals in the adjacent forests. During the residence of the king at Montereau, a deed of arms was there performed by an English knight attached to the duke of Ireland, called sir Thomas Hapurgan, and sir John des Barres. This duel had made a great noise throughout France, and in other countries; and it was to be fought with five courses of the lance on horseback, five thrusts with swords, the same number of strokes with daggers and battle-axes; and, should their armor fail, they were to be supplied anew, until it were perfect.

The knights being well armed, mounted their coursers to perform their duel, in the presence of the king, his barons and knights, and a great concourse of people. They tilted on horseback four courses very stiffly, and kept their seats well. It was then the custom, I believe, to lace on the helmets with a slight thong, that they might not make too great resistance to the blow of the lance. At the fifth course, John des Barres struck his opponent so violent a blow on the shield, that he knocked him over the crupper of his horse to the ground. Sir Thomas was stupefied by the fall, and it was with difficulty he could be raised: however, he recovered well enough to perform his other courses with the different arms, to the satisfaction of the king and his lords.

CHAPTER CXVII.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS TAKES THE FIELD BY COMMAND OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, WHO LANDS HIS FORCES AT MARANS,* NEAR LA ROCHELLE.

I HAVE been some time silent respecting the expedition that was at sea under the command of the earl of Arundel: it is now necessary that I should speak of it. You have before heard the cause of its being sent from England, and the treaties that were made between the king and the duke of Brittany. This fleet had remained the whole season on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, except when driven off by storms, but it always returned to its station. There were in this fleet some light vessels called Balleniers, which are much used by corsairs; for, as they draw little water, they can the easier approach the shores. This fleet had lain at anchor upward of a month off the island of Brehat, whence it had got provision. As it was not far from la Roche-derrien, they heard that the duke of Brittany was gone to Blois, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who had held such fair language as persuaded him to go to Paris, where he had been so well received by the king, as to prevent him from leaving that place until everything had been satisfactorily settled.

The earl of Arundel was much cast down when he heard the above, and called a council of his principal officers, to consider how they were to employ their force during the remainder of the season. In this council they resolved to sail for la Rochelle and make war on that country; for, though they had not any castles in those parts, yet they were in sufficient numbers to withstand the force Saintonge or Poitou could send against them. They intended likewise to make their situation known to their friends in Limousin and Auvergne, by some person in their fleet that was acquainted with the country, whom they would land on the coast of Brittany. The truces which sir Helion de Lignac had obtained from the duke of Lancaster had not yet taken effect. They were to commence on the first of August, and the knight was at this time going or returning, I know not which, to or from the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne.

It fell out just as the earl of Arundel and the English barons wished; for they found out a man from lower Brittany, who served under sir William Helmon, then on board, who came from near Vannes, and understood four languages perfectly well, that of lower Brittany, English, Spanish, and French. Before they landed him on the sand, they gave him the following orders: "Thou wilt go by all the bye-roads in this country, which thou sayest thou art acquainted with, until thou shalt come to Chaluçet.* Thou wilt salute Perrot le Béarnois, from us, and tell him, that we desire he will take the field, with as many other garrisons of our party as he can, and make war on France under our commission. Thou shalt not carry any letters for fear thou mightest be stopped and searched. Say, if thou findest thyself in danger, that thou belongest to a wine-merchant of la Rochelle, who had sent thee with some commissions, and thou wilt pass everywhere. Tell Perrot to give instant alarm to Berry, Auvergne, and Limousin, by taking the field; for we will disembark near la Rochelle, and make such a war that he shall soon hear of us."

The Breton said, he would faithfully deliver the message, unless he was stopped on the road. On being landed, as he knew well the country of Brittany, he avoided all great towns, and, passing safely through Poitou and Limousin, arrived at Chaluçet, of which Perrot le Béarnois was governor. On coming to the barriers, having made acquaintance with the garrison, they allowed him to enter, after examining him at the gates, and led him to Perrot, to whom he punctually delivered the message, to the great joy of the governor, who had been long impatient to hear some news of the fleet, and now he had it quite fresh. He said to the Breton, "Thou art welcome: my companions and myself are very eager to take the field, which we will now speedily do, and then act as we are ordered." Perrot le Béarnois instantly sent to the governors of Carlat, the bourg de Compane, to Olim Barbe, captain of Ouzach, to Amerigot Marcel, captain of Aloise, near Saint Flour, and to the captains of the other forts in Auvergne and Limousin, to say he was about to take the field, as the season was now favorable, and desiring they would join him, after having left garrisons in their forts strong enough to prevent any accident during their absence. These companions had as great a desire to take the field as Perrot le Béarnois; for they could only enrich themselves by the losses of others, and, making their preparations in haste, came to Chaluçet, where the general assembly had been fixed. They amounted to full four hundred lances, and thought themselves in sufficient strength for any gallant enterprise, and that there was not a lord in the country able to withstand them; for sir William de Lignac and Bonne-lance would not, on their account, break up the siege of Ventadour.

Being masters of the country, they began their march through Auvergne, toward Berry, because they knew the duke was with the king at Montereau-sur-Yonne. We will, for a while leave Perrot le Béarnois, and speak of the earl of Arundel and his fleet, and what they did on quitting the coast of Brittany. When they weighed anchor, the weather was so fine and beautiful, they hoisted every sail, and advanced as it pleased God. It was a magnificent sight to view this fleet of six score vessels, whose streamers, emblazoned with the arms of the different lords, were glittering in the sun, and fluttering with the wind. They floated, as it were, on a sea that seemed proud to bear them, and which might be compared to a vigorous courser, who, after being long confined in the stable, gains its liberty to bound over the plains: for thus did the sea, gently ruffled by the wind, swell on with a burden it was lustily bearing, and, figuratively speaking, it may be supposed to say, "I delight in carrying you, and will do so without danger, until you be arrived in a safe harbor."

* "Marans," a town in Aunis, four leagues from la Rochelle.

* "Chaluçet," a town in Limousin, near Pierre-buffiere.

The fleet coasted Saintonge and Poitou, and cast anchor off Marans, near la Rochelle. Some of the most adventurous, to the amount of two hundred, observing the tide was flowing, entered their barges, and sailed up the river to the town of Marans. The watch on the castle had noticed the English fleet anchoring, and the barges ascending the river with the tide, and had sounded his horn frequently, to alarm the townsmen, that they might save all they could of their property. The inhabitants, of both sexes, carried their most valuable things to the castle for safety; and it was well they did so, or they would have been lost. While the English were landing, they discontinued saving their property, to take care of their lives. The English, on entering the town, began to pillage it, for this had been the object of their coming, but they only found empty coffers: their contents had been carried to the castle. They discovered, however, plenty of corn, wine, and salted provisions: for there were upward of four hundred tuns of wine in the town. They resolved to remain to guard this provision, which came very opportunely to them; for, should they depart, they imagined the greater part would be carried away by the French, up the river, to Fontenay le Comte. They remained this night in the place, having arrived there only about vespers, and gave themselves full liberty, sending, however, to inform their companions of their situation, and the reason why they did not return.

The earl of Arundel and the other lords were satisfied, and said they had acted right. On the morrow, when the tide began to flow, the smaller vessels weighed anchor, and in them were embarked the armor and other necessaries from the large ships, that, from their size, could not enter the river. There were left in them one hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers to guard them, as they lay at anchor off the mouth of the river. When this had been done, they sailed for Marans, and landed at their leisure, for none came to oppose them, and fixed their quarters between Marans and la Rochelle, which is but four short leagues distant. The alarm was soon spread over the country that the English had landed at Marans, to the amount of four hundred combatants, including archers. The towns and castles in the low country were much frightened, and the villagers instantly fled to the neighboring forests for protection.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

THE ROCHELLERS SKIRMISH WITH THE ENGLISH NEAR MARANS. THE ENGLISH, AFTER PILLAGING THE COUNTRY ROUND, RETIRE WITH THEIR BOOTY TO THEIR FLEET. PERROT LE BEARNOIS DOES THE SAME TO HIS FORT, WITH A GREAT DEAL OF PLUNDER.

If the English had had horses, they would have much harassed the country round la Rochelle; for it was void of men-at-arms, at least such as could have opposed them successfully. True it is, that the lords de Partenay, de Pons, de Linieres, de Tannaybouton, sir Geoffrey d'Argenton, the lord de Montendre, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, the viscount de Thouars, and many other knights and squires of Poitou and Saintonge, were in the country, but each was in his own castle; for they had not any suspicions of the English coming to invade them. Had they been so fortunate as to obtain notice of their intentions, they would have been prepared to receive them, but it was not so; and the surprise was so great, that all were frightened, and impatient to save what they could. The farmers began to hasten their harvest of corn, for it was the beginning of August. Add to this, there was not then in the country any person to take the lead. The lieutenant of Poitou, the duke of Berry, was at Montereau: the sénéschal of Poitou was just gone to Paris: the sénéschal of Saintonge was from home: the sénéschal of la Rochelle, sir Helion de Lignac, was at Bayonne, on the business of the duke of Berry, by which the country was left defenceless; for, from want of heads, their courage failed, and without that nothing effectual can be done. The country was much alarmed for two causes: they had the English army and fleet on one side, and rumor had already informed them that Perrot le Béarnois was on his march, with more than fifteen hundred combatants, and had already entered Berry. They knew not what measures to adopt, except that of placing their wealth in safety; for it was said these two armies were to form a junction in Saintonge or Poitou, as was the intention of many.

There were, indeed, at the time the English landed at Marans, two gallant knights from Beauce in the town of la Rochelle, sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié, whom sir Helion de Lignac had placed there for its defence, when he set out to meet the duke of Berry at Paris. They had acquitted themselves ably; and on hearing that the armament under the earl of Arundel, which had been much talked of all the summer, had disembarked at Marens, they told the mayor and the principal citizens, for it is a populous place, that it would be right to beat up the English quarters; and added, "We hear they have established themselves at Marans, and lay the surrounding country under contribution: we two are determined to bid them welcome, and they shall pay us, or we will repay them, for what they have done. Great blame and reproaches will fall on us, to whom has been committed the government of this town and country, if we suffer them quietly to fix their quarters there. There is one thing much in our favor: they have not any horses, and are for the most part sailors, while we are all well mounted. We will send our cross-bows before us to awaken them with a shower of arrows; and, when they have made their attack, they will return homeward: the English will soon be on foot, and we will then charge them, and, being on horseback, may do them great mischief."

Those who heard this speech approved of it, and instantly assembled a body of twelve hundred cross-bows and varlets, including all sorts. At the first dawn of day, they were all prepared, and set out from la Rochelle at a good pace, to beat up the quarters of the English. During this, the horse got ready, and they were about three hundred; for many knights and squires had hastened to la Rochelle on the first intelligence of the English having landed at Marans. They left the town under the command of the two knights before named. Had the English fortunately had any suspicion of this attack from the Rochellers, and had formed an ambuscade of two hundred archers and one hundred men-at-arms, not one would ever have returned to la Rochelle.

When the cross-bowmen arrived at the English quarters, it was very early morn; and lucky it was for them that the guard, who had watched all night, was retired at sunrise. The cross-bowmen began to shoot their bolts and arrows, which passed through the huts made of boughs and leaves, to the great surprise of the English who were asleep within-side on straw. Many were wounded before they discovered they were attacked by the French. When they had made each about six shots, they retreated, according to their orders, and the men-at-arms advanced on horseback amid the English huts. Knights and squires speedily left their lodgings, and drew up together; and the French captains, seeing they were preparing themselves in earnest to take the field, made after their cross-bows and infantry, who were hastening homeward, for they were much afraid of the English arrows. Thus hurrying, and in dismay, were the Rochellers pursued, though the horse guarded the rear, to the town of la Rochelle. The earl of Arundel with upward of four hundred men-at-arms was closely following, each man with his lance in his hand or on his shoulder. There was much crowding and difficulty to pass the gates; and sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié fought like valiant heroes in defending their men, keeping still on their rear, until they were come to the barriers. They were so hard pressed by the English, who were at their heels, they ran a great hazard of being slain or made prisoners; for the attack was the more vigorous against them as it was visible they were the commanders. Sir Peter de Jouy had his courser killed under him, and was with great difficulty dragged within the barriers. Sir Peter Taillepié was pierced through the thigh with a lance, and hit by an arrow on the helmet, which entered his head, and his good horse fell dead under him at the gate. There was much slaughter made on the Rochellers reëntering the town: upward of forty dead and wounded lay at the gates. The inhabitants had mounted the battlements, and fired so many cannons and bombards that the English dared not approach nearer.

Thus ended this skirmish between the English and Rochellers. As it was near noon, the earl of Arundel had sounded the retreat, when the men-at-arms and archers retired in handsome array to their quarters, where they disarmed and refreshed themselves. They had wherewithal, having been amply provided with wines and meat from the surrounding country. The English lords remained at Marans for fifteen days, waiting for deeds of arms and adventures; but the Rochellers never ventured again to come near them, for they had found, to their cost, how valiantly they had defended themselves. Their two commanders were also wounded, which induced the others to wish for peace. The earl of Arundel, indeed, had sent four times parties to overrun the country round la Rochelle, and as far as Thouars, who did much mischief and terrified the inhabitants. They would have done more had they had horses; but only a few were mounted on what they could find in the country, and these were scarce, for no sooner was the invasion known than all the inhabitants of the flat country fled with their stock and wealth to the great towns, and there shut themselves up.

When the English had remained near la Rochelle for fifteen days, without seeing any attempt made to oppose them, and the wind became fair, they embarked a great quantity of wine and fresh meat they had taken, and, having weighed anchor, put to sea. This same day, they met twelve ships from Bayonne, on their voyage to England with Gascony wines and other merchandise. They sailed together for some time, being much rejoiced at this meeting, for they were well acquainted, and the Bayonnois gave the earl of Arundel two pipes of wine for the love they bore him. The Bayonnois then separated to continue their voyage, and the fleet kept cruising about in search of adventures.

While this armament was lying before Marans, Perrot le Béarnois and his companions had taken the field, and, having passed Limousin, had entered Berry. He had with him four hundred spears and as many pillagers, and carried off in one day all the merchandise that was in the town of le Blanc* in Berry, and gained great wealth and many prisoners, for it was fair-day. He then marched to Selles,† which he plundered. Thus did Perrot le Béarnois maintain himself. He advanced far into the interior of the country, doing great mischief wherever he went, for none ventured to oppose him; and all

* "Le Blanc," in the generality of Bourges, seventeen leagues from Poitiers, nine from Argenton.

† "Selles," or Celles, three leagues from St. Aignan, ten from Blois.

parts were alarmed, even as far as the county of Blois and the Touraine, for they were uncertain whither these two armies would march next. Some imagined they would unite; but it was not so, for the earl of Arundel had embarked again, as I have mentioned, and Perrot with his companions returned to their strongholds. When they had completely plundered the country, they thought it would be more safe for them to retire to their castles and secure their gains. They took, in consequence, the roads through Limousin and Auvergne to their forts; and nothing more was done, as to deeds of arms, in these two provinces the remainder of the season, for the truce that had been agreed to last until the ensuing month of May, now took place. The siege of Ventadour by sir William de Lignac, sir John Bonne-lance, and sir John le Bouteiller, still continued; for Geoffry Tête-noire was so presumptuous as to pay not the least attention to the truce, nor to the besiegers, depending on the strength of his castle.

We will now, for variety, return to the affairs of Brabant and Gueldres.

CHAPTER CXIX.

THE BRABANTERS PRESS GRAVE HARD BY THEIR SIEGE. THE GUELDRIANS BURN A BRIDGE THE BRABANTERS HAD THROWN OVER THE MEUSE, TO ENTER GUELDRES.

I HAVE already discoursed of and explained the situation of the dukes of Gueldres. How the ancestor of the duke of Gueldres of whom I now treat, married the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin, to rescue and repair his heritage which was very much embarrassed and dilapidated; and how the duke of Gueldres, son of the duke of Juliers, to maintain the city of Grave against the Brabanters, for which he had good cause and title, determined, since he could not recover the three before-mentioned castles seated on the river Meuse, Goch, Buch, and Mille, which had once been his fiefs, that he would attach the city of Grave to his heritage in perpetuity. This duke had a bastard daughter bestowed upon and married to the damosel* of Kuck, which sire de Kuck was the heir of the city of Grave. So he applied himself to him so amiably that both father and son had nothing else left for it; and the damosel de Kuck gave him the city and lordship of Grave, and assured him the inheritance in the presence of the knights and barons of Juliers and Gueldres; and on this account the duke of Juliers recompensed him with the land and lordship of Bois-le-Duc, situated on the river Ligne, in the duchy of Gueldreland. A very handsome castle belongs to this city of Bois-le-Duc, which is a good large town and of good profit, but Grave is worth more. The duke of Gueldres made this bargain, to the intent that he might have a good ground of quarrel to take Grave from the Brabanters; for the duchess of Brabant and her council said that anciently the lords of Kuck had held it in mortgage, but that she or her heirs might redeem it whenever they pleased, and that the duke of Gueldres had no right to keep it except as a pledge. The duke of Gueldres maintained an opposite opinion, and said that it was his good inheritance and he would hold it to the last. This was the cause of the war and ill-will that arose between those of Brabant and Gueldreland: and, in the month of May, the Brabanters came to lay siege to the city of Grave; knights, squires, and the commonalty of the good towns; and they brought and carried engines, springalls, trebus, and all other such machines for the assault. And there were full forty thousand men one with another, who were encamped before Grave, over against the valley of the river Meuse. And their host was well furnished, for they had their own country behind and on all sides of them, from whence they received plentiful supplies. And this is the delight of the Brabanters, for, wherever they may be or go, they will be stuffed to the neck with wine, meat, and delicacies, or they will return to their own houses.

You have before heard how anxious the duchess of Brabant was to make war on the duke of Gueldres, and to besiege Grave. There was a great force of knights and squires from the principal towns before it, who declared their intentions were not to depart until they had gained possession of it; and the duchess, to show how interested she was in the matter, had come to reside at Bois-le-Duc, four leagues distant from it. The besieging army was plentifully supplied with all things that came thither by sea, or down the Meuse, from the rich country of Brabant, so that the siege was long continued; and the Brabanters had many large machines which threw into the town stones of such weight as to do much damage wherever they fell. In addition, they flung into the town all the dead carrion of the army to empoison the inhabitants by the stink. This was sorely felt by them, for the weather was hot, and the air too calm to carry off these villainous smells.

At times, many of the knights and squires of Brabant came to skirmish with the garrison at the barriers; for the duke of Gueldres had placed within the town some gallant companions, who were not shy of showing their courage when occasions called for it, and the enemy advanced so near as the barriers. The siege lasted a long time; and the duke of Gueldres had fixed his quarters at Nimeguen; but he could neither raise the siege, nor offer combat to the Brabanters, for want of sufficient force. He had sent to England an account of his situation, and expected for certain he should have a reinforcement from thence, but he was disappointed; for England at that time was in a very unsettled state, and new ministers had been forced on the king by his uncles and the archbishop of Canterbury. A parliament was indeed holden, about St. John Baptist's day, at the duke's request, to consider whether a body of men-at arms and archers should be sent to assist the duke of Gueldres, according to treaty. Having considered the matter fully, they would not agree to it; for it was strongly rumored, that the king of France was assembling a large army, and it was doubtful whither he would march it, and the English imagined it was intended to attack Calais. They were also uneasy respecting the Scots on the borders, and were fearful of sending more forces out of the kingdom, as a large body of men-at-arms and archers were at sea, under the earl of Arundel, lest the country might be defenceless. When the council was considering the affairs of Gueldres, some of the lords said, "Let the duke of Gueldres take care of himself: he is valorous enough, and in his own country, and will withstand all the Brabanters can do against him: if anything worse befal him, he shall have assistance. He has again the Germans, his neighbors, on his side, who formerly joined him against France." Such was the state of affairs in England; but those in Grave suffered much from the siege. During the time it lasted, the Brabanters resolved to throw a wooden bridge over the Meuse, that they might have an entrance into Gueldreland, overrun that country, and, by investing the town of Grave on all sides, prevent any provision from entering it; for they were numerous enough to surround it, could they gain a passage over the river. As they finished the different parts of this bridge, they joined and placed them in their proper situations, and had made such advances, that it was within the length of a lance of the opposite shore. You may suppose that the duke was no way ignorant of what they were about, but he gave not any interruption to their building the bridge, until it was nearly completed. He then advanced with cannons and other artillery, and attacked it so roughly, that it was set on fire and destroyed. Thus did the Brabanters, to their great vexation, lose all the effect of their labor. They, upon this, called a council to determine how to act.

CHAPTER CXX.

THE BRABANTERS HAVING PASSED THROUGH RAVENSTEIN,* ENTER GUELDRELAND, AND ARE DEFEATED BY THE DUKE OF GUELDRES. THE SIEGE OF GRAVE IS RAISED IN CONSEQUENCE.

THREE short leagues from Grave lies the town of Ravenstein, belonging to the lord de Bourne, who is a vassal to Brabant. At the council I mentioned, the lord de Bourne was solicited by the ministers of the duchess of Brabant, and by the knights and squires, to open his town of Ravenstein for them to gain an entrance into Gueldreland, and, with part of their army, overrun it: he complied with their request. The duke of Gueldres, I know not whether by spies or otherwise, gained information that the Brabanters intended entering his territories by the bridge of Ravenstein, through the compliance of the lord de Bourne. He was much cast down when he learnt this, as his force was not near sufficient to meet that of Brabant, which consisted of more than forty thousand men. He formed various plans how to act, and at last determined that, if the Brabanters entered his country, he would retaliate by the bridge of Grave, for he was resolved not to be shut up in any town. He consulted the lord de Ghesme, a great baron in Gueldreland, and his principal adviser, who would not at first agree to his taking the field, on account of the smallness of his numbers. "And what must I do then?" said the duke. "Would you have me shut myself up in one of my towns, while they are plundering and burning my country? This would be too great a loss. I vow to God and our Lady," added the duke, "that I will take the field to meet my enemies, and follow the best measures I can devise that the event may be favorable."

This plan he executed; and, on the morrow, after he had paid his devotions in the church, and made his offering at the altar of the Virgin, he drank some wine, and, mounting his horse, set out for Nimeguen. He was accompanied by only three hundred spears, or indeed less, and they made straight for the place where they supposed they should find their enemies. You may from this judge of the duke's courage, although some blamed him. When they were without the town of Nimeguen, like a valiant knight, he shouted out, "Forward, forward! let us, in the name of God and St. George, hasten to meet our enemy; for I had rather perish with honor in the field than die dishonorably shut up in a town." With him were the lord de Ghesme, who commanded the expedition, and a valiant and prudent knight, called the heir of Hanseberth, the lord de Huckelem, sir Ostez, lord of Naspre, and several other knights and squires of good courage.

The same day on which the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, the séneschal of Brabant had done the same at a very early hour of the morning, with a large body of knights and squires from Brabant, who were eager to enter Gueldreland, and gain there both honor and

* A title bestowed indifferently on young nobles of both sexes.—ED.

* "Ravenstein"—a town of the Netherlands in Dutch Brabant, and capital of a county of the same name, with an ancient and strong castle. It belongs to the elector Palatine; but the Dutch have a right to put a garrison there. It is situated on the Meuse, on the confines of Gueldreland, ten miles southwest of Nimeguen.—BROOKE'S *Gazetteer*.

profit. Upward of ten thousand men crossed the bridge of Ravenstein; and the sénéschal, the lord de Lignière, the lord de Bourgueval, the lord de Gence, and the rest, were much pleased at having crossed the Meuse, and said among themselves, they would that day ride as far as Nimeguen, and burn its mills, suburbs, and the villages that were round about; but they had shortly other news brought them by their scouts, whom they had sent forward to examine the country. The duke of Gueldres was informed, that his enemies, to the amount of ten thousand, were abroad, and had passed the Meuse at the bridge at Ravenstein. The duke halted, on hearing this, to consider again the best mode of proceeding, for some of his companions were alarmed at the smallness of their numbers in comparison with the enemy, who were at least thirty or forty to one. They said, "How is it possible for three or four hundred lances to oppose ten or twelve thousand? it is not in our power to overthrow them, but they may very easily slay us." Several assembled round the duke, and advised him to retreat to Grave; but he replied, "he would never do so, nor confine himself in any town, but march to meet his enemies, for his courage told him he should defeat them; and he preferred dying with honor to living in disgrace. We will overthrow," said he, "our enemies, and gain this day infinite honor and wealth." He then, after a short pause, added in a loud voice, "Forward, forward! those who love me will follow me." This speech of the duke greatly encouraged his men, more especially those who had heard the whole; and they all showed a great earnestness to combat their enemies, who were fast approaching. They tightened their armors, lowered the visors of their helmets, and regirthed their saddles, and marched slowly in handsome array, that their horses might be fresh for the charge. Some few knights were made, and they marched in this order toward Ravenstein.

The Brabanters, with great numbers of common people, had already crossed the river, when news was brought to the sénéschal and his knights that the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, and was so near that they must speedily see him. They were much surprised at this intelligence, and concluded that the duke must at least have had with him six times more men than he had. They instantly halted, and would have drawn themselves up in array, but had not time; for the duke of Gueldres appeared with his company full gallop, with spears in their rests, and shouting their cry, "Our Lady for Gueldres!" A squire of Gueldreland, called Hermaut de Morbec, deserves particular attention, from the great desire he had to exalt his name. He left the ranks of the battalion, and, spurring his horse, was the first to assault the enemy, and at this gallant tilt unhorsed the man he struck. I know not if he were raised from the ground, for the crowd was so great, that when any were dismounted, unless instantly relieved, they ran great risk of being crushed to death. More than six score Brabanters were unhorsed at this first charge. Great confusion and dismay, with but a poor defence, reigned among them. They were so suddenly attacked, (which is the way enemies should be by those who wish to conquer them,) that although they were so numerous, and had many great lords, they were dispersed: they could never form any array, nor could the lords rally their men, nor these last join their lords. Those in the rear, hearing the noise, and seeing the clouds of dust, thought their men must have been discomfited, and that the enemy were coming to them, so that they became panic-struck, and, turning about, fled for Ravenstein or the Meuse. Their fright was so great, they rushed into the river, whether on horseback or on foot, without sounding the bottom or knowing if it were fordable, for they imagined the enemy was at their heels. By this self-defeat, upward of twelve hundred perished in the river Meuse; for they leaped one on the other, without any distinction, like wild beasts. Many great lords and barons of Brabant (whose names I shall not disclose, to save them and their heirs from the disgrace that would attach to them) most shamefully fled from the field, and sought their safety, not by the river, nor by Ravenstein, but by other roads that carried them to a distance from their enemies.

This unfortunate event to the chivalry of Brabant happened between Grave and Ravenstein. Great numbers were slain. All who could surrender did so instantly; and the Germans took them at ransom very readily, for the great profit they expected to make from them. Those who had fled to Grave gave the alarm to the besieging army; for they arrived out of breath, and so harassed that they could scarcely say to them, "Retire as fast as you can, for we have been totally defeated, and nothing can save you." When those in camp saw their appearance and heard their report, they were so frightened that they would not stay to pack up anything, nor even take down their tents and pavilions, but set off without bidding adieu, and left everything behind them. They were seized with such a panic as neither to take victual nor carriage; but such as had horses leaped on them, and fled for safety to Bois-le-Duc, Houdan, Mont St. Gervais, Gertruydenberg, or Dordrecht. Their only care was to save themselves, and fly from their enemies. Had the garrison of Grave known of this defeat of the Brabanters, they would have greatly gained by it, and killed or brought back many of the runaways. They were not made acquainted with it until late, when they sallied forth, and took possession of tents, pavilions, and warlike engines the Brabanters in their fright had left behind, which they brought at their leisure into Grave, for there were none to oppose them. Thus was the siege of Grave broken up, to the great loss of the Brabanters. News was spread far and near, how a handful of men had overthrown forty thousand and raised the siege of Grave. The lord de Bourgueval and the lord de Linieres were made prisoners, with others to the amount of seventeen banners. These and the pennons you will find hung up before the image of our Lady at Nimeguen, that the perpetual remembrance of this victory may be kept up.

CHAPTER CXXI.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE BRABANTERS, RETURNS TO NIMEGUEN. ON THE NEWS OF THIS VICTORY, THE KING AND COUNCIL OF FRANCE SEND EMBASSADORS TO THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, THE MORE SECURELY TO CARRY ON THEIR WAR AGAINST GUELDRELAND.

Scarcely can I for shame perpetuate the disgraceful defeat of the Brabanters; but, as I have promised at the commencement of this history to insert nothing but what was strictly true, I must detail the unfortunate consequences of this battle. The young duke of Gueldres gained this renowned victory about Magdalen-tide, in the month of July 1388. When the defeat and pursuit were over, which took up about two hours' time, and the field cleared, the Gueldrians collected together, and greatly rejoiced, as indeed they had cause, at the fortunate success of the day, for they had many more prisoners than they were in number themselves. The heralds were ordered by them to examine the dead, and report who had been slain. Among them was the young and handsome son of the count de Namur, (who was styled the Vaissier de Celles, lord de Balastre,) which, when told to the duke, greatly afflicted him; and he bitterly lamented his loss, for he was of a most amiable character, and had been the preceding year his companion at arms in Prussia.

A council was held in the field, whether or not to retire to Grave and carry their prisoners thither; but the duke opposed it, saying: "I made a vow to our Lady of Nimeguen when I left that town, and which I again renewed before we began the combat: in obedience to which, I order, that we gayly return to Nimeguen, and offer our thanksgivings to the Holy Virgin, who has assisted us in our victory." This command was obeyed; for, as the duke had given it, no one made any objection; and they set out, on their return toward Nimeguen, full gallop. It was two long leagues from the field of battle, but they were soon there.

On this fortunate news being told in that town, great rejoicings were made by both sexes; and the clergy went out in procession to meet the duke, and received him with acclamations. The duke did not turn to the right nor left, but rode with his knights straight to the church where the image of our Lady was, and in which he had great faith. When he had entered her chapel, he disarmed himself of everything to his doublet, and offered up his armor to the altar, in honor of our Lady, returning thanksgivings for the victory he had gained over his enemies. The banners and pennons of the enemy were all hung up in this chapel, but I know not if they be still there:* the duke retired to his hotel, and his knights to their homes, to pay attention to themselves and their prisoners, from whom they expected great ransoms. When the report of this victory over the Brabanters was made public, the duke of Gueldres was more feared and honored than before.

The duchess of Brabant, who had resided at Bois-le-Duc, was much vexed, as indeed she had reason, at this unfortunate turn in her affairs, and that the siege of Grave was raised. She ordered a strong garrison into Bois-le-Duc to guard the frontiers, and then returned through Champagne to Brussels. She wrote frequently to the duke of Burgundy the state of things, and eagerly pressed him to assist her in the recovery of her losses; for all her hopes were in him. You may suppose, the news of this victory was instantly known in France, particularly at the court of the king; but they were little surprised at it, rather holding it cheap, imagining, when the king marched thither, they should make themselves ample amends. Orders were sent to sir William de la Tremouille and to sir Gervais de Merande, who had been placed by the duke of Burgundy in the three castles on the Meuse, to guard well that frontier, and to make no sallies where there should be any risk of loss; for that they would shortly hear from the king, who was preparing to visit this duke of Gueldres and his country in person. Sir William had been greatly hurt at the late defeat of his friends, but the intelligence from France raised his spirits, and he acted conformably to the orders he had received.

Let us return to what was passing in France. The king's ardor for the invasion of Gueldreland was no way abated: he was anxious to undertake it at all events, for the challenge of the duke had mightily enraged him; and he declared that, cost what it would, he would have ample reparation, or his territories, with those of his father, the duke of Juliers, should be despoiled and burnt. Summonses were sent to all the dukes, counts, knights, barons and men-at-arms, of France, to provide themselves with sufficient purveyances for a long journey; and one of the marshals of France, sir Louis de Sancerre, was ordered to remain to guard the kingdom, from beyond the river Dordogne to the sea; for in Languedoc, and in the country between the Garonne and the Loire, the truce had been accepted; and the other marshal, the lord de Blainville, was to accompany the king.

* In the last paragraph of the preceding chapter, it is intimated that they were still remaining.—Ed.

The different lords made such immense provision of stores of all kinds, it was wonderful to think of, more especially in wines. All those in Champagne were bespoken for the king, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine, and Bourbon; carriages also, of every description, in those parts, were likewise retained for them: indeed, the preparations for this expedition were prodigious.

The duke of Brittany was still at Paris, and could not obtain any decision respecting his affairs, for the king resided chiefly at Montereau-sur-Yonne. He was, however, well entertained with feasts and fair words. The nobles begged of him to have patience, for he would very shortly have his business finished; but that the king was so impatient to begin his march to Germany, he attended to nothing else. The duke was forced to make the best he could of it, perceiving he could not amend it, and, since he had come to Paris, was resolved not to depart but with the good-will of the king, although his stay was attended with vast expenses. When it was known for certain that the expedition to Gueldreland was to take place, and that a tax had been ordered throughout France, for the payment of the knights and men-at-arms, many of the wisest in the country, whether of the council or not, said that it was ill advised to encourage a king of France to march such a distance in search of his enemies, and that the kingdom might suffer from it, (for the king was young, and very popular with his subjects,) and that it would have been fully sufficient for one of the king's uncles, or both of them, with the constable of France, to have gone with six or seven thousand lances, without carrying the person of the king thither.

The king's uncles were of a similar opinion: they most prudently remonstrated with him on the impropriety of his marching with his army, and were urging many strong reasons against it, when he flew into a rage, and shortly interrupted them, by saying, "If you go thither without me, it will be contrary to my will and pleasure; but I can assure you, you shall not receive one penny, for otherwise I cannot restrain you." When the dukes of Berry and Burgundy heard this answer, they saw he was determined upon going, and replied, "God be with you: you shall go then; and we will no more think of undertaking it without your company." These lords and the council deliberated on an affair of some consequence to this intended war. There had been a treaty for a long time in force, between the king of France and the emperor of Germany, which stipulated, that neither of them were to enter the territories of the other with an armed force; that is to say, that the king of France and the emperor could not make war on each other without incurring a heavy penalty, and the sentence of the pope, who had solemnly sworn, at his coronation, to maintain these two kingdoms in peace. It was therefore resolved, in case the king persisted in his intention of invading Gueldreland, which was a dependence on the empire, to make the emperor fully acquainted with the duke of Gueldres' rash conduct, and lay before him the insolent challenge he had sent the king of France, who, to make him sensible of his folly, was preparing to march an army into Germany, not any way hostile to the emperor or his territories, but solely against this duke of Gueldres, and to attack him wherever he should find him.

Sir Guy de Honcourt, a valiant knight, and sir Yves d'Orient, one of the judges in parliament, were appointed embassadors to carry this message to the emperor. When they had received their instructions and made their preparations, they took leave of the king and his uncles, and rode for Châlons in Champagne, with an attendance suitable to their rank, and the purpose they were going on. They met the lord de Coucy at Châlons, retaining knights and men-at-arms from Bar, Lorraine, and Champagne, for this expedition, of which he was to command the vanguard. He entertained the embassadors one day splendidly at dinner, and on the morrow they continued the road to Sainte Menehould, and thence toward Luxembourg, to gain intelligence where the emperor was.

CHAPTER CXXII.

THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL PERMIT THE DUKE OF BRITTANY TO RETURN HOME. THE STATES OF BRABANT SEND EXCUSES TO THE KING OF FRANCE, FOR NOT ALLOWING HIS ARMY TO PASS THROUGH THEIR COUNTRY. THE SUCCESS OF THE EMBASSADORS WITH THE EMPEROR.

Although embassadors had been sent to the emperor, the French did no way relax their warlike preparations. It was signified to all to assemble in readiness for the field in or near the country of Champagne, by the middle of the ensuing August; since the king had then determined to begin his march, whether or not he should receive answers, through sir Guy de Honcourt and master Yves d'Orient, from the emperor of Germany. The king and his uncles thinking it was now time to dismiss the duke of Brittany, he was summoned to Montereau, where the king most kindly received him, as did the dukes of Burgundy and Touraine. The duke of Berry was at the time in Berry making his preparations and levies of men-at-arms, having fixed on Poitou for the place of assembly, before they began their march. The king and duke of Burgundy, as I have said, treated the duke of Brittany in the most friendly manner. He had before surrendered the castles and town of Jugon to the officers of the constable, but made great difficulty to pay back the hundred thousand francs, which had been expended in the provisioning his castles, and in retaining men-at-arms the whole of last winter, thinking a war would be declared against him; but he was so fairly spoken to, that he promised the king and the duke of Burgundy to repay this sum, of one hundred thousand francs, in the course of five years, by yearly payments of twenty thousand francs. The duke, after this, took leave of the king, who made him very handsome presents of jewels, and went back to Paris. The duke of Burgundy, before his departure, gave to him and his knights a magnificent entertainment in his hotel, called the hotel d'Artois, when they separated on the most friendly terms.

The duke of Brittany made no longer stay after this at Paris; but having arranged his affairs, and had his expenses paid by his officers, he set out, taking the road to Estampes, travelled through Beauce to Beaugency on the Loire, with a numerous body of attendants riding before him. From Beaugency his attendants continued their road through the country of Blois, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou; but the duke had his vessels waiting for him at Beaugency, and embarking on board a handsome yacht, with the lords de Montfort and de Malestroit, sailed down the Loire, passing under the bridge at Blois, and not stopping until he came to Nantes, when he was in his own country. I will now leave the duke of Brittany, who strictly kept the engagements he had entered into with the king of France and his uncles, and has never done anything since worthy of being remembered in this history, nor do I know if he ever will. If he should, I will relate it, according to the manner it shall be told me.

The king of France was busily employed in making his preparations to invade Gueldreland. The lord de Coucy, on his return to Montereau, informed the king and his uncles, that all the chivalry of Bar, Lorraine, Burgundy, and as far as the Rhine, were ready and willing to attend them, in their expedition to Germany. The king was much pleased on hearing this, and said, that "if it pleased God, he would this year pay a visit to his cousins of Gueldres and Juliers." A council was held on the most convenient line of march, when some said, that the shortest way would be through Tiérache,* along the borders of Hainault and Liege, and passing through Brabant into Gueldres; but others proposed crossing the Meuse at or near Utrecht, and, having passed that river, to enter Juliers, and march thence into Gueldreland. Upon this, the king and council wrote to the duchess and states of Brabant, to signify that the king and his army intended marching through their country. The duchess would have readily consented; but the states refused the passage, saying the country would suffer too much from it. The principal towns and nobles were of this opinion, and told the duchess, that if she allowed the French to enter their country, they would never bear arms for her against Gueldres, but would shut themselves up in their castles, and defend all the entrances to the country, for they should have more damage done to themselves and lands by such passengers than if their enemy were in the country. The duchess, finding so strong an opposition to allowing a passage to the French, dissembled her real thoughts, and calling to her sir John Opem, master John Grave, and master Nicholas de la Monnoye, charged them to set out instantly for France, and make excuses for the states of Brabant, to the king and the duke of Burgundy, for their refusal to allow the French army to pass through Brabant, fearful lest the country would be too severely oppressed; and to entreat them, for the love of God, not to be dissatisfied with her, as she had done everything in her power to obtain their consent.

These envoys left Brussels, and arrived at Montereau-sur-Yonne, where they found the king and his uncles, whose whole conversation, day and night, was on the expedition to Gueldreland. They first waited on the duke of Burgundy, to whom they gave their letters, and explained so well the reason of the states' refusal that he was contented, and, at the prayer of his aunt, promised to mediate between them and the king. The lord de Coucy was likewise of very great service to them, so that the first plan of passing through Brabant was given up, and the excuses from the duchess and her states were accepted. It was then determined, as more honorable for the king and his allies, to march straight through his kingdom. A council was held on the choice of those who were to form the vanguard; and two thousand five hundred pioneers were appointed to clear away all trees and hedge-rows, and to make smooth the roads. The army had by their means a most excellent road through France to the forest of Ardennes; but there it failed them, for rocks, forests, and various obstacles opposed their passage. The lord de Coucy, who had the command of the vanguard, consisting of one thousand lances, sent forward persons to examine which would be the safest road for the king and baggage to march, (for there were upward of twelve thousand carriages, without counting baggage horses,) to lay open the forest, and make roads where no traveller had ever before passed. Every one was eager to be thus employed, more particularly those who were near the king's person; for he was never so popular at any time as he was now in Flanders, nor were his subjects ever so united to assist him as in this expedition against Gueldres. While this was passing, the king sent the lord de Coucy to Avignon, to the person who styled himself pope Clement, I know not on what busi-

* "Tiérache"—a fertile country in Picardy, watered by the Oise and Seine, to the west of Champagne and the south of Hainault.

ness; and the viscount de Meaux, sir John de Roye, and the lord de la Bonne, commanded in his absence.

We will now say something of the embassadors who had been sent to the emperor of Germany. They continued their journey until they came to Convalence,* where the emperor resided. After dismounting at their hôtel, they made themselves ready to wait on him, who had before heard of their coming, and was very impatient to know the cause of it. Having assembled his council, the embassadors were introduced to the presence of the emperor, whom they saluted most reverently, and gave him their credential letters from the king of France. After he had attentively perused them, he eyed sir Guy de Honcourt, and said, "Guy, tell us, in God's name, what you are charged with." The knight spoke long and ably in explaining to the emperor and his council the reasons why the king of France was about to enter the German territory with a large army, not with the smallest intent to injure that or any other part of the territories belonging to the emperor, but against a personal enemy. He then named him, and added, "The duke of Gueldres has thought proper to send the king of France a most insolent challenge, couched in outrageous language, not usual in such cases, for which the king and his council have determined to punish him. The king, therefore, entreats you, dear sire, from your connections with him by blood, not to abet this duke in his presumptuous conduct, but keep those treaties of alliance which have formerly been made between you and France, as he on his part is resolved to abide by them." The emperor, in reply, said, "Sir Guy, we have some time been informed, that our cousin, the king of France, has been collecting a large body of men-at-arms, at a vast expense, when it was unnecessary for him to give himself so much trouble for so small an object; for, had he made his complaints to me, I would have forced the duke of Gueldres to hear reason without the great expense he has been at." "Sire," answered sir Guy, "you are very kind in thus expressing yourself; but our lord, the king of France, values neither expense nor trouble wherever his honor is concerned; and his council are solely anxious that you should not be dissatisfied with him, for he is determined in no way to infringe the treaties that exist between France and Germany: on the contrary, to strengthen them as much as possible, and for this have sir Yves d'Orient and myself been sent hither." "We are by no means," said the emperor, "dissatisfied with what is doing in France, and thank my cousin for the information he sends me: let him come, in God's name, for I do not intend to move."

The embassadors were well pleased with this reply, and considered the matter as concluded to their wish. They requested answers to the letters they had brought, which were cheerfully promised. They dined that day at the emperor's palace, and by his orders were well feasted. In the evening they retired to their lodgings, and managed things so well, that the business was finished to their satisfaction. Having received their letters in reply to those they had brought, they took leave of the emperor, and returned by the way they had come to the king of France; of whom we will now speak.

* "Convalence" Q. Constance

CHAPTER CXXIII.

THE COUNT OF BLOIS SENDS TWO HUNDRED LANCES TO SERVE THE KING IN HIS EXPEDITION TO GUELDRES. THE EMBASSADORS BRING FAVORABLE ANSWERS FROM THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY. THE KING OF FRANCE CONTINUES HIS MARCH TOWARD THE FOREST OF ARDENNES. SIR HELION DE LIGNAC MAKES HIS REPORT TO THE DUKE OF BERRY, TOUCHING HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

THE great lords and barons of France were busily employed in making their preparations for the expedition to Gueldres; and those from the more distant parts of the kingdom, in Auvergne, Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, and other provinces, had already begun their march toward Champagne. The greater numbers came from Picardy, Burgundy, Champagne, Bar, and Lorraine, because they were nearer the place of assembly. The villages in France were not so harshly treated as usual; for the king had forbidden, under pain of death, that anything should be taken from them without payment. Notwithstanding this order was made very public, the men-at-arms on their march did much mischief; for, though the punishment was so heavy, they could not abstain from what they had been accustomed to. They were indeed very badly paid, and consequently thought they had a right to provide for themselves. This was the excuse they made whenever they were reprimanded by their captains or marshals. The count de Blois was summoned, and he returned for answer, he would send two hundred chosen lances well equipped and paid. I know not how he was dealt withal, but he sent two hundred knights and squires to serve the king, from his county of Blois, under the command of the lord de Vienne, sir William de Saint Martin, sir William de Chaumont, and the lord de Montigny, who marched at their leisure toward Champagne, whither they had been ordered.

The king of France left Montereau-sur-Yonne, and took the road for Châlons in Champagne, without the duke of Berry joining him. He was still in Berry, waiting the return of sir Helion de Lignac, with answers from the duke of Lancaster, respecting his marriage with his daughter. He, however, received none; for the duke of Lancaster detained him at Bayonne, dissembling his opinion between him and the embassadors from Castille; but he was more inclined as well as the duchess, to close with the last; yet, before them, he showed the utmost attentions to sir Helion, to make them the more eager to finish the business. The Castillian embassadors labored hard to bring the marriage to a conclusion. They were four in number; don Fernando de Leon, doctor in divinity and confessor to the king, the bishop of Segovia, don Pedro Gadelope, and don Diego Loup, who were continually going or returning from one party to the other. The duke, however, gave them to understand that he would prefer a union with Castille to one with France, provided they would agree to his terms. He demanded payment of six hundred thousand francs within three years, twelve thousand annually for his and the duchess's lives, and two thousand more for the duchess's household yearly.*

When it was known that the king had left Montereau for Châlons, all those who had remained at home hastened their march to join him. Thither came the duke of Berry, whose quarters were at Espinay, and the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de St. Pol, the count de Tonnerre. Near the king's person were the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Touraine, the constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir Barrois des Barres, and sir John de Bueil. The whole country round Rheims and Châlons, to the extent of twelve leagues, was destroyed by these men-at-arms, who were dispersed over it, from Sainte Menehould to Monstier in Bar, to Chaumont in Bassigni,† to Vitry en Pertois,‡ and the whole of the bishoprics of Troyes and Langres. The Lord de Coucy was not yet returned from his journey to Avignon.

About this time sir Guy de Honcourt and sir Yves d'Orient came back from their embassy to the emperor, and met the king at Châlons. The king and his nobles were rejoiced at their arrival, and inquired the news. They told them all that passed; that the emperor had very kindly received them, and handsomely entertained them; and sir Guy added, "Sire, and you my lords, when the emperor and his council had read your letters and the copy of the duke of Gueldres' challenge, they were very indignant at his presumption, and are desirous, from what we could learn, that he should be punished for his insolence: nor will the emperor make any opposition to your intended war, which he seems indeed much to approve of, but keep strictly to all the articles entered into between him and France, so that all your doubts concerning his conduct may be dissipated." The king of France and his council were well satisfied on

* According to Lopez de Ayala, the messengers sent by the king of Castille to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne were, Ferrand de Illescas, a monk of the order of St. Francis, confessor to the king, Pero Sanchez del Castillo and Alvar Martinez de Villareal, both royal auditors. Before their departure for Bayonne, the king of Castille assembled the general cortes at Briviesca, in order to raise the sums demanded by the duke, and to relieve both himself and the kingdom from a competitor who was so dangerous an enemy. Ayala details all the conditions of the treaty: the following are the principal articles:

Don Henry, eldest son of don John of Castille, aged nine years, was, within two months from the signature of the treaty, to marry Catherine, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, aged fourteen years. If the infant Henry should die before he attained the age of fourteen years, or without consummating the marriage, Catherine was to marry his next brother, don Ferrand. Don Henry was, immediately upon the marriage, to receive the title of prince of the Asturias, and Catherine that of princess of the Asturias.

The king of Castille was to assign to don Henry and Catherine the city of Soria and the towns of Amazan, Atienza, Soria, and Molina, for the support of their household, being the same which king Henry of Castille had granted to Bertrand du Guesclin, and which he had afterwards redeemed.

Within two months next after the treaty, the king don John bound himself to acknowledge don Henry and Catherine as his successors.

The king don John was to pay down 600,000 French francs to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, as the price of their renunciation of all claim upon the crown of Castille.

The king don John further engaged for himself and his heirs, to pay the further annual sum of 40,000 francs to the duke and duchess, until the death of the survivor.

Hostages from the kingdoms of Castille and Leon were to be given to the duke of Lancaster, as pledges for the payment of the 600,000 francs. These hostages were don Fadrique, duke of Benevento, and brother to king John of Castille: Pero Ponce de Leon, lord of Marchena; John de Velasco, son of Pero Fernandez de Velasco; Carlos de Arelano, John de Padilla, Rodrigo de Rojas, Lope Ortiz de Estuniga, John Rodriguez de Cisneros, Rodrigo de Casteneda, and several other citizens of various large towns; in all sixty-six persons. (The safe-conduct granted to them by Richard II. on the 26th August, 1388, is given in Rymer.)

Free pardon was to be granted to all who had taken part with the duke of Lancaster.

The duke and duchess of Lancaster, on their parts, renounced all pretension to the kingdoms of Castille, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarves, Algesiras, the lordships of Lara and Biscay, and that of Molina; and they acknowledged don John as king, and after him don Henry; and, in case of his death without children, then don Ferrand and all other lawful descendants of the king don John, who should ascend the throne in default of any other legitimate heir. They further engaged never to procure from the pope a dispensation from their oath, either openly or in secret.

Constance, duchess of Lancaster was further to be put in possession of the towns of Gundalajara, Medina del Campo, and Olmedo, for her life, she engaging that they should, at her death, be delivered back, and that the government should be intrusted to none but Castillians.

Notwithstanding his new alliances with England, the king, don John, stipulated for the preservation of his ancient alliance with France.

To pay the sums agreed upon with the duke of Lancaster and ratified by the cortes, the king raised a sort of loan throughout the kingdom, as his father had done when he redeemed the lands granted to Bertrand du Guesclin. All the citizens, with the exception of bishops, priests, and nobles, contributed to an impost, which was afterwards repaid to them by successive drawbacks on the ordinary taxes.—ED.

† "Bassigni," a small country on the confines of Champagne and Lorraine. Chaumont is the capital.

‡ "Vitry en Pertois," a small town in Champagne, near Vitry le François

hearing this, although many said, that whether the emperor would or not, they were in sufficient numbers to go whither they pleased without fearing any one.

The king gave orders for the march of the army, and he left Châlons for Grand Pré,* where he remained for three days. He could not make any long marches, from the great concourse of men that were in his front, in his rear, and on all sides; and he was forced to move gently on account of his great train of baggage and purveyances, which occupied a length of fourteen country leagues, and was daily increasing. The count de Grand Pré received the king in his town with every respect, and ordered all things so much to the king's pleasure, that he expressed his satisfaction to the count, who was attached to the van division. The duke of Lorraine and sir Henry de Bar here joined the king with a handsome company of men-at-arms. The duke of Lorraine was ordered to the division of his son-in-law, the lord de Coucy, but sir Henry de Bar remained near the king.

The pioneers had been continually employed in clearing the forest of Ardennes, by felling of timber, and making roads where none had ever been before. They had much difficulty in the filling up of valleys, and forming a tolerable road for the carriages to pass, and there were upward of three thousand workmen who labored at nothing else, from Vierton to Neufchâtel in the Ardennes. The duchess of Brabant was exceedingly pleased when she heard for certain that the king of Franch was on his march through the Ardennes, and concluded she should now have her revenge on the duke of Gueldres, and that the king of France would make both him and his father, the duke of Juliers, repent of their conduct, which had given her many mortifications. She set out in handsome array from Brussels, accompanied by the lord de Samines, in the Ardennes, the lord de Bocelars, the lord de Broquehort, and several others, for Luxembourg, to receive the king, and have some conversation with him. She crossed the Meuse by the bridge at Huy,† and went to Bastoigne, where she halted; for the king was to pass there, or very near it, which he did. When he set out from Grand Pré, he crossed the Meuse at Morsay,‡ with his whole army; but his marches were very short, for the reasons I have before given.

News was brought to the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, for such intelligence is soon spread abroad, that the king of France was on his march to visit them, with an army of one hundred thousand men; and that he had never collected so large a body, except when he marched to Bourbourg, imagining the English to be in greater force than he found them. The duke of Juliers began to be greatly alarmed; but his son, the duke of Gueldres, made light of it, saying, "Let them come: the greater the number, the sooner will they be worn down, their baggage destroyed, and their purveyances ruined. Winter is coming on, and my country is a strong one: they will not easily enter it, and, when they make the attempt, shall be driven back with other sounds than trumpets. They must always keep together, which will be impossible, if they mean to invade my territory; and, if they separate, my people will take them whether they will or no. However, our cousin of France shows good courage; and I give him credit for doing what I would attempt if in his place." Such were the conversations the duke of Gueldres held with his knights on this subject; but the duke of Juliers was, on the contrary, quite disconsolate; for he saw, if the French were determined on it, his country must be ruined and burnt. He sent for his brother, the archbishop of Cologne, and his cousin, sir Arnold de Hornes, bishop of Liege, to consult with them on the occasion, and see if there were any probable remedy to prevent his lands being despoiled. These two prelates gave him the best advice in their power, and recommended him to humble himself before the king of France and his uncles, and submit to their will. The duke having answered, that he would most cheerfully do so, the bishop of Utrecht, who was likewise present, with the assent of the archbishop, advised the bishop of Liege to set out with his array to meet the king of France, and treat with him on this subject.

The king of France continued his march, but only two, three, or four leagues a day, and sometimes not one, from the great baggage, which was too large by far, that accompanied him. Sir William de Lignac, and his brother sir Helion, joined the king between Mouzon and Nôtre Dame d'Amot,§ where the duke of Berry, with his body of five hundred spears, was quartered. Sir William had come from the siege of Ventadour, by order of the duke of Berry, as had sir John Bonne-lance by similar ones from the duke of Bourbon. They had left their army under the command of Sir John Bouteiller and sir Lewis d'Ambiere, as they were desirous of attending the king in this expedition. Sir Helion had come from Bayonne, where he had been treating, as you have heard, with the duke of Lancaster, for the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Berry. The duke of Berry made him good cheer, and inquired after his success. Sir Helion related everything that had passed, and told him the king of Castille was earnestly negotiating a peace with the duke of Lancaster by the union of his son, the prince of Galicia, with his daughter. The duke was very pensive on hearing this, and, after a pause, said; "Sir Helion, you will return to France; and I will send you once more, accompanied by the bishop of Poitiers, for the duke of Lancaster's decisive answer; but at this moment we have enough on our hands." This same week, the lord de Coucy returned from Avignon to the king in the Ardennes, to the great joy of the whole army.

* "Grand Pre," a town in Champagne, election of Sainte Menehould.

† "Huy," a town in the bishopric of Liege, capital of the Condrotz, on the confluence of the small river Huy and the Meuse.

‡ "Morsay." Q. Mouzon.

§ "Amot." Q. Arlon.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

THE PRINCIPAL BARONS OF SCOTLAND ASSEMBLE IN ARMS TO MAKE WAR ON ENGLAND. THEY LEARN FROM A SPY WHOM THEY TAKE PRISONER THAT THE ENGLISH ARE ACQUAINTED WITH THEIR INTENTIONS.

I HAVE before related in this history the troubles king Richard of England had suffered from his quarrels with his uncles, urged on by the wicked counsel of the duke of Ireland, which had caused several knights to lose their heads, and the archbishop of York nearly to be deprived of his benefice. By the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury and the king's new council, the lord Neville, who had commanded the defence of the frontiers of Northumberland for five years against the Scots, was dismissed: for this service he had been paid by the counties of Northumberland and Durham, the sum of sixteen thousand francs annually. Sir Henry Percy being appointed in his stead to this command, with a salary of eleven thousand francs yearly, was a circumstance which created much animosity and hatred between the Percies and Nevilles, who were neighbors and had been friends. The barons and knights of Scotland, knowing of this, determined on an inroad to England, as the opportunity was favorable, now the English were quarrelling among themselves, to make some return for the many insults they had suffered from them.

In order that their intentions might not be known, they appointed a feast to be holden at Aberdeen, on the borders of the Highlands. The greater part of the barons attended; and it was then resolved, that in the middle of August of the year 1388, they would assemble all their forces at a castle called Jedworth, situated amid deep forests and on the borders of Cumberland. Having arranged everything concerning this business, they separated, but never mentioned one word of their intentions to the king; for they said among themselves, he knew nothing about war. On the appointed day, earl James Douglas first arrived at Jedworth: then came John earl of Moray, the earl of March and Dunbar, William, earl of Fife, John earl of Sutherland, Stephen earl of Menteith,* William earl of Mar, sir Archibald Douglas, sir Robert Erskine, sir Malcolm Drummond, sir William and sir James Lindsay, sir Thomas Berry, sir Alexander Lindsay, sir John Swinton of Swinton, sir John de Sandelans, sir Patrick Dunbar, sir John Sinclair, sir Walter Sinclair, sir Patrick Hepburn, sir John Montgomery, sir John his son, and his two sons; sir John Maxwell, sir Adam Glendinning, sir William de Redurin,† sir William Stuart, sir John Halliburton, sir John de Ludie, and sir Robert Lauder, sir Stephen Frazer, sir Alexander and sir John Ramsay, sir William of North Berwick, sir Robert Hart, sir William Wardlaw, sir John Armstrong, David Fleming, Robert Campbell, with numbers of other knights and squires of Scotland.

There had not been seen, for sixty years, so numerous an assembly: they amounted to twelve hundred spears, and forty thousand other men and archers. With the use of the bow the Scots are little acquainted; but they sling their axes over their shoulders, and, when engaged in battle, give deadly blows with them. These lords were well pleased on meeting each other, and declared they would never return to their homes without having made an inroad on England, and to such an effect that it should be remembered for twenty years to come. The more completely to combine their plans, they fixed another meeting to be held at a church in the forest of Jedworth, called Zedon,‡ before they began their march to England.

Intelligence was carried to the earl of Northumberland, (for everything is known to those who are diligent in their inquiries,) to his children, to the sêneschal of York, and to sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, of the great feast that was to be kept at Aberdeen. To learn what was done at it, these lords sent thither heralds and minstrels. The Scots barons could not transact their business so secretly but it was known to these minstrels, that there was to be a grand assembly of men-at-arms in the forest of Jedworth. They observed also, much agitation through the country, and, on their return to Newcastle, gave a faithful report of all they had seen or heard to their lords. The barons and knights of Northumberland in consequence made their preparations, but very secretly, that the Scots might not know it, and put off their intended inroad, and had retired to their castles ready to sally forth on the first notice of the arrival of the enemy. They said: "If the Scots enter the country through Cumberland by Carlisle, we will ride into Scotland, and do them

* "Earl of Menteith." "At the time of this battle (of Otterbourne,) the earldom of Menteith was possessed by Robert Stewart, earl of Fife, third son of king Robert II. who, according to Buchanan, commanded the Scots that entered by Carlisle. But our minstrel had probably an eye to the family of Graham, who had this earldom when the ballad was written."—*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.*

† "Redurin." Q.

‡ "Zedon. The monastery of Zedon, at which the Scottish leaders are said to have held their meeting previous to entering England, is, I should suppose, the modern Kirk-Yetholm, exactly upon the Borders, and near the foot of Cheviot; the name is pronounced Yetto'm, which comes very near Yedon."—W. S.

more damage than they can do to us; for theirs is an open country, which may be entered anywhere, but ours is the contrary, with strong and well fortified towns and castles."

To be more sure of their intentions, they resolved to send an English gentleman, well acquainted with the country, to this meeting in the forest of Jedworth. The English squire journeyed without interruption until he came to the church of Yetholm, where the Scots barons were assembled, and entered it, as a servant following his master, and heard the greater part of their plans. When the meeting was near breaking up, he left the church on his return and went to a tree, thinking to find his horse which he had tied there by the bridle, but he was gone; for a Scotsman (they are all thieves) had stolen him. He was fearful of making a noise about it, and set off on foot, though booted and spurred. He had not gone two bow-shots from the church before he was noticed by two Scots knights who were in conversation. The first who saw him said: "I have witnessed many wonderful things, but what I now see is equal to any: that man yonder has, I believe, lost his horse, and yet makes no inquiries after it. On my troth, I doubt much if he belongs to us; let us go after him, and see whether I am right or not." The two knights soon overtook him. On their approach he was alarmed, and wished himself anywhere else. They asked him whither he was going, whence he had come, and what he had done with his horse. As he contradicted himself in his answers, they laid hands on him, and said he must come before their captains, and he was brought back to the church of Yetholm, to the earl of Douglas and the other lords. They examined him closely, for they knew him for an Englishman, as to the reasons he had come thither, and assured him, if he did not truly answer all their questions, his head should be struck off; but, if he told the truth, no harm should happen to him. Very unwillingly he obeyed, for the love of life prevailed; and the Scots barons learnt that he had been sent by the earl of Northumberland to discover the number of their forces, and whither they were to march. This intelligence gave them the greatest pleasure, and they would not on any account but have taken this spy.

He was asked where the barons of Northumberland were? if they had any intentions of making an excursion? and what road to Scotland they would take; along the sea-shore from Berwick to Dunbar, or by the mountains through the country of Menteith to Stirling? He replied, "Since you will force me to tell the truth, when I left Newcastle, there were not any signs of an excursion being made; but the barons are all ready to set out at a moment's warning, as soon as they shall hear you have entered England. They will not oppose you, for they are not in sufficient numbers to meet so large a body as you are reported to them to consist of." "And what do they estimate our numbers at in Northumberland?" said lord Moray. "They say, my lord," replied the squire, "that you have full forty thousand men, and twelve thousand spears; and by way of counteracting your career, should you march to Cumberland, they will take the road through Berwick to Dunbar, Dalkeith, and Edinburgh: if you follow the other road, they will then march to Carlisle, and enter your country by these mountains." The Scottish lords, on hearing this, were silent, but looked at each other. The English squire was delivered to the governor of the castle of Jedworth, with orders to have particular guard over him; when they conferred together in the church of Yetholm, and formed other plans.

JEDWORTH. (Jedburgh.) From an Original Drawing

CHAPTER CXXV.

THE SCOTS FORM THEIR ARMY INTO TWO DIVISIONS; ONE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, MARCHES TO CARLISLE, AND THE OTHER TO NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, COMMANDED BY THE EARL OF DOUGLAS; AT THE BARRIERS OF WHICH PLACE, HE CONQUERS THE PENNON OF SIR HENRY PERCY.

THE barons of Scotland were in high spirits at this intelligence, and considered their success as certain, now they knew the disposition of the enemy. They held a council, as to their mode of proceeding, and the wisest and most accustomed to arms, such as sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir John Sinclair, and sir James Lindsay, were the speakers: they said, "That to avoid any chance of failing in their attempt, they would advise the army to be divided, and two expeditions to be made, so that the enemy might be puzzled whither to march their forces. The largest division, with the baggage, should go to Carlisle in Cumberland: and the other, consisting of three or four hundred spears, and two thousand stout infantry and archers, all well mounted, should make for Newcastle-on-Tyne, cross the river, and enter Durham, spoiling and burning the country. They will have committed great waste in England before our enemies can have any information of their being there: if we find they come in pursuit of us, which they certainly will, we will then unite together, and fix on a proper place to offer them battle, as we all seem to have that desire, and to gain honor; for it is time to repay them some of the mischief they have done to us." This plan was adopted, and sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Menteith, the earl of Mar, the earl of Stratherne, sir Stephen Frazer, sir George Dunbar, with sixteen other great barons of Scotland, were ordered to the command of the largest division, that was to march to Carlisle. The earl of Douglas, the earl of March and Dunbar, and the earl of Moray, were appointed leaders of the three hundred picked lances and two thousand infantry, who were to advance to Newcastle-on-Tyne and invade Northumberland. When these two divisions separated, the lords took a very affectionate leave of each other, promising that if the English took the field against them, they would not fight until they were all united, which would give them such a superiority of force as must insure victory. They then left the forest of Jedworth, one party marching to the right and the other to the left. The barons of Northumberland not finding their squire return, nor hearing anything of the Scots, began to suspect the accident which had happened. They therefore ordered every one to be prepared to march at a moment's notice, or when they should hear of the Scots having entered the country, for they considered their squire as lost.

Let us return to the expedition under the earl of Douglas and his companions, for they had more to do than the division that went to Carlisle, and were eager to perform some deeds of arms. When the earls of Douglas, Moray, and March were separated from the main body, they determined to cross the Tyne and enter the bishopric of Durham, and, after they had despoiled and burnt that country as far as the city of Durham, to return by Newcastle, and quarter themselves there in spite of the English. This they executed, and riding at a good pace, through bye-roads, without attacking town, castle, or house, arrived on the lands of the lord Percy, and crossed the river Tyne, without any opposition, at the place they had fixed on, about three leagues above Newcastle, near to Brancepeth,* where they entered the rich country of Durham, and instantly began their war, by burning towns and slaying the inhabitants.

Neither the earl of Northumberland nor the barons and knights of the country had heard anything of their invasion: but when intelligence came to Durham and Newcastle that the Scots were abroad, which was indeed visible enough from the smoke that was everywhere seen, the earl of Northumberland sent his two sons to Newcastle; but he himself remained at Alnwick, and issued orders for every one to repair thither also. Before his sons left him, he said: "You will hasten to Newcastle, where the whole country will join you: I will remain here, for it is the road they may return by; if we can surround them, we shall do well; but I know not for certain where they now are." Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy obeyed their father's orders, and made for Newcastle accompanied by the gentlemen and others fit to bear arms. In the mean time, the Scots continued destroying and burning all before them, so that the smoke was

* "Brancepeth"—four miles from Durham. A ruin of a fine old castle remains, which I believe has been lately fitted up and repaired for a residence.

visible at Newcastle. They came to the gates of Durham, where they skirmished, but made no long stay, and set out on their return, as they had planned at the beginning of the expedition, driving and carrying away all the booty they thought worth their pains. The country is very rich between Durham and Newcastle, which is but twelve English miles distant: there was not a town in all this district, unless well inclosed, that was not burnt. The Scots recrossed the Tyne at the same place, and came before Newcastle, where they halted. All the knights and squires of the country were collected at

BRANCEPETH CASTLE. From an Original Drawing.

Newcastle, and thither came the séneschal of York, sir Ralph Langley, sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, sir Robert Ogle, sir Thomas Grey, sir Thomas Halton, sir John Felton, sir John Lilburne, sir William Walsingham, sir Thomas Abington, the baron of Halton, sir John Copeland, and so many others, the town was filled with more than it could lodge.

The three Scots lords, having completed the object of their expedition into Durham, lay before Newcastle three days, where there was an almost continual skirmish. The sons of the earl of Northumberland, from their great courage, were always the first at the barriers, when many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. The earl of Douglas had a long conflict with sir Henry Percy, and in it, by gallantry of arms, won his pennon, to the great vexation of sir Henry and the other English. The earl of Douglas said, "I will carry this token of your prowess with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my castle at Dalkeith, that it may be seen from far." "By God, earl of Douglas," replied sir Henry, "you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland: be assured you shall never have this pennon to brag of." "You must come then," answered earl Douglas, "this night and seek for it. I will fix your pennon before my tent, and shall see if you will venture to take it away."

As it was now too late, the skirmish ended, and each party returned to their quarters, to disarm and comfort themselves. They had plenty of everything, particularly flesh meat. The Scots kept up a very strict watch, concluding from the words of sir Henry Percy, they should have their quarters beaten up this night: they were disappointed, for sir Henry was advised to defer it.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, WHEN ENCAMPED BEFORE OTTERBOURNE, IS ATTACKED BY SIR HENRY PERCY, TO RECONQUER HIS PENNON, AND A GENERAL BATTLE ENSUES.

ON the morrow, the Scots dislodged from before Newcastle; and, taking the road to their own country, they came to a town and castle called Ponclau,* of which sir Raymond de Laval, a very valiant knight of Northumberland, was the lord. They halted there about four o'clock in the morning, as they learnt the knight to be within it, and made preparations for the assault. This was done with such courage, that the place was won, and the knight made prisoner. After they had burnt the town and castle, they marched away for Otterbourne,† which was eight English leagues from Newcastle, and there encamped themselves.

This day they made no attack; but, very early on the morrow, their trumpets sounded, and they made ready for the assault, advancing toward the castle, which was tolerably strong, and situated among marshes. They attacked it so long and so unsuccessfully, that they were fatigued, and therefore sounded a retreat. When they had retired to their quarters, the chiefs held a council how to act; and the greater part was for decamping on the morrow, without attempting more against the castle, to join their countrymen in the neighborhood of Carlisle. But the earl of Douglas overruled this, by saying: "In despite of sir Henry Percy, who the day before yesterday declared he would take from me his pennon, that I conquered by fair deeds of arms before the gates of Newcastle, I will not depart hence for two or three days; and we will renew our attack on the castle, for it is to be taken: we shall thus gain double honor, and see if within that time he will come for his pennon: if he do, it shall be well defended." Every one agreed to what earl Douglas had said; for it was not only honorable, but he was the principal commander; and from affection to him, they quietly returned to their quarters. They made huts of trees and branches, and strongly fortified themselves. They placed their baggage and servants at the entrance of the marsh on the road to Newcastle, and the cattle they drove into the marsh lands.

I will return to sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were greatly mortified that the earl of Douglas should have conquered their pennon in the skirmish before Newcastle. They felt the more for this disgrace, because sir Henry had not kept his word; for he had told the earl, that he should never carry his pennon out of England, and this he had explained to the knights who were with him in Newcastle. The English imagined the army under the earl of Douglas to be only the van of the Scots, and that the main body was behind; for which reason those who had the most experience in arms, and were the best acquainted with warlike affairs, strongly opposed the proposal of sir Henry Percy to pursue them. They said, "Sir, many losses happen in war: if the earl of Douglas has won your pennon, he has bought it dear enough; for he has come to the gates to seek it, and has been well fought with. Another time, you will gain from him as much if not more. We say so, because you know, as well as we do, that the whole power of Scotland has taken the field. We are not sufficiently strong to offer them battle; and perhaps this skirmish may have been only a trick to draw us out of the town; and if they be, as reported, forty thousand strong, they will surround us, and have us at their mercy. It is much better to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires, and leave our country in a defenceless state."

This speech checked the eagerness of the two brothers Percy, for they would not act contrary to the opinion of the council; when other news was brought them by some knights and squires who had followed and observed the Scots, their numbers, dispositions, and where they had halted. This was all fully related by knights who had traversed the whole extent of country the Scots had passed through, that they might carry to their lords the most exact information. They thus spoke: "Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, we come to tell you that we have followed the Scottish army, and observed all the country where they now are. They first halted at Pontland, and took sir Raymond de Laval in his castle: thence they went to Otterbourne, and took up their quarters for the night. We are ignorant of what they did on the morrow, but they seemed to have taken measures for a long stay. We know for certain that their army does not consist of more than three thousand men, including all sorts." Sir Henry Percy, on hearing this, was greatly rejoiced, and cried out, "To horse! to horse! for by the faith I owe my God, and to my lord and father, I will seek to recover my pennon, and to beat up their quarters this night." Such knights and squires in Newcastle as learnt this were willing to be of the party, and made themselves ready.

The bishop of Durham was expected daily at the town; for he had heard of the irruption of the Scots, and that they were before it, in which were the sons of the earl of Northumberland preparing to offer them combat. The bishop had collected a number of men, and was hastening to their assistance, but sir Henry Percy would not wait; for he was accompanied by six hundred spears, of knights and squires, and upward of eight thousand infantry, which, he said, would be more than enough to fight the Scots, who were but three hundred lances and two thousand others. When they were all assembled, they left Newcastle after dinner, and took the field in good array, following the road the Scots had taken, making for Otterbourne, which was eight short leagues distant; but they could not advance very fast, that their infantry might keep up with them.

As the Scots were supping, some indeed were gone to sleep, for they had labored hard during the day, at the attack of the castle, and

* "Ponclau." Pontland, a village on the Blythe, about five miles from Newcastle. —W. S.

† "Otterbourne"—is so well known from this celebrated battle, and the old ballads, that it is almost needless to say it is situated in the parish of Elsdon, Northumberland.

intended renewing it in the cool of the morning, the English arrived, and mistook, at their entrance, the huts of the servants for those of their masters. They forced their way into the camp, which was, however, tolerably strong, shouting out, "Percy! Percy!" In such cases, you may suppose an alarm is soon given, and it was fortunate for the Scots the English had made their first attack on their servants' quarters, which checked them some little. The Scots, expecting the English, had prepared accordingly; for, while the lords were arming themselves, they ordered a body of their infantry to join their servants and keep up the skirmish. As their men were armed, they formed themselves under the pennons of the three principal barons, who each had his particular appointment. In the mean time, the night advanced, but it was sufficiently light; for the moon shone, and it was the month of August, when the weather is temperate and serene.

When the Scots were quite ready and properly arrayed, they left their camp in silence, but did not march to meet the English. They skirted the side of a mountain which was hard by; for during the preceding day, they had well examined the country around, and said among themselves, "Should the English come to beat up our quarters, we will do so and so:" and thus settled their plans beforehand, which was the saving of them; for it is of the greatest advantage to men-at-arms, when attacked in the night, to have previously arranged the mode of defence, and well to have weighed the chance of victory or defeat. The English had soon overpowered the servants; but, as they advanced into the camp, they found fresh bodies ready to oppose them, and to continue the fight. The Scots, in the mean time, marched along the mountain side, and fell on the enemy's flank quite unexpectedly, shouting their cries. This was a great surprise to the English, who, however, formed themselves in better order, and reinforced that part of their army. The cries of Percy and Douglas resounded on each side.

The battle now raged: great was the pushing of lances, and very many of each party were struck down at the first onset. The English being more numerous, and very anxious to defeat the enemy, kept in a compact body, and forced the Scots to retire, who were on the point of being discomfited. The earl of Douglas being young, and impatient to gain renown in arms, ordered his banner to advance, shouting, "Douglas! Douglas!" Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, indignant for the affront the earl of Douglas had put on them, by conquering their pennon, and desirous of meeting him, hastened to the place from which the sounds came, calling out "Percy! Percy!" The two banners met, and many gallant deeds of arms ensued. The English were in superior strength, and fought so lustily they drove back the Scots. Sir Patrick Hepburne, and his son of the same name, did honor to their knighthood and country, by their gallantry, under the banner of Douglas, which would have been conquered but for the vigorous defence they made; and this circumstance not only contributed to their personal credit, but the memory of it is continued with honor to their descendants.

I was made acquainted with all the particulars of this battle, by knights and squires who had been actors in it on each side. There were also, with the English, two valiant knights from the county of Foix, whom I had the good fortune to meet at Orthès the year after this battle had been fought. Their names were sir John de Châteauneuf and John de Cautiron. On my return from Foix, I met likewise at Avignon a knight and two squires of Scotland, of the party of earl Douglas. They knew me again from the recollections I brought to their minds of their own country; for in my youth, I, the author of this history, travelled all through Scotland, and was full fifteen days resident with William earl of Douglas, father of earl James, of whom we are now speaking, at his castle of Dalkeith, five miles distant from Edinburgh. Earl James was then very young, but a promising youth, and he had a sister called Blanche.* I had my information, therefore, from both parties, who agree that it was the hardest and most obstinate battle that ever was fought. This I readily believed, for the English and Scots are excellent men-at-arms, and whenever they meet in battle they do not spare each other; nor is there any check to their courage so long as their weapons endure. When they have well beaten each other, and one party is victorious, they are so proud of their conquest, that they ransom their prisoners instantly, and in such courteous manner to those who have been taken, that on their departure they return them their thanks. However, when in battle, there is no boy's play between them, nor do they shrink from the combat; and you will see, in the further detail of this battle, as excellent deeds performed as were ever witnessed.

* "Blanche." Earl William Douglas was first married to Margaret, daughter of the earl of Mar. By her he had two children, James, who succeeded him in his honors, and Isabel.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, IN RALLYING HIS MEN WHO WERE RETREATING, IS MORTALLY WOUNDED. SIR RALPH PERCY, BADLY WOUNDED, SURRENDERS TO SIR JOHN MAXWELL, WHO PUTS HIM IN THE HANDS OF THE EARL OF MORAY.

THE knights and squires of either party were anxious to continue the combat with vigor, as long as their spears might be capable of holding. Cowardice was there unknown, and the most splendid courage was everywhere exhibited by the gallant youths of England and Scotland: they were so closely intermixed, that the archers' bows were useless, and they fought hand to hand without either battalion giving way.* The Scots behaved most valiantly, for the English were three to one. I do not mean to say the English did not acquit themselves well; for they would sooner be slain or made prisoners in battle, than reproached with flight. As I before mentioned, the two banners of Douglas and Percy met, and the men-at-arms, under each, exerted themselves by every means, to gain the victory; but the English at this attack, were so much the stronger, that the Scots were driven back. The earl of Douglas, who was of a high spirit, seeing his men repulsed, seized a battle-axe with both his hands, like a gallant knight, and, to rally his men, dashed into the midst of his enemies, and gave such blows on all around him, that no one could withstand them, but all made way for him on every side; for there were none so well armed with helmets or plates but that they suffered from his battle-axe. Thus he advanced, like another Hector, thinking to recover and conquer the field, from his own prowess, until he was met by three spears that were pointed at him: one struck him on the shoulder, another on the stomach, near the belly, and the third entered his thigh. He could never disengage himself from these spears, but was borne to the ground fighting desperately. From that moment he never rose again. Some of his knights and squires had followed him, but not all; for though the moon shone it was rather dark. The three English lances knew they had struck down some person of considerable rank, but never thought it was earl Douglas: had they known it, they would have been so rejoiced that their courage would have been redoubled, and the fortune of the day had consequently been determined to their side. The Scots were also ignorant of their loss until the battle was over, otherwise they would certainly, from despair, have been discomfited.

I will relate what befel the earl afterwards. As soon as he fell, his head was cleaved with a battle-axe, the spear thrust through his thigh, and the main body of the English marched over him without paying any attention, not supposing him their principal enemy. In another part of the field, the earl of March and Dunbar combated valiantly; and the English gave the Scots full employment who had followed the earl of Douglas, and had engaged with the two Percies. The earl of Moray behaved so gallantly in pursuing the English, that they knew not how to resist him. Of all the battles that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought, and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight or squire, who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy. It resembled something that of Cocherel, which was as long and as hardily disputed. The sons of the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were leaders of this expedition, behaved themselves like good knights in the combat. Almost a similar accident befel sir Ralph as that which happened to the earl of Douglas; for, having advanced too far, he was surrounded by the enemy and severely wounded, and, being out of breath, surrendered himself to a Scots knight, called sir John Maxwell, who was under the command, and of the household of the earl of Moray.

When made prisoner, the knight asked him who he was; for it was dark, and he knew him not. Sir Ralph was so weakened by loss of blood, which was flowing from his wound, that he could scarcely avow himself to be sir Ralph Percy. "Well," replied the knight, "sir Ralph, rescued or not, you are my prisoner: my name is Maxwell." "I agree to it," said sir Ralph; "but pay some attention to me; for I am so desperately wounded that my drawers and greaves are full of blood." Upon this, the Scots knight was very attentive to him; when suddenly hearing the cry of Moray hard

* Lord Berners is always best when battles occur. His spirit arises, and his words sound like the neigh of the war-horse. We can give here his version of the combat at Otterbourne.

"Knightes and squyers were of good courage on bothe parties to fyghte valyauntly, cowardes there had no place, but hardynesse rayned with goodly feates of armes, for knyghtes and squires were so joined togyder at hande strokes, that archers had no place of nether party. There the Scottes shewed great hardynesse and fought meryly, with great desyre of honour; the Englysshmen were three to one. Howbeit I say nat but Englysshmen dyd nobly acquyte themselfe, for ever the Englysshmen had rather ben slayne or taken in the place than flye. Thus as I have sayd the baners of Douglas and Percy and their men were met eache against other, envyous who shulde wynne the honour of that journey. At the begynnynge the Englysshmen were so stronge, that they reculed backe their enemyes. Than the erle Duglass, who was of great harte and hygh enterprise, seeyinge his men recule backe, than to recover the place and shewe knyghtly valure, he toke his axe in bothe his handes and entered so into the presse that he made hymselfe waye in such wyse that none durste aproche nere hym, and he was so well armed that he bare well of such strokes as he recyued. Thus he wente ever forwarde lyk a hardy Hector, wyllynge alone to conquere the field, and to discomfyte his enemyes. But at laste he was encountred with thre speares all at ones; the one strake hym on the shoulder, the other on the breste, *and the stroke glented downe to his bely*, and the thyrd strake him in the thye, and sore hurt with all three strokes so that he was borne perforce to the erthe, and after that he culde nat again be releved. Some of his knyghtes and squyres folowed hym, but nat all, for it was nyght, and no lyght but by the shynynge of the mone. The Englysshmen knew well they had borne one down to the erth, but they wyst nat who it was, for if they had knowen that it had bene the erle of Duglass, they had bene thereof so joyful and so prowde that the vyctorye had bene theirs. Nor also the Scottes knew nat of that adventure tyll the ende of the batayle, for if they had knowen it they should have bene so sore dyspayred and dyscomged that they wolde have fledde awaye. Thus as the erle Duglass was felled to the erth, he was stricken into the heed with an axe, and another stroke throughe the thye. The Englysshmen passed forthe and tooke no hede of hym; they thoughte none otherwise but that they hadde slayne a man-at-armes."—ED.

by, and perceiving the earl's banner advancing to him, sir John addressed himself to the earl of Moray, and said, "My lord, I present you with sir Ralph Percy, as a prisoner; but let good care be taken of him, for he is very badly wounded." The earl was much pleased at this, and replied, "Maxwell, thou hast well earned thy spurs this day." He then ordered his men to take every care of sir Ralph, who bound up and stanched his wounds. The battle still continued to rage, and no one could say at that moment which side would be the conqueror, for there were many captures and rescues that never came to my knowledge.

Death of Douglas. Designed from MSS. Illuminations of the 15th century.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, THOUGH MORTALLY WOUNDED, ORDERS HIS BANNER TO BE RAISED, AS THE BEARER HAD BEEN SLAIN, AND FORBIDS HIS LAMENTABLE STATE TO BE MADE KNOWN TO HIS MEN, URGING THEM ON TO THE COMBAT, BY WHICH THEY DEFEAT THEIR ENEMIES AND MAKE SIR HENRY PERCY WITH MANY MORE PRISONERS.

The young earl of Douglas had this night performed wonders in arms. When he was struck down, there was a great crowd round him; and he could not raise himself, for the blow on his head was mortal. His men had followed him as closely as they were able; and there came to him his cousins, sir James Lindsay, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires. They found by his side a gallant knight that had constantly attended him, who was his chaplain, and had at this time exchanged his profession for that of a valiant man-at-arms. The whole night he had followed the earl with his battle-axe in hand, and had by his exertions more than once repulsed the English. This conduct gained the thanks of his countrymen, and turned out to his advantage, for in the same year he was promoted to the archdeaconry and made canon of Aberdeen. His name was sir William of North Berwick. To say the truth, he was well formed in all his limbs to shine in battle, and was severely wounded at this combat. When these knights came to the earl of Douglas, they found him in a melancholy state, as well as one of his knights, sir Robert Hart, who had fought by his side the whole of the night, and now lay beside him, covered with fifteen wounds from lances and other weapons.

Sir John Sinclair asked the earl, "Cousin, how fares it with you?" "But so so," replied he. "Thanks to God, there are but few of my ancestors who have died in chambers or in their beds. I bid you, therefore, revenge my death, for I have but little hope of living, as my heart becomes every minute more faint. Do you Walter and sir John Sinclair raise up my banner, for certainly it is on the ground, from the death of David Campbell, that valiant squire, who bore it, and who refused knighthood from my hands this day, though he was equal to the most eminent knights for courage or loyalty; and continue to shout 'Douglas!' but do not tell friend or foe whether I am in your company or not; for, should the enemy know the truth, they will be greatly rejoiced." The two brothers Sinclair, and sir John Lindsay, obeyed his orders. The banner was raised and "Douglas!" shouted. Their men, who had remained behind, hearing the shouts of "Douglas!" so often repeated, ascended a small eminence, and pushed their lances with such courage that the English were repulsed, and many killed or struck to the ground. The Scots, by thus valiantly driving the enemy beyond the spot where the earl of Douglas lay dead, for he had expired on giving his last orders, arrived at his banner, which was borne by sir John Sinclair. Numbers were continually increasing, from the repeated shouts of "Douglas!" and the greater part of the Scots knights and squires were now there. The earls of Moray and March, with their banners and men, came hither also. When they were all thus collected, perceiving the English retreat, they renewed the battle with greater vigor than before.

To say the truth, the English had harder work than the Scots, for they had come by a forced march that evening from Newcastle on Tyne, which was eight English leagues distant, to meet the Scots, by which means the greater part were exceedingly fatigued before the combat began. The Scots, on the contrary, had reposed themselves, which was to them of the utmost advantage, as was apparent from the event of the battle. In this last attack, they so completely repulsed the English, that the latter could never rally again, and the former drove them far beyond where the earl of Douglas lay on the ground. Sir Henry Percy, during this attack, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the lord Montgomery, a very valiant knight of Scotland. They had long fought hand to hand with much valor, and without hindrance from any one; for there was neither knight nor squire of either party who did not find there his equal to fight with, and all were fully engaged. In the end, sir Henry was made prisoner by the lord Montgomery.

You would have seen, in this engagement, such knights and squires as sir Malcolm Drummond, sir Thomas of Erskine, sir William, sir James and sir Alexander Lindsay, the lord Saltoun, sir John Sandilands, sir Patrick Dunbar, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, sir Patrick Hepburne and his two sons, the lord Montgomery, sir John Maxwell, sir Adam Glendinning, sir William Redoue,* sir William Stuart, sir John Haliburton, sir John Lundie, sir Robert Lauder, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir Alexander Frazer, sir John Edmonstone, sir William Wardlaw, David Fleming, Robert Campbell and his two sons, John and Robert, who were that day knighted, and a hundred other knights and squires, whose names I cannot remember; but there was not one who did not most gallantly perform his part in this engagement.

On the side of the English, there were sir Ralph de Langley, sir Matthew Redman, sir Robert of Ogle, sir Thomas Graham, sir Thomas Haltoun, sir John Felton, sir Thomas Abington, sir John de Lilburn, sir William Walsingham, the baron de Haltoun, sir John de Copeland, séneschal of York, and many more, who on foot maintained the fight vigorously, both before and after the capture of sir Henry Percy.† The battle was severely fought on each side; but such is the fickleness of fortune, that though the English were a more numerous body of able men-at-arms, and at the first onset had repulsed the Scots, they in the end lost the field; and all the above-named knights, except sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, were made prisoners. But he, seeing they were defeated without hopes of recovery, and the English flying in all directions, while his brother knights were surrendering themselves to the Scots, mounted his horse, and rode off.

Just as the defeat took place, and while the combat was continued in different parts, an English squire, whose name was Thomas Felton, and attached to the household of lord Percy, was surrounded by a body of Scots. He was a handsome man, and as he showed, val-

* Rutherford or Ruthven.—Ed.

† The names of the parties on both sides were rectified by Mr. Johnes, assisted by sir Walter Scott, and have been further corrected from the recent French edition of M. Buchon, who has cleared up many difficulties by reference to the MSS. to which he has had access.—Ed.

iant in arms. He had that and the preceding night been employed in collecting the best arms, and would neither surrender nor deign to fly. It was told me, that he had made a vow to that purpose, and had declared at some feast in Northumberland, that at the very first meeting of the Scots and English, he would acquit himself so loyally that, for having stood his ground, he should be renowned as the best combatant of both parties. I also heard, for I never saw him, that I know of, that his body and limbs were of a strength befitting a vigorous combatant; and he performed such deeds of valor, when engaged with the banner of the earl of Moray, as astonished the Scots, but he was slain while thus valiantly fighting. They would willingly have made him a prisoner for his courage; and several knights proposed it to him, but in vain, for he thought he should be assisted by his friends. Thus died Thomas Felton, while engaged with a cousin of the king of Scotland, called Simon Glendinning, much lamented by his party.

According to what I heard, this battle was very bloody from its commencement to the defeat: but when the Scots saw the English were discomfited and surrendering on all sides, they behaved courteously to them, saying, "Sit down and disarm yourselves, for I am your master;" but never insulted them more than if they had been brothers. The pursuit lasted a long time, and to the length of five English miles. Had the Scots been in sufficient numbers, none would have escaped death or captivity; and if sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, with the division that had marched for Carlisle, had been there, they would have taken the bishop of Durham and the town of Newcastle on Tyne, as I shall explain to you.*

CHAPTER CXXIX.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM IS ANXIOUS TO SUCCOR THE ENGLISH AND RESCUE SIR HENRY PERCY, BUT IS SO BADLY SUPPORTED BY HIS MEN, THAT HE IS FORCED TO RETREAT. HE MAKES SIR JAMES LINDSAY PRISONER, WHO HAD TAKEN SIR MATTHEW REDMAN.

THE same evening that sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy had left Newcastle, the bishop of Durham, with the remainder of the forces of that district, had arrived there and supped. While seated at table, he considered that he should not act very honorably if he remained in the town while his countrymen had taken the field. In consequence, he rose from table, ordered his horses to be saddled, and his trumpets to sound for those who had horses to make themselves ready, and the infantry to be drawn out in array for quitting the place. When they had all left it, they amounted to seven thousand men; that is, two thousand on horseback and five thousand on foot. Although it was now night, they took the road toward Otterbourne; but they had not advanced a league from Newcastle before intelligence was brought that the English were engaged with the Scots. On this, the bishop halted his men; and several more joined them, out of breath from the combat. They were asked how the affair went: they replied, "Badly, and unfortunately: we are defeated, and here are the Scots close to our heels." This second intelligence, being worse than the first, gave the alarm to several, who broke from their ranks; and when, shortly after, crowds came to them flying like men defeated, they were panic-struck, and so frightened with the bad news, that the bishop of Durham could not retain five hundred of his men together.

Now, supposing a large body had come upon them and followed them in their flight (with the addition of its being night,) to regain the town, would not there have been much mischief? for those acquainted with arms imagine the alarm would have been so great, that the Scots would have forced their way into the place with them. When the bishop of Durham, who was eager to reinforce the English, saw his own men thus join the runaways in their flight, he demanded from sir William de Lussy,* sir Thomas Clifford and other knights of his company, what they were now to do? These knights could not, or would not advise him: for to return without having done anything would be dishonorable, and to advance seemed attended with danger, they therefore remained silent; but the longer they waited, the more their men decreased in numbers. The bishop at length said, "Gentlemen, everything considered, there is no honor in fool-hardiness, nor is it requisite that to one misfortune we add another: we hear and see that our men are defeated: this we cannot remedy; for, should we attempt to reinforce them, we scarcely know whither we should go, nor what numbers the enemy consist of. We will return this night to Newcastle, and to-morrow reassemble and march to find our enemies." They replied, "God assist us in it!" Upon this they marched back to Newcastle. Observe the consequences of this alarm; for had they remained steady in a body, as they had left Newcastle, and forced the runaways to return with them, they must have defeated the Scots, which was the opinion of many. But it was not to be so, and the Scots remained victorious.

I will say something of sir Matthew Redman, who had mounted his horse to escape from the battle, as he alone could not recover the day. On his departure, he was noticed by sir James Lindsay, a valiant Scots knight, who was near him, and, through courage and the hope of gain, was desirous of pursuing him. His horse was ready, and leaping on him with his battle-axe hung at his neck, and spear in hand, galloped after him, leaving his men and the battle, and came so close to him, that he might, had he chosen, have hit him with his lance; but he said, "Ha, sir knight, turn about: it is disgraceful thus to fly; I am James Lindsay; and, if you do not turn, I will drive my spear into your back." Sir Matthew made no reply, but stuck spurs harder into his horse than before. In this state did the chase last for three miles, when sir Matthew's horse stumbling under him, he leaped off, drew his sword from the scabbard, and put himself in a posture of defence. The Scots knight made a thrust at him with his lance, thinking to strike him on the breast; but sir Matthew, by writhing his body, escaped the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. Sir Matthew now stepped forward, and with his sword cut the spear in two.

Sir James Lindsay, finding he had lost his lance, flung the shaft on the ground, and, dismounting, grasped his battle-axe, which was slung across his shoulder, and handled it with one hand very dexterously, for the Scots are accustomed thus to use it, attacking the knight with renewed courage, who defended himself with much art. They pursued each other for a long time, one with the battle-axe and the other with the sword, for there was no one to prevent them; but, at last, sir James laid about him such heavy blows, that sir Matthew was quite out of breath, which made him surrender; and he said, "Lindsay, I yield myself to you." "Indeed!" replied the Scots knight, "rescued or not." "I consent," said sir Matthew: "you will take good care of me." "That I will," answered sir James. Sir Matthew on this put his sword in the scabbard, and said, "Now, what do you require of me, for I am your prisoner by fair conquest?" "And what is it you would wish me to do?" replied sir James. "I should like," answered sir Matthew, "to return to Newcastle; and, within fifteen days, I will come to you in any part of Scotland you shall appoint." "I agree," said sir James, "on your pledging yourself, that within three weeks you be in Edinburgh; and wherever you may go, you acknowledge yourself as my prisoner." Sir Matthew having sworn to observe these conditions, each sought his horse, that was pasturing hard by, and, having mounted, took leave and departed, sir James by the way he had come, to join his countrymen, and sir Matthew to Newcastle.

Sir James, from the darkness of the night, as the moon did not shine very clear, mistook his road, and had not advanced half a league before he fell in with the bishop of Durham and more than five hundred English: he might have escaped this danger had he chosen it, but he thought they were his friends in pursuit of the enemy. When in the midst of them, those nearest asked who he was. He replied, "I am sir James Lindsay." Upon this, the bishop, who was within hearing, pushed forward and said, "Lindsay, you are taken: surrender yourself to me." "And who are you?" said Lindsay. "I am the bishop of Durham." "And where do you come from?" added Lindsay. "By my faith, friend, I intended being at the battle, but unfortunately was too late; and in despair I am returning to Newcastle, whither you will accompany me." "If you insist on it I must comply," answered sir James; "but I have made a prisoner, and am now one myself: such is the chance of war." "Whom have you taken?" asked the bishop. "I have captured and ransomed, after a long pursuit, sir Matthew Redman." "And where is he?" said the bishop. "On my faith," replied sir James, "he is returned to Newcastle: he entreated I would allow him three weeks' liberty, which I complied with." "Well, well," said the

* Through the kindness of my friends at Edinburgh, particularly Dr. Robert Anderson and Walter Scott, Esq. to whom the public are indebted for many instructive and amusing performances, I am enabled to clear up, in some measure, my historian's blunder's in the names of the heroes at this celebrated battle, and to add a few more particulars concerning it.

"The present mansion of Otterbourne, belonging to Mr. Ellis of Newcastle, is founded upon the ancient castle or tower which Douglas was besieging when attacked by Percy. The field of battle is still called *Battle-crofts*. There is a cross erected on the spot where Douglas fell."

See the two ballads on this battle, published by Dr. Percy in his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, and by Walter Scott, Esq. in his Border Minstrelsy: from the Scots ballad I extract as follows.

"Douglas was armed with an iron mace, which few but he could wield, and rushed into the combat, followed only by his chaplain and his two squires. Before his followers could come up, their brave leader lay stretched on the ground, with three mortal wounds, and his two squires dead by his side: the priest alone, armed with a lance, was protecting his master from further injury. 'I die like my forefathers,' said the expiring hero, 'in a field of battle, and not on a bed of sickness. Conceal my death, defend my standard, and avenge my fall. It is an old proverb, that a dead man shall gain a field, and I hope it will be accomplished this night.'

"The two squires of the body to Douglas were Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning: the chaplain, Richard Lundie, afterwards archdeacon of Aberdeen.

"The banner of Douglas was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the family of Cavers hereditary sheriffs of Tweedale, among whose archieves this glorious relic is still preserved. The earl, at the onset, is said to have charged it, to defend it to the last drop of his blood.

"Hotspur, for his ransom to the lord Montgomery, built the Castle of Penoon, in Ayrshire, belonging to the family of Montgomery, now earls of Eglintoun."

In this ballad, Douglas is said to have been murdered by one of his own men, and in the introductory discourse, there seems to have been a traditionary foundation for it, and the very person is named that was supposed to have done the deed, but Mr. Scott rejects this as totany untrue, and arising from the common desire of assigning some remote and extraordinary cause for the death of a great man.

Dr. Percy says in a note, that "Otterbourne is near the old Watling-street road, in the parish of Elsdon. The Scots were encamped on a grassy plain near the river Read. The place where the Scots and English fought is still called Battle rigge."

* "De Lussy." Q. Lucy.

bishop, "let us go on to Newcastle, where you shall converse with him." Thus they returned to Newcastle, sir James Lindsay as prisoner to the bishop of Durham. Under the banner of the earl of March, a squire of Gascony, John de Châteauneuf, was made prisoner, as was his companion, John de Cauteron, under the banner of the earl of Moray.

CHAPTER CXXX.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM MARCHES ON THE MORROW OF THE BATTLE TO THE SCOTS CAMP, BUT RETIRES WITHOUT DARING TO ATTACK IT. THE SCOTS RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

Before the dawn of day, the field was clear of combatants. The Scots had retired within their camp, and had sent scouts and parties of light-horse toward Newcastle and on the adjacent roads, to observe whether the English were collecting in any large bodies, that they might not a second time be surprised. This was wisely done: for when the bishop of Durham was returned to Newcastle, and had disarmed himself at his lodgings, he was very melancholy at the unfortunate news he had heard that his cousins, the sons of the earl of Northumberland, and all the knights who had followed them, were either taken or slain. He sent for all knights and squires at the time in Newcastle, and demanded if they would suffer things to remain in their present state, for that they would be disgraced should they return without ever seeing their enemies. They held a council, and determined to arm themselves by sunrise, and to march horse and foot after the Scots to Otterbourne and offer them battle. This resolution was published throughout the town, and the trumpets sounded at the appointed hour.

The whole army made themselves ready, and were drawn up before the bridge. About sunrise they left Newcastle, through the gate leading to Berwick, and followed the road to Otterbourne. They amounted in the whole, including horse and foot, to ten thousand men. They had not advanced two leagues before it was signified to the Scots, that the bishop of Durham had rallied his troops and was on his march to give them battle. This was likewise confirmed by their scouts, who brought the same intelligence.

Sir Matthew Redman, on his return to Newcastle, told the event of the battle, and of his being made prisoner by sir James Lindsay, and learnt, to his surprise, from the bishop, or from some of his people, that sir James had in his turn been taken by the bishop. As soon, therefore, as the bishop had quitted Newcastle, sir Matthew went to his lodgings in search of his master, whom he found very melancholy, looking out of a window. "What has brought you here, sir James?" was the first salute of sir Matthew. Sir James, interrupting his melancholy thoughts, advanced to meet him, bade him good day, and replied, "By my faith, Redman, ill luck; for I had no sooner parted with you, and was returning home, than I fell in with the bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, in like manner as you are to me. I believe there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we may finish the business here if my master consent to it." "We shall soon agree as to that," replied Redman: "but you must come and dine with me; for the bishop and his men have marched to attack your countrymen. I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return." "I accept your invitation," answered Lindsay. In such manner did these two enjoy each other's company in Newcastle.

The barons and knights of Scotland, on being informed of the bishop of Durham's approach with ten thousand men, held a council, whether to march away or to abide the event. On mature consideration, they resolved on the latter, from the difficulty of finding so strong a position to defend themselves and guard their prisoners, of whom they had many. These they could not carry away with them, on account of the wounded, nor were they willing to leave them behind. They formed themselves in a strong body, and had fortified their camp in such a manner that it could be entered by only one pass. They then made their prisoners swear, that rescued or not they would acknowledge themselves prisoners. When this was all done, they ordered their minstrels to play as merrily as they could. The Scots have a custom, when assembled in arms, for those who are on foot to be well dressed, each having a large horn slung round his neck, in the manner of hunters, and when they blow all together, the horns being of different sizes, the noise is so great it may be heard four miles off, to the great dismay of their enemies and their own delight. The Scots commanders ordered this sort of music now to be played.

The bishop of Durham with his banner, under which were at least ten thousand men, had scarcely approached within a league of the Scots, when they began to play such a concert, that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had come thither to join in the noise, so that those of the English who had never before heard such, were much frightened. This concert lasted a considerable time, and then ceased. After a pause, when they thought the English were within half a league, they recommenced it, continuing it as long as before, when it again ceased. The bishop, however, kept advancing with his men in battle-array until they came within sight of the enemy, two bow-shots off: the Scots then began to play louder than before, and for a longer time, during which the bishop examined with surprise how well they had chosen their encampment, and strengthened it to their advantage. Some knights held a council how they should act, and it seemed that, after much deliberation, they thought it not advisable to risk an attack, for there were greater chances of loss than gain, but determined to return again to Newcastle.

The Scots, perceiving the English were retreating, and that there was no appearance of any battle, retired within their camp to refresh themselves with meat and liquor. They then made preparations for departure: but because sir Ralph Percy had been dangerously wounded, he begged of his master to allow him to return to Newcastle, or wherever else in Northumberland he migh have his wounds better attended to, and remain there until cured; and in case this favor was granted him, as soon as he should be able to mount a horse, he pledged to surrender himself at Edinburgh, or in any other part of Scotland. The earl of Moray, under whose banner he had been taken, readily assented to this request, and had a litter prepared for him. In a similar manner, several knights and squires obtained their liberty, fixing on a time to return in person to those who had captured them, or to send the amount of their ransoms.*

I was told by those who were of the victorious party, that at this battle, which was fought in the year of grace 1388, between Newcastle and Otterburne, on the 19th day of August, there were taken or left dead on the field, on the side of the English, one thousand and forty men of all descriptions; in the pursuit eight hundred and forty, and more than one thousand wounded. Of the Scots, there were only about one hundred slain, and two hundred made prisoners. As the English were flying, they at times rallied, and returned to combat those who were pursuing them, whenever they thought they had a favorable opportunity, and it was thus their loss was so considerable in the pursuit. You may judge, from the number of killed and prisoners on each side, if this battle was not hardily fought.

When everything had been arranged, and the dead bodies of the earl of Douglas, sir Robert Hart and sir Simon Glendinning were inclosed within coffins, and placed on cars, they began their march, carrying with them sir Henry Percy and upward of forty English knights. They took the road to Melrose on the Tweed, and on their departure they set fire to their huts. They lodged this night in England without any opposition, and on the morrow decamped very early and arrived at Melrose, which is an abbey of black monks, situated on the borders of the two kingdoms. They there halted, and gave directions to the friars for the burial of the earl of Douglas, whose obsequies were very reverently performed on the second day after their arrival. His body was placed in a tomb of stone, with the banner of Douglas suspended over it. Of this earl of Douglas, God save his soul! there was no issue, nor do I know who succeeded to the estate of Douglas; for when I, the authority of this history, was in Scotland, at his castle of Dalkeith, during the lifetime of earl William, there were only two children, a boy and a girl. There were enow of the name of Douglas; for I knew five handsome brothers, squires, of this name, at the court of king David of Scotland, who were the children of a knight called sir James Douglas.† The earl's arms, of three oreilles gules on a field or, descended to them; but I am ignorant to whom fell the land.‡ You must know, that the sister of Archibald Douglas whom I have often mentioned as a gallant knight, and one much feared by the English, was a bastard.

When they had finished the business which had brought them to Melrose, they departed, each to his own country; and those who had prisoners carried them with them, or ransomed them before they left Melrose. In this manner the English found the Scots very courteous and accommodating, which pleased them much, as I learnt at the castle of the count de Foix from John de Châteauneuf, who had been made prisoner under the banner of the earl of March and Dunbar: he praised the earl exceedingly for his generosity in allowing him to fix his ransom at his pleasure. Thus did these men-at-arms separate, having very soon and handsomely settled the amount of the ransoms for their prisoners, who by degrees returned to their homes. It was told me, and I believe it, that the Scots gained two hundred thousand francs from the ransoms; and that never since the battle of Bannockburn, when the Bruce, sir William Douglas, sir Robert de Versy and sir Simon Frazer pursued the English for three days, have they had so complete nor so gainful a victory.

When the news of it was brought to sir Archibald Douglas, the

* The ransoms were estimated at 200,000 francs. Robert III. granted to Henry Preston, for the redemption of Ralph Percy, the lands and baronies of Frendin, Aberdeenshire, the town of Fyvie, and place thereof, the town of Meikle Gaddies, the five mark land of Park hill. Scots Cal. f. 104. Froissart apparently errs in the name of his captor; yet Mar had 20*l.* a year for a third of it, the whole of it exceeding 600*l.*—PINKERTON'S *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 41. *note.*

† Earl James Douglas married the lady Isabella Stuart, daughter of king Robert II., and dying without lawful issue, was succeeded by his brother, Archibald lord Galloway, called Archibald the Grim. This last was the issue of earl William's second marriage with Margaret, daughter of Patrick earl of March.—CRAWFORD'S *Peerage of Scotland.*

‡ These arms, according to Crawford, must be wrong: for, in his Peerage, the arms are described as "Four coats quarterly; 1. Azure, a lion rampant, crowned with an imperial crown, or; 2. A lion rampant gules, surmounted of a ribbon sable; 3. Or, a fesse cheque, azure and argent, surmounted of a bend sable, charged with five buckles, or; 4. Argent, three pyles gules, over all, in a shield of pretence argent, a heart, gules, ensigned with an imperial crown, or, on a chief azure, three mollets of the first, supported on the dexter with a savage, wreathed about the loins with laurel, and on the sinister by a stag proper: crest a salamander vomiting fire: motto, *Jamais arriere*, all within a compartment of stakes impaled."

earls of Fife and Sutherland, before Carlisle, where they were with the larger division of the army, they were greatly rejoiced, but at the same time vexed that they had not been present. They held a council and determined to retreat into Scotland, since their companions had already marched thither. In consequence, they broke up their camp and reëntered Scotland.

We will now leave the English and Scots, and speak of the young king of France, and the large army he marched into Germany to revenge himself on the duke of Gueldres.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, ON HIS MARCH TO GUELDRES. THE DUKE OF JULIERS, FATHER OF THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, MAKES EXCUSES FOR HIS SON TO THE KING OF FRANCE. HE IS GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED, AND HAS THE TERRITORY OF VIERSON RESTORED TO HIM, FOR WHICH HE PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING.

When the king of France and his army had crossed the Meuse at the bridge of Morsay,* they took the road to the Ardennes and bishopric of Luxembourg, and had always in advance a large body of pioneers to clear the bushes and level the roads. The king's army was very numerous, and well appointed. The duke of Juliers and his subjects much dreaded their approach, for they knew they should be first attacked; and the country of Juliers is so level that the men-at-arms would in one day despoil the whole, excepting a few castles and towns which would perhaps make some little resistance, but they could not hold out long. The king of France entered Luxembourg, and was lodged for two days at the monastery where duke Winceslaus of Brabant had been buried. At his departure, he took the road to Bastogne,† and encamped at the distance of a league from where the duchess of Brabant was lodged. The duchess had notified to the duke of Burgundy her arrival at Bastogne, who waited on her, and conducted her to the king's tent. The king received her very kindly; and, after they had conversed some time together, she returned to Bastogne, escorted by sir John de Vienne and sir Guy de la Tremouille. On the morrow the king continued his march until he arrived on the borders of Germany, ready to enter Juliers. But, before he had advanced so far, Arnold bishop of Liege had waited on him, and had exerted himself much to exculpate the duke of Juliers, and to soften the anger the king of France bore him, as father to the duke of Gueldres; and had said to the king and his uncles, that with regard to the imprudent and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had sent to France, he had never consulted his father on the subject, nor informed him of it until it was done, and therefore his territories ought not to suffer for it.

These excuses, however, were not agreeable to the king nor to his uncles; and it was their intention, that unless the duke of Juliers come in person, and made a more satisfactory apology, putting himself totally in the king's mercy, he and his country should be the first to pay for it. The bishop of Liege, the barons of Hasbain,‡ and the magistrates from the principal towns, who had accompanied the bishop, now offered the king and his uncles a free entrance for their army into their country, to pass and repass, and refresh themselves with provision on paying for it, and to remain there if they so pleased.

The king and his uncles thanked them for their offer, which they did not refuse, as they were ignorant how affairs would turn out. The bishop returned to the duke of Juliers and archbishop of Cologne, and told them all that had passed, that they might consider of it. The duke of Juliers was very much alarmed lest his country should be ruined, and sent for all those knights that were dependent on him, to have their advice, for the French were daily approaching. The lord de Coucy commanded the vanguard, of one thousand spears; and with him were the duke of Lorraine and the viscount de Meaux, with about two hundred lances more.

When the French were near the borders of Germany, they marched in a more compact body, and took great precautions in their encampments; for a body of three hundred Linfars,§ from the opposite side of the Rhine, had collected together on their line of march. These are the greatest robbers and plunderers in the world; and they hovered alongside the French army, to take advantage of any negligence on their part. The French were suspicious of them, and dared not attempt foraging but in large bodies. I believe the lord Boucicaut, the elder, and sir Lewis de Grach, were made prisoners by them, and carried to Nimeguen. These Germans rode through by-ways, and, like birds of prey, night and morning fell upon the French wherever they found a favorable opportunity; and this had made them more careful.

When the king of France was come to the confines of Juliers, and the vanguard and foragers had already entered it, the duke, unwilling that his country should be destroyed, listened to the advice of the archbishop of Cologne and bishop of Liege, and consented they should negotiate with the king and his uncles, and entreat that his country should remain in peace, on such terms as I shall mention. These two prelates, having laid the foundation for a peace, conducted the duke of Juliers into the king's presence, who was attended by his uncles, the duke of Lorraine, and other great barons of France of the blood royal, and his council. On the duke's approaching the king, he cast himself on his knees, and made very handsome excuses for the challenge his son had sent to France. He told the king that his son was a madman; that he had never consulted him respecting this challenge, nor indeed in anything else, but always acted for himself. He offered his services to the king, and said, "My lord, with your permission, I will go to him, and sharply remonstrate with him on his follies, and order him to come and make his apology to you and to your council. If he refuse to follow my advice, and continue to act from his own headstrong will, I offer to give you possession of all my inclosed towns and castles, for you to garrison with men-at-arms, and carry on the war against him until he shall submit himself to your mercy." The king, on this, looked at his brother, his uncles, and council, as it seemed to him, and to many who were present, a very fair offer. He made the duke rise, who had hitherto continued on his knees, and said, "We will consider what you have offered, and the promises you make us." The duke, having risen, remained with the two prelates who had brought him thither; and the king retired with his uncles and privy counsellors, to discuss the proposal that had been made them.

This council lasted some time, and various propositions were made, each pressing his different plan. The duke of Burgundy was the most active, as indeed the matter more essentially affected him, on account of his being heir, in right of his duchess, to the succession of the duchess of Brabant, and it was in truth owing to him that the king had undertaken this expedition. He was therefore very anxious that the quarrel should be amicably terminated, and a solid peace established between all parties, that there might not be any necessity for renewing the war; for the distance was great for the king and lords, besides being very expensive, and heavy on the kingdom. After several had given their opinions, he addressed himself to the king, to the duke of Berry, and to all present, saying: "My lord, and you brother of Berry, and gentlemen of the council, whatever is rashly or inconsiderately begun, generally ends badly. We have heard our cousin, the duke of Juliers, excuse himself handsomely, and we have heard the offer he has made, that his son shall do so likewise: he is of that gallantry and birth, being connected with me by blood, that we ought to believe what he has said. He offers to the king his person, his country, his towns, and castles, in case his son shall continue obstinate, and refuse to make any apology for his rash challenge. If we have the duke of Juliers on our side, the duke of Gueldres, whom we want to punish, will be so much the more weakened, that he will the more dread us, and the sooner bend to our will. I therefore advise that the excuses of the duke of Juliers and his offer be accepted, for he has greatly humbled himself; and the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Liege, with other potent barons, entreat likewise that this may be done."

No one making any reply, it was unanimously agreed to; and the archbishop and bishop, who had opened the negotiation, were called in. They were told very minutely every act the duke of Juliers was to swear to perform, if he were desirous that his country should remain in peace. First, that he should go himself, or send to his son, the duke of Gueldres, to remonstrate with him on his folly and impertinence, in sending so unusual and rude a challenge to so powerful a prince as the king of France, and oblige him to come personally and submit himself to the mercy of the king, if he did not satisfactorily excuse himself. Should the duke of Gueldres refuse compliance, through pride and weakness of understanding, and persist in his opinion, then the duke of Juliers was to engage, on his oath, not to afford him the least support, but, on the contrary, to unite himself with his enemies, and to assist the army of the king, which during the ensuing winter would be quartered throughout the country of Juliers, in order to be ready to carry on the war against the duke of Gueldres; and all towns and castles, belonging to the duke of Juliers, shall receive, on the most friendly footing, the men-at-arms of France.

These two prelates, who had been solely called to the council to remonstrate touching these matters with the duke of Juliers, repeated to him what they had heard, adding such weighty reasons, that the duke assented to the terms: indeed, he saw he must do so, if he wished to preserve his country from ruin. He therefore solemnly swore to observe faithfully all the articles of the treaty, and to remain a firm friend to the king and to his uncles, for which his duchy was saved from being despoiled: but forage, of which there was enough, was completely given up to the French. Thus did the duke of Juliers become liege man to the king of France, and paid homage for the territory of Vierson, situated between Blois and Berry. He supped that night with the king: it was on a Thursday; and there were seated at the king's table, first, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Juliers, and the duke of Bourbon.

* "Morsay." Q. Mouson, or Mezieres.

† "Bastogne," or Bastognack, is a small town in the duchy of Luxembourg: it was formerly more considerable, and called the Paris of the Ardennes.

‡ "Hasbain," a small territory in the circle of Westphalia, it forms the principal part of the bishopric of Liege.

§ Leichtfertig—vagabonds, freebooters.—Ed.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

KING CHARLES VI. QUARTERS HIS ARMY, ON A FRIENDLY FOOTING, IN THE DUCHY OF JULIERS. A SQUIRE OF AUVERGNE IS MURDERED BY A WOOD-CUTTER WHOM HE IS LEADING AWAY AS HIS PRISONER.

Such was the conclusion of the treaties between the king of France and the duke of Juliers, by which the last enjoyed peace, although the king quartered himself and his army in his duchy, which he found a rich country, and full of every kind of provision. The duke of Juliers went to his son, but not immediately, and in the interval some gallant feats of arms were done; for the Germans were so eager of gain, that they frequently, during the night or at very early morn, beat up the quarters of the French: sometimes they got the advantage, at other times they were made prisoners; but for one German that was taken, they made four Frenchmen prisoners in return. In consequence, the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, the duke of Lorraine, the marshal de Blainville, sir John de Vienne, and the lord de la Tremouille, assembled their men, to the amount of about four thousand men-at-arms, and marched toward a town in Gueldres called Remogne,* and drew up in handsome array before it. At this time the duke of Gueldres was within it, and thought highly of their appearance; but he made no sally against them, for his force was not equal to attempt it, which vexed him much. The French men-at-arms remained four hours drawn up in order of battle before the place; but when they saw that none came out to oppose them, they retreated to their quarters.

It happened that this same evening several knights and squires assembled at the lodgings of the duke of Berry, with the intent of making an excursion on the morrow into the enemy's country in search of adventures. They each, to the amount of about one hundred lances, pledged themselves to this; but, when the morning came, the project was broken off. A squire from Auvergne, called Gourdinois, a valiant man-at-arms, and serving under the banner of the lord d'Alégre, finding this exursion laid aside, was much vexed thereat; and, speaking of it to some of his companions of as good courage as himself, they collected about thirty spears, and rode out that morning, but met with no adventure. Gourdinois was so desirous of feats of arms, that he felt sorely the disappointment of returning without having struck a blow, and said to his companions; "Do you ride on gently, while I and my page will skirt this wood, to see if there be any ambuscades, or any persons within it, and wait for me at the foot of yonder hill." Having assented to this, Gourdinois and his page left them, and rode alongside the wood. They had not advanced far, when he heard some one whistle: he instantly stuck spurs into his horse, and came to a hollow road, where he found a Gueldrelander squaring timber. Gourdinois seized his spear, and charged the man full gallop, to his great astonishment, and made signs to him to follow him; for he said to himself, "At least, I shall show to my companions, that I have done something by making this man my prisoner, and he may be of some use to us in our quarters."

He now set out on his return, riding on a small hackney, followed by the woodman on foot, with a large axe on his shoulder with which he had been working. The page of Gourdinois was behind mounted on his courser, bearing his helmet and dragging his lance, half asleep from having left his bed too early. The German, who knew not whither he was going, nor what might be done to him, thought he might as well attempt to escape: he therefore advanced close to Gourdinois, and with his uplifted axe smote him such a blow on the head as split his skull to the teeth, and laid him dead on the ground. The page, from his distance and sleepiness, neither saw nor heard anything of the matter; and the peasant ran to hide himself in the wood, from which he was not far off. Those who heard of this unfortunate accident were much distressed; for Gourdinois was well beloved by all who knew him, particularly by his countrymen in Auvergne, for he was the man-at-arms most dreaded by the English, and the person who had done them most mischief. He would never have been suffered to remain a prisoner, though twenty thousand francs had been asked for his ransom.

We will now return to the duke of Juliers.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

THE DUKE OF JULIERS AND ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE LEAVE THE KING OF FRANCE, AND GO TO THE DUKE OF GUELDRES AT NIMEGUEN. BY THEIR REMONSTRANCES AND NEGOTIATIONS, HE OBTAINS PEACE WITH THE KING OF FRANCE AND DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

You have before heard how the duke of Juliers made his peace with the king of France, through the mediation of the two prelates already mentioned and the duke of Lorraine his cousin, who had taken great pains in the business, and had gone to seek him in the town of Atdeke,† whence he had brought him, with the archbishop of Cologne, to a conference with the king of France and his uncles. The duke had then promised to oblige his son, the duke of Gueldres, to submit himself to the king, otherwise he was to unite with the king in his war against him. These terms he was forced to comply with, or his duchy would have been destroyed.

The duke of Juliers, having made his preparations, set out with the archbishop of Cologne for Gueldres, and having crossed the river Waal, arrived at Nimeguen, where the duke of Gueldres then resided. He received them most affectionately, as was but right, for what tie is nearer than that of father or mother? He had before heard that the duke of Juliers had made his peace with the king of France, which was not very pleasing to him, but he had no occasion to show his dislike to it. The duke of Juliers and the archbishop remonstrated with him for some time on the situation he and his country were in. At first he paid no attention; for he had so strongly connected himself with the king of England, he could not immediately break it off, nor had he any inclination so to do, for his heart was devoted to the English. He argued the matter with them obstinately, declaring he would abide the event; and if, from the arrival of the king of France with an army, he should suffer any loss, he was young and might at other times revenge himself on France or on the Brabanters their allies; adding, that in war the chances are uncertain, and no prince can undertake one without expecting loss as well as gain.

This language greatly enraged the duke of Juliers, who said, "William, how will you carry on the war? and from whom do you expect compensation for your losses?" "The king of England and his power," replied he; "and I am very much astonished I have had no intelligence of their fleet; for if they had kept their engagement, by which they were to come hither, I would more than once have beaten up the French quarters." "Do you wait for them, William?" asked the duke of Juliers. "The English have so much on their hands at this moment, they cannot give you any assistance. There is our cousin, the duke of Lancaster, at Bayonne, who has left Castille with the shattered remains of his army, having lost the greater part by sickness, and by that the season for making war. He is soliciting reinforcements of men-at-arms and archers from England, but will not obtain twenty spears. On the other hand, the English have lately experienced a severe overthrow in battle with the Scots near Newcastle-on-Tyne, in Northumberland, in which all the chivalry of the north have been made prisoners or slain. England, besides, is not unanimous in their affection to the king; you will therefore act wisely not to depend on the English at this moment, for you will not have assistance from them, nor from any other quarter. I would therefore advise that you suffer us to manage for you, and we will pacify the king of France, and make up this quarrel without your being dishonored or a loser from it." "My lord," answered the duke of Gueldres, "how can I with honor accommodate my difference with the king of France? were I to have my country ruined, and be forced to go and live elsewhere, I would not do it: I am strongly bound to the king of England; and for him I have defied the king of France. Do you think," added he, "that for his menaces I will recall my word or break my engagement? You only wish my disgrace. I entreat you, therefore, to leave me to myself; I will make head against the French, for their threats do not alarm me. The rain, wind, and cold weather will make war for me; and before the month of January be arrived, they will be so worn down, that the boldest among them will wish to be at home."

Neither the duke of Juliers nor the archbishop of Cologne could, at this first interview, prevail on the duke of Gueldres to change his resolution, though they were six days laboring at it, and daily in council. At length the duke of Juliers, finding his arguments of no avail, was so angry, as to say to him, "that if he did not pay more attention to his advice, he would displease him greatly, insomuch that he should never inherit one foot of his duchy of Juliers, which he would dispose of to another, who should be powerful enough to defend it against him;" adding, "that none but a fool refused counsel." The duke of Gueldres, seeing his father inflamed with passion, replied by way of softening matters: "Advise me, then, how with honor I may act; and since you desire it, from my love to you, I will pay attention to it; for I assuredly owe you all obedience, and shall never in that be wanting." "Now," said the duke of Juliers, "you speak well and to the purpose; and we will consider the matter."

It was then determined, after many and long consultations, that the duke of Gueldres should wait on the king of France, and pay him the honor and respect befitting so great a prince, and should excuse himself for having sent him such a challenge, in similar words to these: "My lord, it is very true that a letter, sealed with my signet, was sent into France and delivered to you, in which was contained a challenge drawn up in very outrageous terms, and contrary to such as are generally used in the like cases, when princes or lords defy each other; but this I disavow, as never having been uttered from my mouth, nor written by my commands, as I would be far from defaming your name or rank. For the confirmation of what I now say, and to remove all doubts, I must inform you, that at the desire of my much-redoubted lord, the king of England, and his council, with whom I have entered into very close alliance, I sent to England four of my knights to whom I intrusted my signet, for them to seal whatever might be required of them. They were to write and seal, and not I: so that I never knew the contents of the letter sent to France until it had been sealed. Be pleased, therefore, to accept of this as my apology, for it is the truth. With regard to my oath of allegiance to my redoubted lord, the king of England, I am

* "Remogne." Q. † "Atdeke." Q.

resolved to adhere to it, and to obey, as far as in me lies, whatever he may command, whether to challenge you, and assemble my forces, wherever he may please, to oppose you or any other prince, except my natural lord, the emperor of Germany: for to him I have personally sworn my homage in the fullest manner. But out of respect and honor to you, and as some recompense for the trouble and charges you have had, in coming to this distance to learn the truth of this challenge, I am willing to swear, and that oath I will punctually keep, that, henceforward, I will never make any war upon you nor your kingdom without having first given you one year's notice of my intention; and, my lord I hope you will think this sufficient." The duke of Gueldres replied, that all this he would willingly say: for it did not seem to him to convey anything blameable or dishonorable.

Upon this being settled, the duke of Juliers and the archbishop departed and returned to Juliers, and thence to Endesker.* At a proper season they waited on the king of France, and related to him and his uncles every particular which had passed between them and the duke of Gueldres; and, that the matter might be immediately considered, they added, there could not anything more be obtained from his son. The king of France was so desirous to see his cousin the duke of Gueldres, who had given him such trouble, that he assented to the terms of the treaty. The duke of Burgundy was also anxious that the territories of the duchess of Brabant should remain in peace, and took pains that this treaty should be agreed to, and that the duke of Gueldres, on the strength of it, should come to them. There was also another reason for their consenting to it: winter was approaching, and the nights were already cold and long. The French lords were told that Gueldres was a miserable country to winter in, and they daily received information of losses of knights, squires, and horses, that had been captured by the ambushes of these Linfars.

From all these reasons, matters were so far concluded that the duke of Gueldres came to the French camp, and was introduced by the duke of Juliers his father, the duke of Lorraine his cousin, and the archbishop of Cologne, to the king's tent. There were present, at this interview, the king's uncles, his brother the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bar, the count de la Marche, the count de St. Pol, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, the lord de Coucy and the constable of France. On his entrance the duke of Gueldres cast himself on his knees before the king; but I heard that the king made him rise, (in this matter, however, I know nothing but what I learnt from others,) and that he boldly excused himself for the challenge, in the terms you have before heard. The king accepted his apology: and he then declared, on his oath, that if he were ever again to challenge or make war on France, he would send notice of it one year beforehand. Thus did Gueldres and Brabant remain in a secure state, and those who had expected the most were the greatest losers.

Everything being now settled, the duke of Gueldres supped with the king of France at his table: and I must say he was much looked at, for the great plague he had given them. These treaties were fairly written and sealed; and, when all was done, the lords took leave of each other: but, before the duke of Gueldres departed, he requested that the prisoners the French had made in this war might be given up, which was agreed to in the manner he desired. The king of France demanded that all prisoners made from him should likewise be set at liberty; but the duke of Gueldres excused himself, saying: "My lord, that cannot be done: I am a poor man, and when I heard of your march hither, I strengthened myself as much as possible with knights from the other side of the Rhine and elsewhere, agreeing with them that everything they might take should be their own property. It is not possible for me, therefore, to despoil them of what I have given, nor have I the power so to do; and, should I attempt it, they would make war upon me. Be pleased, therefore, to let this matter remain as it is, for I cannot remedy it." The king, perceiving he could not obtain anything more, bore it as well as he could, without adding a word in reply, and comforted himself on the greatness of his power that could enrich so many poor persons. They took leave of each other mutually satisfied, and orders were given for the army to march back to France. It was said, the king would hold the feast of All-saints in the city of Rheims.

I will now say a word of the English fleet.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

THE EARL OF ARUNDEL AND HIS FLEET ARE DRIVEN BY STORMS TO LA PALICE, NEAR LA ROCHELLE. THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE, HAVING HAD INFORMATION OF THIS, CHASES THEM AT SEA, BUT IN VAIN. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARRIES HIS DAUGHTER TO THE HEIR OF CASTILLE.

Before the king of France went to Gueldres, and during the time he was there, the English fleet under the command of the earl of Arundel kept hovering along his coasts, just as the wind drove them, in search of adventures. You must know, that generally from the first of October to All-saints day the weather is stormy; but this year it was unusually so, which shattered the English fleet, and there was no seaman on board, however bold he might be, but was frightened at its violence, which forced the ships to run to any port lest worse might befal them. The earl of Arundel, with twenty-seven other vessels, made for the harbor of la Palice, two leagues distant from la Rochelle, where he anchored: indeed, he was forced so to do, for the wind was contrary and he could not leave it. When news was brought of this to la Rochelle, the townsmen were much alarmed, thinking the English intended attacking the place: they closed their gates, and remained guarding them for a day and a half. Intelligence came from la Palice, that the force of the English amounted to no more than twenty-two vessels, driven thither by stress of weather, and desireus only of putting to sea again; that, however, the earl of Arundel, sir Henry Beaumont, sir William Elmham, and upward of thirty English knights, were there. The Rochellers, on this consulted how to act; and, having well considered the matter, they said they should not do their duty if they did not march to skirmish with the enemy.

At this period, the lord Lewis de Sancerre, marshal of France, was arrayed and marshalled before the castle of Bouteville, with a large body of the chivalry of Poitou, Saintonge and other parts, and had there inclosed William de Sainte Foix, a Gascon; for all men-at-arms had not accompanied the king of France, and the lord de Sancerre was lieutenant of the country from Montpellier to la Rochelle, during the absence of the lord de Coucy with the army in Germany. The Rochellers determined to send information of the arrival of the English to the lord de Sancerre, who on hearing it was much rejoiced. He ordered the townsmen to arm six or eight galleys, and to embark on board, for he was on his march to combat the English. This they did; and sir Lewis broke up his siege and marched away, thinking it would be more to his honor and profit to engage the earl of Arundel and the English knights lying at anchor, than to continue the siege, for he could again return to this at his pleasure.

He came to la Rochelle, followed by a large body of knights and squires. I know not by what means, but the earl of Arundel had information at la Palice, that the marshal of France with a powerful company of knights and squires was marching to attack him. The news was not very agreeable to him; but fortunately the weather had become calm, and he instantly gave orders to weigh anchor and put to sea. This was speedily effected: had they waited longer they would have been surrounded within the haven, and every one of his vessels must necessarily have been taken, for not one could have escaped. The galleys from la Rochelle, fully armed with cannons and other artillery, appeared in sight, steering for la Palice, as the English were under sail. They chased them two leagues, saluting them with their cannon, but dared not follow them further, for fear of the dangers of the sea. They therefore returned to la Rochelle; but the marshal of France was much angered against them, for having been so tardy to inform him of the arrival of the enemy.

The earl of Arundel sailed for the mouth of the Garonne, to repair to Bordeaux; and the siege of Bouteville was put an end to, for William de Sainte Foix, during the time the marshal had gone, as he thought, to fight the English, had provided his castle with all things necessary for a long defence.

We will now return to the duke of Lancaster, and speak of his negotiations with the king of Castille and duke of Berry respecting the marriage of his daughter. The king of Castille was desirous of having her for his son, as the means of peace with England. The duke of Lancaster was wise and prudent: he saw that the most advantageous alliance for himself and for his country was Castille, in preference to the duke of Berry; for by it he should recover the inheritance of Castille for his daughter, in times to come. If he gave her to the duke of Berry, and he should die before her, she would be poor in comparison with other ladies; for the duke had children by his first marriage, who would be entitled to all his landed property. The duchess of Lancaster was likewise more inclined to the connection with Castille, so that when sir Helion de Lignac had left the duke, on his return to the duke of Berry in Germany, the commissioners from the king of Castille came forward, and pushed the matter so warmly, that the marriage was agreed and sworn to, between the lady Catherine and the son of the king of Castille. Proper contracts were drawn up and sealed, with covenants to prevent any danger of breaking off the match; and the duchess consented, when the whole should be concluded, to conduct her daughter into Castille.

* "Endesker." Q

CHAPTER CXXXV.

THE KING OF FRANCE, WHILE ON THE FRONTIERS OF JULIERS, HAS PART OF HIS CAMP SURPRISED, AND SEVERAL PRISONERS MADE, BY SOME GERMAN PILLAGERS. THE KING, BEING TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, TAKES ON HIMSELF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS KINGDOM. HE SENDS TO THE KING OF CASTILLE, ON HEARING OF THE MARRIAGE OF HIS SON WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO REMONSTRATE WITH HIM NOT TO ENTER INTO ANY TREATIES THAT MAY BE PREJUDICIAL TO HIM OR TO HIS KINGDOM.

The king of France was still on the borders of Juliers, (for you have heard on what grounds peace had been made between him and the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres,) though on his march with the army back to France, when, one clear moonlight night, as they were encamped on the confines of Germany, some German robbers, who would never accept of any terms of peace, made, about midnight, an

attack on the French. These men were under the lord de Blanquenemen and sir Peter de Aremberg, and came well mounted, to observe where they could make the severest attack on the camp. They passed the quarters of the viscount de Meaux, but found him and his men on their guard; and, having gone backward and forward without saying a word, they returned, to give an account to their leaders, at their ambuscade, of what they had seen. Shortly after, a large body of these Germans made an irruption on the French camp, overthrowing I know not how many, and making fourteen men-at-arms prisoners. The lord de la Vieville and the lord de Montkarel were among the number, in consequence of great neglect in not having placed sufficient guards. When it was known, on the morrow, that these two lords were made prisoners, the army were much vexed at it, and ever afterwards were more attentive to their guards.

When the king left Juliers, none of the garrisons remained behind: sir William de la Tremouille and sir Gervais de Merande joined him, and the Brabanters retired to their own homes. While on the march, and immediately on the king's return to France, it was determined, by great deliberation of the council, that the king, who had since the death of his father been under the management of his uncles, should now take on himself the government of the kingdom, which his uncles must resign into his hands, as they had enough to do elsewhere, and the king had now entered his twenty-first year. When this was made public, it gave universal satisfaction.

I believe the king, with his uncles and brother, kept the feast of All-saints at Rheims; and that there they first heard of peace being made between the king of Castille and duke of Lancaster, and of the marriage of the lady Catherine with the infant. The king of France laughed and joked much with his uncle, the duke of Berry, saying; "Fair uncle, you have failed in your intended marriage, for another has seized the lady you meant for your bride. What do you say to this? How does your courage stand?" The duke good-humoredly replied; "My lord, if I have been disappointed in this, I will address myself elsewhere."

Those present began to murmur about this marriage, and to say, it had not been concluded without some treaties of alliance having been formed which might be very prejudicial hereafter to France; "for," added some, who seemed to be fully aware of the consequences, "should England, Castille, and Portugal unite, and make war upon us, they would be enabled to do us very serious mischief by sea and land. It will be right for the king of France to send some discreet person to prevent this wicked king, who has thus connected himself with a dead man, (for the duke of Lancaster has neither money nor men,) from entering into any treaties without the consent of the council of France; otherwise to say, the king would reduce him to the state of the lowest varlet, with the same ease with which he had raised him to his present state; for at this moment he has no ally strong enough to support him. A war with Castille would now come very opportunely; and, after dethroning this wicked king, the son of a bastard, the king might bestow the crown on his brother, the duke of Touraine, who is not over rich: he would govern it wisely, and defend it valiantly. How could this king of Castille think of entering into any treaty whatever with the duke of Lancaster, unknown to our king, who has so generously assisted him in his distress; and had it not been for the blood of France, he must have lost his realm. He bargains well, and has now done so; but let it be as we say, and he will be deserted and disgraced; and, in God's name, let such an envoy be sent thither as will be attended to, and make him feel how very ill he has behaved."

These murmurings increased so much that the king, his uncles, and council, deliberated whom they should send to remonstrate with the king of Castille, that he enter not, at his peril, into treaties with the duke of Lancaster and the English any way detrimental to the crown of France. If he had done so, or intended it, he was to be told, that the power of France would debase him as much, if not more, than it had exalted him; and that the king and his country would not attend to any other thing before they had completed his destruction. It was long debated who would be the properest person to send thither; for it was agreed it should be some one of courage and well spoken, as it would be fruitless sending simple persons on such a message. There were named: the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and sir Guy de la Tremouille, and either of these three would be fully qualified to go to Castille. Having considered all things, they chose sir John de Vienne;* and it was told him, on the part of the king and his council: "Admiral, make your preparations for a journey to Castille; you will have no other than credential letters, for it is enough that you are master of the subject on which you are sent. Tell the king of Castille to read or have read to him all the treaties of alliance, and promises of friendship, which have been formed and sworn to between the two crowns; and remember well all the answers you may receive from him or his ministers on this subject, that we may regulate our conduct accordingly." All this, the admiral said, he would studiously attend to. The admiral was not long in making preparations for his journey, and, having taken leave of the king and his uncles, left Paris, taking the road toward Burgundy; for he was desirous of visiting the pope and his brother at Avignon, which he did.

* According to Lopez d'Ayala, Moler de Mauny, the king's chamberlain, was joined in commission with sir John de Vienne.—Ed.

We will now for a while leave him, and say something of Geoffry Tête-noire and the siege of Ventadour, in which he was inclosed; but we must first speak of the duke of Berry, whose impatience to marry again was shown within the year, when he took to himself a wife of whom I shall speak, and say who she was, and where he was married.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

THE DUKE OF BERRY, BEING DISAPPOINTED IN HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, SENDS TO THE COUNT DE FOIX TO DEMAND THE DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT DE BOULOGNE, WHOM HE HAD IN WARDSHIP.

The duke of Berry, having been disappointed in marrying the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, was told that the count de Boulogne had a beautiful daughter called Jane, by the lady Eleanor de Comminges; that she was not with her father nor mother, but in the country of Béarn with his good friend and cousin the count de Foix; that she had been educated by the count, in his castle of Orthès, for the space of nine years, and he had the wardship of all her property; and that her father and mother had not any way interfered since she had been under the care of the count, nor had the young lady cost them anything; that she had been often demanded in marriage, but the count de Foix had turned a deaf ear, saying, she was yet too young; and in particular by sir Bernard, brother to the count d'Armagnac, who had repeatedly pressed the matter, promising, on the accomplishment of this marriage, to put an end to his war on Béarn and his claims on that country. Notwithstanding these fair promises, the count would not listen to him, but said that his cousin was too young. He gave, however, other reasons to his confidential friends, and said to sir Espaign du Lyon, "These Armagnacs must think me a great fool, when they ask me to consent to my destruction. If I give them my cousin, I shall add to their strength and weaken myself. They already withhold from her by force her inheritance, in right of her mother, of Comminges; for the count de Boulogne is as nobody to oppose them."

When the count d'Armagnac and his brother, sir Bernard, found they could not succeed, they spoke to the duke of Berry, during the life of their aunt, his first duchess, that it would be a good match for his son John of Berry. The duke, in consequence, had sent properly qualified persons to the count de Foix in Béarn, to entreat that all former animosities might be forgiven and forgotten, and that he would consent to the marriage of his cousin and ward with his son John; for that the count de Boulogne, her father, was very well satisfied that it should take place.

The count entertained the envoys handsomely, but excused himself for not complying with their demand, as the lady was too young; and because he had most solemnly promised and sworn to the countess her mother, when she delivered her into his hands, that he would never betroth her to any person whatever without her knowledge. He would therefore keep his oath, and no one ought to attempt to make him break it. These were the excuses the count made; for he knew well that his cousin, the countess of Comminges, who resided with her brother the count d'Urguel, in Arragon, would never consent to her daughter's marriage with any one connected with the Armagnacs.

The embassadors from the duke of Berry returned, therefore, unsuccessfully; and in their absence the count de Foix said, (as I learnt from sir Espaign du Lyon)—"The duke of Berry and his advisers must think me very weak and ignorant, when they propose that I should reinforce my enemies. John of Berry is cousin to my adversaries, the Armagnacs: this match I will never consent to, and had much rather marry her in England; and I have already had proposals from Henry of Lancaster, son to the duke of Lancaster. If I were not afraid of too much angering the king of France, no one else should have my cousin. At this moment I know not how to act; but I will marry her to my own satisfaction, to prevent any of the Armagnacs having her against my will: for, as the whole depends on my determination, I have no occasion to be melancholy, or to be very anxious on this subject."

When the duke of Berry knew for certain that the duke of Lancaster intended marrying his daughter with the infant of Castille, and that there were no hopes of breaking it off, he was so pensive and melancholy for five or six days, that those of his nearest relations inquired the cause of it. Having opened his mind to them, and complained of his disappointment, his council replied: "Sir, if you have failed with the lady Catherine of Lancaster, you may be more successful in another quarter, with the daughter of a great lord, and who, in due time, will be a considerable heiress, though at this moment she is a little too young for your time of life; and I know not if the count de Foix will not on this account refuse his consent." "Is she the daughter of the count de Boulogne?" asked the duke. "Yes, my lord." "In God's name," replied the duke, "let us make the trial."

It was not long after this before he wrote to the count de Foix, to signify to him, in the most friendly manner, that he would send to him four knights of high quality, such as the count de Sancerre, the lord de la Riviere, sir Guy de la Tremouille, and the viscount d'Assy, to treat with him for his ward, the daughter of the count de

Boulogne, in marriage; and these lords were of such importance, as to justify him in putting implicit faith in them; but he begged of him to send him a speedy answer to his letter, that these knights might not undertake a commission that would be unsuccessful. The count de Foix received handsomely the messengers who brought this letter, and wrote back by them to the duke of Berry, that he was very happy in the proposals he had made, and was ready to receive the four knights either in Foix or in Béarn; but that the consent of the count and countess de Boulogne must first be had.

The duke of Berry was well pleased on receiving such an answer, and negotiated with one and another, during the winter, that his marriage might take place in the course of the summer. The business, however, was not so soon accomplished; for the duke of Berry knew well that the count de Foix was not a person to act hastily, and that there would be many questions and replies before the matter could be expected to be brought to a conclusion. He therefore prudently carried on the treaty, by sending special messengers to pope Clement, who was nearly related to the young lady. The pope was rejoiced at hearing his cousin would be so highly connected as with the duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France; and he wrote, in consequence, to the count de Foix, to notify him in an honorable manner, that he would not on any account this proposal should be rejected, for their families would be made by it. The count de Foix received letters from all quarters; for he could, on such occasions, well dissemble his real sentiments, and yet retain the affections of all, the pope as well as the duke of Berry; but there were none so wise among them, that knew what were the count's real thoughts.

We will now leave this matter, and return to the siege of Ventadour.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

GEOFFRY TETE-NOIRE IS WOUNDED IN THE HEAD, AT A SKIRMISH, AND COMMITS EXCESSES WHICH CAUSE HIS DEATH. HE MAKES A WILL, AND SUBSTITUTES TWO GOVERNORS OF VENTADOUR IN HIS ROOM.

You have before heard how sir William de Lignac and sir John Bonne-lance, with many knights and squires from Auvergne and Limousin, had besieged the castle of Ventadour, and Geoffry Tête-noir within it. It was so strong, that it could not be taken by storm; and he had laid in such stores of all things, as to secure a sufficiency for seven or eight years, without anything new being added. The besiegers, who had surrounded it with blockhouses, came at times to skirmish at the barriers; and it happened that, at one of these, Geoffry Tête-noire advanced so far that he was struck on the head by a bolt from a cross-bow, which passed through the helmet and cap underneath, and wounded him so severely as to occasion him to be carried to his bed. His companions were much vexed at this, and, during the time he was in this state, all skirmishing ceased. Had he taken proper care of himself, he would have soon been cured of this wound; but he indulged himself in many excesses, particularly in fornication, for which he paid dearly enough by his death. He was warned of the consequences of this conduct, and told that he was in so dangerous a condition, (the wound having become an imposthume,) that it was necessary he should settle his affairs. He did, and made his will in the way I shall relate.

He ordered the principal persons in his garrison, and those who had been the most used to arms, into his presence; and when they were come, he said to them, sitting up in his bed, "My fair sirs, and companions in arms, I know I am in great danger of death: we have been a long time together, and I have been a loyal captain to you all, to the utmost of my power; I should wish, therefore, to see, before I quit this world, my successor appointed, who would gallantly behave himself toward you and defend this castle, which I shall leave plentifully stocked with all necessary things, such as wines, provisions, and artillery. I therefore beg you will tell me if you have taken any steps, or have thought of electing any one able to govern and lead you as men-at-arms ought to be governed and led, for such has been my manner of carrying on the war; and in truth I cared not against whom. I did indeed make it under shadow of the king of England's name, in preference to any other; but I have always looked for gain and conquest, wherever they may be had; and such should be the conduct of adventurous companions, who are for deeds of arms and to advance themselves. This country is very fertile: many good compositions have been made with it, though the French now check them by their war; but this cannot always last, for their blockhouses and siege must have an end. Now, tell me truly, have any of you thought of the person who is to succeed me?"

The companions remaining silent, he again addressed them with the utmost good-humor, saying, "I can easily believe you have had some conversations together on what I have mentioned; and I also, during the time I have been forced to keep my bed, have thought on this matter for you." "Sir," replied they, "we refer the matter to you; and it will be more agreeable if it came from you than from us: you will therefore be pleased to inform us of your will." "Yes," said Geoffry, "I will tell you, and name those I wish to succeed me. Here is Alleyn Roux and his brother Peter, my cousins, who are good men-at-arms and of my blood: I entreat you, therefore, to accept of Alleyn as your governor, and that you will swear to him, in my presence, loyalty and obedience, as well as to his brother; but I mean that Alleyn should have the sovereign command." "Sir," answered they, "we will cheerfully do so, for you have well chosen." All the companions then took oaths of obedience to Alleyn Roux, and to his brother Peter. When this was done, Geoffry Tête-noire again addressed them: "Well, my friends, you have complied with my request, and I thank you for it. Because I wish you should partake of what you have helped me to conquer, I must inform you, that in that chest which you see yonder, (pointing to it with his finger,) there is a sum of thirty thousand francs. I would acquit my conscience and myself toward those who have faithfully served me: say, therefore, if you will truly fulfil the articles of my will." Having said they would, he continued: "In the first place, I leave the chapel of St. George, within our walls, the sum of fifteen hundred francs for repairs and additional buildings. I give to my mistress, who has been faithfully attached to me, two thousand five hundred francs—To Alleyn Roux, your governor, two thousand francs—To my valets-de-chambre, five hundred francs—To my officers, fifteen hundred francs. The surplus I thus dispose of: you are about thirty companions, all engaged in the same enterprise, and you should behave like brothers to each other, without envy, riot, or strife. The sum I have mentioned you will find in the chest: divide it, therefore, among you fairly and honorably; but should the devil get among you, and you cannot agree, here is a well-tempered sharp axe, cut open the chest, and let those who can seize the contents." To this speech, they unanimously replied, "Lord and master, we will not disagree. We have so much loved and feared you, we will never break the chest, nor disobey any of the orders you have given us."

Such as I have related was the will of Geoffry Tête-noire, who only lived two days more, and was buried in the chapel of Saint George in Ventadour. All his legacies were paid, and the overplus divided among them according to his orders, and Alleyn Roux with his brother Peter were obeyed as governors of the castle. The blockade, however, was not for this raised, nor were the skirmishes less frequent. The French knights and squires of Auvergne and Limousin were rejoiced at the death of Geoffry-Tête-noire, and were not so much afraid of those he had left behind, for he had been a most active and successful captain in war and in forming garrisons.

We will now return to the duke of Gueldres for a short time, and say what befel him at this season; having already mentioned the trouble he had given to the king of France and his uncles, by forcing them to march to the borders of his country, and then to return without doing him any considerable damage.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRES IS MADE PRISONER IN PRUSSIA; AND, THOUGH DELIVERED BY THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER, HE RETURNS TO KEEP HIS FAITH TO THE PERSON WHO HAD TAKEN HIM.

When the duke of Gueldres perceived that the whole army of France had retreated, and that peace was established with the duchess of Brabant and his other enemies by means of the treaties, the particulars of which you have heard related—one of the articles being understood to have been the surrender of the town of Grave within the year, on such conditions as had been agreed on between him, the duke of Burgundy and the duchess of Brabant—and when he found he had now nothing to do at home, under these circumstances, I say, he resolved to make an excursion into Prussia. He made preparations accordingly, and, accompanied by many knights and squires of his own and other countries, began his journey thither about the octave of Saint Martin, taking his road through Germany. Wherever he passed, he was handsomely received, and arrived on the territory of Prussia. I know not how it happened, but he and his company were waylaid in the plains, and attacked by a body of men-at-arms, of whom they had no suspicion, and for that reason they were overpowered. They lost their arms, horses, gold and silver plate, and were carried prisoners to a town hard by, where all who could ransom themselves did so: particularly the duke of Gueldres pledged himself to a squire called Arurant; his surname I am ignorant of; and then the duke of Gueldres and his company were led to a strong town of the duke de Stolpen, not that the duke was there in person.

When the grand-master and knights of the Teutonic order heard that the duke of Gueldres had been attacked and made prisoner on his road to Prussia, they were exceedingly enraged, and said it should not remain unpunished, otherwise they would be greatly blamed. They instantly issued their summons for the attendance of their vassals, and marched with a large force of men-at-arms from Commisberg* to the town wherein the duke of Gueldres was detained prisoner. The squire who had made the duke prisoner, having heard of this expedition, was alarmed for the consequences, and determined to leave the castle, as ill might befal him should he be taken; but before he departed he waited on the duke of Gueldres, and thus spoke: "Duke of Gueldres, you are my prisoner, and I am your master. You, as a gentleman, have pledged your faith and oath, that wherever I should please to go, thither you would follow me. I know not if you have sent for the grand-master of the Teutonic

* "Commisberg." Q. Konnigsberg.

order, but he is marching hither in such force that I do not think it prudent to wait for him. Do you remain, if you please, but I shall carry away your faith with me." To this the duke of Gueldres making no reply, the squire departed, and, having mounted his horse, rode off to a castle of greater strength; but, on his going away, he added, "You will find me at such a place," and named to him the castle, which was very strong, and far from all roads. He was no sooner gone than the grand-master arrived, with a considerable force: no one issued forth to oppose him: and, had he found the squire within, he would infallibly have put him to death. He therefore returned to Koningsberg, carrying the duke of Gueldres with him.

I will relate what was the end of this event; for in whatever country it was told, and especially in Germany, it was variously spoken of, to the great astonishment of all lords who heard it. When the duke of Gueldres arrived at Koningsberg, having obtained his liberty in the manner I have said, he considered that he had pledged his faith to return to the squire who had made him prisoner: likewise remembering what the squire had said on his departure, he was much cast down, and thought himself bounden in honor to acquit himself loyally toward him. He therefore told the grand-master he could not longer remain with him, nor for any dispensation or absolution would give up his intention of surrendering himself to his master, in the castle where he had been appointed to do so; which every one considered as an act of great honor. When this came to the ears of his relations and subjects in Gueldres, they treated for his liberty, which they obtained through the means of the duke of Stolpen, who took much pains in the business; but, before the duke would consent to his enlargement, he made the duke of Gueldres swear, that neither himself, his heirs, nor any person attached to him, would ever seek open or private revenge for the insult he had received. Thus was the duke of Gueldres set at liberty; but in the year 1388 did this misfortune befal him. Let us return to sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and relate what he said from the king of France to the king of Castille.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, HAVING RECEIVED HIS ANSWER FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE, RETURNS TO FRANCE. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER PROCEEDS IN THE MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER TO THE INFANT OF CASTILLE. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, HAVING MADE SOME CRUISES ON THE COASTS OF NORMANDY, RETURNS WITH HIS FLEET TO ENGLAND.

The admiral of France continued his journey until he arrived in Castille, when he inquired where the king resided. He was answered, "Most commonly at Burgos," whither he then rode. Having dismounted at his inn, he made himself ready to go to the palace; but as soon as the king's household heard of his arrival, he was visited by them, most honorably, according to the custom of the country, from their attachment to the king of France, to whom they held themselves much indebted, and he was conducted to the king's apartment. Sir John was kindly greeted by the king, to whom he gave his letters. The king took them, and called his council aside, when, having read and considered them, they found he had full powers given him, and sir John was called and bade to explain the cause of his coming. He, who was ready prepared, thus spoke, in handsome language: "Sir king, and you gentlemen of his council, the king of France sends me hither, on account of the marriage which he has heard is about to take place between your son and the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, who is, as you know, his enemy. The king of France and his ministers are greatly at a loss to conceive how you could think of entering into any treaty of marriage or other engagement, without their being made acquainted with it; for they say truly, that no union can be formed between children without great intimacy and affection of the parents being the consequences. They therefore tell you by my mouth, to be careful not to enter into any treaties that may be prejudicial to the king of France; and that those, so solemnly sworn to be observed by the late king Henry, your father, the prelates, nobles and cities of the realm, be no way infringed, otherwise you will incur the pain of excommunication from the pope, and the indignation of the king and barons of France, whom you will find, to your disgrace, your most bitter enemies. This is what I am ordered to say to you from the king of France and his council."

When the king of Castille, and those present, heard such a reproachful message from the king of France, they were so much astonished, that they looked at each other, but not one attempted to make any reply. A bishop, however, who happened to be there, made the following answer: "Sir John, you are newly arrived in this country, and the king and ourselves are glad to see you, and bid you welcome. Fair sir, the king has perfectly heard and understood your message, and you shall shortly, within a day or two, have such an answer as will give you satisfaction." "It is enough," replied sir John de Vienne, who then took leave of the king and council and returned to his lodgings. It was reported to me, that he remained seven days without having any answer; that there was very great dissembling on this occasion, and he became quite melancholy, for he never saw the king, but remained in his apartment, scarcely visited by any one. Sir John de Vienne, noticing this delay, spoke of it to some of the council, whom he sometimes saw, declaring he would return without the answer. They suspected he would keep his word and do as he said, for in truth such was his intention.

He was therefore invited to the palace, and such answers made him, that, on his return, he told the king of France, and those who had sent him, not to be under any uneasiness respecting the king of Castille or his council, for they would never enter into any treaties with England that should, in the smallest degree, be detrimental to those which had been formed between France and Castille. If the king of Castille married his son to the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, according to the unanimous wish of his country, as the means of obtaining peace, and extinguishing all claims on his crown, it ought not to have given umbrage to the king of France nor to that nation; for the king of Castille and his subjects were firmly resolved to adhere to every point of the treaties existing between them and France.

Such was the purport of the answer sir John de Vienne had brought from Castille. The king of Castille and the duke of Lancaster proceeded in the marriage, and a treaty of peace was amicably agreed on between them, by the before-mentioned commissioners, for the duke still resided in the Bordelois. He had come with his duchess and daughter from Bayonne to Bordeaux, where he was joyfully received, as they were desirous of his living among them, and thence had gone to Libourne.*

When it was known for certain, in the castle of the count de Foix, that the king of Castille had made peace with the duke of Lancaster, and had put an end to all his claims, by the marriage of his son with the lady Catherine of Lancaster, to whom he had given extensive territories in Castille, besides a large sum to the duke, amounting to two hundred thousand nobles, the count was greatly astonished, (for I was then present,) and said: "This king of Castille is a poor creature, to make peace with a dead man; for I am sure the duke of Lancaster was in so bad a way he knew not where to turn himself. On my faith," continued the count, "the duke is a man of ability, and has prudently managed this matter."

It was about Christmas that the fleet of the earl of Arundel, which had been hovering the whole year along the coasts of Brittany, la Rochelle, Saintonge, and the Bordelois, came to the shores of Normandy, and sailed by Carentan. It had indeed before landed at Cherbourg, and the earl seemed inclined to make war on that part of the country. The town of Carentan and its dependencies were under the command of the lord de Hambre and the lord de Torci, who had with them a considerable number of knights and squires of Normandy. The earl of Arundel learning how strongly it was garrisoned, passed by, thinking he might lose more than he could gain were he to attack it, and fell on another town, called Torigny,† which he took by storm, and gained great wealth by plundering it. They carried away many prisoners, and marched to the barriers of Bayeux, but only made a slight skirmish. The English passed the fords of St. Clement, and did great damage to those parts; for they stayed there fifteen days without any one coming to oppose them.

The marshal de Blainville was indeed in Normandy; but he had no information of what was passing, or he would have provided a remedy. The English having finished their expedition, and done one hundred thousand francs of mischief to Normandy, made a prudent retreat, and recrossing the fords, returned to Cherbourg, where they embarked their pillage safely on board the fleet: having weighed anchor, they took to the deep, and landed at Southampton. Such were the deeds done by this fleet, under the command of the earl of Arundel.

CHAPTER CXL.

THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE VISITS THE COUNT DE FOIX AT ORTHES. A DEED OF ARMS IS PERFORMED, BEFORE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT BORDEAUX, BETWEEN FIVE FRENCH AND FIVE ENGLISH MEN.

The lord Lewis de Sancerre, marshal of France, at this time resided at Toulouse or Carcassonne in Languedoc, and was well informed of the treaties that were in agitation between the duke of Berry and the count de Foix, for the marriage of the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom the duke wished to have, although the lady was very young. The marshal had a desire to visit the count de Foix at Orthès, and I believe (from the information I had from his people who found me there at Christmas,) the king of France had ordered him thither, and I will relate on what errand.

The king of France was at this period very young, though anxious to manage his government well. He had never visited Languedoc, which is an extensive province filled with towns and castles, that had been almost ruined by the oppressions of the duke of Berry. Heavy complaints of this had been made to the king when he took the government into his own hands; and he said he would travel into Languedoc, and visit the pope, whom he had never yet seen; and he was likewise desirous of seeing the count de Foix, of whose largesses and valor he had heard so much.

* "Libourne," a town on the confluence of the Dordogne and Garonne, five leagues northeast from Bordeaux.

† "Torigny," a town in Normandy, three leagues from St. Lô, eight from Coutances.

The marshal de Sancerre left Toulouse with full five hundred horse, rode to Tarbes in Bigorre, and thence to Orthès in Béarn. The count de Foix, having had intimation of his coming, ordered the stewards of his household to have the town of Orthès properly prepared for his reception, as his visit gave him great pleasure. These orders were punctually obeyed, and lodgings were marked out in the town for the marshal's attendants, but he himself dismounted at the castle. The count de Foix went out of the town to meet him, attended by more than three hundred horse, and received him most kindly. The lord Lewis de Sancerre remained at Orthès about six days; and he then acquainted the count of the king's intended journey into Languedoc, and his desire to see him. "In good faith," replied the count de Foix, "he will be welcome there, and I will with pleasure wait on him." "Indeed, my lord," answered the marshal, "but it is the king's wish to know on his arrival in Languedoc, plainly and openly, whether you mean to attach yourself to the French or to the English; for in these wars you have dissembled your real sentiments, and have never borne arms either from summons or entreaties."

"Ah, lord Lewis," said the count de Foix, "I give you many thanks for having spoken to me on this subject. If I have excused myself from bearing arms for either side, I have, as I think, good reasons for it: the wars between England and France no way concern me, for I hold my country of Béarn from God, my sword, and by inheritance. I have not, therefore, any cause to enter into the service, or incur the hatred of either of these kings. I know well, that my enemies, the Armagnacs, have done all in their power to put me in the ill graces of both monarchs; for before the prince of Wales marched into Spain, at the instigation of the count d'Armagnac, he would have made war on me, having a strong inclination for it, if sir John Chandos had not prevented him. Thanks, however, to God, I have always kept myself on my guard in as courteous a manner as possible, and shall continue to do so as long as I live: after my death, matters must take the turn that is natural for them." Thus did the count de Foix and the marshal de Sancerre converse as long as he stayed. On his departure, the count presented him with a handsome courser, a fine mule and good hackney, all of them richly caparisoned. He gave also to sir Robert Challies, to sir Richard Dauphin, and to the knights of the marshal, two hundred francs each, and to five of his squires fifty francs.

When the marshal took his leave, to return to Toulouse, I wanted to accompany him; but the count de Foix would not allow me, and bade me stay longer with him. This I was forced to comply with, and wait his will. The lord Lewis on leaving Orthès, took the road to Tarbes, whither he was escorted by the lord dauphin of Bigorre, and sir Peter Cabestan, one of the count de Foix's household.

About this time, of the year 1389, there was a deed of arms performed at Bordeaux, before the duke of Lancaster, between five Englishmen and the same number of French, of whom some were of the household of the marshal of France. The combatants were sir Petiton de Pellagie, a Gascon Englishman; against sir Morice Mauvinet, a Frenchman; sir Raymond of Arragon, English, against the bastard de Chauvigny, French; sir Lewis Malapers, governor of Aigues-Mortes, English, against Jannequin Corne de Cerf, French; Archibald de Villiers, French, against the son of the lord de Chaumont, Gascon-English. Many knights and squires from Béarn, and of the household of the count de Foix, being desirous of seeing these combats, went thither: I accompanied them; for it is but twenty-four leagues from Orthès to Bordeaux, and we were spectators of these duels, which were fought in the square before St. Andrew's, in the presence of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, their daughter, and the ladies and damsels of the country. They did not combat all together, but each party separately; and were to perform three courses with spears, three with swords, the same number with battle-axes, and three with daggers, all on horseback. The tiltings occupied three days, and were gallantly performed without any of the ten being wounded. Sir Raymond killed the horse of the bastard de Chauvigny, which greatly angered the duke of Lancaster; he blamed the knight much for having pointed his spear too low, and presented the bastard with one of his own horses.

Such was the end of this deed of arms, which being finished, every one returned to his own home.

CHAPTER CXLI.

THE DUCHESS OF LANCASTER CARRIES HER DAUGHTER TO CASTILLE, TO MARRY HER TO THE INFANT. HAVING FOUND THE BONES OF HER FATHER, SHE HAS THEM CONVEYED TO SEVILLE, AND BURIED WITH REGAL OBSEQUIES.

SHORTLY after these deeds of arms, the duchess of Lancaster made preparations for her journey into Castille, whither she was to carry her daughter, to solemnize her marriage with the son of the king of Castille. It was her intention, when in Castille, to visit the field of battle of Monteil, where her father, don Pedro, had lost his life, and make strict inquiries where his body had at that time been buried, which, when found, was to be taken up, and conveyed to the city of Seville, and magnificently interred there, in a manner becoming a king. When, in the month of March 1389, the sun began to have some force, and the days to lengthen, the duchess, having her array ready, set out from Bordeaux, and went to Bayonne, where she parted from the duke, who returned to Bordeaux. She and her ladies continued their journey to the city of Dax, where they were joyfully received, as that town belonged to England. They there reposed themselves for two days, and then pursued their road through the country of the Basques, the pass of Roncesvalles, and entered Navarre. At Pampeluna, they found the king and queen of Navarre, who received them kindly: for the queen was sister to the king of Castille.*

The duchess of Lancaster and her daughter were upward of a month traversing Navarre, for they resided at different parts with the king and queen; and wherever they went all their expenses were defrayed. On their entrance into Castille, they were most respectfully treated by those of the king's household who had been sent to meet them: there were also deputies from different parts of the realm. All the kingdoms of Spain, Castille and Galicia, Seville and Toledo, and Cordova, were rejoiced at the arrival of these ladies, since the younger was about to marry the son of king John their lord. And it seemed to them all that profound peace would ensue, for they should be freed from all fear of the English; and as to the Portuguese, they should, as they said, make head against them very easily. Thus the ladies proceeded to meet king John of Castille at Burgos, who gave them a splendid and affectionate reception; the prelates and barons of the country were there also, who received them in a similar manner. So they were entertained in such a manner as was due to them; and the agreements before entered into, written and sealed, between John king of Castille and John duke of Lancaster, were then confirmed. The duke of Lancaster, and his wife, were to receive a yearly revenue of fifty thousand francs, for which four cities and the whole country of Medina del Campo were pledged; and further, the duchess of Lancaster was to receive for the support of her household sixteen thousand francs; and her daughter and the son of the king were, during the lifetime of the king, to be put in possession of the whole country of Galicia, and the young prince was to have the title of prince of Galicia.†

The marriage having been solemnized, and all contracts signed, the duchess left her daughter with the king and her young husband, who was then but eight years old. She took leave of the king to go to Monteil, as she had proposed, who had her attended by the greatest personages of his court. On her arrival at Monteil, such researches were made, that she discovered where her father was buried, and had his bones taken up, washed and embalmed, and carried in a coffin to Seville, where the cavalcade was met by large processions from that town. The bones were conveyed to the cathedral, and there most reverently buried, with very solemn obsequies, which were attended by king John of Castille, his son, the young prince of Galicia, and the greater part of the prelates and barons of the realm. After the obsequies, each person returned home: the king of Castille, accompanied by his son and daughter-in-law, went to Val di Soria; but the duchess of Lancaster went to Medina del Campo, a handsome and large town, which now belonged to her by the late treaties of peace, and remained there some time.

We will leave speaking of her and Castille, and relate the marriage of the duke of Berry, and other events which ensued.

CHAPTER CXLII.

THE DUKE OF BERRY NEGOTIATES SO SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE COUNT DE FOIX, THAT HE SENDS TO HIM HIS COUSIN OF BOULOGNE, WHOM HE INSTANTLY MARRIES.

THE duke of Berry, whose first duchess, the lady Joan of Armagnac, had departed this life, was very impatient to marry again; for no sooner was he assured of having failed in his proposals to the duke of Lancaster, than he set clerks to work, and, with proper messengers, sent to negotiate with the count de Foix for the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom he had had in wardship for nine years. Because the duke of Berry had no prospect of success but through the count de Foix, (who was of such a character that he would do nothing that was disagreeable to himself for either father, mother, pope, or any friend the young lady had,) he opened himself to his nephew the king of France, and to his brother of Burgundy, entreating them earnestly to interfere in the business. The king laughed most heartily at his uncle of Berry, who was now of a certain age, and said: "My good uncle, what will you do with a young girl of only twelve years old, and you are sixty? On my faith, it is great folly in you to think of such things. Propose my fair cousin John, your son, to her, who is of a proper age, and a more suitable match." "My lord," replied the duke, "this has been proposed, but the count de Foix would not listen to it, because my son descends by the mother from the Armagnacs, and they are now and have been some time at war. If the girl is too young, I will spare her awhile, until she be a perfect woman." "Indeed!" said the king, "but, my bonny uncle, she will not spare you." He then laughingly added: "However, since we see your love for her is so strong, we will cheerfully assist you in the matter."

* Charles II. king of Navarre married, in 1361, Leonora, daughter of Henry II. and sister of John, king of Castille.—ED.

† His title was Prince of the Asturias.—ED.

Not long after this, the king ordered the lord de la Riviere, his first knight, steward of his household and chamberlain, to undertake a journey to Béarn, and with him the viscount d'Assy. The duke of Burgundy named, as envoys on his part, the bishop of Autun, and sir William de la Tremouille. The duke of Berry entreated a prudent and valiant knight, called John de Sancerre, to go thither on his part. These five knights, who were appointed to demand this young lady in marriage, for the duke of Berry from the count de Foix, left their homes, and were all to meet at Avignon. They staid with pope Clement, who was cousin-german to the father of the lady, full fifteen days, and about Candlemas departed, taking the road through Nismes and Montpellier to Toulouse.

They travelled, with great state and short journeys, unto Beziers and Carcassonne, where they found the marshal de Sancerre, who received them very magnificently, as was right. He conversed with them concerning the count de Foix, of his affairs and establishments, for it was not more than two months since he had returned from thence. From Carcassonne they went to Toulouse, and there remained while they sent messengers to the count de Foix, at Orthès. They opened their proposals of marriage, but distantly, for at the beginning the count was very cold, on account of the duke of Lancaster, who at the time resided at Bordeaux or Libourne, having made offers of his son, the earl of Derby, for the young lady of Boulogne; and it was thought, from the long time these lords remained at Toulouse, the marriage would not take effect. They regularly sent daily and weekly accounts of their progress, and what answers they received from the count de Foix, to the duke of Berry, who resided at La Nonnette* in Auvergne, and the duke, whose only anxiety was to bring the matter to a conclusion, repeatedly wrote back to press them not to desist until they had completed the business.

The count de Foix, who was wise and subtle, seeing the ardor of the duke, treated very coldly, and managed the matter so well, that, with the consent, and indeed at the entreaty of all parties, he received thirty thousand francs for the time the young lady had been under his care and wardship. He might have had a larger sum, had he demanded it; but he wished to show moderation, that he might have their thanks, and also that the duke of Berry should feel himself under obligations to him. When everything was concluded, the count de Foix sent the young lady of Boulogne to Morlans, escorted by five hundred lances, under the command of sir Espaign du Lyon, sir Reginald William, sir Peter de Cabestan, sir Adam de Cacasse, sir Manaut Nouilles, and sir Peter de Kes. She was there delivered, in the name of the duke of Berry, to the embassadors from France, who were escorted by the marshal of France with five hundred spears, and there the two parties separated. Those from Foix returned home, and the French carried with them the lady.

The duke of Berry had sent to her his array of cars and horses, with every sort of dress and ornament for her head, as if she had been queen of France. I, John Froissart, the author of this history, took my departure from Orthès at the same time with her; for the count de Foix had told me, I need not be in a hurry to leave him, for he would take care I should return in good company. The duchess of Berry, for such I shall henceforth call her, continued her journey until she came to Avignon, when she dismounted at lodgings provided for her by the pope at Villeneuve, without Avignon. On the morrow, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, all the cardinals waited on her; when, having mounted a white palfrey the pope had given her, she crossed the bridge over the Rhône in great state, and waited on the pope at his palace at Avignon, who was seated in consistory on his papal throne to receive her. He kissed her on the mouth, on account of their relationship; and the duchess, with her company, then went to dinner at the hôtel of the cardinal of Turin, below the pope's palace, and there met a great company of cardinals. This was on a Tuesday: the following day the pope entertained her and her attendants at dinner; and this visit of the duchess, as I have heard say, cost the pope ten thousand francs.

On the Friday she supped at the palace, and took leave of the pope. On the Saturday she departed, and dined and lay at Orange. She continued her journey on horseback, or in a carriage, through Valence and Vienne, to Lyon, where she reposed herself for two whole days. On her departure she went to La Bresle, then passing through the country of Forêts, came to La Palisse, in Burgundy, then to Quissy, to Hanche-sur-Allier, and to Riom, in Auvergne, where she likewise remained two days, before the duke of Berry arrived. He came thither in great state, the night of Whitsunday, and on that day, at two o'clock in the morning, he was married to her. The marriage was very magnificent, and there were present the count de Boulogne, the count d'Estampes, and the count dauphin d'Auvergne. The feastings and tournaments lasted four days, and I, the writer of this book, was a partaker of them all.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

CERTAIN PRUDENT MEN NEGOTIATE A TRUCE, FOR THREE YEARS, BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH, AND ALL THEIR ALLIES.

You have heard that a truce had been concluded with all the English garrisons, from the Loire to the country beyond the Garonne and Gironde, to last until Saint John the Baptist's day, 1389. During this time, some wise and great lords opened a negotiation for a general truce between France and England, on sea and land, for three years. It was the intention of these persons that all the allies of either side should be included in it, such as the kings of Castille and Scotland, the king of Portugal and many barons of Upper Gascony. They had much trouble before they could accomplish this; for the Scots would no way listen to it, though, when the proposal was first made by the king of France to the king of Scotland, he himself had readily assented, for he wished not for war. He summoned, therefore, the prelates and barons of his realm, to lay the matter before them, as he could not agree to this truce for the kingdom without their consent; and, if he had, they would not have abided by it. The letters which had been received from the king of France were read in their presence, containing his wish that they would agree with him for a truce of three years. This intelligence was very disagreeable to them, and they said, "The king of France seems to propose a truce, when it is the moment to continue the war: we have completely defeated the English at Otterbourne; and the season is not so far advanced, but that we may do it again and again." Many debates ensued, for they were very unwilling to accept of a truce. It was at length resolved to send a bishop and three knights to the king of France and his council, to prevent the treaty from being further advanced, and to offer the friendship of the realm of Scotland.

The bishop of St. Andrews, sir Archibald Douglas, sir William Lindsay, and sir John Sinclair, were appointed to this embassy. They departed as speedily as they could, and, having landed at Sluys, rode on to Paris. They laid their credential letters, from the prelates and barons of Scotland, before the king of France and his council, and were readily listened to, from the great desire they had to prosecute the war against the English. But, notwithstanding this, the treaty was now so far advanced, that they could not retract: the Scots, therefore, had very civil answers given them; but the treaty was, of necessity, completed.

The truce was concluded, through the means of commissioners of high rank on both sides, who held their conferences at Leulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais. In it were included all the allies of France and England, who agreed to preserve the peace inviolate, by every means, public or private, for the space of three years. The commissioners from the king of France were the bishop of Bayeux, count Waleran de St. Pol, sir William de Melun, sir Nicholas Bracque, and sir John le Mercier, who resided at Boulogne. On the part of the king of England were the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, John Lanon, Nicholas de Gaberth, and Richard Roelle, clerk and doctor of laws, who remained at Calais. The place of conference, where they mutually assembled, was Leulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais.

At this period, there was much bustle in France and elsewhere, on account of the splendid feasts king Charles intended holding in Paris, on the entry of his queen Isabella, who had never as yet visited that city. Knights, squires, ladies and damsels made the richest dresses for the occasion; of all which I will give an exact account, before I say more of the truce that was fairly written out, and sealed by all the parties.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE

CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

CHAPTER I.

FROISSART RELATES HIS TRAVELS AFTER HE HAD LEFT ORTHES.

You who take delight in this history must know, that on my leaving the castle of the noble count Gaston de Foix, I returned through Auvergne and France, in company with the gallant lord de la Riviere and sir William de la Tremouille, who had conducted the lady Jane of Boulogne to the duke of Berry in the town of Riom, where he had married her, as has been related; for, having been present at all these feasts, I may well speak of them. I went thence to Paris, where I met the noble lord de Coucy, one of my patrons, who had lately married a daughter to the duke of Lorraine.

The lord de Coucy entertained me kindly, and asked many questions about Foix, Béarn, pope Clement, and Avignon, as well as concerning the nuptials of the duke of Berry, and of a particular friend of his, and likewise one of my patrons, the lord Berald, dauphin of Auvergne. To all his questions I satisfied him as to what I knew,

* "La Nonnette," a town in Auvergne, election of Issoire.

or had seen, insomuch that he was well pleased; and said, "You shall come with me into Cambresis, for I am going to a castle the king has given me, called Crevecœur: it is two leagues from Cambray, and nine from Valenciennes." "The distances are very right, my lord," replied I, and accepted his offer. On the road, he told me, that the bishop of Bayeux, the count de St. Pol, sir William de Melun, and sir John le Mercier, were at Boulogne, by orders from the king of France; and that there were at Calais, on the part of king Richard of England, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, sir John Clambon, sir Nicholas Grandbourg, knights and chamberlains to the king of England, and sir Richard Rocharle,* doctor of laws; who had remained at Boulogne and Calais upward of a month, waiting for commissioners from Scotland, "who were not arrived six days ago, as my cousin Saint Pol writes me word. The king of France has therefore written to king Robert of Scotland, to press him to accept of the truce, for the English will not consent to it unless the Scots be included."

Thus continuing our journey, we came to Crevecœur, where I remained with him three days to repose and refresh myself, when I took leave, and went to Valenciennes. After staying there a fortnight, I went to Holland, to visit my gallant patron and lord, the count de Blois, whom I found at Schoenhoven. He made me good cheer, and inquired after news. I told him enough of all I had seen or heard, and was with him upward of a month, as well at Gouda as Schoenhoven, and then took leave to return to France, to learn the particulars of the conferences that were holding at Leulinghem, between the French and English, and likewise to be present at the magnificent feasts that were to be given at queen Isabella's public entry into Paris, where as yet she had never been.†

To learn the most I could, I travelled through Brabant, and managed to arrive at Paris eight days before the commencement of the feasts. I had so much forethought, respecting the French and Scots lords who had been at the conferences at Leulinghem, that I made acquaintance with sir William de Melun, who related to me all their transactions, and that the count de St. Pol had passed over to England, to visit his brother-in-law, king Richard, and to have the truce confirmed, which was to last for three years; but he said he would be here at all events to partake of the feasts. I asked sir William, "what lords the Scots had sent to the conference; for that in my younger days I had been in Scotland, as far as the Highlands, and as at that time I was at the court of king David, I was acquainted with the greater part of the nobility of that country." He told me, "that the bishop of Aberdeen, sir James and sir David Lindsay, and sir Walter Sinclair, were the commissioners for Scotland."‡ All this I carefully remembered, that I might enregister it in my Chronicle, with all I should see or hear at this grand feast of Isabella's entry, the arrangement of which was as follows.

CHAPTER II.

QUEEN ISABELLA OF FRANCE MAKES HER PUBLIC ENTRY INTO THE CITY OF PARIS.

On Sunday the 20th day of June,§ in the year of our Lord 1399, there were such crowds of people in Paris, it was marvellous to see them; and on this Sunday, the noble ladies of France who were to accompany the queen, assembled in the afternoon at Saint Denis, with such of the nobility as were appointed to lead the litters of the queen and her attendants. The citizens of Paris, to the amount of twelve hundred, were mounted on horseback, dressed in uniforms of green and crimson, and lined each side of the road. Queen Joan and her daughter,‖ the duchess of Orleans, entered Paris first, about an hour after noon, in a covered litter, and passing through the great street of Saint Denis, went to the palace, where the king was waiting for them, and this day they went no farther. The queen of France, attended by the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, the duchess of Lorraine, the countess of Nevers, the lady of Coucy, with a crowd of other ladies, began the procession in open litters, most richly ornamented. The duchess of Touraine was not in a litter, but to display herself the more, was mounted on a palfrey, magnificently caparisoned.

The litter of the queen was led by the dukes of Touraine and Bourbon at the head; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at the centre, and the lord Peter de Navarre and the count d'Ostrevant behind the litter, which was open and beautifully ornamented. The duchess of Touraine followed, on her palfrey, led by the count de la Marche and the count de Nevers, the whole advancing slowly, at a foot's pace. After her came the duchess of Burgundy and her daughter, the lady Margaret of Hainault, in an open litter, led by the lord Henry de Bar, and sir William, the young count de Namur. Then came the duchess of Berry, and the daughter of the lord de Coucy, in an open and ornamented litter, led by sir James de Bourbon, and sir Philip d'Artois. Then the duchess of Bar and her daughter, led by sir Charles d'Albret and the lord de Coucy. There was no particular mention made of the other ladies and damsels who followed in covered chariots, or on palfreys, led by their knights. Serjeants, and others of the king's officers, had full employment, in making way for the processions, and keeping off the crowd; for there were such numbers assembled, it seemed as if all the world had come thither.

At the gate of St. Denis, that opens into Paris, was the representation of a starry firmament, and within it were children dressed as angels, whose singing and chanting was melodiously sweet. There was also an image of the Virgin holding in her arms a child, who at times amused himself with a windmill, made of a large walnut. The upper part of this firmament was richly adorned with the arms of France and Bavaria, with a brilliant sun dispersing its rays through the heavens; and this sun was the king's device at the ensuing tournaments.* The queen of France and the ladies took delight in viewing this as they passed, as indeed did all who saw it. The queen then advanced slowly to the fountain, in the street of Saint Denis, which was covered and decorated with fine blue cloth, besprinkled over with golden flowers-de-luce. The pillars that surrounded the fountain were ornamented with the arms of the chief barons of France; and, instead of water, it ran in great streams of Clairé,† and excellent Piement.‡ Around this fountain were young girls handsomely dressed, having on their heads caps of solid gold, who sang so sweetly, it was a pleasure to hear them; and they held in their hands cups of gold, offering their liquors to all who chose to drink. The queen stopped there to hear and look at them, as did the ladies as they passed by.

Below the monastery of the Trinity there was a scaffold erected in the street, and on this scaffold a castle, with a representation of the battle with king Saladin, performed by living actors; the Christians on the one side and the Saracens on the other. All the lords of renown, who had been present, were represented with their blazoned war-coats, such as were worn in those times. A little above was the person of the king of France, surrounded by his twelve peers in their proper arms: and when the queen came opposite the scaffold, king Richard was seen to leave his companions, and advance to the king of France, to request permission to fight the Saracens, which having obtained, he returned to his army, who instantly began the attack on Saladin and the Saracens. This battle lasted for a considerable time, and was seen with much pleasure.

The procession then passed on, and came to the second gate of St. Denis,§ where, like to the first, there had been made a representation of a richly starred firmament, with the Holy Trinity seated in great majesty, and within the heaven little children as angels singing very melodiously. As the queen passed under the gate, two angels descended from above, holding an extraordinarily rich golden crown, ornamented with precious stones, which they gently placed on the head of the queen, sweetly singing the following verses:

"Dame enclose entre fleurs de Lys,
Reine êtes vous de Paris,
De France, et de tout le païs,
Nous en r'allons en paradis."

When they came opposite to the chapel of St. James, they found a scaffold erected on the right hand, richly ornamented with tapestry, surrounded with curtains, in the manner of a chamber: within which were men who played finely on organs. The whole street of Saint Denis was covered with a canopy of rich camlet and silk cloths, as if they had had the cloths for nothing, or were at Alexandria or Damascus. I, the writer of this account, was present, and astonished whence such quantities of rich stuffs and ornaments could have come; for all the houses on each side the great street of Saint Denis, as far as the Châtelet, or indeed to the great bridge,‖ were hung with tapestries representing various scenes and histories to the great delight of all beholders.

The queen and her ladies, conducted by great lords in their litters,

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* "Clambon, Grandbourg, Rocharle." These names are different in almost all the copies, MS. or printed. They are called Lanon, L'asnon—Galberth, Gunboch—Roolle and Rohale. Lord Berners retains them, as in the preceding chapter, but totally omits them in this. The treaty, which is at length in Rymer, has the names as follows. Those from France are also different from Froissart.

The bishop of Durham, sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, sir John Devereux, steward of the king's household, sir John Clanvow, sir Nicholas Daggeworth, knights of the king's chamber.

† Underneath is the translation of a note, vol. iii. p. 85. of M. Levesque's history of the five first kings of the race of Valois.

"One would be tempted to believe, from the recitals of our historians, that the queen, who had now been married four years, made this her first entry into Paris. It is a mistake. She was there in 1386, when Charles wrote to her, the 28th April, from Montdidier, to send to Amiens the amount of the taxes, and to hasten all men-at-arms and foreigners that were intended for the invasion of England from Paris. He orders her at the same time to proclaim war against the Flemings and their allies. One may conjecture, from this letter, that he had intrusted her with the regency."

‡ The Scots commissioners are evidently wrong. The finest MS. in the British Museum has sir Archibald and sir William Lindsay, and sir John Sinclair. But in Rymer, there is mention only made of the archbishop of Glasgow and bishop of Dunkeld.

§ "*June.*" My MSS. and that in the B. Museum have the 20th of *August*.

‖ "*Queen Joan and her daughter.*" I suspect there must be some mistake, although this paragraph is in all the editions I know of, printed and MS.; but I cannot discover who these personages were, for all the queens of that name were dead, the last of them the preceding year, and the duke of Touraine, the king's brother, succeeded to the title of duke of Orleans on the death of Philip, in 1361. He had been lately married to Valentina, of Milan, who is mentioned afterwards as forming part of the procession.

* Louis XIV. took the same device, with the motto of "Nec pluribus impar."

† "Claire," or claret—light red wine.—Ed.

‡ "Piement"—is a liquor made of honey, wine, and different spices.—Du Cange.

§ Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, "that he thinks this gate was called la Porte aux Peintres," and was pulled down in the reign of Francis I. It was called Porte aux Peintres, because many painters resided near it.—Sauval.

‖ Denys Sauvage says, he means by the *great* bridge the bridge of Notre-Dame.

arrived at length at the gate of the Chatelet, where they stopped to see other splendid pageants that had been prepared for them. At the gate of the Chatelet was erected a castle of wood, with towers strong enough to last forty years. At each of the battlements was a knight completely armed from head to foot; and in the castle was a superb bed, as finely decorated with curtains and everything else, as if for the chamber of the king, and this bed was called the bed of justice, in which lay a person to represent St. Anne. On the esplanade, before the castle, (which comprehended a tolerably large space,) was a warren and much brush-wood, within which were plenty of hares, rabbits and young birds, that fled out and in again for fear of the populace. From this wood, on the side near the queen, there issued a large white hart, that made for the bed of justice; from another part came forth a lion and eagle, well represented, and proudly advanced toward the stag. Then twelve young maidens, richly dressed, with chaplets of gold on their heads, came out of the wood, holding naked swords in their hands, and placed themselves between the hart, the lion, and eagle; showing, that with their swords they were determined to defend the hart and the bed of justice.

Triumphal Entry of Queen Isabella into Paris. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

The queen, the ladies and lords, having seen this pageant with pleasure, passed on to the bridge of Notre-Dame, which was decorated so handsomely, it could not be amended: it was covered with a starry canopy of green and crimson, and the streets were all hung with tapestry as far as the church of Notre-Dame. When the queen and her ladies had passed the bridge, and were near the church, it was late in the evening; for the procession, ever since it had set out from St. Denis, had advanced but a foot's pace. The great bridge of Paris was hung all its length with green and white sarcenet; but before the queen and her company entered Notre-Dame, she was presented with other pageants that delighted her and her ladies very much: I will describe them.

A full month before the queen's entry to Paris, a master engineer from Geneva had fastened a cord to the highest tower of Notre-Dame, which, passing high above the streets, was fixed to the most elevated house on the bridge of Saint Michael. As the queen was passing down the street of Notre-Dame, this man left the tower, and, seating himself on the cord, descended, singing, with two lighted torches in his hand, for it was now dark, to the great astonishment of all who saw him how he could do it. He kept the lighted torches in his hands that he might be seen by all Paris, and even two or three leagues off. He played many tricks on the rope, and his agility was highly praised.

The bishop of Paris and his numerous clergy, clothed in their robes, were without the church of Notre-Dame, waiting for the queen, who was helped out of her litter by the four dukes, of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine and Bourbon. When the other ladies had left their litters and dismounted from their palfreys, they all entered the church in grand procession, preceded by the bishop and priests, singing aloud to the praise of God and the Virgin Mary. The queen was conducted through the nave and choir to the great altar, where, on her knees, she made her prayers according as she thought good, and presented, as her offering, four cloths of gold, and the handsome crown which the angels had put on her head at the gate of Paris, as has been related. The lord John de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier instantly brought one more rich with which they crowned her.

This being done, the queen and her ladies returned to their litters, wherein they were seated as before; and, as it was late, there were upward of five hundred lighted tapers attending the procession. In such array were they conducted to the palace, where the king, queen Joan, and the duchess of Orleans, were waiting for them.* The ladies here quitted their litters, and were conducted to different apartments; and the lords, after the dancing, returned to their hotels.†

On the morrow, which was Monday, the king gave a grand dinner to a numerous company of ladies; and, at the hour of high mass, the queen of France was led by the before-mentioned dukes to the Holy Chapel, where she was anointed and sanctified as queens of France usually are. Sir William de Viare, archbishop of Rouen, said mass. After mass, which was well and solemnly sung, the king and queen returned to their apartments, as did the other ladies to theirs who lodged in the Palace. Shortly after the mass, the king, queen, and all the ladies entered the hall. You must know, that the great table of marble,‡ which is in the hall, and is never removed, was covered with an oaken plank, four inches thick, and the royal dinner placed thereon. Near the table, and against one of the pillars, was the king's buffet, magnificently decked out with gold and silver plate, and much envied by many who saw it. Before the king's table, and at some distance, were wooden bars with three entrances, at which were serjeants-at-arms, ushers, and archers, to prevent any from passing them but those who served the table; for in truth the crowd was so very great, that there was no moving but with much difficulty. There were plenty of minstrels, who played away to the best of their abilities.

The kings, prelates, and ladies, having washed and seated themselves at table, their places were as follows: the bishop of Noyen was seated at the head of the king's table, then the bishop of Langres, and then the archbishop of Rouen, by the side of the king of France, who was that day clothed in a crimson surcoat, lined with ermine, and the royal crown upon his head. A little above the king was the

* Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, says that this queen Joan was the widow of Charles le Bel, and her daughter Blanche married to Philip duke of Orleans, brother to the late king John.

Froissart has mentioned them before; but the widow of Charles le Bel died, according to l'Art de Verifier les Dates, at Brie comte-Robert, 1370, and queen Isabella's entry was in 1389.

† Froissart having omitted a curious circumstance that happened at this entry of the queen, I shall translate it from Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denys.

"The king having heard what the pageants were preparing, said to Savoisi, who was one of his valets de chambre, 'Savoisi, I beg that thou wouldst mount my good horse, and I will get up behind thee, and we will disguise ourselves so that no one shall know us, and go and see the entry of my wife.' Savoisi did all he could to dissuade the king from this, but the king would be obeyed. They therefore disguised themselves, and the king rode behind Savoisi to different parts of Paris. They came to the Châtelet as the queen was passing, and the crowd was so great, that Savoisi got into the midst. Bailiffs, armed with staves, had been stationed there to prevent any harm being done to the pageant, who laid about them most lustily, to keep off the crowd. Savoisi and the king, still pushing forward, the bailiffs, who knew not the king, gave to each several sharp blows on their shoulders. In the evening, the king told the ladies what had happened to him at the Châtelet and there was much laughing and joking on the occasion among them.

‡ "At one end of the hall of the Palace was placed a marble table that filled up almost the whole breadth of it, and was of such a size for length, breadth and thickness, that it was supposed to be the greatest slab of marble existing.

"It served, for two or three hundred years, very different purposes: at one time for a theatre, on which the attorneys' clerks acted their mummeries, and at another for the royal feasts, where only emperors, kings, and princes of the blood were admitted, with their ladies: the other great lords dined at separate tables. It was consumed by fire in 1618."—Saval. *Antiquities de Paris.*

queen, crowned also very richly. Next the queen was placed the king of Armenia, then the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, madame de Nevers, mademoiselle Bonne de Bar, madame de Coucy, and mademoiselle Marie de Harcourt. There were none others at the king's table, except at the very lower end, the lady de Sully, wife of sir Guy de la Tremouille. There were two other tables in the hall, at which were seated upward of five hundred ladies and damsels; but the crowd was so very great, it was with difficulty they could be served with their dinner, which was plentiful and sumptuous. Of this it is not worth the trouble to give any particulars; but I must speak of some devices which were curiously arranged, and would have given the king much amusement, had those who had undertaken it been able to act their parts.

In the middle of the hall was erected a castle of wood, forty feet high, twenty feet long, and as many wide, with towers at each corner, and one larger in the middle. This castle was to represent the city of Troy the great, and the tower in the middle the palace of Ilion, from which were displayed the banners of the Trojans, such as king Priam, Hector, his other sons, and of those shut up in the place with them. The castle being on wheels, was very easily moved about. There was a pavilion likewise on wheels, on which were placed the banners of the Grecian kings, that was moved, as it were, by invisible beings, to the attack of Troy. There was also, by way of reinforcement, a large ship, well built, and able to contain one hundred men-at-arms, that, like the two former, was ingeniously moved by invisible wheels. Those in the ship and pavilion made a sharp attack on the castle, which was gallantly defended; but from the very great crowd, this amusement could not last long. There were so many people on all sides, several were stifled by the heat; and one table near the door of the chamber of parliament, at which a numerous company of ladies and damsels were seated, was thrown down, and the company forced to make off as well as they could.

The queen of France was near fainting, from the excessive heat, and one of the doors was forced to be thrown open to admit air. The lady of Coucy was in the same situation. The king, noticing this, ordered an end to be put to the feast, when the tables were removed, for the ladies to have more room. Wine and spices were served around, and every one retired when the king and queen went to their apartments. Those ladies who did not lodge in the Palace returned to their hôtels, to recover themselves of their sufferings from the heat and crowd. The lady of Coucy remained in her hôtel until it was late; but the queen, about five o'clock, left the Palace, attended by the duchesses before named, and, mounting an open litter, proceeded through the streets of Paris, followed by the ladies in litters, or on horseback, to the residence of the king, at the hôtel de St. Pol. She was attended by upward of one thousand horse. The king took boat at the Palace, and was rowed to his hotel, which, though it was sufficiently large, there had been erected in the court, at the entrance leading to the Seine, an immense hall, covered with undressed cloths of Normandy, that had been sent from divers places: the sides were hung with tapestry, that represented strange histories, and gave delight to all who saw them. In this hall the king entertained the ladies at a banquet: but the queen remained in her chamber, where she supped and did not again appear that night. The king, lords, and ladies, danced and amused themselves until daybreak, when the amusements ceased, and every one retired to his home, each of them to sleep and repose themselves, as it was full time.

I will now speak of the presents the Parisians made to the king, queen, and duchess of Touraine, who was but lately arrived in France from Lombardy: she was called Valentine, and was daughter to the duke of Milan. She had this year been married to the duke of Touraine, and had never been in Paris before this public entry of the queen: the citizens, therefore, were bound to bid her welcome. About twelve o'clock, forty of the principal citizens of Paris, all uniformly dressed, waited on the king at his hôtel of Saint Pol, bringing a present they had displayed through the streets of the town. Their gift was in a very richly worked litter, borne by two strong men, dressed as savages. This litter was covered with a transparent crape of silk, through which might be seen the magnificent things it contained.

On their arrival, they advanced to the king's chamber, (which was open and ready prepared to receive them, as their coming was known, and welcome is always made to those who bring gifts;) and, having placed the litter on vessels, in the midst of the apartment, they cast themselves on their knees, and thus spoke: "Most beloved lord and king, your citizens of your good town of Paris present to you the plate that is contained in this litter, as tokens of their joy that you have taken the government of the kingdom in your own hands." "Many thanks, my good people," replied the king: "they are fair and rich." The citizens then rose up, and having taken leave of the king withdrew. When they had gone, the king said to sir William des Bordes, and to Montaigu,* who were then present, "Let us go nearer, and examine what their gifts are." They approached, and looked into the litter. I will now mention what presents it contained. First, there were four pots of gold, four saucers to match, four golden salts, twelve cups of the same, twelve porringers, and six dishes of gold also: the whole weighed one hundred and fifty marcs.

Another party of citizens, very handsomely equipped in uniforms of cloth, waited on the queen, and presented her with a litter borne by two men dressed, one as a bear, the other as a unicorn, which they placed in her chamber, and the citizens recommended their town and inhabitants to her protection. This present consisted of the model of a ship in gold, two large flaggons of gold, two comfit boxes, two salts, six cups, and as many saucers, all of gold: twelve lamps of silver, two silver basins, two dozen of silver porringers, the same number of silver cups: the whole weight of gold and silver being three hundred marcs.

The third present was carried, in like manner, to the chamber of the duchess of Touraine, by two men representing Moors, having their faces blackened, and richly dressed with white turbans, as if they had been Saracens or Tartars. This litter was ornamented and covered, like the others, with gauze, and accompanied by twelve citizens in uniforms, who presented the duchess with a ship in gold, a large flaggon of gold, two comfit boxes, two large dishes, and two salts, all of gold: six jugs of silver, and two dozen cups and saucers of the same: the whole weighing two hundred marcs. The duchess of Touraine was exceedingly pleased with this present, as she had reason, for it was very magnificent, and returned handsomely her thanks to those who had brought it, and to the good city of Paris that had given it to her.

Such were the gifts made this Tuesday to the king and queen of France, and to the duchess of Touraine. You may judge from them the liberality and riches of the Parisians; for it was assured me, the author of this history, that all these presents, which I saw, had cost upward of sixty thousand golden crowns. When these ceremonies were concluded, the hour for dinner arrived; but this day the king and his court dined in private at their different hôtels, for at three o'clock the tournament was to take place in the square of Saint Catherine, where scaffolds had been erected for the accommodation of the queen and the ladies.

I will name the knights of this grand tournament, who were styled the knights of the Golden Sun, which, although it was that day the king of France's device, was borne by others, who tilted in hopes of gaining the prize. These knights were thirty, including the king: first, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, sir James de Bourbon his brother, sir William de Namur, sir Oliver de Clisson constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir James de Vienne, lord d'Espaigny, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir William de la Tremouille his brother, sir Philip de Bar, the lord de Rochfort a Breton, the lord de Rais, the lord de Beaumanoir, sir John de Barbençon called the Ardenois, the halze of Flanders, the lord de Torcy a Norman, sir John des Barres, the lord de Nantouillet, the lord de la Rochefoucault, the lord de Garencieres, sir John de Harpedant, the baron d'Ury, sir William Marciel, sir Reginald de Roye, sir Geoffry de Carin, sir Charles de Changiet, and sir William de Lignac. All these knights were sumptuously dressed, and each had on his shield a splendid sun. At three o'clock, they entered the square of St. Catherine, where the queen had already arrived in a magnificent car, and the duchesses and other ladies in great state, and taken their places on the seats prepared for them. The king of France next made his appearance completely equipped for tilting, of which amusement he was very fond.

The justs now began, and were carried on with vigor, for there were many knights from foreign parts. Sir William de Hainault, count de Ostrevant, tilted right well, as did those knights who had accompanied him, such as the lord de Gommines, sir John d'Andregines, the lord de Cantan, sir Ansel de Transsegines, and sir Clinquart de Herinno. Every one performed his part, in honor of the ladies; and the duke of Ireland tilted well: being then a resident at Paris, the king had invited him to the tournament. A German knight from beyond the Rhine, called sir Gervas de Mirande, gained great commendation. The number of knights made it difficult to give a full stroke, and the dust was so troublesome that it increased their difficulties. The lord de Coucy shone with brilliancy. The tilts were continued without relaxation until night, when the ladies were conducted to their hôtels.

The queen of France and her attendants were led back to the hôtel of St. Pol, where was the most magnificent banquet for the ladies, ever heard of. The feast and dancing lasted until sunrise, and the prize of the tournament was given, with the assent of the ladies and heralds, to the king, as being the best tilter on the opponents' side, and the prize for the holders of the lists was given to the

* M. Levesque says, that Charles owed his popularity to the wise choice he had made of the under-mentioned ministers. La Riviere, who had deserved the friendship of the wisest of kings: Novant, charged with the superintendence of the finances, was of the order of nobility, though without fortune, and Montaigu, born in obscurity, raised himself by his talents; but, above all, the duke of Bourbon, who had preserved his integrity, though he had been joined in the regency with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

"This John de Montaigu, grand master of the household, and superintendent of the finances to Charles VI. was accused of having robbed the king, and was condemned to be beheaded. This was done without the king's knowledge, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy and the king of Navarre. He was beheaded in the market-place of Paris, the 17th October, 1409, and his remains were carried to the gibbet at Montfaucon, where they remained hanging for nearly three years, since his body was not taken down until the 17th September, 1412, and carried to the convent of the Celestins of Marcoussi, which he had founded.

"Although he was executed without the knowledge of the king, he did not the less allow the confiscation of his property, to be given to Louis, duke de Guienne, dauphin.

"I was, however, informed by M. Perron, who has carefully applied himself to learn the particulars of the life of this lord, that his property was restored to his heirs."—MENAGIANA.

halze de Flandres, bastard-brother to the duchess of Burgundy. On account of the complaints the knights made of the dust, which had prevented many from exerting themselves to the utmost at the late tournament, the king ordered the lists to be watered. Two hundred water-carriers were employed on the Wednesday to water the square, but, notwithstanding their efforts, there was still a sufficiency of dust.

The count de St. Pol arrived this Wednesday straight from England, having made haste to be present at these feasts, and had left sir John de Châtel-Morant to follow with the treaty of the truce. The count de St. Pol was kindly received by the king and his lords: his countess, who had been near the person of the queen at these festivals, was rejoiced at his arrival. In the afternoon of the Wednesday, thirty squires, who had been in attendance the preceding day, advanced to the lists where the tournaments had been held, whither the ladies also came, in the same state, and seated themselves as before. The tilting was ably and vigorously kept up until night, when the company returned to their homes. The banquet this evening at the hôtel de St. Pol was as grand as the preceding one, and the prize was adjudged by the ladies and heralds to a squire from Hainault, who had accompanied the count d'Ostrevant, called John de Flaron, as the most deserving of the opponents, and to a squire belonging to the duke of Burgundy, called John de Poulceres, for the best tenants of the field.

The tournament was continued on the Thursday, when knights and squires tilted promiscuously, and many gallant justs were done, for every one took pains to excel. Night put an end to it, and there was a grand entertainment again for the ladies, at the hôtel de St. Pol, when the prize for the opponents was given to sir Charles des Armoyes, and for the tenants, to a squire attached to the queen, called Lons.

On the Friday, the king feasted the ladies and damsels at dinner, which was very splendid and plentiful. Toward the end of it, as the king was seated at table, with the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, the countess de Saint Pol, the lady of Coucy, and many more, two knights, completely armed, entered the hall, (which was very spacious, having been, as I have said, erected for the occasion,) on barbed horses, with lances in their hands. One was sir Reginald de Roye, the other sir Boucicaut the younger. Having tilted bravely for some time, they were joined by sir William de Namur, sir Charles des Armoyes, the lord de Garencieres, the lord de Nantouillet, sir John de Barbençon, and several others, who gallantly tilted for two hours before the king and ladies; and when they had sufficiently amused themselves, they returned to their hôtels.

The ladies and damsels took their leave, this Friday, of the king and queen, as did such lords as pleased, and returned to their homes. The king and queen thanked very graciously such as took leave, for having come to this feast.

CHAPTER III.

SIR JOHN DE CHATEL-MORANT BRINGS FROM ENGLAND THE TRUCES FOR THREE YEARS, SEALED BY KING RICHARD AND HIS ALLIES. LEWIS OF ANJOU, KING OF SICILY, IS BETROTHED AND MARRIED TO A DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF ARRAGON.

After this grand festival, and when the lords and ladies, who had assisted at it, were returned to their castles, the lord de Châtel-Morant, whom the lord de Saint-Pol had left in England, arrived at Paris with the truces, signed by the king of England and his allies. He delivered to the king and his ministers the charter of the truce that was to last for three years, and read aloud its contents in the presence of the lord de Coucy, who was lieutenant for the king, to guard and defend all the country, from the Dordogne to the sea, including Auvergne and Limousin. All who should infringe, or any way break this treaty, or cause it to be broken, whatever were his rank, would be considered as a traitor, and incur punishment of death. The lord de Coucy had also a copy delivered to him, to show if necessary, to those garrisons of Ventadour, Chaluçet, Orbesi,* Donzach,† who were carrying on war under name of the English, that they might not have any cause of excuse, and incur the penalty, should they continue their warfare. The lord Lewis de Sancerre, marshal of France, had it in like manner read to him, and a copy given to him. This was very necessary; for he was lieutenant over all the country of Languedoc, from the river Rhône and Avignon, within which are many valuable estates and lordships, as far as the Dordogne. His government contained the séneschalships of Beaucaire, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Rouergue, Agen, Quercy, Bigorre, Perigord and Limoges, where were many forts and castles that minded not the truce, but continued to carry on the war, such as Châtel-Cuillier, and the strong castle of Lourdes, on the frontiers of Béarn, which kept the neighborhood under continual alarms.

About this time there was a treaty of marriage on foot, between the lord Lewis d'Anjou, son to the late duke, who styled himself king of Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem, and count of Provence, and the daughter of the king of Arragon. The queen of Naples went to visit the pope at Avignon, carrying with her the young lord Lewis, and there met the lord de Coucy, who was much rejoiced at her arrival. The queen was handsomely received by the pope and cardinals; of which she was indeed deserving, for she was an active bustling lady, and one who did not sleep over her interests. She entreated the lord de Coucy to escort her son to Arragon, and to remain with him until he were married. He replied; "Certainly, madam, there is not a voyage that, for seven years past, I would more willingly have undertaken than to Sicily and Naples, more particularly, in company with my lord your son, if I have the consent of our lord and king." "Many thanks, lord de Coucy," said the queen: "you show us your good inclinations; but, for the present, it will be sufficient if you will accompany our son to Arragon. The queen of Arragon will be very happy to see you, for your daughter is married to her brother sir Henry de Bar."

The lord de Coucy cheerfully agreed to undertake this journey, and the king of Sicily, having made his preparations, took leave of pope Clement, and of his mother, with many tears. Their hearts were wrung, not indeed without cause, at this separation, for he was going to a far country, and it was uncertain when they should meet again. It had been settled, that instantly after the marriage had taken place, the young king and queen were to embark at Barcelona, and sail as expeditiously as they could for Naples or any other part of that country. The young king of Sicily was handsomely attended, and, having passed through Montpellier and Beziers, came to Narbonne, where he and his company were honorably received by the viscount. Having refreshed their horses for one day, they continued their route toward Perpignan, the first town of Arragon. News of his arrival had reached the court of Arragon, and the queen had sent proper persons to receive him and his attendants, and show them all respect, so that, wherever they passed, they were well entertained, and all their expenses paid. The viscount de Roquebertin and sir Raymond de Baighes were their conductors. They continued their journey until they arrived at Barcelona, where the king, queen, and princess were expecting them. The young king Lewis was very kindly received; and the queen was particularly pleased on seeing the lord de Coucy, and thanked her future son-in-law for having brought him with him, adding, that everything would fare the better for it.

The marriage was performed and consummated between these two persons; but as winter was approaching, the sea voyage was deferred, because at such a time the sea is stormy and dangerous. They said they would collect all the purveyances during the winter, and embark in the beginning of the ensuing month of March. The lord de Coucy was perfectly well received by the king and queen of Arragon; but, having had letters from the king of France, ordering him to return, he took his leave of them, and of the young king and the queen of Sicily, as well as of the lords of Arragon, and set out for France. If he had had time, he would have returned by Avignon; but he sent his excuses to the pope and queen of Naples, and went straight to Auvergne. At the time of this marriage of the king of Sicily with the princess of Arragon, many treaties were concluded between him and the Arragonians, who were to assist him with men and galleys in the recovery of his kingdom. They were to convey him to Naples, with two hundred spears, one thousand cross-bows, and the same number of infantry armed with brigandines, who were to serve him at their own charges, during the war, until he should have full possession of Naples, Sicily and its dependencies, la Puglia, Calabria and the city of Gaieta, the residence of Margaret de Durazzo, who claimed all these territories as her own.

When the sweet month of March was arrived, and the winds were become calm and the waters smooth, and the trees once more clothed in green, and all purveyances ready and embarked, as well as the men-at-arms who were to be of this expedition, the young couple took leave of the king and queen of Arragon. The queen with tears saw them depart, and recommended them to the particular care of the count de Roddes, a very valiant knight, and sir Raymond de Baighes. They promised special obedience to the queen's wishes, although the count d'Orghel and the count de la Lune were their superiors and had the command of the convoy.

There were on board these galleys fifteen hundred spears, two thousand cross-bows, and two thousand lusty varlets armed with pikes and shields. They were in such force the better to resist their enemies, and any adventurers they might encounter at sea; for the voyage from Barcelona to Naples is long, and Margaret de Durazzo, their adversary, might have had intelligence of their motions, and stationed a fleet accordingly: they therefore were desirous of having strength enough to oppose any she could bring against them.

We will now leave the affairs of Sicily, and return to those of France, which is our principal object, and to several other events.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KING OF FRANCE IS DESIROUS OF VISITING THE DISTANT PARTS OF HIS KINGDOM. AT THE REQUEST OF THE LORD DE COUCY, HE ORDERS THE DUKE OF IRELAND OUT OF FRANCE.

When the king of France saw that his kingdom was now at peace, in consequence of the truce with England, he had a great desire to visit the more distant parts of it, and particularly Languedoc. The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, at that time his most intimate advisers, urged him to visit the pope and cardinals at Avignon,

* "Orbesi"—Orbessan, a village in Armagnac.
† "Donzach"—a village in Armagnac.

who were desirous of that honor, and thence go to Toulouse, saying that a king when young, should visit his realm to acquaint himself with its inhabitants and inquire how they have been governed, as it would redound to his profit and glory, and cause himself to be more beloved by his subjects.

The king was so inclined, and willingly attended to all matters of government. The lord de la Riviere, who was but lately returned from those parts, told him that his subjects in the sénéschalships of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Beaucaire, were impatient to see him; for that the duke of Berry, during his government of that country, had sorely oppressed them with taxes and other impositions, through the means of one of his familiars, called Bethisac,* who had pity on none, and that they were quite ruined. On this account, therefore, it would be proper for him to go thither, and he could then summon the count de Foix, whom he was so anxious to see, to meet him at Toulouse.

The king having assented to this proposal, ordered immense purveyances to be provided for him on the road he was to travel. He signified to his uncle and aunt, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, that, as he passed through their lands, he should be glad to see their children, his cousins; and that he would bring with him his brother of Touraine, and his uncle of Bourbon. This news of the king's intended visit to Burgundy, was highly pleasing to the duke and duchess. They had proclaimed a festival and tournament to be holden at Dijon, and sent invitations to the knights and squires of Savoy and the adjoining countries, who made their preparations accordingly. During the time all these different arrangements were making for the king's journey to Avignon and Languedoc, other events happened in France.

You have heard how the duke of Ireland, formerly earl of Oxford, had been driven out and banished England, for his demerits, by the power of the uncles of king Richard, but especially by the duke of Gloucester, who had been more bitter against him than all the rest; and how he had fled to Holland, and had remained a short time at Dordrecht, when he was forced thence by duke Albert, the lord of Dordrecht and Holland, who refused him a residence on his lands, from a wish not to act contrary to the will of his cousins in England, notwithstanding king Richard had written to him in his favor. The duke of Ireland, being forced to depart, went to Utrecht, where he resided some time, and might have staid there as long as he pleased; for Utrecht is a free town to receive whoever lists, if they pay for what they want, and this duke had a sufficiency of money; for he had received of the constable, sixty thousand francs, as the balance of the ransom of John of Brittany. You have also heard how the king of France had sent him passports to come to France, having invited him thither, and where he had remained for more than a year, the king showing him very great attention, because he was a foreigner.

There is nothing but what one is tired of. True it is, that, notwithstanding this duke was so well received by the king, the lord de Coucy mortally hated him, and not without reason; for although, in other affairs, he showed great good sense, honor and liberality, he had behaved infamously to the daughter of the lord de Coucy, whom he had married, and without any reasons, except temptation and deceit, he had divorced and taken another wife, who was from Bohemia, and one of the ladies attached to the queen of England. The king and queen had improperly and sinfully consented to this; and pope Urban had, at their entreaties, sent from Rome a dispensation for the marriage. This new marriage not only wounded the reputation of the duke of Ireland, but was the principal cause of his ruin.

The lord de Coucy was one of the king of France's council, and very deservedly in favor, from the services he had done, and was willing to do, his country: he therefore, with the assistance of his friends, sir Oliver de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, prevailed on the king to dismiss the duke of Ireland. Orders were, in consequence, sent him from the king, to choose any other residence but France, and that he should be safely conducted out of that kingdom. The duke of Ireland perceived they were tired of him, and that he ran daily risks, from the lord de Coucy and from his relations. He therefore thought it would be best for him to leave France as soon as possible, and retire to Brabant; and begged of the king to write to the duchess of Brabant, that he might live peaceably in her country. The king cheerfully complied with his request, and wrote to his aunt, the duchess, who at his desire assented to it.

The duke of Ireland was escorted by the king of France's officers as far as Louvain, where he fixed his residence: he went, indeed, at times, to a castle near Louvain, which he had borrowed from a knight of Brabant. The archbishop of York, who was of the house of Neville, lived with the duke, as he had been banished England for the same cause as himself. The archbishop's family were very powerful in Northumberland, from their property and connections. These two lords, as I have heard, remained at Louvain as long as they lived, for they could never obtain favor with the uncles of the king of England, and there died. I never heard more of them.

* "John Bethisac was one of the chief advisers of the duke of Berry, and was accused with Tietac and de Bar, two other domestics of this prince, of having raised enormous levies from the Languedocians, over whom the duke was governor, and, under his name of having committed great plunder and much violence, and of having put large sums into their own pockets. This report gave rise to the following pasquinade, that is even current in our times:

Tiétac, de Bar, et Béthisac,
Ont mis l'argent du roi au sac."

"Bethisac suffered the punishment of his crimes, but the duke of Berry having claimed him as his domestic, those who had sworn his ruin persuaded him to own he had erred in several articles of faith, which would cause him to be transferred to the bishop, and the duke could the easier save him. Crime often stupefies. Bethisac was simple enough to fall into their trap. The bishop of Bezers had him tried and given over to the secular arm as a heretic and sodomite. This wretch was burnt alive, which was, says Mezeray, a feu de joie for the people whom he had horribly tormented. History does not say whence he sprung, but probably he was of low origin who wanted to rise too rapidly."—*Dictionnaire Historique.*

CHAPTER V.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE VISITS HIS UNCLE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND POPE CLEMENT AT AVIGNON.

About Michaelmas 1399, the king of France set out from the castle of Beauté, near Paris, where he left the queen, and took the road to Troyes in Champagne in his way to Burgundy. He was accompanied by his uncle the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Touraine, the lord de Coucy and many other knights, and continued his journey until he arrived at Dijon.

The duke of Burgundy, and his son the count de Nevers, had gone as far as Châtillon-sur-Seine to meet the king. On his arrival at Dijon, he was received with every respect and affection by the duchess of Burgundy, the countess of Nevers, and all who had come thither to do him honor. From love to the king, many ladies and damsels, whose company he preferred, were come to Dijon, such as the lady of Sully, the ladies of Vergy and Pagny, and several others, handsome and gay, and richly dressed. The dancings and carolings instantly began: the ladies exerted their talents in singing and dancing to amuse the king, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Touraine and the lord de Coucy. On the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday were tilts gallantly performed, and prizes given to the most deserving. The king remained eight whole days at Dijon, thus amusing himself: on the tenth, I believe he took leave of the duke and duchess of Burgundy and their family. It was the intention of the duke of Burgundy instantly to follow the king, and remain with him; and, on this being settled, he departed from Dijon, having bidden adieu to the ladies and damsels.

The king continued his journey until he came to Villeneuve, near Avignon, where his palace had been prepared. The cardinals of Amiens,* Aisgrenel,† Saint Marcel,‡ Neufchastel,§ and upward of thirteen others, went out to meet the king, as they were rejoiced at his arrival. The duke of Berry was already at Avignon, and lodged in the palace of the pope; but he came to Villeneuve to meet his nephew, and fixed his quarters at the hôtel of Arras, called Amontais, on the road to Montpellier. The duke of Burgundy arrived the day after the king, at Villeneuve, down the Rhône, for at Lyons he had embarked on board a large barge.

These three dukes, being assembled, determined to accompany the king in his visit to the pope in his palace. Having had everything prepared accordingly, the king of France, attended by his brother, his three uncles, and twelve cardinals, crossed the Rhône at nine o'clock, and went to the palace, where pope Clement was waiting for him in full consistory, seated in his robes, on his papal chair.

When the king came into his presence, he bowed; and, when near to him, the pope rose up, and the king kissed his hands and mouth. The pope then seated himself, and made the king sit by him on a handsome seat prepared for the occasion. The four dukes, after having kissed the pope's hands and mouth, seated themselves also among the cardinals. When these ceremonies were over, it was dinner-time: they therefore went into the other apartments of the pope and the hall, where the tables were spread. When they had washed, the pope took his place at a table alone, in much state. The king was placed at another table below that of the pope, and alone also. The cardinals and dukes seated themselves according to their rank. The dinner was splendid, plentiful and long. When over, wine and spices were brought; and the king then retired to an apartment that had been prepared for him in the palace, as did the dukes to theirs, for all of them had chambers, properly ornamented, provided for them, and which they inhabited as long as they staid at Avignon.

On the fifth day after the arrival of the king of France at Avignon, the young count de Savoye, cousin to the king, and nephew to the duke of Bourbon, came thither. The king was pleased at his coming, for he had seen him as he passed through Lyons, and had invited him to Avignon. The king of France, the duke of Touraine and the count de Savoye, being young and giddy, neither could nor would refrain from dancing, caroling, and amusing themselves with the ladies and damsels of Avignon, though they were in the pope's palace and among the cardinals; and the count of Geneva, brother to the pope, was their master of the revels. The king made such magnificent presents to the ladies, that they all praised his liberality.

* John de la Grange was minister of state under Charles V. who procured him the purple. He was covetous and ambitious.

† Not in the list of cardinals.

‡ Q. if not Marcellin.

§ John de Neufchastel—created cardinal by pope Clement. For further particulars, see Moreri, &c

The pope and cardinals were much rejoiced at this visit of the king of France, as indeed they had good reason to be; for without his support they would have been in little estimation. There were no kings in christendom who paid him obedience but such as were allied to France. The kings of Castille and Scotland acknowledged him for pope, as did the king of Arragon, through the intercession of the queen Jolande de Bar, who was cousin-german to the king of France, otherwise he would have remained neuter like his father. You may, therefore, suppose the pope and his cardinals were happy in receiving the king of France; for all they had to depend on was obtained through his favor. The king of France remained, I know not how many days, with the pope and cardinals, revelling and amusing himself. The pope, on this joyful occasion, gave pardons to the clergy who were in his courts, and plenary indulgences to all for one month to come. He likewise presented the king with the nominations to all his cathedrals and other churches, and in each church the reversion of two prebends, deferring all his former promises, that these now made might have the precedency, which was fortunate for many of the French clergy, who were thus provided. He gave also reversions to the dukes of Touraine, Berry, and Burgundy, and the lord de Coucy, which threw back all those he had formerly promised; and the pope was so courteous and liberal on this occasion, that none went away discontented.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY TO THEIR HOMES, TO THEIR GREAT DISSATISFACTION, AND CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY FROM AVIGNON TO LANGUEDOC.

The king of France resided with the pope about eight days, during which time his holiness had fully discussed with him his situation, and what trouble the other pope at Rome gave him, in depriving him of his right, in the schism he caused in the church. The king was willing to do everything in his power to relieve him, and said that on his return to France, he would endeavor to provide a remedy, and exert himself to unite the church. Upon this he took leave of the pope, and went to Villeneuve, as did his brother and his uncles of Berry and Burgundy. The king entertained at dinner all the cardinals and the count of Geneva, after which he took leave of them, returning them his thanks for their attentions, saying, he should, on the morrow, begin his journey to Montpellier.

The cardinals having left the king, it was determined in council, that he should set out very early, in company with his brother and the duke of Bourbon. He took leave, therefore, of his uncles of Berry and Burgundy, bidding them return to their own estates, as he had not then any further occasion for them, intending to go as far as Toulouse, and summon thither the count de Foix to meet him. His uncles were much disconcerted at this order; but the king's council was at that time so formed, that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had no voice in it, nor weight, but in trifles. The government of Languedoc had been taken from the duke of Berry, and divided into séneschalships, which was not only more profitable to the king, but more agreeable to the country; for the duke of Berry, during his government, had grievously oppressed the inhabitants, by heavy taxes, as I shall more fully relate, for it is deserving to be detailed.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were very melancholy, when they found the king was determined they should not accompany him in his journey; but they dissembled their thoughts from all but each other, and thus conversed: "The king is going to Languedoc to hold inquisition on those who have governed it, and to treat with the count de Foix, (who is the proudest person existing, and never loved nor esteemed, though neighbors, the kings of France, England, Castille, Arragon or Navarre,) and only takes with him la Riviere, le Mercier, Montaigu and the bègue de Villaines. What do you say to this, brother?" added the duke of Berry. "Our nephew is young, and if he follow young counsel he will be deceived, and the end will not be prosperous, as you will see. For the present, we must dissemble this affront; but the time will come, when those who have advised it shall repent of it, as well as the king. Let them go whither they please, in God's name: we will return to our homes; and, so long as we are united, they cannot do us any injury, for we are the greatest personages in France." Such was the language of these two dukes.

The king of France left Villeneuve early in the morning, for Nimes, where he arrived to dinner; but his uncles and the lord de Coucy staid with the pope, at Avignon, four days longer, when they all separated, and each went different ways. The day the king dined at Nimes, he lay at Lunel, and the next day dined at Montpellier, which was but three short leagues distant. He was joyfully received by the citizens, ladies, and damsels, who were desirous to see him, and offered him magnificent and rich presents; for Montpellier is a powerful and wealthy town, full of merchandise, and was much valued by the king, when he had considered its importance. The citizens told him it had been infinitely richer than he now found it, before the dukes of Anjou and Berry had plundered it, as they had severally done in their turn. The king compassionated them much for the losses they had sustained, and promised that he would have every grievance reformed, and the government placed on a different footing. The citizens likewise addressed the king during his stay at Montpellier, saying, "Sire, the poverty of this town is nothing to what you will see the further you advance; for this place has many resources in its commerce, which its inhabitants carry on by sea and land. In the séneschalships of Toulouse and Carcassonne, and in that part of the country, where these dukes have laid their hands, there is absolutely nothing; for they have carried off everything portable; and you will find the inhabitants so poor, that those who were in good circumstances have not wherewithal to cultivate their fields or vineyards. It is melancholy to see them, their wives and children; for they had every year five or six taxes on their backs, and they compounded for a third, a half, and sometimes all their property was taken from them; and no sooner was one tax paid than another was demanded. These two lords, your uncles, since they have had the government of Languedoc, have collected, as the account will prove, upward of thirty thousand francs from the country, beginning with Villeneuve, near Avignon, to the Toulousain, as far as the river Garonne, and turning back by the river Dordogne. Since the departure of the duke of Anjou to Naples, this government has been given to the duke of Berry, and he has more severely oppressed the country, which he found rich and plentiful: the duke of Anjou made only the rich pay, who were well enabled to do so; but the duke of Berry spares neither poor nor rich: he swallows up everything by means of one Bethisac, his counsellor and treasurer, who is a native of Beziers, as you will hear from the complaints the poor will make to you, in crying out for vengeance against him."

The king replied, "May God forsake my soul, if I will not cheerfully listen to their complaints, and, before I return, provide a remedy for them. I will punish the wicked, and have an inquisition holden on the officers and servants of my uncles, who formerly had this government; and those who have behaved ill shall be treated accordingly."

CHAPTER VII.

DURING THE TIME KING CHARLES OF FRANCE IS AT MONTPELLIER, THREE OF HIS CHAMBERLAINS UNDERTAKE TO HOLD A TOURNAMENT NEAR TO CALAIS, AGAINST ALL COMERS.

The king of France resided at Montpellier upward of twelve days, because the respect and amusements he enjoyed there from the citizens, ladies and damsels, pleased him greatly. Indeed, the king was at this time young and giddy: he therefore danced and caroled with these frisky ladies of Montpellier all night. He entertained them with handsome suppers and banquets, and presented to those most in his favor rings and clasps of gold. He acquired so greatly the love of the Montpellier ladies that some wished he had made a longer stay, for it was one continued revel and pastime the whole time he was there. You know, or must have heard it noticed, that the intercourse of young gentlemen with the fair sex encourages sentiments of honor, and a love of fame. I mention this, because there were with the king of France three gentlemen of great enterprise and valor, which they were probably induced to display from that intercourse, as I shall relate.

The names of these three knights were, sir Boucicaut the younger, sir Reginald de Roye, and the lord de Saimpi. These knights were chamberlains to the king, and were much esteemed by him for their worth, for accoutering him so ably with his arms, and in other services, such as good knights owe to their lord. While they were at Montpellier amusing themselves with the ladies and damsels, they were called upon to answer a challenge in the course of the ensuing summer: the principal cause of this, as I was informed, was as follows.

During the reign of king Charles V. of happy memory, an Englishman of high birth and great renown, called sir Piers Courteney, came from England to Paris to challenge sir Guy de la Tremouille, in a combat before the king and lords of France, and whoever else might wish to be spectators of it. Sir Guy de la Tremouille accepted the challenge; and the king, with the duke of Burgundy and many of the great barons, were present at this combat. I believe they only ran one course with the lance, for the king would not suffer more to be done, to the great discontent of the English knight, who seemed desirous of pushing the combat to extremities. He was, however, appeased by fair speeches, saying he ought to be satisfied, for he had done enough; and he was presented with very rich gifts by the king and the duke of Burgundy.*

Perceiving he could do nothing more, sir Piers Courteney set out on his return to Calais; and the lord de Clary, who at that time was a gay and lively knight, was ordered to escort him. They rode on until they came to Lucen,† where the countess de St. Pol, sister to king Richard of England, resided. The countess was rejoiced to see sir Piers Courteney; for before her marriage with the count de St. Pol, she had been united to his cousin the lord Courteney,‡ but he

* Sir Piers Courteney is mentioned by Dugdale, vol. i. p. 639, to have obtained licence, in the 7th Ric. II. to send various presents to the king and lords of France, in return for the honors they had paid him in his combat with a knight of that country. This knight was probably sir Guy de la Tremouille. The licence is in the Fœdera.

† "Lucen." Q. Luzeuz, a town in the comte de St. Pol.

‡ This person was Hugh Courteney, *son* of the earl of Devonshire; but he died before his father, and of course did not inherit the earldom. His widow Maude, daughter of sir Thomas Holland, married Waleran count de St. Pol.—DUGDALE.

had died young, and the English called her lady Courteney rather than countess of St. Pol. While there, the countess, in the course of conversation, asked sir Piers what he thought of the kingdom of France: he replied, "Certainly, madam, France is very extensive, rich and plentiful, and well guarded. In our country we do not form a true estimate of it." "And are you pleased with the reception the lords of France have given you? have they not entertained you handsomely?" "To be sure, madam, I am perfectly contented as to the reception I have had; but, in regard to my having crossed the sea, they have but shabbily acquitted themselves: and I must say, that if the lord de Clary, who is a French knight, had come to England, and challenged any one, however high his rank, it would have been accepted, and the terms faithfully fulfilled to his utmost pleasure; but this has been refused me. True it is, that sir Guy de la Tremouille and myself were brought into the lists; but, when we had run one course with the lance, I was stopped, and ordered from the king to attempt nothing more, for that we had done enough. I therefore say, madam, and shall say and maintain it wherever I go, that I have not met any one able to oppose me in arms; and that it has not been my fault, but rests solely with the knights of France."

The lord de Clary who was present, marked this speech in his memory, and with great difficulty held his tongue, on account of his having the English knight under his care. The countess of St. Pol replied; "My lord, you will leave France with much honor, having complied with the request of the king of France, not to proceed further in your combat; for you would have been unable to do more contrary to his will. You cannot incur any blame in this matter; and all those on each side of the sea that shall hear it told, will give you more praise than blame: I therefore beg of you to rest satisfied." "Lady," said the knight, "that I will do, and not give myself any further care about it."

Here the conversation on this matter ended; and other subjects were discoursed on, during the day and night they remained. On the morrow, sir Piers Courteney took leave of the countess de St. Pol, who presented him with a handsome clasp of gold, and another to the lord de Clary, as being his companion, and because the English knight was under his care and escort. They left Lucen early in the morning, and took the road to Boulogne, where they lay that night, and the next day rode through Marquise to Calais. Between Boulogne and Calais there are but seven short leagues, and a good road; and at the distance of two leagues from Calais you enter on the territory of Melle, Oye, and Guisnes, which then belonged to the king of England. When they were near to Calais, sir Piers Courteney said: "Lord of Clary, we are now on the territories of the king of England: you have handsomely acquitted yourself, in escorting me; and I give you many thanks for your company."

The lord de Clary had not forgotten the speech of sir Piers to the countess de St. Pol, in the presence of many persons; for it had made him sulky and full of anger, which, although at the time he had not noticed as he thought it deserved, he was unwilling that it should pass off unanswered; for he considered it as presumptuous, and dishonorable to the chivalry of France. Sir Piers had publicly declared, that he had purposely left England to seek deeds of arms in France, and had not found any one in that country willing to oppose him. The lord de Clary had therefore determined, in his own mind, that such expressions should not remain unnoticed. He therefore, on taking leave, said: "Sir Piers, you are now on the lands of the king of England, whither I have escorted you, by orders of my king and my lord of Burgundy. You may recollect that, the day before yesterday, when we were in the apartment of the countess de St. Pol, who entertained us handsomely, you spoke with too great latitude as it seemed to me, and too much to the blame and prejudice of the French chivalry; for you said you had come to the court of the king of France, and had found no one willing to oppose you in arms; and you seemed to have it understood, that there was not a knight in France, who dared to tilt with you three courses with a lance. I wish you therefore to know, that I (who am one of the smallest knights of the realm,) offer myself, to maintain that France is not so devoid of knights, but that you may find many willing to accept your challenge; and if you will accept of me to this intent, either this day or to-morrow, I will meet you without hatred or any ill-will. It is solely with a view to defend our honor, and that you may not return to Calais or England, and boast you have defeated the chivalry of France without striking a blow: now, say whether you will accept my challenge or not." Sir Piers Courteney was ready with his answer, and said: "Lord de Clary, you speak well: I accept your challenge, and propose that you be at this place to-morrow, armed as you please. I will be so likewise; and we will tilt three courses with the lance, by which you will recover the honor of France, and give me much satisfaction." "Agreed," replied the lord de Clary: "I will be here at the hour you shall appoint." The two knights then pledged their faith to each other for this tournament, and separated: the lord de Clary went to Marquise, which was not far distant, where he provided himself with armor, a shield, and lance. He was not long in doing this; for the knights on the frontier of Boulogne and Calais take care to have ample supplies. He did it all, however, as secretly as he could; for he was unwilling that too many should know and speak of it.

In like manner, sir Piers Courteney, on his arrival at Calais, was not unmindful of the engagement he had made. He had no occasion to seek either for armor or arms, for he had brought with him from England his own proper arms, which were good and strong.

At this time sir John Warnes* was governor of Calais, to whom he told the engagement he had made with the lord de Clary. Sir John replied, that he would accompany him, with some other knights of Calais. On the ensuing morning, the two knights met at the appointed place; but the English knight was better accompanied than the lord de Clary, for he had with him the governor of Calais. On their meeting there was not much conversation, for each knew what he was to do.

Both of them were strongly and completely armed, to abide the event, such as the fortune of arms should decide, and they were well mounted. They had their targets fast buckled on, and their lances given them, which were of sharp, well-tempered Bordeaux steel. Having taken their distance, they spurred their horses full gallop, against each other, but missed their strokes, which seemed to vex them greatly. On the second course, they met full; and the lord de Clary gave sir Piers so severe a blow with his stiff and well-tempered lance, that it pierced the target, and, entering deeply into the shoulder, struck him off his horse. The lord de Clary, having so ably tilted, passed on, and finished his career as an accomplished knight should, and remained quiet; but seeing the English knight was unhorsed, surrounded by his friends as he lay on the ground, and thinking that he might have wounded him, for his lance with the blow was shivered in pieces, rode toward him. The English advanced to meet him, saying he was not a courteous tilter. "Why so?" replied the lord de Clary. "Because you have thrust your lance into sir Piers's shoulder: you ought and could have tilted more liberally." "It was not my part to be over courteous; for I was ready prepared to meet with such an accident, or perhaps a worse, if it had so happened: but since he had such pleasure in justing, ask him, or I will for you, if he be satisfied, or wish for more." Sir John Bernes, upon this, said: "No, sir knight: you may depart, for you have done enough." The lord de Clary went away with his company, and the English carried sir Piers Courteney to Calais, that his wound might be attended to and cured. The lord de Clary returned to France, expecting to receive great praise for the goodly act he thought he had done: but I will tell you how it turned out.

When it was made known to the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and their council, that the lord de Clary, in accompanying sir Piers Courteney, had fought with, and so dangerously wounded him, that he was in danger of his life, they were highly enraged against him, and in particular sir Guy de la Tremouille. They declared his conduct deserved at least confiscation of his lands, and perpetual banishment from the kingdom of France. Others, who were his enemies, said he had acted like an infamous traitor, in challenging and fighting a knight that had been placed under his guard by the king and the duke of Burgundy; that he was guilty of an unpardonable crime, and ought to suffer death.

The lord de Clary was summoned to appear, which summons he obeyed, and when brought before the king, the duke of Burgundy, and the council, was sharply reprimanded, for having dared to injure a knight who had come from foreign countries to the court of France to perform a deed of arms and gain renown, and had left that court with perfect satisfaction to all, and under his safeguard; notwithstanding which, he had on his return, at the boundary of the two kingdoms, challenged him to mortal combat, without having demanded permission of his sovereign, on whose territories he was: that this was a crime deserving the severest punishment, by which others might take example. The lord de Clary, on hearing this bitter reproof, was thunderstruck, for he thought what he had done deserved a contrary treatment. Having paused awhile, he said: "My lords, it is indeed true that you intrusted to my care sir Piers Courteney, with orders to escort him as far as Calais or to the borders of the kingdom. Of this I have acquitted myself loyally and faithfully, which, if necessary to prove, I can readily do so from himself. It is also true, that on our road we visited the countess de St. Pol at Luzieuz, who received us very kindly. While there, the following conversation passed: The lady asked sir Piers, if he were contented with the lords of France, and what he thought of the country? The knight courteously replied, 'Madam, the state of France is rich, extensive, and plentiful. With respect to its lords, I am perfectly satisfied with the reception and entertainments I have had from them, excepting one thing. I have put myself to very great expense in my preparations and journey to Paris, to perform a deed of arms, but, when arrived there, found none willing to accept of my challenge.' My lords, when I heard this speech before such a lady as the countess of St. Pol, sister to the king of England, my blood boiled within me; but, with much difficulty I kept silence, because you had intrusted him to my care and protection; and I never gave him the least cause to suspect I was any way hurt by what he had said, so long as we continued together in France. But true it is, that when we were about to separate on the borders of the country of Guisnes, I reminded him of his expressions to the countess de St. Pol, which, I said, were neither civil nor honorable, as he seemed to wish it to

* I cannot discover sir John Warnes, and must suppose it a mistake; for sir William Beauchamp was governor of Calais when the truce was signed. Lord Berners calls him sir John Bernes.

be understood, that the chivalry of France was so much debased that he could not meet with any one who dared to fight with him: that I, as a knight of France, if such were his meaning, offered to prove the contrary, being unwilling that, on his return to England, he should have the power of renewing his boastings: that I was ready and desirous to afford him the pleasure of tilting three courses with a lance, either that or any future day. Certainly, my lords, I made this offer for the honor of the kingdom of France and its chivalry, who are here present: and it seemed to me, that he accepted my challenge with much joy, and fixed the meeting for the morrow, on the spot where we were speaking. He then went to Calais, and I returned to Marquise, where I provided myself with the necessary arms, as he was to do at Calais. On the morrow, according to our appointment, we met. He came well attended by some of the garrison of Calais, and some of the knights and squires of the borders came with me, such as the lord de Montcarel and sir John de Longvilliers. When we met, we had but a short conversation, and then tilted with spears of war, for we were both completely armed, to the best of our abilities. The fortune of the combat fell to me, for at the second course I drove my lance into him, and threw him on the ground. I then went to see what situation he was in, and if he wished to continue the combat. The governor of Calais told me that what had been done was sufficient, and that I might depart. This I did. You have ordered me hither, and here I am. I thought I had acted properly in support of the honor of the king domand its chivalry, and have related to you the exact truth. If I am to be punished for what I have done, I shall submit myself to the judgment of my lord the constable, and the marshals of France, and also to the evidence of sir Piers Courteney himself, with whose consent I have fought this duel, and to the discretion of all knights and squires of honor in France or England, who may wish to attend to it."

The lord de Clary, having thus clearly exculpated himself, greatly softened the anger of those who had sent for him: but this did not prevent him from being committed to prison, where he remained a considerable time in much danger. His lands were seized, and himself on the point of banishment from France, when the lord de Coucy and the duke of Bourbon, who loved him, interfered, and with great difficulty made his peace, by means of the countess de St. Pol, who testified to the truth of what he had said, of the conversation that had passed at her house. On obtaining his liberty, he was addressed; "Lord de Clary, when you challenged sir Piers Courteney to fight, instead of acting, as you thought, very gallantly, you behaved infamously; for he was under the protection of the king, and you had orders to conduct him in safety to Calais. You committed a great outrage, when you noticed, in the manner you have yourself declared, the conversation he held in joke at the countess de St. Pol's. Before you had proposed this combat, you ought to have returned hither to my lords, and have told them, that sir Piers Courteney had held such and such insolent language against the honor of the knights of France in your presence. They would then have ordered you how to act. Because, therefore, you have not done this, you have been thus punished. Be another time more discreet; and return thanks for your deliverance to my lord of Bourbon and the lord de Coucy: they have exerted themselves much to serve you, as has the countess de St. Pol; for that good lady took great pains that you should be acquitted." The lord de Clary replied: "Many thanks, my lords;" adding, "I certainly thought I was deserving more praise than blame, when I acted as I did."

During the stay of the king of France at Montpellier, he gave a grand banquet to many ladies and damsels of that town; during which, all I have just related was talked over, and the cause was, that the three knights, who were desirous of holding the lists against all comers, wished to avoid falling under like blame to the lord de Clary.

Sir Boucicaut the younger, sir Reginald de Roye, and the lord de Saimpi, offered to hold a field of arms on the frontier of Calais, in the course of the ensuing summer, against all foreign knights and squires, for the space of thirty days, and to tilt with blunt lances or others. The king of France, as well as those present, thinking this proposal was rather presumptuous, remonstrated with them, and desired they would put down their challenge on paper, that if any improper language were made use of, it might be corrected; for the king and his ministers wished to examine it, being unwilling that any improper or unusual terms should be used. The three knights agreed that this would be right, and, in reply to the king, said they would instantly obey his commands. They ordered a clerk, with pens, paper, and ink, into another apartment, and dictated to him as follows:

"From the great desire we have to become acquainted with the nobles, gentlemen, knights, and squires bordering on the kingdom of France, as well as with those in the more distant countries, we propose being at St. Ingelvere* the twentieth day of May next ensuing, and to remain there for thirty days complete; and on each of these thirty days, excepting the Fridays, we will deliver from their vows all knights, squires, and gentlemen, from whatever countries they may come, with five courses with a sharp or blunt lance, according to their pleasure, or with both lances if more agreeable. On the outside of our tents will be hung our shields, blazoned with our arms; that is to say, with our targets of war and our shields of peace. Whoever may choose to tilt with us has only to come, or send any one, the preceding day, to touch with a rod either of these shields, according to his courage. If he touch the target, he shall find an opponent ready on the morrow to engage him in a mortal combat with three courses with a lance: if the shield, he shall be tilted with a blunted lance; and if both shields are touched, he shall be accommodated with both sorts of combat. Every one who may come, or send to touch our shields, must give in his name to the persons who shall be appointed to the care of them. And all such foreign knights and squires as shall be desirous of tilting with us, shall bring with them some noble friend, and we will do the same on our parts, who will order what may be proper to be done on either side. We particularly entreat, such noble knights or squires as may accept our challenge, to believe that we do not make it through presumption, pride, or any ill-will, but solely with a view of having their honorable company, and making acquaintance with them, which we desire from the bottom of our hearts. None of our targets shall be covered with steel or iron, any more than those who may tilt with us; nor shall there be any fraud, deceit, or trick made use of, but what shall be deemed honorable by the judges of the tournament. And that all gentlemen, knights and squires, to whom these presents shall come, may depend on their authenticity, we have set to them our seals, with our arms, this twentieth day of November, at Montpellier, in the year of grace 1389." Underneath was signed, Reginald de Roye, Boucicaut, Saimpi.

The king of France was well pleased with this courageous challenge of his three knights, and declared it should have his consent, if, on examination by his ministers, there was no fault found with the terms it was couched in. It was objected to by some, that it was wrong to fix the place for this tournament so near to Calais, as the English might think it was arrogantly and particularly aimed at them; and that all occasions of quarrel should be avoided, for a truce had been agreed to for three years between France and England. The king's ministers were one whole day considering the matter, without coming to any conclusion. Some of the most prudent said, it ought not to be allowed, nor the whims of wild young knights to be acceded to, for more evil than good might ensue from them. The king, however, who was young himself, greatly inclined toward them, and said; "Let them perform their enterprise: they are young and courageous, and, besides, have vowed to do so before the ladies of Montpellier. We are desirous they should undertake it, and bring it to the happiest end they can."

When the king had thus declared his mind to the council, no one made further opposition, to the great joy of the knights. The challenge having been agreed to in the manner the knights had drawn it out, the king called them into his closet, and said; "Boucicaut, Reginald, and Saimpi, be attentive to this your enterprise, to guard well your own honor and that of our kingdom: let nothing be spared in the state you keep; for I will not fail to assist you as far as ten thousand francs." The three knights cast themselves on their knees, and returned the king their warmest thanks.

* "St. Ingelvere"—a village in Picardy, near Calais.

CHAPTER VIII.

DURING THE KING OF FRANCE'S RESIDENCE AT BEZIERS, ACCUSATIONS ARE MADE AGAINST BETHISAC, TREASURER TO THE DUKE OF BERRY. THINKING TO BE SENT TO THE POPE AND ESCAPE PUNISHMENT, HE CONFESSES HIMSELF A HERETIC AND SODOMITE, BUT IS TRANSFERRED OVER, BY THE OFFICIAL AT BEZIERS, TO THE SECULAR POWER, AND BURNT.

When the king of France had, for fifteen days or more, taken his amusements with the ladies and damsels of Montpellier, and his ministers, during that time, had attended to the state of the town, for that had been the cause of his coming, and had made many reforms and taken off several heavy taxes of which the inhabitants had complained, he graciously took his leave of the ladies, and one morning very early departed, following the road to Alipiam,* where he dined, and lay that night at St. Thibery.† On the morrow, after his morning draught, he set off and came to Beziers, where he was received most joyfully; for the good people of that town, and the adjoining ones of Pezenas, Cabestan, and Narbonne,‡ were anxious to see him, in order to make their complaints against an officer of the duke of Berry, called Bethisac, who had impoverished the country all around, by seizing whatever he could lay his hands on. This Bethisac had attended the king's company ever since he had left Avignon; but the king's ministers, who sought his ruin, never told him, "Bethisac, look to yourself, for very strict inquiries will be made into your management; there have already been made very heavy accusations against you to the king." But, on the contrary, they made him good cheer, joked and laughed with him, and promised him increased honors, in which he was disappointed, as I shall shortly relate.

The king of France left St. Thibery at one o'clock in the afternoon, and between three and four entered the town of Beziers. He was met by the bishop and all the clergy in their robes, and the citizens, ladies, and damsels in procession: they formed a lane, through which he rode a foot's pace; and, as he passed, they all fell

* "Alipiam." It is Olpiam in the MSS. and Alpiam in Verard. Q. if not intended for Ville Airac, which is on the line from Montpellier to St. Thibery.

† "St. Thibery"—a town in the diocese of Adge, near Pezenas.

‡ "Pezenas, Cabestan, and Narbonne," towns in Lower Languedoc.

on their knees. In this manner was he conducted to the cathedral, and dismounted at the portico, where had been erected a rich altar, adorned with holy relics from the church. The king, having on his knees very devoutly made his prayers at this altar, was conducted into the church by the bishop of Beziers and the duke of Bourbon, followed by all the great lords. He remained in the church about half an hour, and then went to the palace that was adjoining, where he, his brother the duke of Touraine, and his uncle the duke of Bourbon, were lodged. The other lords were lodged in the town, which was of a sufficient size, for Beziers is a large city.

The king was for three days revelling with the ladies and damsels of Beziers, before any notice was taken of Bethisac; but the inquisitors who had been appointed to make inquiries concerning him were not idle, but did their office secretly, and discovered many atrocious acts deserving the severest punishment. On the fourth day, Bethisac was summoned before the council, and shut up in a chamber for his examination. He was ordered to make answer to the following accusations, and was shown at the same time a number of complaints and petitions that had been presented to the king at Beziers, accusing him of weak management and such great extortions as made the whole country cry out against him. All these were read in his presence. To some he gave satisfactory answers, to others not, saying he had no knowledge of them, and referring them to the séneschals of Beaucaire and Carcassonne, and to the chancellor of Berry. They concluded this examination by telling him, it was necessary to commit him to prison until he should clear himself from these heavy charges. This he obeyed, for he could not help it; and, as soon as he was gone, the inquisitors went to his house, and seized all his papers and accounts of whatever things he had been concerned in, carrying them away to search into them more at leisure. They discovered a variety of transactions and accounts of large sums that he had extorted from these countries. He was asked, if these accounts were just, and what had become of the large sums he had received; he answered, "that the accounts were just; that the whole amount had been paid to his lord of Berry, and had passed through his hands, or those of other treasurers, for which he had received legal acquittances, that were in such a place of his house." Persons were sent thither, who laid them before the council: and they were found, on comparing them, to tally tolerably well with the accounts of receipt.

The inquisitors and the council were satisfied, and Bethisac was no longer closely confined. The council conferred together, and said, "Bethisac is clear from this accusation; for it is apparent, that all the sums the people complain of having been exacted from them have been paid to the duke of Berry. How can we help it if these sums have been extravagantly spent?" Bethisac's defence was nothing but the truth; for this duke of Berry was the most covetous man alive, and if he could only get money cared not by what means; and when he had it, he miserably expended it, like many of the present and past times.

The king's ministers found nothing in the conduct of Bethisac that was deserving death. All, however, were not of this opinion; for some of them said, "Bethisac has made such cruel levies, and so impoverished the people, to gratify the passions of my lord of Berry, that the blood of these poor creatures cries out loudly against him; for that he being the only one from those parts of the duke's council, and knowing the poverty of the country, should have remonstrated with the duke, and if he refused to listen to him, he should have come and informed the king and council of the situation of the country, and of the duke's intentions: proper measures would then have been taken, and himself exculpated for the large sums he was now accused of having amassed."

In consequence, Bethisac was remanded before the council, and again more closely examined, touching the expenditure of the great sums that had been raised and paid to the duke of Berry, for they had found the amount to be three millions of francs. He replied, "My lords, I cannot make out any clearer account of this: the duke has laid out large sums in the reparations of his castles and houses, in the purchase of lands in the county d'Estampes, from the count de Boulogne, and in jewels; and you know he is very careless in such purchases. His establishments, which were very great before, have been much increased; and he has made such presents to Thibaut and Morinot, and the valets about his person, that they are become very rich." "And you, Bethisac," asked the council, "have you been well paid for the pains and services you have done him? one hundred thousand francs is a pretty tolerable recompense." "My lords," said Bethisac, "I am very well satisfied with what my lord of Berry has given me; for he wished all his people to be rich." "Ha, Bethisac," replied the council, "you now talk like a fool: riches, ill acquired, are neither honorable nor profitable. You must return to prison, and we will consider what you have now told us, and wait there the king's pleasure, to whom we will report everything you have said in your defence." "My lords," replied Bethisac, "God assist me!"

Entry of Charles King of France to Beziers. Designed from Illustrations of the period.

He remained in prison four days without being noticed by the council. When it was known in the country that Bethisac had been arrested and thrown into prison, and that an inquisition was holding on his conduct; and that whoever had any complaints to make should come forward; numbers hastened to Beziers, and presented petitions and accusations of heavy charges against Bethisac at the king's palace. Some complained that he had robbed them of their lands without cause; others of the violences he had committed on their wives and daughters. In short, the complaints were so numerous, that the king's council were tired of hearing them: they plainly showed how much he was hated by the people, which arose from the great exertions he had made to fill the purse of the duke of Berry.

The council were embarrassed to know how to act; for the duke of Berry had sent to Beziers two knights, the lord de Nantouillet and sir Peter Mespin, with credential letters to the king. These knights avowed, in the name of the duke, all the acts Bethisac had committed, as done by his command, and claimed, at the same time, the person of Bethisac, that they might conduct him to his lord, the duke of Berry. The king, from the many infamous stories he had heard of Bethisac, hated him, and he and his brother were inclined to have him put to death: but the council dared not condemn him, as they too much feared the duke of Berry. They said to the king, "In case my lord of Berry takes on himself all the acts of Bethisac, whatever they may deserve, we do not see that, with any plea of justice, we can put him to death. For at the time when he raised all these vast sums, by harassing the people with taxes, levies, and subsidies, the duke of Berry acted as if he were king, with the same royal power you have at this moment. We can, however, do one thing, as a punishment for his crimes: we may take possession of all his goods, moveable and immoveable, and reduce him to the state in which the duke of Berry found him, and distribute these among such as have suffered the most from his wickedness."

Why should I make a longer story of it? Bethisac was on the point of escaping with the loss indeed of his fortune, when other events happened that I will relate. I know not, nor have ever been able to learn but from his own confession, whether he was or was not guilty of the crimes he accused himself of. He declared he had been for a long time a heretic, and had done many horrid and wicked deeds. According to the information I had, some persons visited him by night in prison, and, to frighten him, said: "Bethisac, you are in an unfortunate situation; for the king of France, his brother, and the duke of Bourbon, are determined on your death; and they have had so many accusations against your conduct, when you formerly governed Languedoc, that they judge you deserving the gal-

lows, and you will not escape with the confiscation of your wealth. This has been offered to the king; but he hates you mortally, and has refused it, saying, that both your property and your body too was forfeited to him, and you should not long remain confined. We tell you this, that you may consider and make the best of your time; for to-morrow you will be brought from prison, and, from the appearances we have observed, we suppose you will be condemned to death. This speech greatly terrified Bethisac, who exclaimed, "Ah, holy Mary! are there no means to avoid this?" "Yes," replied they: "say to-morrow that you wish to speak to the council: they will either come or send for you. When in their presence, say, 'My lords, I fear I have greatly offended God, and for this offence am I now suffering under these slanderous reports.' They will ask what you mean. Reply, that you have for a long time erred from the faith, and that you are a heretic. Keep steady to this declaration. The bishop of Beziers, when he hears this, will claim you to be given up to him. This will be instantly complied with, for such cases devolve to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. You will be sent to Avignon, where no one will venture to accuse you in opposition to the duke of Berry, whom the pope dare not anger. By this means you will escape, without loss of life or fortune; but, if you hesitate in taking advantage of the earliest opportunity, to-morrow you will be hanged: for the king hates you from the clamor of the people, with whom you know how unpopular you are."

Bethisac unfortunately believed all this false information that had been given to him, for those who are in peril of their lives are much confused in mind: he said, "You are my good friends who thus kindly advise me, and may God reward you for it! The time may perhaps come when I shall be enabled to thank you otherwise than by words." Upon this, his visitors departed. When morning came, Bethisac called the jailer, and said: "My friend, I beg of you to go, or send, to such and such persons," whom he named, in the number of his inquisitors. He replied, he would do so; and they were informed, that Bethisac wanted to speak with them in his prison. They hastened thither, in the hope that they were already acquainted with the purport of his sending for them. When arrived, they asked what he wanted: he answered, "My fair sirs, I have had time to examine the state of my conscience: and I fear I have greatly offended God, by having for a long time erred in my faith; for I do not believe one word of the Trinity, nor that the son of God has ever deigned to debase himself by descending from heaven, and putting on the human form by being born of woman. I believe likewise, that when we die, our soul dies with us." "By holy Mary, Bethisac," replied the informers, "you do indeed err greatly against the church: consider well what you have said, for your speech deserves the flames." "I know not," answered Bethisac, "whether my speech deserves fire or water; but such have been my opinions ever since I came to understanding, and such will they continue as long as I live."

The inquisitors were so rejoiced at what he had said, that they would not for the present listen to more; but on their departure, strictly charged the jailer not to admit to him man or woman, lest he should retract his opinions, and hastened to lay before the council what they had heard. They went to the king, in his chamber, and reported what Bethisac had declared. He was greatly astonished, and said: "We order him to be put to death: he is a wicked wretch, a heretic and thief. We will, that he be burnt and hanged, that he may have the reward he deserves; nor for anything my uncle of Berry shall say, will I pardon him."

News was soon spread through Beziers and other places, that Bethisac had of his own free will, without the least constraint, confessed himself a heretic and had long followed the doctrines of the Bulgarians,* and that the king had condemned him to be burnt and hanged. The inhabitants of Beziers were pleased at this, for he was much hated by them. The two knights from the duke of Berry were thunderstruck, and knew not how to act: at legth sir Peter Mespin, addressing himself to the lord de Nantouillet, said: "I suspect that Bethisac has been betrayed, and that some one, who has been to see him in prison, has frightened him, and advised him to accuse himself; and that, if he persist in owning himself guilty of these horrible and infamous crimes, the church will claim him to be tried according to its canons, and he will be delivered up to the pope at Avignon. Ah, the blockhead will be deceived! for I have already heard the king has declared he shall be burnt and hanged. Come, let us hasten to his prison, and remonstrate with him on his folly, and make him retract all he has said, for he has been betrayed by false friends."

The two knights immediately went from their lodgings to the prison, and demanded from the jailer to speak with Bethisac. The jailer excused himself, saying; "My lords, I am particularly ordered, as well as these four sergeants-at-arms, who have been sent hither by the king, nor to suffer any one to converse with the prisoner, under pain of our lives; and this command of the king we dare not disobey." The knights perceived all further attempt would be vain, for it was over with Bethisac, and that he must die for the crimes of which he had been wickedly induced to accuse himself. They then returned to their inn, paid their expenses, mounted their horses, and set out on their return to the duke of Berry.

The end of Bethisac was, that about ten o'clock in the morning of the next day he was carried from prison to the palace of the bishop, where were assembled his judges and the official of the bishop's court. The bailiff of Beziers, under whose care he had been committed prisoner, said to the officers of the bishop, "Here is Bethisac, whom we deliver to you as a Bulgarian, a heretic, and one erring greatly against the faith, who, had he not been a clerk, should have been punished by us according to his deserts." The official demanded if he were such a person as had been represented, and that he would, in the hearing of the people, avow or deny it. Bethisac, who expected to escape by confessing himself guilty, replied, that the charges were true. He was thrice asked this question, and thrice acknowledged it aloud. You may suppose how grossly he must have been deceived: had he kept firm to the defence he had made to the accusations brought against him, he would have been acquitted; for the duke of Berry had taken upon himself all the charges of extortion, in raising the taxes in Languedoc. Fortune, one may conclude, played him this trick; and when he was seated, as he thought, on the top of her wheel, she suddenly turned it round and whirled him in the dirt, as she has done to thousands since the world began.

Bethisac was, by the official, given over to the bailiff of Beziers, who, in temporal matters, governs for the king: without delay, he led him to the square before the palace, and made such haste, that Bethisac had no time to make any defence, nor retract what he had said; for when he saw the fire, and that he was put into the hands of the executioner, he was affrighted, and perceived that he had been betrayed. He called aloud to be heard, but no attention whatever was paid to him: he was told, "Bethisac, the order is given, and you must die: your evil deeds have brought you to a disgraceful end." Much haste was made, for the fire was lighted; and they had erected a gallows and a post, with a large collar and chain: they opened the collar by a hinge, and closed it again, when round his neck, and dragged him to the post, fastening him thereto with the chain. He cried aloud, saying: "Duke of Berry, they wrongfully and treacherously are putting me to death." The moment he was fastened to the stake, they covered him with dry faggots, to which they set fire; and thus was Bethisac burnt, and his bones hanged: the square being in front of the palace, the king of France, if he pleased, might have witnessed it from the windows of his apartments. Such was the miserable end of Bethisac; and the people revenged on him the many great vexations and violences he had committed during the time he governed Languedoc.*

CHAPTER IX.

WHEN THE KING OF FRANCE IS AT TOULOUSE, HE SUMMONS THE COUNT DE FOIX, WHO, ON HIS ARRIVAL, PAYS HIM HOMAGE FOR HIS COUNTY OF FOIX.

The king of France did not remain long in Beziers after this severe act of justice, but set out with his array, taking the road toward Carcassonne. Since he had left Avignon, he had been always attended by his marshal, sir Lewis de Sancerre. The king did not follow the straight road, but visited different towns, such as Cabestan,† Narbonne,‡ Lymoux,§ Montroyal,‖ and Fougans, thence he returned to Carcassonne, where he resided four days. On his departure he passed through Ville-franche,¶ Avignonet** and Mont-giscard,†† in his way to Toulouse. The inhabitants of this city, being anxious to see him, went out in grand procession, handsomely dressed, and escorted him with much pomp to the castle of Toulouse. The citizens of the town, which is rich and important, made the king such presents, on his arrival, as well pleased him.

When the king had refreshed himself for three days in Toulouse, he was advised to summon the count de Foix, who had left Béarn, and fixed his residence at a town in Foix, called Mazeres, fourteen leagues from Toulouse; for he had received information of the king's arrival at Toulouse, and of his intention to summon him. The marshal of France and the lord de la Riviere, were ordered to wait on the count, who, setting out on a Wednesday after dinner, arrived at a tolerably good town in the Toulousain, called Isle Jourdain,‡‡ and on the morrow, by dinner-time, came to Mazeres. The count de Foix, on learning their arrival, received them kindly, from his affection to the king, and from his former acquaintance with them.

The marshal, addressing him, said: "My lord of Foix, our very dear lord, the king of France, sends us to invite you to come to Tou-

* This name was given to the Manichæans. Their doctrines had passed from Greece into Bulgaria, from whence they had spread over Europe, hence the name of *Boulgres* or Bulgarians was given to those whom the church of Rome called hierestarchs. The Albigenses had in the preceding century been distinguished by this name.—Ed.

* Don Vaissette, in his history of Languedoc, gives very satisfactory reasons, to show that Froissart was mistaken as to the time of Bethisac's execution, which took place the 22nd December, 1389, at Toulouse, some months after the king had left Beziers. For further particular, I refer to that history.

† "Cabestan"—a town in lower Languedoc, diocese of Nimes.

‡ "Narbonne"—a large city in lower Languedoc.

§ "Lymoux"—a city in upper Languedoc, five leagues from Carcassonne.

‖ "Mont-royal." Q.

¶ "Ville-franche"—a town in upper Languedoc, diocese of Alby.

** "Avignonet"—a town in upper Languedoc, diocese of St. Papoul.

†† "Mont-giscard"—a town in upper Languedoc, three leagues from Toulouse.

‡‡ "Isle of Jourdain"—a town in Armagnac, six leagues from Toulouse.

louse; otherwise, so great is his desire to see you, that he will do his utmost to visit you in your own country." The count replied, "Sir Lewis, I will not give the king the trouble of coming to me: for it is more becoming that I wait on him. You will tell him, therefore, if you please, from me, that I will be in Toulouse within four days." "It is well said," replied the knight: "we will return, and carry him this your answer." "That you may boldly do," said the count; "but not today; for you shall now stay with me, as I am heartily glad to see you both; and in the morning you shall set out on your return." The two knights remained with the count, who was in the highest good humor, that day and night, and they conversed on various subjects. The count was a wise and prudent man, and had a talent of drawing from any person with whom he conversed, be his station what it might, his most private thoughts. At bed-time, they took leave of the count, intending to set out very early in the morning for Toulouse, which they did, and I believe performed the journey in one day. On their return, they found the king playing at chess with the duke of Bourbon, who, on seeing them, called out, "Well, what news? Will the count de Foix come or not?" "Yes, sire," replied la Riviere: "he has a very earnest desire to come to you, and will be here within four days." "Well," said the king, "we shall be very happy to see him."

The two knights then left the king to continue his game, and went to sup and refresh themselves, for they had rode a long day's journey. The count de Foix, who resided at Mazeres, was not forgetful of the journey he was to make; and his preparations were soon ready, for he had given orders on that head when he had first heard of the king's coming to Toulouse. He sent forward to Toulouse purveyances in abundance, suitable to his rank, and had ordered two hundred knights and squires from Béarn to attend him. On the day the count had fixed for his arrival at Toulouse, he entered the city with upward of six hundred horse, and well accompanied by knights and squires of his vassalage. Among them were, sir Roger d'Espaign his cousin, the lord de Corasse, the lord de Valentin, the lord de Quer, the lord de Baruge, sir Espaing du Lyon, the lord de Roquepaire, the lord de Lane, the lord de Besach, the lord de Perle, sir Peter de Cabestan, sir Menaut de Noailles, sir Richard de la Mothe, sir Arnold de Saint Basile, with many others. He was also attended by his two brothers, sir Peter and sir Arnold de Béarn, and his two bastard sons, whom he affectionately loved, sir Evan and sir Gracien de Foix. The count had intentions of settling on these two sons the greater part of Béarn, which, being free land and dependent on no one but God, he could dispose of as he pleased.

The count de Foix dismounted at the convent of the Friar Preachers, where he and his household were lodged; and his people quartered themselves as near him as they could. The citizens of Toulouse showed much joy at the arrival of the count de Foix, for they loved him from his being so kind a neighbor, and never suffering any of his people to make war or commit violence on their country. They presented him with the finest wines, and so many other things, that he was well contented with them. He made his entry into Toulouse rather late in the evening, and remained all that night in his lodgings. On the morrow, about ten o'clock, he mounted his horse, as did those who were to attend him to the king, consisting of more than two hundred knights, all men of distinction; and in this state he paraded through the streets of Toulouse to the castle, where the king resided. He dismounted in the court within the first square of the castle, where servants took and held their horses.

The count and his company ascended the steps of the great hall, whither the king had gone from his chamber to wait his arrival; for he was very anxious to see him for the gallant actions he had performed, and on account of his fair reputation. The count de Foix, who was very handsome in person and in countenance, entered the hall bareheaded, (for he never wore a cap,) with his hair scattered about: when he perceived the king, his brother, uncle, and the lords of France, in the act of doing the king honor, and not till then, he bended very low on one knee; he afterwards rose up, advanced, and knelt a second time close to the king, who raised him up with his hand, and embraced him, saying, "Fair cousin of Foix, you are welcome, for your visit has greatly rejoiced us." "My lord," replied the count, "I thank you much for what you are pleased to say." They had a long conversation together, until dinner-time arrived, but I neither heard the words nor the subject. Water being brought, they washed, and seated themselves at table. The archbishop of Toulouse was seated at the head of the king's table, next to him the king, then his uncle the duke of Bourbon, then the count de Foix, the counts de la Marche and de Vendôme, and none others. At the second were seated, the lord Charles d'Albret, the count de Harcourt, the lord Philip de Bar, and four other knights attached to the count de Foix. At another table were placed the marshal de Sancerre, sir Roger d'Espaign, and eight of the count's knights. This dinner was magnificent and splendid in all respects. When they had dined, the tables were removed; and, grace being said, they amused themselves in various ways. The king and the lords were on their feet nearly two hours, in the presence chamber, listening to the minstrels, for the count de Foix took delight in them.

Count de Harcourt presenting the Comfit-Box to the King. Designed from Royal MS. 14 E. 4.

After this, wine and spices were brought, and the comfit box was presented solely to the king by the count de Harcourt. Sir Gerard de la Pierre did the same to the duke of Bourbon, and sir Menaut de Noailles to the count de Foix.* When this was done, it was nearly four o'clock in the afternoon: the count de Foix took leave of the king, the duke of Bourbon, and the other lords, and, leaving the hall, went into the court, where he found his horses and attendants waiting for him. The count and his company having mounted, returned to his lodgings, much pleased with the reception and entertainment the king of France had given him, and praised him exceedingly when conversing with his knights. During the time the king of France and count Gaston de Foix were at Toulouse, many tokens of affection passed between them, which was encouraged to the utmost of their power by the marshal Sancerre and the lord de la Riviere, because they saw the king, as well as the duke of Bourbon, had conceived a friendship for the count de Foix.

The count de Foix one day entertained at dinner the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, and the other French lords. The dinner was beyond measure grand and plentiful, with numerous dishes and devices. Upward of two hundred knights were seated at table, served by those of the count de Foix; and, just as the tables were on the point of removal, the king of France, who had dined at the castle, made his appearance, attended by the lord Charles d'Albret and the lord Philip de Bar, his cousin-germans. He could not resist the pleasure of seeing this company, and had come to the lodgings of the count attended by only eleven others. The count de Foix and the whole company were highly pleased at this condescension of the king in coming to visit him. Various were the diversions on this occasion; and the Gascons and French tried their skill and strength in wrestling, throwing the bar or javelin for the farthest or highest; and it was night before the king and the company separated. The count presented that day to the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon, and to the knights and squires attached to the king, more than sixty coursers, palfreys, and ambling mules, all saddled and caparisoned becoming their different ranks. He gave also to the minstrels of the

* "There was another custom at the tables of the kings and great barons, which was not usual at the entertainments of private persons. Besides the spices which composed the dessert, and were intended for the guests in common, there were other more rare spices, that were served in a box divided into compartments, which was of gold and silver, or silver gilt, and called a 'drageoir' comfit box.) It was commonly a squire or some person of distinction who had the honor to present it to his lord alone, unless he wished to have particular respect paid to any of his guests, to whom he sent it." Froissart is then quoted as in the text, by M. le Grand d'Aussy, to whom I refer for further particulars respecting this and other ancient customs, in his "Vie privée des François."

king, the duke of Touraine, and the duke of Bourbon, two hundred golden crowns, and to the heralds a like sum. All, therefore, were loud in the praise of his generosity.

On the fourth day after this entertainment, the count de Foix, well attended by the barons and knights of Béarn and Foix, waited on the king, at the castle, to perform what had been required of him; that is to say, his homage for the county of Foix and its dependencies, reserving to himself, as free land, Béarn. There had been, before this, many treaties negotiated between the king and count de Foix, through the king's ministers, the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, and the bishop of Noyon, who had lately arrived from Avignon; but these treaties were kept very secret. It was said, that the count de Foix required of the king that Evan de Foix should, after his decease, inherit that country, in consideration of which the king should receive, on the day of the count's death, one hundred thousand francs; that his other son, sir Gracien, should hold the lands of Aire in Béarn, with the good towns of Aire and Montmarsen; and that all the lands the count then held in Béarn, should revert to his heir, the viscount de Châteaubon. This distribution had caused a difference between the count, his barons, and knights; several of whom said, that this could not be legally done without the public consent of the vassals of Béarn and Foix. As an intermediate step, homage was made of the county of Foix to the king of France, who, by the advice of his council, said to the count and barons of Foix, "I now hold in my hand the homage for my county of Foix; and if the succession should happen to be vacated, by the death of our cousin, the count de Foix, in our lifetime, we will come to such resolutions concerning it, through the advice of our council, that Evan de Foix, and all the vassals of that country, shall be perfectly satisfied therewith."*

This speech was sufficient for the count and his barons then present. When the regulations had been properly written out and sealed, the count de Foix took leave of the king, his brother, uncle, and the French lords; but that day he dined with the king, and in the evening returned to his lodgings. On the morrow, after drinking a cup, he departed from Toulouse, leaving his purveyors behind to pay his expenses, and, having crossed the Garonne at the bridge of Toulouse, returned to his own country by way of Montmarsen, and arrived at Orthès, where he dismissed all who had accompanied him, retaining only those necessary for his service. It was told me, and I believe it, that this visit of the king of France to Languedoc and Toulouse, cost the count de Foix more than forty thousand francs: great, however, as this sum was, the count was so courteous and liberal, that he very cheerfully paid it.

CHAPTER X.

THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS BROTHER, THE DUKE OF TOURAINE, WAGER WHICH SHALL ARRIVE THE SOONEST AT PARIS, FROM MONTPELLIER, EACH ATTENDED ONLY BY ONE KNIGHT.

I BELIEVE that the king of France, during his residence at Toulouse, attended much to the state of that part of his realm. He removed séneschals and other officers, and made such reforms that he was popular with all ranks of people. One day, in the presence of his brother, his uncle, the duke of Bourbon, and numbers of lords of France and Gascony, that it might be had in perpetual remembrance, he gave permission to his cousin-german, the lord Charles d'Albret, to quarter the fleur-de-lis of France, alternately with his own; for the arms of Albret were simply gules without any distinction, but at present they are quartered with those of France. The lord d'Albret considered this a most distinguished gift; and the day the king had thus enriched the arms of Albret, the lord Charles gave a dinner that cost him one thousand francs; and presented the heralds and minstrels who had attended it, with two hundred francs, which circumstance caused them to proclaim his liberality.

Shortly afterwards, it was announced that the king would leave Toulouse, on his return to Paris, and his attendants made preparations accordingly. As soon as it was known, the archbishop and séneschal of Toulouse, with the citizens and ladies, came to take their leave of the king, who received them all very kindly. He set out from Toulouse after breakfast, and lay the first night at Châteauneuf d'Aulroy, and then continued his journey to Montpellier, where he was joyfully received. He there remained for three days to amuse himself; for the town and the ladies afforded him much pleasure. He was, however, very impatient to return to Paris, to see his queen. One day, while at Montpellier, he said, jokingly, to the duke of Touraine, "Fair brother, I wish we were at Paris, and our attendants where they now are; for I have as great a desire to see the queen, as I suppose you must have to see my sister-in-law." "My lord," replied the duke, "we shall never get there by wishing it: the distance is too great." "That is true," answered the king; "but I think, if I pleased, I could very soon be there." "Then it must be by dint of hard riding," said the duke of Touraine, "and not otherwise, and I also can do that; but it would be through means of my horse." "Come," said the king, "who will be there first? you or I: let us wager on this." "With all my heart," answered the duke, who would at all times exert himself to get money. A wager was, in consequence, made between them, for five hundred francs, who should the first arrive at Paris, setting out, on the morrow, at the same hour, taking with them only one servant, or one knight, as they pleased. No one attempted to prevent the race from taking place, and they set out as they had settled it: the lord de Garencieres accompanied the king, and the lord de Viefville the duke of Touraine. Thus these four, who were young and active, rode on night and day, frequently changing horses, or had themselves conveyed in carts, when they wished to take any repose.

The duke of Bourbon returned by Puy in Auvergne to his own country, and, on his road, visited his father-in-law, the dauphin of Auvergne, the dauphiness, and their children, who were eight in number, brothers and sisters to the duchess of Bourbon by a second marriage.

The king of France and his brother continued their journey with much exertion, to gain the wager. Consider what pains these two young princes must have taken, for all their establishments were left behind. The king took four days and a half to perform the journey to Paris, and the duke of Touraine only four days and one third,* so near were they to each other; but the duke won the wager, by the king sleeping eight hours at Troyes in Champagne. The duke embarked on the Seine, and went as far as Melun by water: there he remounted and rode on to Paris, straight to the hôtel de Saint Pol, where the queen and the duchess resided, and inquired after the king, (for he was ignorant whether he was arrived or not,) and was rejoiced to learn that he was not come. He said to the queen, "Madam, you will very shortly hear of him." This was true; for not long after the duke's arrival, the king made his appearance, and the duke ran to him and said, "My lord, I have won the wager: order me to be paid." "That is but just," replied the king, "and it shall be done." They then related to the ladies their adventures on the road, and how they had come in four days and a half from Montpellier, a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues. The ladies turned the whole into a joke, and laughed at it; but they were sensible how greatly they must have been fatigued, and nothing but their youth and courage could have borne them through it. You must know, the duke of Touraine insisted on the wager being paid in ready money.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DEATH OF POPE URBAN AT ROME, CALLED THE ANTI-POPE. POPE CLEMENT WRITES TO THE KING OF FRANCE, HIS UNCLES, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, ON THE OCCASION. THE ELECTION OF POPE BONIFACE BY THE ROMAN CARDINALS.

ABOUT this period, pope Urban VI. died at Rome, to the sorrow of the Romans, who loved him much.† He was buried, with great solemnity, in the church of Saint Peter; and, when this ceremony was ended, the cardinals formed a conclave to elect another pope, and hastened the matter that it might be done before any intelligence of the death of Urban could be carried to Avignon. Pope Clement and his cardinals did not hear of the decease of Urban until the tenth day after it had happened. They immediately assembled at the palace, where many proposals were discussed; and they had strong hope that the schism of the church would be concluded, and a union formed of the two parties; for this error had lasted too long. They imagined that the cardinals at Rome would not be in any hurry to form a conclave, but would agree to acknowledge the pope of Avignon, and were indulging in these flattering hopes, when other accounts forced them to think differently. They signified to the king of France the death of Urban, whom they called the anti-pope, and entreated him to support the pretensions of Clement, by writing in his favor to his cousins the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, the count de Vertus, and to the duke of Austria, who had acknowledged the late pope Urban, and to request they would agree to restore peace to the church; for that there ought not to be any variation in the faith, and, as there is but one God in Heaven, there cannot, nor ought there to be, more than one vicegerent on the earth.

When this information arrived at Paris, the duke of Burgundy, to whom the pope and cardinals had likewise written to the same purport, was with his nephew. The king appeared very much pleased on hearing it, and said to the duke, "Good uncle, we had a great desire to march a large army to Rome, and destroy these unbelievers; but this is checked by the death of the anti-pope, for pope Clement and his cardinals have assured us that Urban is dead. They suppose that there will not be any conclave held at Rome to elect another, but that the cardinals will submit themselves to the obedience of pope Clement. He has likewise requested, that we would write to our cousin the emperor of Germany, his brother the king of Hungary, to the count de Vertus, and to the duke of Austria, to secure their favor in his support. What would you advise us to do?" "My lord," replied the duke of Burgundy, "it is very true that Urban is dead; but we know nothing of the state of the cardinals at Rome,

* These precautions were vain. Matthieu de Foix, a descendant of Roger Bernard, viscount de Castel-bon, lord of Moncade and youngest son of Gascon I. count de Foix, having his pretensions supported by the nobility, seized the government, and had his right acknowledged by the court of France, through some arrangements he made with it.—VILLARET, tome vi.

* The distance from Montpellier to Paris is 191 leagues.—*Gazetteer*.

† He died 18th Oct. 1389. But so far from being beloved, he was detested for his violent and tyrannical conduct.—ED.

nor of the Romans; nor whether these cardinals mean to persist in their opinion. It will be difficult for them to change, as the Romans are their masters; and as they formerly forced them to elect the archbishop of Bari pope, whom they obeyed as long as he lived, they may again force them to elect another according to their pleasure. You have therefore no occasion to be in any haste respecting this matter, nor to write to those who will not do much for you in the business, as they have already shown. Remain quiet, therefore, until you shall have heard further on the subject; for it may happen that the cardinals at Rome may be of one mind, and, though differing with each other, may dissemble with the Romans, and acknowledge no other pope but Clement; and, in order to keep the Romans in good humor, promise them that Clement shall fix his residence at Rome, which he will very readily consent to, if the matter could be brought to depend on that. Should this appear probable, it will then be time for you to write to those Christian kings and lords who hold contrary opinions in religion to you, to entreat they would unite to put an end to the schism, and to promote the reëstablishment of union in the church. This is what you ought to do; for we are not yet assured what turn the business may take, and it will not be long before we have further intelligence." When the duke had ended this speech to the king and council, no one made any reply; for they thought his reasoning unanswerable. The king seemed convinced by it, and said: "Good uncle, we believe your reasons, for you see farther into church affairs than we do; and we will not take any steps in the matter without your advice and approbation." The business was here ended, and other matters discussed.

The intelligence of the death of Urban caused great disputes among the students at the university. They ceased following their usual studies, and were employed in disputing how the cardinals would act; whether they would elect a pope in the room of Urban, or acknowledge the pope of Avignon. They made it the subject of argument, and it was carried on with much heat and animosity. They knew that Clement had written to the king, to the duke of Touraine, to the duke of Burgundy, and to the ministers, on the state of his affairs; and he had also written, in general terms, to the university, that that body might do as much as was possible, and with all diligence, for his assistance. The students proposed several subjects of argument, which were warmly discussed among themselves. Those interested for Clement said, "It is time for the king and our lords in France to write to the chiefs in Christendom, such as the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, the lord of Milan, the duke of Austria, and all who hold contrary opinions respecting the pope, and press them to return to the true faith; for it would do them infinite honor." Three times, in three several days, the principal students of the university assembled, and went in a body to the hôtel de Saint Pol, to entreat the king and his council to put an end to the schism, and to comply with the solicitation of the pope, who had written to them in such humble terms. They, however, were not admitted, nor had any answer given to them, which made them very discontented: however, the following news, which arrived a few days after, appeased them.

The Roman cardinals had assembled in conclave, and elected the cardinal of Naples, a prudent and courageous clerk, to the papacy, who took the name of Boniface.* The king of France and his lords, on hearing this, were very melancholy, and thought the schism in the church likely to continue for a long time. "Now see," said the duke of Burgundy to the king, "of how little avail your letters would have been, which they were urging you to write: it has happened just as I foresaw." "My good uncle," replied the king, "you have indeed judged truly." Pardons were offered in abundance by Boniface, and notified to all the clergy in the different kingdoms under his obedience. Those who wished to gain them set out on their journey to Rome; but when they approached near Ancona and Romagna, they ran great risks; for sir Bernard de Salle, who guarded this frontier, and made war on the Romans in the name of Clement, had these pilgrims watched on the roads, and did them much evil, several of whom were slain or lost. We will for the present leave speaking of these popes, and introduce other events.

* Pietro, or Perrin de Tomacelli cardinal of Naples, pope Boniface IX.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SURRENDER OF THE STRONG CASTLE OF VENTADOUR IN LIMOUSIN, THAT HAD BEEN THE CHIEF RESIDENCE OF GEOFFRY TETE-NOIRE.

You have before heard how Geoffry Tête-noire was master of the castle of Ventadour, which he had held against all the force sent against him as long as he lived; that he had laid the country under contributions upward of thirty leagues round; and that, when he died, he had on his death-bed named his two nephews, Alleyne and Peter Roux, to succeed him in the command, to whom all the leaders of that garrison had, in his presence, sworn obedience and fidelity. After the decease of Geoffry Tête-noire, these two brothers governed successfully for some time, keeping the whole country under subjection. This castle belonged to the duke of Berry by purchase from the count de Montpensier, and his son, John of Berry, bore its title; but, though the garrison gave him much vexation, he could not then amend it. He had besieged it several times with block-houses, and pressed it as much as he could, but in vain: the garrison held his attempts cheap, and sallied out, whenever they pleased, to overrun the country. The two brothers would not pay any attention to the truce that had been agreed on between France and England, saying they were not bound to abide by it, but would make war when and where they pleased. The two countries of Auvergne and Limousin suffered greatly; and to remedy it, a gallant knight of Auvergne, sir William le Bouteiller, with sir John Bonne-lance, sir Lewis d'Ambiere, and other knights and squires from Limousin and Auvergne, erected block-houses before Ventadour, and had there remained the whole of the season, at the charge of the country.

Coronation of Pope Boniface. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

It was about this time, as I was told, that the governors laid a plot to entrap sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance, who had done them much mischief. They determined to have it told these two knights in a secret way, that they were desirous of surrendering the fort for a certain sum of florins; for they were tired of remaining there longer, and wished to return to their own country or elsewhere. They imagined the knights would readily comply, for the duke of Berry was eager to gain it on any terms; and they resolved not to ask a larger sum than what might be instantly procured. One brother asked the other, "What sum shall we fix on?" "Ten thousand francs, for that will be enough, as we shall have besides the bodies of the two knights by an ambush we will place in one of the towers."

Consider how foolish these two Bretons must have been to imagine they could deceive two such knights and keep their money. If evil befel them, they are unworthy of regret or pity. Following their plan, they sent one of their varlets out of the castle, saying, "Go as far as the French block-houses: allow thyself to be taken, but demand to be carried to sir William le Bouteiller or sir John Bonne-lance, which of them thou pleasest; give them these letters, and require an answer, as their contents are of consequence to them and to us." The servant, who thought nothing evil, said he would obey their commands, and advanced to the nearest block-house of the French. On perceiving him, those within came out to meet him and demanded his business: he said, he wanted to speak to sir William le Bouteiller or sir John Bonne-lance. He was conducted to them, for the two knights happened to be then together. When in their presence, he bowed, and took them aside to deliver his letters, saying that sir Alleyne and sir Peter Roux had sent him to them. They were much

surprised on hearing this, and that the governors of Ventadour should write to them. They took the letters, and read them; but their contents were merely to say, that Alleyne and Peter Roux would willingly hold a parley with them on something to their advantage. When they had perused the letters, they were more astonished than before, and suspected some treachery. They, however, consulted together on what could be wanted with them, and returned a verbal message, that if the governors wished to meet them without the castle, they would promise them, and those who should accompany them, perfect security for their persons until they had reëntered the place. Such was the answer the varlet brought back to his masters. Sir Peter said to sir Alleyne, "May we confide in such promises?" "Oh yes," replied his brother; "for consider, their word is given, and they are loyal knights incapable of breaking it. We will inform them of our intended surrender, which they will eagerly accept."

On the morrow, about eight o'clock, they ordered the wicket adjoining the gate to be opened, and the bridge to be lowered down, and they leant on the chains until sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance arrived, who dismounted before the bridge, and ordered their attendants to retire. When the two Breton governors, on the bridge, saw them, they asked, "May we come and converse with you in safety?" "Yes," replied the knights; "but is there no treachery on your side?" "Oh no," answered the Bretons: "it is now truce between us." "Well then, come with all security, and tell us what you have to say." Peter and Alleyne Roux then passed the bridge, and went to the place where they were waiting for them. The two knights said: "What is the subject of the treaty or parley you wish to have with us? Are you inclined to surrender Ventadour?" "Yes," said they, "but on conditions. We only ask ten thousand francs for the stores; for we are tired of carrying on the war longer, and wish to retire to Brittany or to whatever other country we may choose." The two knights were rejoiced at this proposal, and replied: "You offer terms we shall not refuse; but at this moment we have not such a sum. We will, however, instantly set about providing it." "Well," answered the governors, "when you have got it, let us know, and we will keep to our offer: but let the matter be most secret, for if the garrison should hear of it, they would instantly murder us, and you would be disappointed in your expectations of gaining the place." Sir William le Bouteiller replied, "Never fear us: we will manage the business in such a manner that you shall not incur any danger." On this, they separated: the brothers reëntered Ventadour, and the knights returned to their quarters.

Sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance believing this transaction was honorable, no way suspecting the Bretons meant to deceive them and gain possession of their persons as well as money, instantly wrote as fair-languaged letters as they could to the duke of Berry, who at that time was at Riom in Auvergne. They desired one of their gentlemen, who had been well educated, called Guyonnel de Saint-Vydel, to carry the letter, and, having informed him of the fact, desired he would forget nothing, in his conversation with the duke of Berry, that might induce him to agree to the terms of surrender: for they thought he would be well pleased, as he had been for a long time very anxious to get possession of Ventadour. The squire, having received the letter, and his instructions, what to say and how to act, left the block-house, and, traversing Limousin and Auvergne, rode on until he came to Riom, where I believe he found the duke of Berry.

On entering his presence, he knelt and gave the duke the letters, recommending to him the two knights, as he knew well how to do. The duke took the letter and read it: when he had a short time considered its contents, he was so well pleased, that he ordered his attendants to take particular care of the squire, which was done. The duke called to him such of his council and treasurers as were with him, and said: "Here is great news. Our knights, who are blockading Ventadour, write us word they have opened a treaty with Alleyne and Peter Roux, who are willing to surrender that place for ten thousand francs. That is no large sum: it has cost Limousin and Auvergne, yearly, sixty thousand francs, as composition money, to be unmolested by the garrison. We wish to accept their offer, and as speedily as may be, lest they should repent of having made it. Now, treasurers, find me instantly ten thousand francs. We will make a loan of them, as is but just; and when we are in possession of this castle, will levy a tax on all the lands which have paid contribution, that will doubly repay us." "My lord," replied the treasurers, "we are prepared: only give us five or six days to collect it." "You shall have them," said the duke. Thus was the matter settled. The treasurers produced the sum in golden crowns, and in francs of France, which were packed up in four small boxes.

The same day on which those who were to carry the money to the two knights were on their departure, everything being ready for their setting out, the dauphin of Auvergne and the lord Reneil arrived at Riom, on business with the duke of Berry, such as was common between great lords. They were made welcome by the duke, who was so pleased at the thought of gaining Ventadour so cheaply, that he could not refrain from making them acquainted with it, and showing them the letters from sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance. When they had perused them, they were silent, and the duke noticing it, said: "What are you considering? Have you any suspicions of deceit? Tell me, before the money be sent off." "My lord," replied the dauphin, "you know for how long a time the count d'Armagnac and myself have been employed by the countries of Limousin, Cahorsin, Rouergue, and Auvergne, to gain possession, by force or otherwise, of all the enemy's forts in these séneschalships. We have entered into several treaties with many of them, but we never could any way make the least impression on the garrison of Ventadour, to induce them to surrender; and scarcely would they deign to return us an answer when we sent to them. If, therefore, they have agreed to the treaty you have shown us, it cannot be from want of provision; for, should no purveyances enter the fort for eight years, I know they have enough; and it is this which astonishes us, and makes us suspect treachery; for such men-at-arms, when shut up in fortresses, have a lively imagination, and, when it turns to wickedness, they know too well how to succeed; therefore, my lord, be cautious how you act." "In God's name," answered the duke of Berry, "you do not tell us anything extraordinary, but have well spoken, when you thus advise us; and I will take more precautions than I at first intended."

He then called to him a knight, whose name was sir Peter Mespin, and said: "You will go with the ransom-money for Ventadour, to the block-houses before that place, and tell sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance, from us, to be very cautious how they act, respecting their treaty, and not to put too much confidence in these Bretons of Ventadour; for that we have had such intelligence concerning them, of which they are ignorant, they must be very prudent and observing."

The knight undertook the journey, and, being soon ready, departed with the money from Riom, and rode on until he arrived at the block-houses, where he was kindly received by his companions. The money was unpacked, and placed in security. Sir Peter Mespin, after some general conversation, told his message as follows: "My lord of Berry orders me to inform you, sir William and sir John, that you must act with the greatest precaution in this treaty with the governors of Ventadour, that you may not lose your own persons and the money he sends you by me, for that he has had accounts given him, of the characters of these people, that displease him much, which is the reason he is anxious for you to act with prudence to be a match for them, as he suspects this offer is only made to betray you. The countries of Auvergne and Limousin would many times have given sixty thousand francs for the evacuation of Ventadour, which the governors well knew, and now they offer it to you for ten thousand: it is this which makes my lord suspect treachery." The two knights were for a moment pensive, and then said: "Two heads are better than one. You have well spoken, and we thank you for the advice you have given. You will remain here to assist us, which will be but right, for within two days we shall know how the matter will turn out." Sir Peter Mespin replied, he would cheerfully stay with them.

Shortly after this the two knights sent one of their servants to the castle, for there was now a truce between them, to let the governors know the ten thousand francs were come, and that they were ready to complete the bargain. They replied, they would keep to their agreement, that they might come when they pleased, or inform them when they were to bring the money. Alleyne and Peter Roux, who had no good inclinations, as was proved against them, had already made their preparations for the capture of the two knights. They had thus planned it. At the entrance of the castle of Ventadour, and withinside, is a large tower, that commands the gate; and, without having first gained this tower, the castle cannot be won. It was for this reason it was always kept well stored with artillery, provision, and men, that in case the castle should be surprised, the garrison might retire thither in safety.

The two Bretons, whose heads were full of malice, posted in this tower thirty determined men, armed at all points; who, when the French should think themselves in secure possession of the castle, toward late in the evening, were to sally forth and slay all without mercy. Everything being now ready, they sent to sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance that they might bring the money in all security to the castle, the gates of which would be thrown open to them. The French knights were all alive at this message, and said to the servant who had brought it; "Return to thy masters, and tell them from us, that we will be with them to-morrow morning." When the servant was gone, the two knights assembled a larger council than ever they had before done, on account of the orders sir Peter Mespin had brought from the duke of Berry.

It was resolved in this council to place an ambuscade near the castle, and that the two knights should go thither accompanied by thirty men armed secretly like themselves. On their entrance into Ventadour, they were cautiously to examine every part of it: if they should perceive anything that could induce them to suspect treachery, they were to sound a horn and seize the draw-bridge. On hearing this horn, the ambuscade was to advance full gallop, dismount at the bridge and gain the castle. In the manner in which they had planned it the project was executed; and on the morrow morning, all being prepared, they rode forward, and placed a large ambush of six score lances, and then, with thirty companions, secretly armed, went to Ventadour, carrying sir Peter Mespin to assist them with his advice. They did not forget the ransom-money, which was neatly

packed up in three baskets, on the backs of two strong horses. They found Alleyne and Peter Roux at the barriers, which were thrown quite back on their approach: having passed them and entered the gate, the brothers would have closed the barriers again; but the French knights said; "Let them remain: is it a fair bargain or not? You know you have engaged to surrender the castle for ten thousand francs in hard money: they are ready, and on the two sumpter horses you see. If you act loyally to us, we will do the same to you." They knew not what answer to make to this speech; but to prevent them having any suspicions, they said; "You say well; and we are willing to act as fairly as yourselves."

The French party passed on, and the barriers remained open. Had they been closed, the ambuscade would never have been able to arrive in time to counteract the trick the Bretons intended playing them, and their scheme would have succeeded. All having entered the gate, Alleyne and Peter Roux went to shut it; but the French said to Alleyne; "Let it be open: we wish it, for we are ready to pay you down the money as agreed upon between us." "Be it so," replied the Bretons: "let us see the cash." "That you shall," said the French, and instantly spread on the ground a sheet, on which they emptied the florins. While the two Bretons were examining the money, which made a handsome heap, the knights were doing the same to the castle; and, in consequence, sir Peter Mespin said to sir William le Bouteiller; "Have that tower opened before you count the money, for there may perchance be in it an ambush to surprise us, and we may lose our lives as well as our money."

"On this, sir William said to Alleyne Roux, "Let that tower be opened, for we will have that done before we proceed any farther." Alleyne replied; "that he would do no such thing, for the keys were lost." The moment he had uttered this, the knights were more suspicious than before, and said: "Alleyne, it is impossible that the keys of the principal tower should be lost. Open it by fair means, or we will have it forced; for you have promised to surrender to us the castle, as it is, without fraud or treachery, for the sum of ten thousand francs, which you now see lying before you." Alleyne answered; "I will neither open it myself, nor suffer it to be done, until I shall have received and placed in security the whole money: when that is done, I will seek for the keys." The knights replied; "We will not wait so long; and we tell you plainly, that we expect no favor from your last speeches, which clearly indicate that you mean to deceive us. We therefore arrest you, Peter and Alleyne Roux, in the names of the king, our lord, and the duke of Berry. The tower shall be opened by force, though the doors of it be broken: and every part of it, as well as of the castle, shall be minutely searched, to see if you have not placed an ambush to surprise us, and regain the castle. Should any such be found, you are lost, past redemption, as in justice due to treason; but if, on the contrary, the castle be in the situation it ought loyally to be, from an honorable bargain, we will punctually keep every article of our treaty, and you shall be safely conducted whithersoever you may please; even as far as the gates of Avignon, should you desire it."

The two brothers were thunderstruck, and half dead, on being thus arrested; and, hearing this declaration of the knights, their courage failed them, and they repented having gone so far, for they found their intentions must now be discovered. The French knights saw plainly they were guilty of what they had suspected, and that the castle was not meant to be surrendered. They made a sign for him who bore the horn to sound for their ambuscade to advance: which having done, those in ambush stuck spurs to their horses, saying, "Let us hasten to Ventadour, for we are wanted: our people have not found things as they expected, and have been deceived by Alleyne and Peter Roux." They were soon at the castle, for it was not far distant, and the barriers and gate being open, though well guarded by the French, for the Bretons were no longer masters, they entered the place, and found their captains in the court talking to the garrison. The governors were more astonished than before, on seeing themselves thus surrounded by their enemies; for they knew they had acted dishonorably.

Those within the great tower were ignorant of what was going forward; for the openings in the walls were too high for them to see what passed. Some said; "We hear in the court a great noise: our people may perhaps be tricked, for the French are a cunning race. We thought to deceive, but we may be deceived, and Alleyne, as well as ourselves, may be entrapped and taken; for we cannot get out without permission." They would willingly have been anywhere else; for their governors had brought them into a melancholy situation. Sir William le Bouteiller and sir John Bonne-lance, finding themselves so superior in force, spoke out more boldly their sentiments, and ordered the cash, which was scattered over the sheet, to be collected and replaced in the baskets, before the face of the two brothers, who were surrounded by the French. They said; "Alleyne and Peter, give us the keys of the tower; for it must and shall be examined, to see if any one be within it;" but they answered, in the hope of prolonging the time; "Begin your search elsewhere, and come here at the last." But the knights replied; "Alleyne, you trifle too much with us, for we will examine this tower first; and, if you make any further resistance, we will put you to death with our daggers." On hearing this, they feared they would put their threat into execution; for all avoid death as long as they can, though, in good truth, it would have been more honorable for them had they been slain, than carried away, and afterwards punished for this act, by a disgraceful death, as you will speedily hear in this history. During the dispute, Peter Roux thought of an expedient to excuse their conduct, but this was of no avail, and said; "My lord William, and you sir John, it is indeed true that there are in this tower thirty armed men, whither my brother and self have with much difficulty forced them; for we well knew they would not assent to our treaty with you. It is for this reason that we have confined them in that tower until you should be masters of the castle; and we will, with your permissions, leave them there, to be your prisoners. Give us the money, the whole, or part of it, as you are bounden to do, and let us go away."

The knights were tolerably satisfied on hearing this; but sir William le Bouteiller, having considered a little, said; "Whatever truth may be in what you have told us, before we unpack the money again, we must have all the keys of the castle delivered to us, and the different parts pointed out to which they lead." Alleyne, seeing he could no longer delay, sent for them to the room wherein they were deposited. On their being brought to the court, the knights said; "Now, explain to us what gates they unlock, and whither they lead." Very much against their will, they pointed out the keys of the great tower, for their destruction lay in it. When they had possession of them, they opened its gates, and found the thirty companions completely armed, who had been therein hid.

Alleyne was much cast down, when he saw the French knights draw themselves up in array before the gate, and heard sir William le Bouteiller say: "You who are hidden within this tower, come forth instantly and without fear, under pain of being all put to death. We shall make you our prisoners, and you need not fear any punishment if you will tell us the truth." When they saw and heard the French offer them pardon, taking them as prisoners only, they flung down their staves and arms, and surrendered, for defence would not have been of any avail. These men were then separated, and examined one by one in the presence of Alleyne and Peter Roux, and acknowledged the intended treason, which they now could no longer deny. The French knights addressed them; "It is very displeasing to us, that you should have been guilty of so disgraceful a crime. We shall not punish you for it: as it seems to us so heinous, we shall leave it to my lord of Berry; and, if he will show you mercy, we shall not object. We rather hope he may be so inclined, from the great pleasure the possession of this castle will give him, which was the thing in the world he was most anxious to gain." This speech gave some hopes to the two brothers, who found themselves fallen into a similar trap to what they had laid for others. They were confined in rooms well guarded, and the garrison in the towers and in other parts of the castle. It was then thoroughly visited, and found full of stores and provision; all of which they left untouched, contenting themselves with the money and arms they discovered, and which, as fair plunder, was divided among them; but the prisoners were given to the knights.

Thus, as I have related, was the strong castle of Ventadour regained by the French. Sir William le Bouteiller appointed a valiant and prudent squire of Limousin, called Peter Madich, governor, with thirty good lances for its defence. He ransomed such as were deserving of it; but having discovered among the prisoners several renegade Frenchmen, who had been cruel plunderers, he had their heads cut off, or hung them on a new gallows that had been erected in front of the castle. When all things had been settled, the two knights resolved to ride to Riom, to wait on the duke of Berry, and carry Alleyne and Peter Roux with them. News was soon spread abroad that Ventadour was retaken, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Auvergne and Limousin; for the enemies of the realm had kept possession of it fifteen years, and, during that time, had done much mischief to the country, and had greatly impoverished it.

Sir William le Bouteiller had found in the castle of Ventadour a young and handsome squire from Brittany, called le Monadich,* a cousin to Geoffry Tête-noire, who had lately left a convent in Brittany, and come thither to learn the art of war, for he would not be a monk. The French knights wanted to have him beheaded, or hanged like the others; but sir William took compassion on him, and saved his life, for which he swore he would faithfully serve him, and remain for the time to come a loyal Frenchman. They made no long stay after this, but, having pulled down the block-houses, went to the duke of Berry. The men-at-arms separated, each going to his own home. The knights arrived at Riom, with the two brothers prisoners. They were much cast down, and on the road entreated sir William and sir John to interest themselves in their behalf, that the duke might not be too severe on them. The duke was with the duchess at Riom, and most kindly received the two knights: he considered the gain of the castle of Ventadour as a very gallant exploit, for which he made them handsome and rich gifts.

The knights asked him, what was his pleasure respecting the two prisoners. He said, he would consider of it; which having done, it was thought by his council most advisable to send them to the king at Paris. The séneschal of Auvergne was sent for, and to him were delivered the Bretons. He carried them to Paris, where they were

* "The little monk."—Ed.

confined in the castle of Saint Anthony,* under the guard of the viscount d'Asci, who was at that time governor of it. They were not kept long in prison, but delivered over to the provost of Paris, who carried them to Châtelet, where they were tried and judged guilty of death, as traitors and robbers. They were then given up to the hangman, who placed them bound in a cart, and carried them through the streets, with sound of trumpet, to a place called Les Halles, and put on the pillory, which was turned four times round, that the populace might view them. Their actions were then read aloud; after which they were beheaded and quartered, and their quarters fixed to the four principal gates of the town. Thus did Alleyne and Peter Roux lose their castle of Ventadour, and forfeit their own lives by a disgrace[illegible]ath.

TOURNAMENT AT ST. INGLEVERE. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

CHAPTER XIII.

THREE FRENCH KNIGHTS HOLD A TOURNAMENT AT ST. INGLEVERE, NEAR CALAIS, AND DEFEND THE LISTS, FOR THIRTY DAYS, AGAINST ALL COMERS, FROM ENGLAND, AND ELSEWHERE.

AT this season, the truce between England and France was punctually observed on sea and land by both parties, excepting a few pillagers in Auvergne, who continued a war against the peasants, on each side the river Dordogne. Their principal leaders, who had surrendered on capitulation, were not openly guilty of any breach of the truce, but secretly encouraged the mischiefs that were daily committed in Auvergne. Such complaints were made of this to the king of France, that he determined, with the advice of his council, to remonstrate with the king of England on the conduct of these pillagers, who, notwithstanding the truce, still carried on a war in Auvergne and the adjoining country, which could not be suffered, neither ought it to be. I believe the king of England excused himself, by saying that those who had committed the acts complained of were lawless people, over whom he had no control.

During the time in which these things were passing, the three knights before mentioned, who had undertaken to maintain the lists against all comers, at St. Inglevere, near Calais, namely, sir Boucicaut the younger, the lord Reginald de Roye and the lord de Saimpi, were making preparations to fulfil their engagement. This tournament had been proclaimed in many countries, but especially in England, where it had caused much surprise, and excited several knights and squires, who were fond of adventures and deeds of arms, to confer on the subject. Some said they would be blameworthy, if they did not cross the sea, when the distance was so short to Calais, pay a visit to these knights, and tilt with them. I will name those who were most eager in these conversations. The first was sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, sir John Courtenay,† sir John Traicton,‡ sir John Goulouffre,§ sir John Roussel,‖ sir Thomas Scorabonne,¶ sir William Cliseton,** sir William Clinton, sir William Taillebourg,* sir Godfrey de Seton, sir William de Haquenay,† sir John Bolton, sir John Arundel, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir John Beaumont and many more, to the amount of upward of one hundred knights and squires, who said: "Let us prepare ourselves to attend this tournament near Calais; for these French knights only hold it that they may have our company: it is well done, and shows they do not want courage: let us not disappoint them."

This challenge was made so public in England, that many who had no intention of taking part themselves, said, they would go thither to witness the performance of others. Such knights and squires as proposed being there, when the appointed term was approaching, sent beforehand their purveyances, and arms for tilting and for war, to Calais. Sir John Holland, half-brother to the king of England, was the first to cross the sea: more than sixty knights and squires accompanied him, and took up their quarters in Calais.

At the beginning of the charming month of May, the three before-mentioned young French knights were fully prepared to maintain their challenge in the lists at Saint Inglevere. They first came to Boulogne, where I know not how many days they tarried, and then went to the monastery of Saint Inglevere. On their arrival, they learnt that numbers of English knights and squires were come to Calais. This gave them much pleasure; and to hasten the business, and that news should be carried to the English, they ordered three rich vermilion-colored pavilions to be pitched near the appointed place for the lists, and before each were suspended two targets, for peace or war, emblazoned with the arms of each lord. It was ordered, that such as were desirous of performing any deed of arms should touch, or send to have touched, one or both of these targets according to their pleasure, and they would be tilted with agreeably to their request.

On the 21st of the month of May, as it had been proclaimed, the three knights were properly armed and their horses ready saddled according to the laws of the tournament. On the same day, those knights who were in Calais sallied forth, either as spectators or tilters, and, being arrived at the spot, drew up on one side. This placeof the tournament was smooth, and green with grass.

Sir John Holland was the first who sent his squire to touch the war-target of sir Boucicaut, who instantly issued from his pavilion completely armed. Having mounted his horse, and grasped his spear, which was stiff and well steeled, they took their distances. When the two knights had for a short time eyed each other, they spurred their horses and met full gallop with such force, that sir Boucicaut pierced the shield of the earl of Huntingdon, and the point of his lance slipped along his arm, but without wounding him. The two knights, having passed, continued their gallop to the end of the list. This course was much praised. At the second course, they hit each other slightly, but no harm was done; and their horses refused to complete the third. The earl of Huntingdon, who wished to continue the tilt, and was heated, returned to his place, expecting that sir Boucicaut would call for his lance; but he did not, and showed plainly he would not that day tilt more with the earl. Sir John Holland, seeing this, sent his squire to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi. This knight, who was waiting for the combat, sallied out from his pavilion, and took his lance and shield. When the earl saw he was ready, he violently spurred his horse, as did the lord de Saimpi. They couched their lances, and pointed them at each other. At the onset, their horses crossed; notwithstanding which, they met; but by this crossing, which was blamed, the earl was unhelmed. He returned to his people, who soon rehelmed him; and, having resumed their lances, they met full gallop, and hit each other with such force in the middle of their shields, that they would have been unhorsed had they not kept tight seats by the pressure of their legs against the horses' sides. They went to the proper places, where they refreshed themselves and took breath. Sir John Holland, who had a great desire to shine at this tournament, had his helmet braced, and grasped his spear again; when the lord de Saimpi, seeing him advance on a gallop, did not decline meeting, but, spurring his horse on instantly, they gave blows on their helmets, that were luckily of well-tempered steel, which made sparks of fire fly from them. At this course, the lord de Saimpi lost his helmet; but the two knights continued their career, and returned to their places.

* Probably the Bastille, which was at the gate of St. Anthony before the revolution in 1789.

† My MSS. have sir Peter Courtenay.

‡ "Sir John Traicton." Q. Drayton. The MSS. Peter.

§ "Sir John Goulouffre." Q. Sir John Walworth.

‖ "Sir John Roussel." Q. Russel.

¶ "Sir Thomas Scorabonne. Q. Sherborne.

** "Sir William Cliseton." Q. Clifton.

* "Sir William Taillebourg." Q. Tallboys or Talbot.

† "Sir William de Haquenay." Q. Hackney.

This tilt was much praised; and the English and French said, that the earl of Huntingdon, sir Boucicaut, and the lord de Saimpi, had excellently well justed, without sparing or doing themselves any damage. The earl wished to break another lance in honor of his lady, but it was refused him. He then quitted the lists, to make room for others, for he had run his six lances with such ability and courage as gained him praise from all sides.

A young and gallant knight of England next came forth, called the earl-marshal,* who sent, according to the regulations, to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. This being done, sir Reginald came from his pavilion completely armed, and mounted his horse that was ready for him; having had his shield and helmet buckled on, he seized his lance and took his distance. The two knights spurred their horses, but, at this first course, failed in their strokes, from their horses swerving out of the line, to their great vexation. Sir Reginald was hit with the second lance, and had his own broken. At the third course, they met with such force that the fire sparkled from their helmets, and the earl was unhelmed. He continued his career to his own place, but justed no more that day, as he had done sufficiently.

The lord Clifford,† a valiant knight, and cousin-german to the late sir John Chandos, of famed renown, then advanced, and sent to have the war-shield of sir Boucicaut touched with a rod. Sir Boucicaut instantly appeared, and, having his armor laced, mounted his horse: placing his lance in its rest, they met full gallop, and made, by their blows, the fire fly from their helmets, but they neither broke their lances nor lost their stirrups: having passed, they returned to their places, making ready for the second course. This was done without any way sparing themselves: sir Boucicaut broke his lance and was unhelmed, but did not for this fall to the ground. Lord Clifford returned to his place, to prepare himself for another course, but sir Boucicaut did not again put on his helmet. Lord Clifford noticing this, resolved to perform a tilt with another knight, and sent his squire to touch the shield of the Lord de Saimpi. The lord de Saimpi being ready, sallied forth from his pavilion; they ran at each other with great force, met full, and lord Clifford broke his lance into three pieces against the target of his adversary. In return, the lord de Saimpi struck off his helmet, and both continued their career to their places. The lord Clifford tilted no more that day, for the spectators said he had honorably and valorously borne himself.

Sir Henry Beaumont‡ then came forward, and sent to have the target of sir Boucicaut touched, who was instantly ready to reply to the call, having not dismounted from the tilts with lord Clifford. The lord Beaumont did not manage his lance well, and hit Boucicaut on the side; but sir Boucicaut struck him so full on the middle of his shield that it drove him to the ground, and continued his course. Lord Beaumont was raised up by his attendants and remounted. The lord de Saimpi then presented himself, and they tilted two courses very handsomely without hurt to either.

Sir Peter Courtenay, who was anxious to engage and to run six lances, sent a squire to touch with a rod the three shields of war. This caused a good deal of surprise, and he was asked what were his intentions by so doing. He replied, that he wished to tilt with each of the French knights two lances, if no misfortune befel him, and he entreated they would comply with his request. They were ready to consent to it, and sir Reginald de Roye first offered himself. Having made themselves ready, they spurred their horses, and took good aim not to miss their stroke; but, from the restiveness of their horses, they failed. They were much vexed, and returned to their places. On the second course they met full gallop; and sir Reginald de Roye, having unhelmed his adversary, returned gently toward his pavilion, his two courses being completed. Sir Peter Courtenay being armed once more, the lord de Saimpi advanced, and their lances were broken at the first shock: they continued their course, when new lances were given them. They advanced toward each other furiously, and the lord de Saimpi hit sir Peter, whose horse swerved a little; but sir Peter struck of his helmet, and rode on at a gentle pace to his post. Sir Boucicaut now came to complete the two other courses; and at their onset they struck each other on the shield so rudely, that the two horses were suddenly checked in their career: no other damage ensued. At the second course, they were both unhelmed. When these six tilts were done, sir Peter requested, as a favor, to run one more with any of the three knights who pleased, but it was refused; and he was told, that he had done enough that day.

An English knight, called sir John Gouloufre, came forth, armed from head to foot, and sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Reginald de Roye. The knight obeyed the summons, and both advanced full gallop. They hit each other's helmets, but were neither unhelmed nor had their lances broken. Their horses refused to run the second course, to their great vexation. At the third tilt they struck their shields and broke their lances. They were supplied with others, and, from the swerving of their horses, passed their fourth career without striking a blow. The fifth lance was too well employed, for they were both unhelmed, and then each rode to his own party.

Sir John Rousseau,* an expert and valiant knight from England, but well known for his prowess in various countries, ordered his squire to touch the shield of the lord de Saimpi, who was already armed and mounted. On receiving his lance, he spurred his horse against the English knight, and the shock of their spears against the targets instantly forced them to stop. Each returned to his post, and it was not long before they commenced their second course with equal vigor: but when near, the horses swerved, which prevented their stroke. To their sorrow, they were thus obliged to return again to the end of the lists. They were more successful the third course; for they struck each other with such force, that the vizors of their helmets were broken off: the knights continued their career, and the Englishman tilted no more that day.

Sir Peter Shirborne, a young knight, but of good courage, sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut. The knight was ready to answer him, for he was armed and on horseback, leaning on his spear, to wait for an adventure. Perceiving himself called upon, he raised his spear, and looked to see what his adversary was about, and observing that he was handling his horse, did the same. When they began their course, they couched their spears, thinking to make sure blows; but they were disappointed, to their great vexation, by the swerving of their horses, which forced them to return to their posts. They determined to manage them better at their second tilt, and spurred them both so vigorously, they each struck the other on the vizor. Sir Boucicaut broke his lance, but not so the English knight; for he employed it with such force, that he not only unhelmed, but made the blood spout from his nose as he broke off the helmet of sir Boucicaut, who then retired to his pavilion: he tilted no more that day, for it was now nearly vespers. Sir Peter Shirborne, however, would not desist until he had completed his number of lances: he, in consequence, sent his squire to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who was prepared to meet him. The two knights spurred on violently against each other, and hit on the top of their helmets; but the lances slipt over, and they passed each other without hurt. The spectators said, had their spears been pointed lower, and the shields received the blows, one or both must have suffered severely from the shock. The next course they struck full on their targets, and broke their lances into three parts; but the blow of the lord de Saimpi was so strong, that the English knight lost his seat and fell to the ground, from whence, however, he instantly arose, and was led by his attendants from the lists. The lord de Saimpi returned to his post, viewing the state of his adversary, and showing his willingness to renew the tilt with him he had overthrown or with any other; but none came forward, as it was now time to leave off for this day, and return to their hôtels. The English, and such as had accompanied them, set off full gallop for Calais, where they remained that night enjoying themselves, and talking over the feats of arms that had been performed. The French retired to Saint Inglevere; and, if the English talked much of what had been done, you may readily suppose the French were not silent.

On Tuesday, after mass and drinking a cup, all those who intended to tilt, and those who wished to see them, left Calais, and rode in an orderly manner to where the lists had been held the preceding day. The French were already there, as was right, and prepared to receive them. The day was bright, clear, and sufficiently warm. The English drew up on one side, and armed those who were to tilt.

Sir William Clifton, a very valiant and expert knight, was the first who sent his squire to touch the shield of sir Boucicaut: the knight instantly came forth, armed completely for the tournament, mounted his horse, and grasped his lance. The two knights met full gallop, hitting each on the target, but passed on without anything more. The second course was very handsome: they met, and hit each on the helmet, the lances crossing. The third course they struck again their shields, and with such violence, that the horses were stopped. The fourth course with lances was gallantly performed, for they hit each other so strongly on the vizors of their helmets, they were driven off by the blow to different sides. The English knight tilted no more that day, for he was told he had done enough.

After this, sir Nicholas Clinton, a young English knight, sent to touch the target of the lord de Saimpi, who immedintely appeared ready armed and mounted. The two knights spurred their horses, bearing their spears in good array: when near, they struck their opponent's target with such violence that the steel remained fixed; and it is wonderful no other harm ensued, for they were both young, of good courage, and did not spare themselves. They neither fell nor were wounded, but their lances were shivered to pieces. They then passed on, each to his post. The second course was well tilted: they struck each on the helmets, but, as it was on the top, they did no damage, and passed on. At the third course with lances, the horses swerved, to their sorrow; and, at the fourth, the lord de Saimpi unhelmed the English knight, who returned to his countrymen and tilted no more, for they assured him he had behaved most valiantly, and that he must allow others to have their share.

When sir Nicholas Clinton was returned from the lists, a gallant knight of England, nearly related to the earl of Huntingdon, called

* I suppose this must be Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and earl-marshal: he was afterwards created duke of Norfolk. See Dugdale.

† Froissart calls him sir Louis de Clifford, but he was Thomas lord Clifford of Cumberland. See Dugdale.

‡ Lord Beaumont. See Dugdale.

* He is called before Roussel. In the MS. in the British Museum, Roussel.

William Seimort,* left his tent, and sent to touch the target of sir Reginald de Roye, who appeared to meet him. Each having taken his post, they vigorously spurred their horses, and gave such blows on their shields, that it was surprising they were not unhorsed; but both kept their seats, as they rode well. They passed on to their places; but the English knight let fall his lance, and sir Reginald bore his in handsome array.

The English knight having had his lance given to him, he placed it in its rest, and spurring his horse, intended to have done wonders. Indeed the blow would have been good if it had been straight, but, by the swerving of his horse, it was very weak; and I doubt if it were not, in some measure, the fault of the knight. Sir Reginald struck him such a blow on the shield, as made him bend backward, but they passed on without further hurt. Being prepared for the third course, they again spurred their horses and couched their lances, and hit each other so rudely on the helmets that the fire sparkled from them. They passed on, but from this blow their lances fell to the ground: persons were at hand to pick them up and give them to the knights. Having replaced the lances in their rests, they renewed the tilt, and, aiming well, struck each other on the vizors of their helmets so severely, that sir William Seimort was unhelmed and nearly thrown to the ground; but, though he staggered, he kept his seat. The English knight then went to his countrymen, and did nothing more that day.

A squire called Lancaster now stepped forth, and sent to touch the shield of sir Boucicaut. He was ready mounted to answer the call, and, having grasped his spear, they met most courageously: they struck their helmets, so as to make the fire fly from them, and it was astonishing they kept them on their heads. No harm being done, each returned to his post, where they made no long stay before they began their second course with great vigor, each hitting on his opponent's target: the horses swerved, which prevented this from being a handsome or effectual tilt; but this they could not help. At the third lance they met, and the blow was so well placed, that the Englishman was unhelmed, and passed on to his post bareheaded all but the scull-cap, and would not that day tilt more.

A young knight, whose name was sir John Tallboys, next made his appearance, completely armed, and sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi. That knight was ready for the tilt, and, having grasped his spear, stuck spurs into his horse: their first onset was so rough, their lances were shivered. The two knights passed each other without other damage, and were not long before they began their second course, having received new lances, of which there was a provision ready, all of the same length. From the fault of their horses, though they aimed well, they missed hitting; but the third course was well performed, for they unhelmed each other, and then each retired to his own party, and the English knight did nothing more that day.

Sir Godfrey de Seca next presented himself: he was a gallant knight, and showed, by his manner of riding and bearing his lance, that he was an able tilter, and desirous of renown. He sent his squire to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. That knight came forward instantly, as he was ready mounted, and, placing himself properly for the tilt, they both set off full gallop, and gave such blows on their targets, that though their spears, from their strength, did not break, they remained fastened to the shields, and by dint of hard pushing, the horses were checked: each knight returned to his post without losing his lance, but bearing it handsomely before him. Having placed them in their rests, they again spurred their horses, which were strong and active, but by their swerving, they missed their stroke and dropped their spears. Those near picked them up and returned them, and again they renewed the tilt; for they were heated, and seemed unwilling to spare each other. The English knight hit sir Reginald a severe blow on the top of his helmet, without otherwise damaging him; but sir Reginald gave him so strong a thrust on the target, (for at that time he was counted one of the stoutest tilters in France, and was smitten with love for a young lady that made all his affairs prosper,) it pierced through it as well as his left arm; the spear broke as it entered, the butt end falling to the ground, the other sticking in the shield, and the steel in the arm. The knight, however, did not for this fail to finish his course gallantly; but his companions came to him, and the broken spear and steel were extracted, the blood stanched, and the arm tied up. Sir Reginald returned to his friends, and there remained, leaning on another lance that had been given him. Sir Reginald was much praised by the French and English for this tilt; and no one said anything improper against him, on account of the Englishman being wounded, for such are the events of arms: to one they are fortunate, to another the reverse; and, to say the truth, they did not spare each other.

An English squire, called Blaquet,† then sent to strike the war-shield of the lord de Saimpi. When they were both ready, they spurred their horses, and hit on the helmets hard blows, though the points of their spears slipped off: on finishing their career, they lost their lances. When they were restored to them, they began their second course, but, by the fault of their horses, nothing was done. At the third onset, Blaquet gave the lord de Saimpi a hard blow on the helmet, but was struck by him much harder on the vizor, and unhelmed, with a force that broke the buckle which fastened it behind, and it fell on the ground. They finished their course, and the English squire went among his countrymen, not intending to tilt more that day. The lord de Saimpi remained gallantly on horseback, leaning on his spear, to wait until he should be again called upon.

Sir John Bolton, a gallant knight from England, shortly after this tilt was over, sent his squire to touch the shield of the lord de Saimpi, who, being prepared, entered the lists, his target on his neck and spear in hand. Each hit his adversary's shield, and it was surprising they were not pierced, for their lances were strong, and their heads well tempered; but they passed without further loss than of their spears, which fell to the ground. When they were picked up and given them, they again spurred their horses, and struck the helmets, but without effect, and continued their career. At the third course their horses crossed. The lord de Saimpi, at the fourth, unhelmed sir John Bolton, by a hard blow, and then the two knights returned to their friends.

Thomelin Messidon,* a young English knight, well and richly armed, with a great desire to gain honor, sent to touch the shield of sir Boucicaut. The knight instantly came forth, and, having grasped his lance, both spurred their horses; and each made his stroke by crossing under the helmet: they passed on without hurt or blame, but were not long before they spurred on again. In this course, they hit very roughly on the targets; Thomelin Messidon shivered his lance; but sir Boucicaut's blow was so severe, it drove his opponent over the crupper of his horse to the ground. Those of his party ran to raise him up, and carried him off, for he tilted no more that day.

Another squire of England, called Navarton,† instantly stepped forth, and sent to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, saying he would revenge his companion, whom he had struck to the ground in his presence. Boucicaut was ready to answer him, being armed and mounted, and leaning on his spear. They met full gallop, and hit each other on the vizors of their helmets, but passed on without other damage. Having had their helmets readjusted, and their lances given them, they again met with great violence, and from the shock of the blows on the targets, the horses were stopped, and the lances broken into three pieces, but they completed their course without any hurt. They had new spears given them; and at the third course sir Boucicaut was hit hard on the target, but he gave Navarton a blow that unhelmed him: he then withdrew to his countrymen, and tilted no more that day; for they said he had done sufficient, and had gained great applause.

After this, another squire advanced, called Sequaqueton,‡ an able man-at-arms and expert tilter. He sent to touch the shield of sir Reginald de Roye, who replied that he was prepared and mounted. They spurred their horses, and gave violent strokes on their targets, without sparing each other. Sequaqueton bore himself handsomely without falling, to the surprise of the spectators, for sir Reginald's blow made him bend backward almost on the crupper of his horse; but he raised himself, and gallantly finished his career with the loss only of his lance. Having received another, they ran the second tilt with great courage, and struck such blows on their helmets as made the fire fly from them. It was a handsome course, and no damage done. They repaired to their posts, and spurred again for the third time. In this tilt, Sequaqueton was severely unhelmed, and on the point of falling, both himself and horse, for he staggered considerably. The squire, when on his feet, returned to his companions and tilted no more: indeed, there was an end to the whole for the day, as it was now late. The English collected together and returned to Calais, as did the French to St. Inglevere.

You must know, though I have not before made mention of it, that king Charles of France was present at these justs. Being young, and desirous of witnessing extraordinary sights, he would have been much vexed if he had not seen these tournaments. He was therefore present at the early part and latter end of them, attended only by the lord de Garencieres; but both so disguised that nobody knew of it; and they returned every evening to Marquise.§

The ensuing day, Wednesday, was as fine as the foregoing; and the English, who had crossed the sea to take part in or view this tournament, mounted their horses, at the same hour as on the preceding day, and rode to the place appointed for the lists, to the delight of the French, who were rejoiced to see them. It was not long after their arrival when an English squire, a good tilter, called John Savage, squire of honor and of the body to the earl of Huntingdon, sent to touch the shield of sir Reginald de Roye. The knight answered, he was ready and willing to satisfy him. When he had mounted his horse, and had his helmet buckled and lance given to him, they set off full gallop, and gave such blows on the targets, that had the spears not broken, one or both must have fallen to the ground. This was handsome and dangerous; but the knights received no hurt, though the points of the lances passed through the targets, and slipped off their side-armor. The spears were broken about a foot from the shaft, the points remaining in the shields; and they gallantly bore the shafts before them, as they finished their career. The spectators

* Q. Seymour.—Ed.

† "Blaquet." Q. Blake.

* "Thomelin Messidon." It is Messiden in the MSS.

† Warneston.—Buchon.

‡ "Sequaqueton." Q. Swinnerton.

§ "Marquise"—a town in Picardy, five leagues from Calais, three and a half from Boulogne.

thought they must have been seriously wounded; and the French and English hastened each to their companion, whom, to their joy, they found unhurt. They were told they had done enough for that day: but John Savage was not satisfied, and said that he had not crossed the sea for only one tilt with a lance. This was repeated to sir Reginald, who replied: "He is in the right; and it is but just that he should be gratified, either by me or one of my companions." When they had rested themselves a while, and received new lances, they began their second course, each aiming well at the other; but they failed from the swerving of their horses, to their great vexation, and returned to their posts. Their lances, which had been accidentally dropped, were given to them, and they set off on their third course. This time they hit on the vizors of their helmets; and, by the force and crossing of their lances, both were unhelmed as they passed. The tilt was much applauded for its correctness and vigor. When they returned to their posts, the English told John Savage, that he had very honorably performed, and that it was now time for him to make way for others to tilt as well as himself. He complied with this, and, laying aside his lance and target, dismounted, and rode on a hackney to witness the performances of others.

An English squire, named William Basquenay, cousin to the earl-marshal, came forth fully armed for the occasion, and sent to have the war-shield of sir Boucicaut stricken. The knight instantly made his appearance at the end of the lists, and each galloped toward the other as straight as they could. They struck their helmets gallantly; and the blow was so effectual on the vizors that they were both unhelmed, and continued their course without further hurt. Their friends, who were near, readjusted their armor; and, giving them their spears, they commenced their second course by desperate strokes on their targets; but, the lances breaking, no harm was done, and they continued their career. They were supplied with new lances, that were stout and good; but, from the fault of their horses, they missed their strokes. At the fourth lance, they hit; and William Basquenay was unhelmed a second time, and then returned to his companions, not tilting more that day.

A squire from England, whose name was John Scot, sent to have the war-shield of the lord de Saimpi touched. He immediately appeared, and at their onset they gave such blows on their targets as stopped their horses; but, their lances being strong, they neither broke nor fell out of their hands. The second course was well performed: the lord de Saimpi hit his adversary; but Scot had more success in unhelming him, for which he was much applauded by his countrymen. The lord de Saimpi was soon rehelmed; and, grasping his spear, they spurred against each other with great violence. They placed their blows on their targets, but with a force that drove John Scot out of his saddle to the ground, and thus did the lord de Saimpi revenge himself. The squire was raised, and carried off by his companions.

Bernard Stapleton, an English squire, sent to strike the lord de Saimpi's shield, who was not dismounted from his last tilt. They met, and hit each other on the helmets so forcibly as to make the sparks fly from them; but they passed on without hurt and returned to their posts. Still grasping their spears, they couched them, and at this second course, struck very severe blows on their targets; but kept their seats well, without falling or staggering, to the end of their career. The third lance struck the helmets, and both were unhelmed. The English squire retired from the lists, as his friends told him he had acquitted himself with honor.

The next that presented himself, was a young gay knight from England, who shone in tournaments, in dancing, and in singing, called sir John Arundel. He sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Reginald de Roye The knight replied, that he wished for nothing more agreeable than to tilt with him. Having received their spears, they galloped off at the same moment, and gave and received hard blows on their shields; but they kept their seats handsomely, and continued their career. Their lances having fallen from their hands, were restored to them by those appointed for that purpose; and they began their second course with blows on the helmets that made the fire fly, but they passed on without further hurt. At the third onset, the horses swerved; and the knights in their attempt to strike, lost their lances, and with difficulty recovered themselves. At the fourth they struck the helmets, but without harm or unhelming. At the fifth course, they hit each other on the target, and broke their lances, without any other damage. Sir John Arundel completed his career, and returned to his friends.

After this, Nicholas Stone, an English squire, sent to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut. The knight seizing his lance, they spurred against each other and hit on the helmets; but the spears slipped off, and they passed unhurt. Holding still their lances in the rests, they set off again, and hit so hard on the targets, that the horses staggered with the shock, and the knights dropped their spears. When they had received their lances, they again galloped off full speed, and their blows on the helmets were effectual: at least the English squire lost his helmet and retired, for his friends said he had done enough.

Another squire from England, called John Marshal, advanced to the lists, completely armed, and sent to touch the war-target of sir Boucicaut, who replied, he was ready, and waiting to be called upon. At their first course they hit each other on the targets, but the lances fell to the ground, and they returned to their stations without other damage. On their being restored, they continued their tilt, and struck hard blows on the helmets without anything more, and pursued their career, bearing their lances handsomely before them. When they had rested a little, they considered how they could best annoy each other, and, having aimed well, spurred on their horses. John Marshal gave such a thrust on Boucicaut's shield that his lance was broken to the stump, and Boucicaut's blow unhelmed his opponent, and drove him on the crupper of his horse. The squire, notwithstanding, completed his course without falling, and then went to his companions, who said he ought now to be satisfied, for that he had well performed.

When the squire had withdrawn, a young and frisky knight advanced, who was eager to gain renown. His name was sir John Cliseton,* and he bore for arms a field argent, fretted azure, with a mullet argent in chief. He sent his squire to touch the war-shield of sir Reginald de Roye, who was much pleased at the summons. Having taken their stations and received their lances, they spurred their horses and hit each other full on the helmets, but passed and completed their career. They kept their lances in their rests, and were not long before they commenced the second course, in which they gave heavy thrusts on their shields, but without any loss, except of their spears, which fell to the ground. Having received their lances, they hit each other, on the third course, such blows on the tops of the helmets as made the fire fly. At the fourth course their horses swerved, to their great disappointment. The fifth was well performed, for each broke his lance. The two knights grew warm, and plainly showed they were desirous of trying each other's valor to the utmost. When at their stations they had fresh lances given them, that were stiff enough; and, after a short delay, they again spurred their horses, and laid in such blows on the helmets that both were unhelmed. This course was greatly praised by all present, and when they had completed their career, they returned to their countrymen; for the English knight tilted no more that day.

When this was finished, a squire from England, called Roger Lamb, whose arms were a cross gules, on a field argent and sable quartered, came forward, handsomely equipped, and gayly sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi. The knight instantly obeyed the call, and by his alacrity showed he preferred tilting to remaining idle. On the first onset, they checked their horses, by the force of their blows on their shields; but the lances, being strong, did not break, and they continued their course. On the second tilt, they hit the helmets hard enough; but, as the points of their lances grazed off, no harm was done. Roger Lamb was unhelmed at the third course, and returned to his countrymen without doing more that day.

After this, a gallant knight from that part of Hainault called Ostrevant, a good man-at-arms and able tilter, offered himself. He had been educated in England at the court of king Edward, and his name was sir John d'Ambreticourt, and brother to that excellent knight, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt. He bore for his arms ermine two bars humetty gules, each charged with three escallop shells argent. The knight was well equipped for the tournament, and sent one of his squires to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. Having taken their stations, they eyed each other well, and spurring their horses, gave such blows on the shields as made sparks of fire fly from them, and the horses to bend under them. The tilt was handsome, for no harm was done, and they continued the career. They were not long before they ran their second course, and again hit on the shields. It was wonderful that this was not attended with mischief, for they were both strong and courageous tilters, fearless of death or danger. The shock of this attack was so great that their horses were forced on their haunches, and the two knights staggered. Nevertheless, they continued their career, but with the loss of their lances. Having received their lances, they ran their third course, and sir John d'Ambreticourt unhelmed sir Reginald de Roye so as to injure him very considerably, and to terminate his career. Sir Reginald went to his party, and plainly showed he would not tilt more that day. When sir John d'Ambreticourt perceived this, as he had a great delight in tilting, he sent to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, who instantly advanced to the lists. Having had his target buckled on, and placed his spear in the rest, they spurred against each other, and gave such blows on the shields that it was surprising they were not pierced through; but this might be owing to the swerving of the horses. When returned to their stations, they did not remain long before they commenced their second course with vigor, and hit each other hard on the helmets; but the spears slipped off, and they continued their career. The knights having lost their spears, they were brought to them by their squires, and they renewed the tilt. This time they were both very severely unhelmed, and gallantly finished their course.

The English now collected together, as evening was approaching, and returned to Calais, where they passed the night in talking over the different feats of arms that had been that day performed. The French amused themselves in like manner at Saint Inglevere. On Thursday morning, the fourth day of the tournament, the English found that there were yet many knights and squires who had not entered the lists, and who had purposely come from England; they therefore said, that all who had any intentions to tilt should do so,

* "Sir John Cliseton." Q. Clifton.

otherwise they would not be handsomely treated. The lords of England had agreed to return to Saint Inglevere on the Thursday, for those who pleased to perform their justs: in consequence, they left Calais after mass, and, on arriving at the lists, found the three French knights ready in their pavilions to answer all who might call on them, attended by those that were to serve them and such as came to witness the deeds of arms.

An English knight, called sir Godfrey d'Estas,* was the first who entered the lists: he bore for arms a lion sable on a field or, with three bars gules, and charged with a mullet or, on the dexter paw of a lion, and was completely and gayly armed. He sent a squire to touch the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, who instantly advanced from his pavilion prepared to obey the summons. Having received their spears and bucklers and eyed each other for a short time, they spurred on their horses, and both struck violent blows on the helmets; but, as the points of their lances slipped off, they continued their course to their stations. Keeping the lances in the rests, they recommenced the tilt, and met with such force on their bucklers, that had not their spears broken, much mischief might have ensued. When they had rested a while and had new lances, they ran a third course with great violence, and hit the vizors so fairly and well that both were unhelmed; they continued their career, and then retired to their own people. The English knight did nothing more this day, for he was told that he had performed well, and must give way to others.

Alain Bourch,† an able and expert English squire, sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who came from his pavilion in obedience to the call. They gave blows on their helmets at the first onset, that made the fire sparkle, but no other harm was done. At the second tilt, their lances met on their bucklers with such force as shivered them in pieces, but they continued their career unhurt. They were quickly supplied with new lances; and, spurring on the third time, they placed their thrusts so well and strong that they were both unhelmed, and completed their course: the Englishman retired to his countrymen, to allow others to show their skill and valor.

An English squire, called John Storp,‡ sent to touch the target of sir Boucicaut, who issued forth out of his pavilion, and his horse being ready, mounted him and entered the lists. They failed in their first course, from the fault of their horses. When they returned to their stations, they were not long before they ran the second; and, although they gave each other severe blows on the helmet, no mischief ensued. At the third course, John Storp was forcibly struck to the ground; whence he was raised by his friends and did no more that day.

A Bohemian knight now advanced, who was of the household of the queen of England, called sir Herchauce. He was esteemed a strong and expert tilter, and bore for his arms three griffins' feet sable on a shield argent onglé with azure. When he entered the lists, he was asked which of the three knights he wished to tilt with: he replied, "With Boucicaut." On this an English squire was sent, according to the regulations, to touch sir Boucicaut's war-target. The knight, having kept himself prepared for any summons, left his pavilion, and having fastened his buckler and grasped his lance, entered the lists. His opponent was then ready to meet him; and spurring their horses, they thought to give full strokes; but it was not so, from the ill conduct of the Bohemian knight, for which he was greatly blamed. He had, out of the line of tilting, hit sir Boucicaut on the helmet, and continued his career: for this impropriety, of which the English saw him guilty, he had forfeited his arms and horse, should the French insist upon them. The French and English held a long conversation on this ill-placed stroke; but at last the French knights pardoned it, the better to please the English. Herchauce begged, as a favor, that he might be permitted to run only one course more. On being asked "With which of the three knights?" he sent to touch the target of sir Reginald de Roye. That knight was waiting in his pavilion, not having tilted that day, and declared his willingness to accommodate sir Herchauce, since his request had been granted. Sir Reginald mounted his horse, and having had his buckler fastened, and his lance given him, he eyed his opponent, that he might well point his stroke. Both spurred their horses at the same moment, and hit on the shields; but sir Reginald (who was one of the firmest and best tilters in France,) thrust with such force as made the Bohemian fly out of his saddle, and fall so so severely on the ground that the spectators imagined that he was killed. Sir Reginald continued his course to his own station. Sir Herchauce was raised with much difficulty by his attendants, and carried to the English, who were well pleased at what had happened to him, for the uncourteous manner in which he had run his first course. He had not any desire to tilt more that day.

The next who came forward was Robin Seorneborne,§ an able and gay squire from England. He sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who was ready mounted and prepared to answer him. At their first course they hit their helmets, and continued their career. At the next, they struck their bucklers, but unsuccessfully, as before, excepting the loss of their lances. Having recovered them again, they, on the third onset, placed their thrusts so ably and forcibly on the visors, that both were unhelmed, and finished their course. The English squire returned to his companions, and was idle during the rest of the day.

Another English squire, called John Merlan, now advanced. He bore for arms a bend sable on a field argent, charged with three lion-heads sable, and sent to touch the war-target of sir Reginald de Roye. The knight answered, he was at his service. Having entered the lists, they at the first onset gave violent blows on the helmets, but without any effect, and, by firmly holding their lances, returned to their stations without loss of any kind. The second course, their spears met on their bucklers, and the horses were checked; having thrown down their lances, they continued their career, each to his station, and made ready to tilt well the third lance. When their spears had been given them, they set off full gallop, and sir Reginald hit sir John Merlan a blow on his buckler, which forced him out of the saddle to the ground. He continued his course to his station, and the Englishman was raised and carried to his countrymen.

John Mouton, another squire from England, next offered himself. He bore for arms a chevron sable on a field gules, three pierced mullets or, with an indented bordure sable, and sent to strike the war-shield of sir Boucicaut, who replied, he was always ready to tilt. Their strokes met on their bucklers, but without damage. It was not their fault, for the blows were well placed, and they gallantly passed, bearing their lances before them, to their stations. They were not long before they commenced their second tilt, and hit very severely on the helmets, but without loss, excepting their lances, and returned to their posts. Those who were appointed to gather the lances that fell, instantly presented them to the knights, who renewed the tilt; but at the third course sir Boucicaut unhelmed John Mouton, who retired to his companions.

A very handsome knight from England now came forth: he was well armed at all points, and kept an excellent position on his horse, and was called sir Jaquemin Strop.* He sent to touch the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who being mounted and armed before his pavilion, advanced to the lists. At their first course they missed their stroke, from their horses' running out of the line, which vexed them much. They were not long before they again set off full gallop, and, when they met, gave such blows on the helmets as made them strike fire: they passed on without loss but of their spears. As soon as they were returned to their stations, their lances were brought them, and after a short delay, they began their third course. They both hit with great force on the bucklers: but sir James Scrope's lance broke, while sir Reginald unhorsed his opponent and continued his career. Sir James was raised from the ground by his attendants, and did no more that day.

Another English knight, called sir William Masquelee, was ready to enter the lists, and to engage with whoever pleased; for he had crossed the sea with the earl of Huntingdon in this view. He sent to touch the war-target of sir Boucicaut, who had his buckler fastened, and instantly advanced to meet his adversary. They both at the same moment spurred their horses, which were fresh and eager to begin the course; for the very instant they felt the points, they bounded forward. The two knights took good aim, and mutually gave such strokes on their helmets that fire sparkled from them: and, though the points of the lances slipped off, the tilt was much praised by all present. They continued their career to their different stations, but did not make any long stay before they again spurred their horses and couched their spears, for they did not drop them, and met with such violence, that their lances must have pierced the bucklers, if the horses had not swerved. They finished their course, throwing down their lances, and completed their career like good tilters, in excellent array to their posts. Having received their spears, they set off as fast as their horses could carry them, and, on their meeting, hit the vizors of the helmets severely. The tilt was loudly applauded, for they were both unhelmed, and bareheaded all but the scull-caps: they finished their career, and then returned to their friends, for they had excellently performed.

An English squire called Nicholas Lamb, well and elegantly armed, advanced, having a great desire to try his skill in arms. He sent to strike the war-target of the lord de Saimpi, who was already mounted and armed, in front of his pavilion, with his buckler on his breast, blazoned with his arms. He grasped his spear, and flew to the lists with the eagerness of a hawk to seize his prey. The English squire did the same, and, setting off at full speed, they gave such blows on their bucklers, that their lances were shivered: it was fortunate they broke, or the knights must have been greatly hurt, or unhorsed, but they kept their seats firmly. When returned to their stations, they were supplied with new lances, and with th[illegible]
made the fire fly from their helmets: no o[illegible]
the spears had crossed, and they continue
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the points of the lances entered: bc
that the lacings burst, and the helme

* "Sir Godfrey d'Estas." Enstace.
† "Alain Bourch." Q. Birch. Lord Berners calls him Aleyne Borrowe.
‡ "John Storp." Lord Berners—Scrope.
§ "Robin Seorneborne." Q. Sherburn, or Shuburn.

* "Sir Jaquemin Strop

horses on the field. The knights kept their seats and completed their course in handsome array, and returned to their countrymen.

The tournament was now at an end, for no more tilters appeared on the part of the English. The earl of Huntingdon, the earl-marshal, the lord Clifford, the lord Beaumont,* sir John Clifton, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Peter Sherburne, and all those knights who had tilted the preceding days, then waited in a body on the French knights, and thanked them warmly for the amusements they had given them. They said, "All the knights who have accompanied us having now tilted, we take our leave of you, and return to Calais on our way to England. We know well that whoever may wish to try their skill in arms will find you here for thirty days, according to your proclamation. On our return to England, we shall loudly speak of your gallantry, and tell all those who may inquire of these deeds of arms to come and witness them in person." "Many thanks," replied the three knights: "they shall be made welcome, and delivered by deeds of arms as you have been; and we desire you will accept our best acknowledgments for the courtesy you have shown us."

In such friendly manner did the English and French knights separate, in the plain of St. Inglevere: the first took the road to Calais, but made no long stay; for on the Saturday morning they embarked on board passage-boats, and landed at Dover about mid-day, when each retired to his inn. They stayed the whole of Saturday, and Sunday until after mass, at Dover; where having refreshed themselves and their horses, they continued their journey to Rochester, and there lay that night: on the morrow they arrived at London, when they separated, and each returned to his home. The three French knights before named, kept their engagements valiantly at St. Inglevere. When the English knights were gone, the king of France and the lord de Garencieres, who had witnessed the tournament in disguise, returned to their inn at Marquise; and on the morrow, at break of day, they set out for Paris, and never ceased riding until they came to Creil† on the river Oise, where at that time the queen of France resided. Scarcely any one knew that the king was present at these tilts, but his confidential valets-de-chambre.

From the time the English left Calais, I never heard that any others came from England to Inglevere to try their skill in arms. The three knights, however, remained there until the thirty days were fully accomplished, and then leisurely returned each to his home. When they waited on the king of France, the duke of Touraine, and other lords at Paris, they were most handsomely received. Indeed, they were entitled to such reception, for they had gallantly behaved themselves, and well supported the honor of the king and of the realm of France.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DUKE OF BOURBON IS APPOINTED CHIEF OF AN EXPEDITION TO AFRICA, THAT IS UNDERTAKEN BY SEVERAL KNIGHTS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND AT THE SOLICITATION OF THE GENOESE.

I HAVE delayed, for a long time, speaking of a grand and noble enterprise that was undertaken by some knights of France, England and other countries, against the kingdom of Barbary. I wish not to forget nor to defer it; but, as I had begun on the tilts at St. Inglevere, I was desirous to complete that account. Since that is done, I will return to other subjects, and refresh my memory accordingly; for such events as I have to relate are greatly amusing, and, if I had not taken pleasure in inditing them, I should never have succeeded. The text of the subject I mean to proceed on says, that about this time the Genoese were reported throughout France and other countries, to be desirous of raising a large army to invade Barbary; and that all knights, squires or men-at-arms, who would engage in this expedition, should be supplied with such purveyances as biscuit, fresh water, vinegar, and vessels and galleys to transport them thither.

The cause of their forming this armament was, that the Africans had attacked the country of Genoa, plundering the Islands belonging to them, and carrying off such from the coasts of Genoa as were not on their guard, by which they were kept under continual alarms. They possessed also a town, situated on the sea-shore of Barbary, which is beyond measure strong, and called Africa,‡ surrounded with high walls, gates and deep ditches. Like as the strong town of Calais is the key to France and Flanders, and whoever is master of it may at all times enter those countries, and from thence may be sent a powerful force by sea, to do mischief to their neighbors; just so is the town of Africa the stronghold of the inhabitants of Barbary, Bugia and Tunis, and other infidel countries. The Genoese, who are rich merchants, bore great hatred to this town; for its corsairs frequently watched them at sea, and when strongest, fell on and plundered their spoils to this town of Africa, which was a place of deposit, and may be called their

nd to such conduct, and satisfy the com-

plaints of their subjects, that were daily made to them from the island of Albe,* Isja,† Guerse,‡ Buscan,§ Gorgennen,‖ and from the coast as far as the gulf of Lyons to the islands of Sardonne,¶ Finesse,** and even from the island of Majorca,†† determined to make their situation known to the court of France, and to offer to such knights as would undertake an expedition against the infidels, vessels of provision, with a passage thither and back free of all costs, provided that one of the king's uncles, or his brother the duke of Touraine (who, being young, ought to labor to gain renown,) would take the chief command. They likewise offered the aid of pilgrims, from foreign parts to assist them, twelve thousand select Genoese cross-bows, and eight thousand infantry armed with spears and shields, all at their expense. They imagined, that as now there was a truce between France, England and their allies, their knights would, from having nothing to do, be glad to join in this warfare, and that they should have numbers of them from those kingdoms.

When this intelligence was first brought to the French knights, they were much rejoiced, in hope of gaining honor; and the embassadors from Genoa were told they should not return without their business being attended to, and succor afforded them, for their anxiety to extend the Christian faith was very praiseworthy. They waited at Paris, while it was under deliberation of the council who should be appointed commander-in-chief. The duke of Touraine offered his services to the king and council; but they, as well as the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, remonstrated, that this command was not fit for him. They considered, that as the Genoese insisted on the king's brother, or one of his uncles, taking the command, the duke of Bourbon would be the most proper person, and that he should have for his second the lord de Coucy. The Genoese embassadors, having received a favorable answer from the king, and certain assurances of being assisted with knights and men-at-arms from France, under the command of the duke of Bourbon, in the course of the year, were greatly contented. They took leave of the king, and returned to their own country, to relate the good news, and make preparations accordingly.

Reports of an invasion of Barbary were soon spread throughout France: to some knights and squires it was agreeable, to others the contrary; all who were desirous of going thither could not, as it would have been at their own charges, for no lord paid for any but those of his own household. It was also ordered, that no one from France should make part of this expedition but such as had the king's leave: for the council wished not the realm to be void of defence, and the Genoese were expressly bound not to suffer any servants to embark, but solely such as were gentlemen, and who could be depended upon. It was, besides, meant as a compliment to the knights and squires of other nations who might wish to join in the enterprise. This regulation gave pleasure to all foreign knights who heard of it. The duke of Bourbon, having accepted the command, sent his servants to Genoa, where they were to embark, to make the necessary preparations for him and his household. The gallant count d'Auvergne, who was likewise of the expedition, did the same. The lord de Coucy, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir John de Vienne, and all the great barons and knights of France who had obtained leave to make part of this army, were not behind-hand in sending thither purveyances suitable to their state. The lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, sir Philip de Bar, the lord de Harcourt, sir Henry d'Antoing, did so likewise. From Brittany and Normandy many great lords made preparations for this expedition to Barbary, as well as from Hainault: among the last, were the lord de Ligne and the lord de Havreth. Several knights came from Flanders; and the duke of Lancaster had a bastard son, called Henry de Beaufort, whom, through devotion, he sent thither. He had him well accompanied by many knights and squires of rank in England.

The count de Foix was unwilling his bastard son, Evan of Foix, should remain behind, and had him properly attended by knights and squires, as he wished him to keep his state grandly. Every one had taken care to send beforehand all he should want; and those at the greatest distance from Genoa, left their countries the middle of May, but it was about a month before all were assembled. The Genoese were well pleased on their arrival, and made handsome and rich presents to the chiefs, the better to secure their affections. As the knights arrived, they were posted adjoining each other, and, on being mustered by the marshals, amounted to fourteen hundred knights and squires. They were embarked on board of ships and galleys, that had been properly equipped for the voyage, on Saint John Baptist's day, in the year of grace 1390.

It was a beautiful sight to view this fleet, with the emblazoned banners of the different lords glittering in the sun and fluttering in the wind: and to hear the minstrels and other musicians sounding their pipes, clarions and trumpets, whose sounds were reëchoed back by the sea. When all were embarked, they cast anchor, and remained that night at the mouth of the harbor; but the servants and horses were left behind on shore. A horse worth fifty francs was on their embarkation sold for ten, as many of the knights and squires were uncertain when, or if ever, they should return, and the keep of

ys his name was John, instead of Henry, as

ues and a half from Paris.

ry, seventy miles distant from Tunis. It was the command of the emperor Charles V. and

* "Albe." Q. Elba. † "Isja." Q. Ischia. ‡ "Guerse." Q. Corsica.
§ "Buscan." Q. ‖ "Gorgennen." Q. Gorgona.
¶ "Sardonne." Q. Sardinia. ** "Finesse." Q.
†† "Majorca," &c. belonged to the king of Arragon.

five horses at Genoa was upward of a franc a day: they therefore, on departing, made of them what money they could, but it was little enough.

There were about three hundred galleys to transport the men-at-arms and archers, and upward of one hundred vessels for the purveyances and other necessaries. On the morrow, at daybreak, they weighed anchor, and rowed coastwise that and the succeeding night. The third day, they made Port-fino, where they lay that night: at

ENGLISH AND FRENCH KNIGHTS UNDER THE DUKE OF BOURBON ON THEIR VOYAGE TO AFRICA. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth century.

sunrise, they rowed to Porto-Venere, and again cast anchor. The ensuing morning they weighed and took to the deep, putting themselves under the protection of God and St. George. When they had passed the island of Elba, they encountered a violent tempest, which drove them back by Gorgona, Sardinia and Corsica, into the gulf of Lyons, a position always dangerous; but they could not avoid it, for the tempest was so violent, that the ablest mariner could not do anything to prevent their running the utmost risk of destruction: they waited therefore the will of God. This storm lasted a day and night, and dispersed the fleet. When the weather became calm and the sea tranquil, the pilots, who were acquainted with those seas, steered as directly as they could for the island of Commeres,* which is but thirty miles from the town of Africa, whither they bent their course. The masters of the vessels had held a council before they entered the gulf of Lyons, and determined, that should they part company, they would rendezvous at the island of Commeres, and wait there until they were all assembled. This plan was adopted; and it was upward of nine days before all were collected, so much had they been scattered.

The island of Commeres, though not large, is very pleasant. The lords there refreshed themselves, and praised God for having all met again without essential loss or damage. When on the eve of departure, the French lords, who took the lead, held a council on their future proceedings, as they were now so near the port of Africa. We will for a while leave this expedition, and speak of events that happened in France, more particularly in Auvergne.

CHAPTER XV.

AYMERIGOT MARCEL, CAPTAIN OF THE PILLAGING COMPANIES, HAVING FORTIFIED LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS ON THE BORDERS OF LIMOUSIN AND AUVERGNE, IS BESIEGED BY THE VISCOUNT DE MEAUX, BY COMMAND OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

DURING the time of the assembly of this body of men-at-arms in France, for the expedition to extend the Christian faith, and gain renown, there were another sort of men-at-arms wholly given up to plunder, in Limousin, Auvergne, and Rouergue, who, in spite of the truce, were continually doing mischief to these countries, which thought themselves in security. The king of France had caused the truce to be publicly notified to the captains of the freebooters, particularly to Perrot le Béarnois, governor of Chaluçet, Aymerigot Marcel, Olim Barbe, captain of Donzac in Auvergne, who were personally named in the act, and were assured, that if the truce were in the smallest degree infringed, those guilty of it should be corporally punished, without hope of mercy. This was done, that there might not be any excuses made from ignorance of the treaty. Some of the captains, fearful of a disgraceful death, or of incurring the king's indignation, kept the peace very well. Others did not, for which they paid severely, as you will hear in the continuation of this history.

You have before found it related in the course of these Chronicles, indited and arranged by me, sir John Froissart, treasurer and canon of Chimay, how peace had been agreed on with many of the captains of castles in Auvergne, Limousin, Rouergue, and Cahorsin, by the mediation of John count d'Armagnac, and Berald dauphin of Auvergne, to whom they had surrendered their castles for different sums of money. The captains were also, by these treaties, bound to renounce, during the truce, the continuance of the warfare in France, and to accompany the count d'Armagnac to Lombardy, or whither else he might lead them. He was desirous to employ them in a war he was meditating against the lord Galeas de Visconti, count de Vertus, for having disinherited his cousins-german, the sons of his late uncle the lord Barnabo, as has been before mentioned.

The count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne had labored hard to gain over these captains, that the country might be at peace; and for this end a large sum had been raised in Auvergne, Gevaudan, Rouergue, Cahorsin and Limousin, to the amount of two hundred thousand francs. This tax pressed so hard on rich and poor, that many were forced to sell their inheritance to obtain peace. They imagined, that having paid such sums, they should remain unmolested by these robbers; but it was not so in many places, more especially in those parts where Aymerigot Marcel had his garrison. Notwithstanding the fact that he had surrendered, by capitulation, his castle of Aloise, which is situated in the heart of Auvergne, to the count d'Armagnac, he continued to do much mischief to the inhabitants. Aymerigot was so rich as to be able to pay down, if necessary, for his ransom, one hundred thousand francs, which he had gained by plunder during ten years that he had carried on this trade. The count d'Armagnac was anxious to have Aymerigot among his followers to Lombardy for two reasons: one was, to have his advice, as in everything relative to war he was subtle and enterprising, and very able respecting the escalade of forts, and the mode of war to be carried on: he therefore caused him to be told how desirous he was of his company, and that he would be a great gainer if he would join him. The other reason of his wish was, that if Aymerigot should remain behind, although he had sold Aloise, he might still do great harm to that country.

Aymerigot dissembled in his negotiations with the count, and said to those sent to him, "When I shall witness the departure of the count d'Armagnac to Lombardy, and see for certain that he is in earnest, I do not think, from the inclination I feel toward him, that I shall remain behind." This was the only answer that could be obtained from him. The count d'Armagnac resided in Comminges and in the Toulousain, making his preparations and collecting men-at-arms. He would have hastened his expedition, if that to Africa had not interfered; but that delayed it for some little time, for many knights and squires who were gone thither had promised him their assistance, as soon as he should begin his march. The suddenness of the invasion of Barbary deranged his plans, and likewise induced the more speedy capitulations with the captains of the free companies.

Aymerigot Marcel was much vexed that he had sold his castle of Aloise, near St. Flour,* for his importance was lost, and he was less feared. During the time he held it against the whole force of the country, he was dreaded and respected by his companions in arms. He kept it always in good repair, and well provisioned; for his compositions with the country round amounted to twenty thousand florins yearly. He was quite melancholy when he thought of his reduced state, and would not diminish his treasure, which he had gained by his robberies, now the means of increasing it were closed. He said to himself, that he heartily repented what he had done, because in his opinion the pillaging life he had led, taking all things into consideration, was not to be despised. At times, he conversed on this subject with his former companions, and said, "There is no pleasure nor glory in this world like what men-at-arms, such as ourselves, enjoyed. How happy were we, when riding out in search of adventures, we met a rich abbot, a merchant, or a string of mules, well laden with draperies, furs, or spices, from Montpellier, Beziers, or

* "Commeres." This island is called Coumbres and Commeres, in the printed and MS. editions. I suppose it must mean Comino or Cumin, Cuminum, and formerly Hephestia, a small island in the Mediterranean, between Gozo and Malta, belonging to the knights of Malta.—BAUDRAN.

* "Saint Flour."—a town in Auvergne, 22 leagues from Clermont-ferrand, 25 from Riom.

other places. All was our own, or at least ransomed according to our will. Every day we gained money. The peasants of Auvergne and Limousin loved us, and provided our castle with corn, meal, baked bread, litter for our horses, oats, hay, good wine, fat beeves, sheep, and all sorts of poultry: we lived like kings; and when we went abroad, the country trembled: everything was ours, both in going and returning. How did I and the bourg Copane take Carlat? and how did I and Perrot le Béarnois win Chaluçet? How did we, you and I, without other assistance, scale the strong castle of Marquel, that belongs to the count-dauphin? I only kept it five days, and was paid down on a table five thousand francs for it, of which I gave back one thousand, from love to the count's children. By my troth, this was a profitable and pleasant life, and I feel myself much reduced by selling Aloise, which was strong enough to resist any force that could be brought against it; and was besides, at the time of my surrendering, so plentifully stored with provisions and other necessaries, that it would not have needed anything for seven years to come. I consider myself, therefore, as deceived by this count d'Armagnac: indeed, Olim Barbe and Perrot le Béarnois forewarned me that I should repent when too late, and I now find their words very true, for I most certainly do repent having parted with this castle."

When his companions, who were now poor, thus heard Aymerigot complain, and perceived he was in earnest, they replied, "Aymerigot, we are ready to obey your commands. Let us renew the war, and consider what strong place we may seize on in Auvergne or Limousin, and fortify it. We shall soon recover our losses, and have full scope for pillaging, as the count-dauphin and his brother Hugh are now out of the country, with many other knights and squires, on the expedition to Barbary; and in particular the lord de Coucy, who is lieutenant for the king over all these parts, is now likewise absent on this same expedition. We need not therefore fear him, nor the duke of Berry, who is at Paris, and has been so some time amusing himself." "I know not well how to act," said Aymerigot; "for though I am well inclined to follow what you advise, yet as I am personally named in the treaties, I am particularly pointed at." "Ah," answered his companions, "that need not make any difference, if you be willing. You are no vassal to the king of France, and therefore owe him neither homage nor obedience. You are the king of England's man, and your inheritance, which is now destroyed, was in Limousin. We make war to obtain a livelihood, for we must live, and the English will never be displeased with us for so doing. All who wish for gain will join us; and I think we may show a sufficient cause for making war, by declaring we have not been paid the compositions that are due to us from Auvergne. Let us send, therefore, to the peasants of different villages (taking care, however, to be strong enough to enforce our orders,) and tell them, that unless they compound with us, we will make war on them." "Well, be it so," replied Aymerigot; "but where can we at this moment fix our place of residence?" Some of them said, "We know of a fort that is dismantled, belonging to the lord de la Tour, which no one guards. Let us go thither, and repair and strengthen it; and, when this is done, we will garrison it, and overrun at our pleasure Limousin and Auvergne." "And where is this fort situated?" asked Aymerigot. "One league from la Tour," answered those who were acquainted with it, and had well examined its situation: "it is called La Roche de Vendais." "On my faith, you say well: it is the very place for us," replied Aymerigot; "and, although the lands are now separated from its dependence, it is a mesne fief of Limoges. We will go and look at it, and, if worth while, take possession and fortify it."

Having determined on this, they all went to La Roche de Vendais, examined its strength minutely, and were more pleased with it than before: they instantly took possession, and by degrees fortified the place before they made any excursions or did harm to the country. When they had made it sufficiently strong to withstand an attack or siege, and the companions were all mounted, they began to overrun the more immediate neighborhood, to make prisoners and ransom them. They laid in stores of flesh, meal, wax, wine, salt, iron, steel, and other necessaries; for nothing came amiss to them that was not too hot or too heavy.

The inhabitants of the country were much astonished at this, for they thought themselves in perfect security on account of the truce between the two kings; but these robbers seized whatever they pleased in their houses, or in the fields, calling themselves the Adventurers. The lord de la Tour had his town and castle well guarded, for he was not well pleased to have such neighbors a league from his residence. The dauphiness of Auvergne, a valiant lady and of great prudence, who lived with her children in the strong castle of the good town of Sardes, situated on the river Evoque, did not think herself in safety when she heard that Aymerigot and his band had fortified themselves within La Roche de Vendais. She instantly ordered the garrisons of her castles of Marquel, Ondable, Chillac, and Blere, to be reinforced with men-at-arms, to avoid their being surprised; for she much dreaded Aymerigot, ever since he had received from her, in one payment, five thousand florins.

The countries of Auvergne and Limousin now took alarm; and the knights and squires, with the townsmen of Clermont, Montferrant, and Riom, and the towns on the Allier, resolved to send notice of their situation to the king of France. In this they were joined by the dauphiness; but, during this time, those in La Roche de Vendais fortified themselves very strongly, and while about it they erected huts covered with boughs for their horses. When it was known to those who had been disbanded, and were now out of pay, that Aymerigot Marcel was continuing the war, they were much rejoiced: many came to offer him their services, and he had very soon more than he wished. None of them asked for pay, but solely to be retained by him, for they knew well that those under him would gain a sufficiency from the overplus of the plunder which he gave up to his men. Sometimes he made excursions in the upper parts of the district, and sometimes on the contrary side, for no one ventured as yet to oppose him, so that his fame was spread far and near. Nothing was talked of in Auvergne and Limousin but the robbers of La Roche de Vendais, and greatly was the country frightened by them.

The garrison of Chaluçet, under the command of Perrot le Béarnois, adhered steadily to the truce; and when he learnt that Aymerigot was thus harassing the countries where the inhabitants imagined themselves to be at peace with every one, he was much angered, and said he had behaved very ill. He also sent to tell him not to expect any assistance, nor to be admitted into Chaluçet nor into any other place under his command. Aymerigot was indifferent as to this, for he had plenty of places to retire to, in case of need, besides Chaluçet, and men enough. There were besides, numbers that had nothing to do, and wished for mischief, who daily offered to increase his forces. Perrot le Béarnois forbade his men, under pain of death, to make any sallies injurious to the country people, for he declared he would most strictly and honorably abide by the letter of the truce. Olim Barbe, however, captain of Donzac, dissembled in this business, saying publicly he would adhere to the terms of the truce; but I was told that his men sometimes made excursions privately, and, when they had collected any considerable booty, he insisted on having the advantage of it.

The deputies from Clermont, Montferrant, and Riom, arrived at Paris, where they found the king, the duke of Berry, the duke of Touraine, and sir Oliver de Clisson constable of France. They immediately waited on the duke of Berry and his council, to state the cause of their coming, and to inform them that Aymerigot Marcel was pillaging Auvergne, and that evil-minded persons were daily increasing. They entreated them for God's sake to provide a remedy, for, if it were suffered to continue much longer, the whole of Auvergne and Limousin would be completely destroyed. The king and the duke of Berry were much astonished on hearing this intelligence, for they thought the whole country was at peace, in conformity to the truce. The deputies asked if the garrisons of Chaluçet and Donzac remained quiet; they replied: "they had no complaints to make against any one but Aymerigot Marcel and his companions, who had fortified La Roche de Vendais." "Well," replied the king and the duke of Berry, "now, good people, return home, and look to us; for we will speedily provide a remedy that shall be sufficient: make what haste you can back, and tell this as our answer, to those who have sent you." The deputies were well pleased with this speech, and, having reposed themselves for two days at Paris, they set out on their return, having taken leave of the king and the duke of Berry.

The king and his council did not delay attending to this business, for the duke of Berry had large possessions in Auvergne, and urged them on. They considered whom they should send thither, for the lord de Coucy, the lieutenant of all the country, from La Rochelle to Bordeaux, was now abroad in Barbary. He had, indeed, at his departure, appointed his cousin, sir Robert de Buthune viscount de Meaux, his deputy during his absence. The council did not forget this, and thought he was best entitled to the command. Inquiries were made where he was to be found, and they learnt that he was at his residence at Condé sur Marne. Letters were written to him, in the king's name, for him to come to Paris, and the messenger hastening with them, found him and his lady at Condé. Having delivered his letters, the viscount read their contents, and said he would instantly obey the king's orders, as was but right. Having made his preparations as speedily as he could, he left Condé and rode on to Paris, where he waited on the king and council. On entering the council-chamber he was told: "Viscount, make haste and assemble all your retainers of men-at-arms, for you must immediately set off for Auvergne. There are bands of pillagers, of whom Aymerigot Marcel, as we are informed, is the chief, who rob and imprison the country people. Let them be driven thence; and if you can any way entrap Aymerigot and deliver him up to us, we shall have great joy. Orders have been given for you to receive the pay of your men-at-arms at Clermont in Auvergne; and, with regard to your expenses thither, speak to our treasurer of the army. He has been charged to pay your smaller expenses, and to hurry you away, for the business requires it."

The viscount replied he was quite ready, and, leaving the council, returned to his inn, where he employed persons to write to such knights and squires of the isle of France and in Picardy, who were his acquaintance and dependents, desiring them instantly to set out for Chartres, where they would find him prepared to muster them. All to whom he had sent complied with his request; for they loved him, and looked to him as to an able captain. They were all at Chartres on the appointed day, and amounted to two hundred lances,

good men and to be depended on. After they had been mustered they left Chartres, and took the road toward Auvergne, through the Bourbonnois. The news of this assistance coming thither was soon spread abroad, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Auvergne. It was fortunate so much haste had been made in forwarding this force; for, had it been delayed six days later, Aymerigot and his troops had planned to ravage the country, between Clermont and Montferrant, and down the river Allier, and also the surrounding country of Riom, as far as Gannat.* Had they done so, they would have plundered it of one hundred thousand francs at least; for the parts I have mentioned are the very richest in Auvergne. None could have opposed them, for the whole country was void of men-at-arms; and the reports were, that Aymerigot's troops were more numerous than ever.

Aymerigot and his men were prepared for this excursion; but they learnt, I know not how, whether from pilgrims or spies, that a large body of men-at-arms was marching against them, under the command of the viscount de Meaux, to besiege and to drive them out of their fortress of La Roche de Vendais. This intelligence made them defer their intended excursion, and shut themselves within their fort, for they foresaw they would be besieged. Aymerigot now began to repent what he had done, for should he be taken, no ransom would be accepted for his life. He thus opened himself to some of his companions: "I am completely disgraced, by having followed bad advice, and avarice will be my ruin; for I shall be destroyed without hope of ransom." They replied: "Why are you now so doubtful of yourself? We know you are the most powerful man-at-arms in these countries, and you have a good garrison, well provided with all things. We are men of determined resolution, as eager to defend our lives, as you can be to defend your own. You cannot be ruined without our suffering with you; if, unfortunately, you be made prisoner, you are so wealthy, you can easily tempt them with your ransom; but our poverty must prevent us from so doing, and our heads pay the forfeit. We will therefore sell them as dearly as we can, and guard them to the utmost of our abilities. Be not, therefore, alarmed at anything you may see or hear: we need not care for the siege, if we manage our defence with prudence." Thus did the companions of Aymerigot Marcel comfort him.

The viscount de Meaux, with his men-at-arms, continued their march through Moulins, in the Bourbonnois; but the duchess of Bourbon, daughter to the count dauphin, received there the viscount and the knights very grandly, and entertained them at dinner. That evening they lay at Saint Pourçain. Thence they marched to Gannat, Aigue-perses,† and Riom, where they halted. They then marched to Clermont, and were gladly received by the bishop and the inhabitants. The men-at-arms received pay at Clermont, for a tax had been levied to this effect, and it was there delivered to them. They continued their march to Notre-Dame d'Orcinal,‡ four leagues from La Roche de Vendais. The viscount de Meaux there fixed his quarters, as the knights and squires from Auvergne and Limousin had named this place for the point of assembly. When they were all collected, they amounted to more than four hundred lances, and one hundred Genoese cross-bows. There were with the viscount, the lord de Montagu from the Vermandois, and his brother, the lord de Dommart, sir Bernard de la Riviere, sir William le Bouteiller, the lord de Domme, the lord de la Roche, the lord de la Tour, sir Lewis d'Abiere,§ the lord de Saint-Ampisse, sir Robert Dauphin, with many more. The captains of the Genoese were two valiant squires, called Albert d'Espinolle and Callinace. Sir Lewis l'Esglivesle, a gallant squire, was at this time the viscount's master of the household. The Genoese, as well as the whole army, were completely equipped with arms and other necessaries, or they would not have passed the muster made by the viscount de Meaux.

The garrison under the command of Aymerigot Marcel and his uncle Guyot du Sel, in La Roche de Vendais, hearing that so large a force was now advanced to Notre Dame de Roquemadour, with the intention of besieging them, called a general council, to consider how they could the most effectually resist it. They first resolved, they had not any occasion for horses, since they would be prevented from using them by the siege. Tolerably near to La Roche de Vendais was another fort, called Saint Soupery, under the government of Aymerigot, where his wife resided, and whither he had sent the greater part of his wealth. He gave orders for the servants and horses to be received in this fort, until better times. La Roche de Vendais was naturally strong, and the present garrison had fortified it by every means in their power. The lord de la Tour was greatly blamed by the country for his neglect of it, as they said it was from this circumstance that they were now so harassed; and, if he had thought the expense of keeping a guard too great, why had he not given it up to the inhabitants of the country, who would have dismantled it, so that no one would have ever thought of repairing it? whereas now the walls had been left entire, and the mansion tolerably good: such was the state in which Aymerigot had found it.

La Roche de Vendais is separated from the high mountains that surround it, and is seated on an insulated rock; one side of which they had so strongly fortified that it could only be approached in front, and attacked by skirmishes. The force, under the command of the viscount de Meaux, left Notre-Dame de Roquemadour, and advanced to La Roche de Vendais, which they laid siege to, and by degrees improved their quarters. The countess-dauphine, on hearing that La Roche de Vendais was besieged, with a sufficient force under the viscount de Meaux, was greatly rejoiced; and as she imagined, from the haste in which he had left Paris, he might not have brought tents or pavilions with him, she instantly ordered two handsome tents belonging to her lord to be made ready, and sent to him as a loan, for his better accommodation during the siege. The viscount received very thankfully these tents, which came so opportunely, and returned his best compliments to the countess for her attentions. The lord de la Tour was at home, being but one league from his castle, so that he had everything he could wish for. The other knights and squires accommodated themselves as well as they could. They had provision in abundance and cheap, for it was sent thither from all quarters. As it was the middle of August, the weather was warm and pleasant, and the knights were comfortably lodged under huts made of green boughs.

Intelligence was brought to the army, that made them suspicious lest the neighboring garrisons of Chaluçet and Donzac would unite together, and one morning or evening, when they were off their guard, come and attack them, to force them to raise their siege. The viscount de Meaux and his knights held a council on this intelligence, and resolved to send a herald to Perrot le Béarnois, governor of Chaluçet, and to Olim Barbe at Donzac, to know whether they were at war or peace with these garrisons, and according to their answer to prepare themselves. The herald, being instructed as to what he was to say and how he was to act, departed, and, on his arrival at Chaluçet, accidentally found Perrot le Béarnois at the barriers amusing himself with his companions in throwing the bar. He dismounted, and asked for the governor. On his being pointed out, he advanced toward him, and punctually delivered the message he had been charged with. Perrot replied: "Herald, you will tell your masters who have sent you hither, that we mean as loyally and truly to keep the truce which has been concluded between France and England, as we expect it will be kept with us. Should any of our people infringe the smallest article of it, and we be made acquainted therewith, we will lay hands on them, if it should be in our power, and inflict such punishment as they deserve and as we have promised to execute on them. I wish you would also tell your masters, that what Aymerigot Marcel has done was without any advice from us, to whom he never spoke on the subject. We have forbidden him or his people to seek refuge within our domain, and should they think of so doing it will ill befal them."

The herald was conducted within the fort, and entertained at dinner; after which he took his leave, and Perrot, out of love to the lords of France, presented him with ten francs. The herald received them thankfully, and departed for Donzac, where he saw the governor Olim Barbe, a Gascon. He addressed him as he had done Perrot, and received for answer, that he would not on any account infringe the truce, for by so doing he should be disgraced. The herald dined at the castle of Donzac, and, on taking leave, had ten francs given to him. He returned to La Roche de Vendais, where he was surrounded by knights and squires anxious to hear the answers he had brought. The herald minutely related everything that had passed; and the viscount de Meaux and his companions were more easy respecting Perrot le Béarnois and Olim Barbe than before: without fear from that quarter, they continued their siege with greater vigor.

CHAPTER XVI.

AYMERIGOT MARCEL ENDEAVORS, BUT IN VAIN, TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS BY LETTERS AND MESSAGES TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, THE VISCOUNT DE MEAUX, AND EVEN TO THE DUKE OF BERRY.

DURING the siege of La Roche de Vendais, which lasted for nine weeks, there were constant skirmishes between the two parties, in which many were wounded by the cross-bows, for the Genoese are expert marksmen. The garrison had much the advantage of the besiegers, and I will tell you how. They could sally forth whenever they pleased, for it would require six thousand men at least to have completely surrounded the castle. When the siege first took place, Aymerigot felt that he was acting wrong; but to turn the matter as much to his advantage as he could, and if possible preserve La Roche de Vendais, he determined to send one of his men, who was well spoken, to England, with credential letters to the king and the duke of Lancaster. Aymerigot opened the matter to his uncle, Guyot du Sel, who, though about sixty years of age, was well acquainted with arms and with mankind. Guyot approved of the manner in which his nephew intended acting, and said, that to send a person well spoken, and well informed, to England, would not be lost pains. They selected a varlet who had been educated by them, and instructed him as follows: "We will conduct thee in safety out of this fort in spite of our enemies, and give thee money sufficient for the journey thou art to perform, as well as for thy other wants. Thou wilt carry to England these three letters; one to the king, one

* "Gannat"—a town in the Bourbonnois, five leagues from Riom.

† "Aigue-perses"—a village in Limousin, diocese of Limoges.

‡ "Notre-Dame d'Orcinal"—is not in the Gazetteer, but Notre-Dame de Roquemadour, which is the name in the MSS., is a celebrated pilgrimage in Querey, near Figeac.

§ In the MS. it is sir *Louis d'Antbiere*.

to the duke of Lancaster, and the other to the king's council; which thou wilt punctually deliver. Thou wilt recommend me handsomely to them; and, as these are credential letters, they will ask, 'What is the object of thy coming?' thou wilt say that Aymerigot Marcel, their little soldier and subject, who is firm in his obedience to their will, is besieged in a small fort belonging to the king of England, as one of the mesne fiefs of Limousin; that those who are before it exert themselves to their utmost to gain the place, and make him and his companions prisoners; that the besiegers are sent thither by the king of France, under the command of a cousin to the lord de Coucy, called sir Robert viscount de Meaux; that the object of this mission is to request the king of England, his council, and the duke of Lancaster, as lieutenant for the king in the Bordelois, to write to the viscount de Meaux to depart instantly from before La Roche de Vendais with all his men. Be sure to have inserted in the letters for the viscount, that he be careful not to infringe the truce signed at Leulinghen, or to dread the consequences, because I know not what effect these letters may have on the viscount, nor what answer he will make, for he is a strange sort of man. Obtain, likewise, letters from the king, the council, and the duke of Lancaster, to the duke of Berry, for, if he please, the siege will be instantly raised. Manage to bring back with thee, for thy greater credit, one of the knights of honor to the king or the duke of Lancaster, or Derby the herald. Salute him from me, and say, if he will accompany thee, (for he is an able negotiator, and well acquainted with the duke of Berry and the lords of France,) I will give him one hundred francs. Keep well in thy memory all I have said, and tell every one to whom thou shalt speak, that this little fort, which I have garrisoned, will be very convenient to the English on the renewal of the war; for it is situated on the borders of Auvergne and Limousin, and those countries may be made to contribute upward of two hundred thousand francs in one season."

Aymerigot Marcel having, in the presence of his uncle, well tutored his messenger, and given him his credential letters, and one hundred francs for his expenses, he was escorted from the fort at midnight, on foot, to another fort belonging to Aymerigot, called Saint Soupery. He there chose the best horse, as they were all at his disposal, for he had a long journey to make, and passed through France as a native of the province of Auvergne. On his arrival at Calais, he made acquaintance with sir John Beauchamp, the governor, to whom he told a part of his business that he might be the sooner forwarded on his journey. This succeeded; for sir John ordered him an immediate passage to Dover, whence, on having his horse put on shore, he continued his road to London, and there arrived in a day and a half. He was fortunate to find the king, his two uncles of Lancaster and York, with the council, at the palace of Westminster, considering the affairs of Northumberland, and what force they should send thither, for the Scots no way observed the truce. The messenger from Aymerigot having intrusted the subject of his coming to the master of the inn where he put up, he conducted him to Westminster, and procured him admission to the duke of Lancaster, who had arrived before the other counsellors, and was in the presence-chamber. He presented the duke with the letter addressed to him, who, having opened and read it, took the messenger aside to learn the cause of his arrival. The varlet related to him every particular wherewith Aymerigot had charged him. The duke, having heard him, asked if he had more letters. He replied, "One for the king, and another for the council." "It is well," answered the duke: I will obtain for you an audience," and gave orders to one of his attendants to take care of him.

The duke entered the council-chamber, and when he saw a favorable opportunity, mentioned the arrival of Aymerigot's messenger: by his motion, the varlet was introduced, and presented his letters to the king and to the council. When they were read, he was desired to explain the object of his mission. Being well tutored, and not afraid of speaking, he was not abashed, otherwise he need not have made the journey, and he explained so eloquently the reasons of his coming, and the wishes of Aymerigot, that he was attentively listened to. When he had told all he was charged with, he was informed that they would consider the matter, and that he should have an answer to his demands. He then quitted the council-chamber, and waited for the answer to the letters. He was told that the king would write to the viscount de Meaux, and to the duke of Berry, in the manner Aymerigot had desired. The duke of Lancaster promised to do the same, and that these letters should be delivered by an English squire attached to the duke; and that Derby the herald should cross the sea and accompany them when they gave their letters, to aid their success; for he was well known to many lords in Auvergne, particularly to the duke of Berry.

Aymerigot's messenger was very happy to hear this, and followed so closely the duke of Lancaster that in a few days the letters were written, and the gentleman, whose name I believe was Cherbury, who was to carry them, received orders of departure. The herald Derby most willingly went with him, for Aymerigot's varlet had told him from his master, that if he would cross the sea, he should receive one hundred francs on his arrival at La Roche de Vendais. The letters being sealed, these three took their leave of the duke of Lancaster, and hastened to Dover: they crossed to Calais in a passage-boat, where they lay that night, and at low water disembarked their horses, and on the morrow rode to Boulogne. They passed through Picardy to Paris, but, making no stay there, continued their journey to Auvergne.

When arrived at Limoges and the environs of La Roche de Vendais, they cautiously advanced to enter the castle privately; but, on consideration, the squire and herald did not think it prudent to enter La Roche de Vendais, but sent the messenger forward, saying they could now find the way themselves, and that it would not have a good appearance should they be seen with him, for it would look as if he had been sent to bring them from England; and that what they had to say to the viscount de Meaux would come with more weight as from the king of England himself, than if any others had interfered in it. The varlet agreed to their reasons, and, at nightfall, returned to the fort, by a road he was acquainted with, without any hindrance from the besiegers. He there found Aymerigot Marcel, his uncle Guyot du Sel, and the other companions, who made him good cheer, and were astonished that he could have returned from England in so few days. He related everything that had passed, and that a squire from the duke of Lancaster, and Derby the herald had accompanied him with letters from the king and the duke to the viscount de Meaux and to the duke of Berry, should there be occasion. "And why did they not come with you hither?" asked Aymerigot. "Through prudence, as they told me," replied the varlet, "for they will undertake the commission and delivery of their letters themselves, and think it better than that any appearance of collusion should be seen between you and them." "They act wisely," said Guyot du Sel, "and show by this, that the king of England and the duke of Lancaster send them of their own accord, and that they are interested in the matter." "Such are their intentions," answered the messenger.

Aymerigot was delighted on hearing this, and told his varlet that he had done justice to his commission, and he in a few days would handsomely reward him for it. The English squire and Derby rode on for La Roche de Vendais, to the place where the besiegers lay, and inquired for the quarters of the viscount de Meaux. On being conducted thither, they found the viscount amusing himself with seeing the bar thrown. On their approach, they bowed, which civility he returned, and asked, "whence they came?" They replied, "from England, and that they were sent by the king and the duke of Lancaster." "You are welcome," said the viscount; "but what business can have brought you to this wild country?" "My lord," answered Derby, "this is a squire attached to the duke of Lancaster, who brings you letters from the king of England and from his lord, which, if you please, you will read. I have accompanied him, because I am so well acquainted with this country, to serve him as a guide."

The squire presented his letters, which the viscount, after examining the seals, knew to be authentic, and to come from England. He called one of his men aside who could read, and had their contents repeated over two or three times, until he was fully master of them. He was a while pensive, for the king of England had written, to complain that he was day and night occupying a part of his territories with a large army, and doing acts to infringe the truce, which he ought not to do, being directly contrary to the articles that had been sworn and sealed between him and his adversary of France; and that as soon as he should have perused these letters, he must raise the siege, march away his army, and leave Aymerigot Marcel in peaceable possession of a castle which had cost him such large sums to fortify. Such and many other expressions in favor of Aymerigot, did these letters contain. The letter from the duke of Lancaster was nearly similar to those from the king and council; for he was sovereign lord and duke of Aquitaine.

The viscount de Meaux, having consulted some of his friends, said to the squire and the herald; "My fair sirs, the intelligence you have brought demands full consideration: I will advise upon it, and you shall soon have my answer." They were then conducted to the viscount's tent, to partake of his wine. During this, a council was summoned of the lord de la Tour, sir William le Bouteiller, sir Robert Dauphin, sir Louis d'Abiere, the lord de Montagu, and sir Berald de la Riviere, for this last was of the household of the viscount. When they were assembled, the viscount explained to them the cause, and laid before them the letters he had received. The knights were much surprised how intelligence of their siege could have been carried to England for such letters to be sent from thence, as their siege had not lasted one month. "I will tell you what I imagine," said the viscount: "this Aymerigot is a cunning fellow; and the moment he perceived we intended besieging him, he sent a person to England to request such letters might be written as are now before you, and which I shall obey or not as I please. I inform you that I shall instantly answer them: but, in regard to the orders of the king of England and the duke of Lancaster, I shall not pay any attention to them, for I am no way bound to obey them, but solely the king of France, my lord, who has intrusted me with this command, and sent me hither. Let the herald and squire be introduced, and I will give them my answer." They were sought for, and conducted to the assembly of the viscount and his knights: when in their presence, they bowed their heads, and the viscount thus spoke: "You Derby, and you Thomas Cherbury, for such I think are the names you are designated by in the letters which you have brought from the king of

England and the duke of Lancaster. They have been informed, it seems, (but I know not how, whether by a messenger from Aymerigot Marcel or some friend of his, who has been in his name to England,) that I am quartered with a large army on the lands of the king of England, and order me instantly to raise the siege, march away my men, and leave Aymerigot in peaceable possession of the small fort that has cost him so large a sum to repair and strengthen. They tell me likewise that I am risking my own dishonor, by thus infringing a truce, which has been agreed to for three years, between the kings of France and England, and their allies. I declare to you, my fair sirs, that I will not, by any means, violate the smallest article of the truce, nor shall it be infringed by any act of mine, during my residence here. I am the king of France's subject, my liege lord, who has ordered me hither as his marshal, for the present, from the complaints that have been made him, by the nobles and other inhabitants of the countries of Auvergne and Limousin, of the great damages they have suffered from Aymerigot Marcel, who has seized a fort on the confines of these two provinces that had been abandoned, and was never again intended to be inhabited, which he has repaired and strengthened, not as a mansion, or house for recreation, but as a castle and rendezvous for robbers and marauders. I am therefore ordered hither to defend and guard the country against such pillagers as may be collected within this fort, called La Roche de Vendais, to prevent their increase in numbers and in wickedness, and to arrest all of them I may be able to lay hold of, that they may suffer the punishment due to their crimes. In consequence, my fair sirs, I shall strictly obey the commands I have received, and loyally acquit myself of my duty. Of course, therefore, I shall not move from hence for any orders I may receive, until I shall have possession of this fort and the garrison that now holds out against me and my companions.

"Should Aymerigot Marcel set up a plea, that I have any way broken the truce, which is equivalent to a perfect peace for the time, let him come forth, and I will have him fought with by as good if not a better man than himself, and prove that it is he alone who has, and continues to violate the articles of the truce. Now, my fair sirs, having maturely weighed everything, I have given you my answer, and you may return when you please; but I beg that, on your return, you will neither add to nor diminish any part of what I have said to you; for reporters, by not relating the exact words in which any conversation has taken place, do not truly inform their lords of the matter." "My lord," replied the squire, "Derby and myself are come hither solely to hear what answer you shall be pleased to make us, and carry it back, and since you have done so, we need not longer remain."

They took leave of the viscount, who ordered ten francs to be given to the herald, out of affection to the king of England, who had sent him, and regard for the duke of Lancaster, to whom he was attached. When they were on the road to Clermont, for they said they had come that way and would return by the same, and when they had advanced about half a league, the following conversation passed between them: "We have had ill success: we must wait on the duke of Berry, who lives in Auvergne." "He is lord of this whole country," said Derby, "and himself duke of Berry and Auvergne." If he will order the viscount de Meaux to decamp, he must do so, for he dare not disobey him. As we have letters to him from the king and the duke of Lancaster, it is but right he should see them, and that we should know his intention on their subject." Thus did they converse until they arrived at Clermont. They were made welcome, for the herald was well acquainted in these parts, having been there before; and when any questions were asked, who and what they were, they declared themselves messengers from the king of England. Having inquired where the duke resided, they were told at a handsome castle called La Nonnette. The herald knew it well, and, leaving Clermont, they rode to Issoire, and thence to La Nonnette, but the mountain is very steep on which is situated the castle. On their arrival, they found numbers of the duke's servants playing in the square before the castle-gate. The herald was known to many of them, and conducted to the duke of Berry, who, in consideration of his regard to the king of England and the duke of Lancaster, ordered him and his companions to be well taken care of.

The squire, being the bearer of the letters from the king, presented them to the duke, who, having read them twice slowly through, paused a little, and then gave such courteous answers as both were satisfied with; for he said, "from his affection to his cousins, he would do all in his power to comply with their requests." The herald and squire concluded from this, that they should completely succeed in their mission, and were in high spirits; but, as you shall hear, they were disappointed. The duke of Berry was not neglectful of the business, and exerted himself to have the siege of La Roche de Vendais raised, from his regard to the king of England and the duke of Lancaster, who entreated it; and engaged, that if Aymerigot Marcel were left in the quiet possession of his fort, he should not, hereafter, molest the country, and that he should make any reparation to the king of France for having offended him. The duke of Berry, anxious to oblige the English who were in his castle, wrote letters to this purport to the viscount de Meaux; and, before they were sealed, had them read to his guests, who were exceedingly pleased with their contents.

The letters were dispatched by an able squire of the duke to the viscount de Meaux, who, having learnt their contents, summoned his principal knights, and had them again read in their presence, during the time the squire who had brought them was made welcome; for, out of love to the duke of Berry, they gave him good cheer. "Gentlemen," said the viscount to his companions, "we shall never have peace since the duke of Berry supports Aymerigot, who is the greatest enemy Auvergne and its poor inhabitants have ever had, and for these last twelve years has so sore oppressed them. I thought the duke hated him; but it seems I was mistaken, for he commands me to break up the siege. I will not at this moment obey his orders, but excuse myself from so doing, by the commission I have received from the king our lord, who strictly enjoined me, on leaving Paris, not to quit this place for any orders I might receive, except they came from himself, until I had conquered the fort of La Roche de Vendais, and taken Aymerigot by fair or foul means. The duke now commands me to raise the siege, the instant I have read his letters; but, by my faith, I will do no such thing." "Sir," replied the knights and squires of Auvergne, "you say loyally and well: we will keep steady to you. We suppose that my lord of Berry is induced to write thus in favor of his enemies, by similar letters from the king of England and the duke of Lancaster to those you have received, which the herald and English squire have carried to him." "I dare say you have guessed right," said the viscount: "I will, if I can, find out the truth of it."

The squire was called in to receive his answer, and when in the presence of the assembled knights, the viscount thus addressed him, calling him by his name, for he knew him well: "Peter, I wish you to understand that I owe, and am desirous of paying, all obedience to my lord of Berry, for he is so noble, and so nearly related to the king, that I should be sorry to do otherwise; but myself and companions, whom you see, have been for these five weeks before this fort, to take it and the thieves who garrison it, by positive orders from the king and council. We wonder, therefore, and not without reason, how my lord of Berry can entreat us in favor of his enemies, and desire us to raise the siege and march away. We all agree in declaring that, if it were done, we should give the greatest encouragement to all thieves who in future may overrun the kingdom, and induce them to commit the greatest outrages. Peter, you will tell the duke of Berry from us all, and from me in particular, that we are ready and willing to obey his commands, but that I have been so positively ordered to continue this siege, with as much vigor and patience as possible, until I be master of the place and garrison, that I dare not act contrary; and say, that I shall not obey any other commands but those of the king, whose subject I am, and who has sent me hither. I beg of you, Peter, to tell me one thing, if it is not an improper question for you to answer, how comes it that my lord of Berry sues in favor of Aymerigot Marcel, who has done such mischief to Auvergne and Limousin, now that he is in a fair way of being caught and punished for his wickedness and breach of faith in the articles of the truce?"

The squire replied, "Two Englishmen, a herald and another, have come to the duke, with very pressing letters from the king of England and the duke of Lancaster in favor of Aymerigot." "I readily believe you," said the viscount: "it is Derby the herald, and a squire called Cherbury, who likewise brought me the other day letters similar, I suppose, to those you mention. Say also from me, in addition to what I have before spoken, that I beg my lord of Berry to consider well this matter; that letters thus obtained from lords on the other side of the water deserve no attention from lords on this side, who love the honor or advantage of the kingdom of France." "My lord," answered the squire, "be assured that I will repeat every word you have said to the duke of Berry, for Aymerigot is not so much in my favor but I would rather see his punishment than his deliverance." On this, the squire took leave of the viscount and knights present, mounted his horse, and rode to La Nonnette, where he related to the duke of Berry, that the viscount de Meaux would not, for any other commands but those directly from the king, break up his siege. This answer was not very agreeable to the duke, who imagined he was of that importance, his letters ought to have attention paid them in France, or at least in Auvergne. When Derby and his companion learnt the purport of the answer, they were much cast down, for they saw they had labored in vain. They asked the duke, what they were now to do. "Shall we leave you with unsatisfactory answers to our king and the duke of Lancaster? who had the fullest hope you would have had the siege of La Roche de Vendais raised, for it is within your territories." "A little patience," replied the duke: "Aymerigot is in a very strong place, and, unless some unfortunate accident happen, cannot for a long time be taken. I must shortly go to Paris; and, when there, I will press the matter warmly with the king and his council, since my good cousins of England are so earnest in the matter. You both shall accompany me, and witness the exertions I make." This speech contented the squire and the herald.

Within four days afterwards, the duke set out from La Nonnette, leaving there the duchess and the greater part of his household, and went to Riom in Auvergne. He waited there eight days for the count de Sancerre and the lord de Renel,* whom he had sent to Avignon on his private affairs. On their arrival, they set out together through the Bourbonnois, and, by a short day's journey, came to Bourges, where they tarried two days. On the third, the duke de-

* "The lord de Renel." The MSS. have Revel.

parted, and came to Mehun-sur-Yevre,* where he had one of the handsomest castles in the world; for the duke had expended upward of three hundred thousand francs in building and ornamenting it. He remained there a fortnight, to the great uneasiness of the two Englishmen who were suitors for Aymerigot: but, as they could not help it, they dissembled their thoughts. Indeed, the duke no longer intended interfering about him, and I will explain why. The count de Sancerre, the lord de Renel, and sir Peter Mespin, were his principal advisers: they heavily charged Aymerigot with several crimes, gently blaming the duke, and saying it was unbecoming him to interfere in the affairs of so notorious a pillager, whose whole life had been infamous; that he had committed such disgraceful acts in Auvergne and Limousin, it would be improper to speak in his favor, and that he ought to be left for the king's justice to punish. This, and speeches similar to it, had so cooled the duke as to prevent him from thinking longer on the subject; but the two Englishmen did not neglect their duty in reminding the duke of it, who, dissembling his real opinion, courteously answered, "Have patience: we shall soon be at Paris." Notwithstanding this, he still remained at Mehun-sur-Yevre more than three weeks, planning new improvements with his master of the works, Andrew Beau-neveu, in sculpture and painting; for in such arts he took great delight, and was well skilled in them. There was not a more able man in this respect than master Andrew Beau-neveu, in any country, as may be judged from the many fine works he executed in France, Hainault, (his native country,) and England, where they now remain.

CHAPTER XVII.

AYMERIGOT MARCEL HAVING LEFT LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS, TO SEEK SUCCOR FROM OTHER PILLAGERS, HIS LIEUTENANT, GUYOT DU SEL, IS SURPRISED BY AN AMBUSCADE, AND THE FORT SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

I will now relate what happened to Aymerigot Marcel, and to his fort of La Roche de Vendais. He had a quick imagination, and concluded, from the continuance of the siege, that the letters from the king of England and the duke of Lancaster had failed in the effect he looked to from them. He therefore thought of another expedient, which was to leave his castle and ride night and day unto the garrisons in Perigord and other places, to call upon Guyonnet de Sainte Foix, Ernauton de Sainte Colombe, Ernauton de Rostem, John de Morsen, Peter d'Anchin, Remonnet de Copane, with other Gascon and Béarnois men-at-arms of the English party, and entice them by fair speeches to enter Auvergne for the sake of plunder, and then to advance to La Roche de Vendais, some morning or evening, and capture the knights and squires before it, which would bring them more than one hundred thousand francs for their ransoms, without counting smaller articles of pillage. He explained his whole plan to his uncle, Guyot du Sel, and asked his opinion. He replied, that he very much approved of it, for that he saw no other means of being delivered from the French. "Well, uncle," said Aymerigot, "since you approve, I will undertake it; but I must beg one thing of you before I set out." "What is that?" replied Guyot. "It is, that during my absence you never sally out of the castle, nor open the barriers, whatever skirmishes the French may make, for you may lose more than you can gain." "I will take care not to do it," answered Guyot: "we will remain shut up here until your return, or until we hear some news of you." "Indeed, my good uncle, I beg it of you, for we cannot vex them more than by keeping within our walls: as for their attacks and skirmishes, we do not value them." Within three days after, Aymerigot left the castle attended only by a page, and began his journey without fear of the French. His intention was to bring back with him some bold companions, and raise the siege.

Although Aymerigot had quitted La Roche de Vendais, it was unknown to the besiegers; for the garrison could go in and out without danger from them. There were daily skirmishes before the castle and at the barriers; and, about five or six days after the departure of Aymerigot, there was a grand assault made by the French, who were divided into three parties, all of which were engaged. Guyot du Sel was a good man-at-arms, and had long used them; but through arrogance, and neglecting to observe the orders of his nephew not to open the barriers nor to sally forth on any account, he suffered as you will hear.

Three squires, two from Auvergne and one from Brittany, displayed great courage, and were preëminent at this attack at the part of the old walls very near the castle. The squires from Auvergne were called Richard de la Violette and Lubinot de Rochefort; the Breton was le Monadic, who, when made prisoner, at the taking of Ventadour, had attached himself to sir William le Bouteiller. This assault lasted until night, and, though these squires gained renown, the besiegers, in spite of their labor and pain, made no other profit. The viscount de Meaux determined, that at the next skirmish he would place an ambuscade of twelve men-at-arms in an old grotto withoutside the fort; and he told his men, "Advance to skirmish at the barriers; and if you shall perceive the garrison inclined to make a sally, as is likely enough for such covetous persons to do, retire gently on this side the ambush, when you will wheel round to renew the attack, and they, being thus surrounded, will be made prisoners or slain."

The viscount's plan was executed. Those named for the ambuscade were Lewis de la Glisvelle, Robert de Bethencourt, Vandelle, William de la Saulsoye, Peter de Saint Vidal, Gionnet de Villeracque, Peter de Col, Andrew de la Roche, John Salmage, with three others to make up the dozen of good men-at-arms, who posted themselves within the old grotto. Another party went to skirmish, under the command of the three before-named squires: they were richly armed at all points, the more to tempt the avarice of the garrison, and were only twelve in number. When arrived at the barriers, they purposely began the attack most awkwardly, so that Guyot du Sel held them cheap, and said to his companions, "By saint Marcel, we will make a sally; for there are at the barriers a set of youngsters who, from their manner, do not seem much accustomed to the use of arms. We will teach them their use; and they cannot avoid being our prisoners." At these words, he had the barriers flung open, and sallied forth, forgetful of his promise to Aymerigot. The great desire he had to perform some deed of arms, and to gain a prize, induced him to act thus. The French were much rejoiced to see the garrison without the fort, and that Guyot du Sel was among the first: they retreated, by little and little, until they had passed the ambush, eagerly pursued by Guyot's party. When those in ambush saw it was time, they quitted the grotto, and posted themselves on the road to the fort, shouting out "Coucy for the viscount!" and thus inclosed their front and rear.

Guyot du Sel, observing this, knew he had been in fault, and that it would be difficult for him to save himself, or to return to the fort. He began to retire toward the barriers, but was strongly opposed. Why should I lengthen my story? They were all made prisoners, as it were in a trap, and led in triumph to the quarters of the viscount and the other knights. When the viscount de Meaux saw Guyot du Sel, he asked him "where was Aymerigot Marcel?" for he thought he was in the castle. Guyot replied, "he was ignorant where he was, for he had left the fort twelve days ago." The knights, hearing this, concluded he was gone to seek for aid. Guyot du Sel and his fellow-prisoners were then ordered away; and the viscount asked the knights of Auvergne, "what should be done to these prisoners?" for he wished to act from their decision. Sir William le Bouteiller answered, "Sir, I certainly believe that Aymerigot Marcel is gone to persuade the garrisons of other forts to come to his assistance: he will easily find, in spite of the truce, adventurers, who will join him in his wickedness, and they may fall on us some morning or evening when we are unprepared to resist them, and do us much damage: Aymerigot is very cunning, and of great wealth. Let us therefore tell Guyot du Sel to surrender La Roche de Vendais, and if he refuse his consent, that his own head, and those of all his companions, shall instantly be sacrificed."

"This is good advice," replied the viscount; "for, in truth, to obtain this fort are we come into the country. If we have not now Aymerigot Marcel, another time we may be more successful." Upon this, the viscount, the lord de la Tour, sir Robert Dauphin, sir William le Bouteiller and their companions, advanced as near to the fort as they could, carrying with them Guyot du Sel and the other prisoners. The viscount, addressing himself to Guyot as the captain, said, "Guyot, you, as well as your friends, who are now our prisoners, must know that, unless you will surrender to us the fort of La Roche de Vendais, we shall instantly order your heads to be cut off; but, if you will yield it up, we will allow you freely to depart whither you please. Now, consider which you prefer, death or liberty." Guyot du Sel replied, "My lord, I will do all I can to accommodate you:" and with this he advanced to the barriers to speak with those within the fort. You must know, that the remaining garrison looked on themselves as conquered; for they knew not how to act, nor whom to choose for their leader, since they had now lost their two captains, the most able among them. Guyot du Sel had no sooner explained his situation, than they agreed to surrender on the terms, that they should carry away with them all they were able, and be allowed one month to retire whither they pleased. This was instantly agreed to, and written and signed. The French, by the fortunate issue of the skirmish, became masters of La Roche de Vendais: so true is it, that good or ill fortune in arms is the lot of perseverance.

The whole country was much rejoiced on hearing of this surrender. The articles of the treaty with Guyot du Sel were punctually observed, and when the garrison had packed up all they could carry, they had permission to depart, and passports given them, to continue for one month. The viscount de Meaux and his knights abandoned La Roche de Vendais to the country people, who instantly set about demolishing it, and never left it until there did not remain one stone on another. The men-at-arms from Auvergne, who had joined the viscount, now took leave of him, and returned to their homes. The viscount permitted many of his own men to depart for Picardy: he himself went for La Rochelle, but stopped at Saint Jean d'Angely, to defend that part of Saintonge against pillagers, who, whenever they found a good opportunity, overran it, for his orders were to oppose them.

* "Mehun sur Yevre." Charles VII. built a large castle, or probably repaired the of the duke of Berry, wherein he died, 1461, having starved himself for fear of being poisoned by his son, Louis XI.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MESSENGERS FROM ENGLAND, HEARING OF THE SURRENDER OF LA ROCHE DE VENDAIS, TAKE LEAVE OF THE DUKE OF BERRY. AYMERIGOT RETIRES TO THE HOUSE OF A RELATION, CALLED TOURNEMINE, WHO BETRAYS HIM TO THE KING OF FRANCE. HE IS CARRIED TO PARIS, AND THERE BEHEADED AND HIS BODY QUARTERED.

You have heard how La Roche de Vendais was won, to the contentment of the surrounding country, for, had it been otherwise, it would have suffered much from the garrison. News of this was carried to the duke of Berry at Cantelon, a manor of his situated between Chartres and Montlehery, nine leagues from Paris; but he was indifferent about the matter, for he was become quite cool in regard to soliciting the king in favor of Aymerigot Marcel.

EXECUTION OF AYMERIGOT MARCEL AT PARIS. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth century.

When Derby the herald heard of the surrender from the duke's knights, he said to Cherbury, "I have lost one hundred francs, which Aymerigot had promised me." "For what? and how have you lost them?" asked the squire. "In God's name," said Derby, "La Roche de Vendais has surrendered: the French have conquered it. Let us take leave of the duke of Berry and return to England, for we have nothing further to do here." "Since it is so," answered the squire, "I agree to it." They demanded leave of the duke to depart, who granted it, and gave them letters to the king of England and the duke of Lancaster, in answer to those they had brought. On their departure, he presented the herald with forty francs, and gave to the squire a handsome hackney. On quitting the duke, they took the shortest road to Calais, and, I believe, went straight to England.

News of the loss of this fort was carried to Aymerigot Marcel, as he was raising troops to break up the siege. When he first heard it, he would have all the particulars told him. On learning that it had been occasioned by an imprudent sally Guyot du Sel had made on the French, he exclaimed; "Ah, the old traitor! by Saint Marcel, if I had him here, I would slay him. He has disgraced me and all my companions. On my departure, I had most positively ordered him not to quit the fort, whatever attempts the French might make, and he has done just the contrary. This loss can never be recovered; nor do I know whither to make my retreat. The garrisons of Chaluçet and Donzac are determined to abide by the truce, and my companions are scattered abroad like discomfited persons; but, if they were with me, I know not whither I could lead them. Considering all things, I am in a distressing situation: I have too greatly angered the king of France, the duke of Berry, and the barons and commonalty of Auvergne, to expect any favor; for I have made war on them during the truce, thinking to gain, but I am now more likely to lose everything: I know not how to act; I wish at this moment that my wife, myself and fortune, were in England; we there should be safe; but how the devil are we to get thither? for I shall be robbed of my wealth twenty times before I can arrive at the sea-shore. All the roads through Poitou, Normandy, and Picardy, that lead to the sea, are well guarded. I have forfeited my life; that is clear; and, if I am taken and sent to Paris, shall be punished accordingly, and lose my all. My safest plan will be to make for Bordeaux, and to have my wealth sent thither by little and little, and then to remain there as long as the truce holds; for I am in hopes that, after these truces, a curse on them! the war will be renewed with more vigor than ever between France and England. The free companions will, by that time, have spent their former gains, and be eager to replenish their purses." Thus did Aymerigot Marcel converse with himself: he was cast down and sorrowful, and knew not from whom to ask advice, nor whether to return to Auvergne, or go to Bordeaux and send for his wife, and have his fortune brought thither by little at a time. If he had followed this plan, he would have done well; but he acted otherwise, and, as the event will show, suffered for it. It is thus Fortune treats her favorites; when she has raised them to the highest point of her wheel, she suddenly plunges them in the dirt: witness Aymerigot Marcel. The foolish fellow was worth, as was believed in Auvergne, more than one hundred thousand francs in money, which he lost in one day, together with his life. I therefore say, that dame Fortune played him one of her tricks, which she had played to several before, and she will do the same to many after him.

Aymerigot, in his tribulations, bethought himself of a cousin-german he had in Auvergne, a squire called Tournemine, to whom he resolved to apply, and ask his advice. This he did, and, only attended by a page, entered the castle of his cousin. He thought to be well received there, on account of his relationship, but was disappointed; for this squire was not in the good graces of the duke of Berry, who indeed hated him, as the squire knew well. He was afraid of the consequences, and resolved, on seeing his cousin Aymerigot enter his castle, to arrest him and inform the duke of Berry what he had done, and offer, if he would forgive him and be on good terms for the future, to deliver up Aymerigot Marcel, for him to do with him as he should please. All this he executed; for, when Aymerigot entered the castle, he was shown into a chamber, when, having pulled off his sword and cleaned himself, he asked the servants, "Where is my cousin Tournemine?" "He is in his chamber," replied the servants, who already knew their master's design: "come and see him." "With all my heart," said Aymerigot. Having put on a new dress, and laid aside his coat of mail, which he usually wore, he said to the servants, "Come, let us go to my cousin Tournemine, for it is a long time since I have seen him." They conducted him straight to his chamber, and, on entering it, Aymerigot saluted him, suspecting no evil: but Tournemine said; "How is this, Aymerigot? Who has sent for you? and what has brought you hither? You wish to dishonor me. I therefore arrest you as my prisoner; for I should not otherwise loyally acquit myself to the crown of France, nor to my lord of Berry: you are a wicked traitor, who have broken the truce, and shall suffer for it: it is on your account the duke of Berry hates me mortally, but, through your means, I will make my peace; for, dead or alive, you shall be given up to him, and never, on any other account, shall you leave this castle." This speech astonished Aymerigot, who replied; "Why, Tournemine, I am your cousin. Are you in earnest in what you say? or do you do it to try me? I came hither, in full confidence, to see you and ask your advice, and I meet with this cruel and harsh reception." "I know not what you proposed for yourself," answered Tournemine, "but I shall certainly execute what I have intimated to you," and then laid hands on him: his servants, who knew what they were to do, advanced and seized him. Thus was Aymerigot taken without a possibility of making any defence; for, as I have said, he had disarmed himself; nor could any entreaties prevent Tournemine from ordering him heavy fetters on his legs, and causing him to be confined in a strong tower under safeguards.

When this was done, he had the gates of the castle locked, taking himself the keys, ordering his servants, under pain of death, not to

go near the gates unless sent by him. He then wrote letters to the duke of Berry, to say he had made Aymerigot Marcel his prisoner: and if he would forgive him and make a solid peace, he would give him up to his pleasure. When the letters were finished and sealed, he called to him his most confidential servant, and said; "Set out instantly for Paris, and deliver these letters to the duke of Berry: recommend me to him, and be sure not to return without answers." The varlet took the letters, mounted an active horse, and rode to Paris, where the duke of Berry was. On being admitted, he presented the letters from his master, Tournemine. The duke, having opened and read them, said smiling to his knights; "Would you like to hear news? Aymerigot Marcel is caught: his cousin-german Tournemine, as he writes me word, holds him in prison." The knights replied; "My lord, this is excellent news for Auvergne and Limousin; for they have had, for a long time, a bad neighbor in Aymerigot. He has done so much mischief that, if you please, he shall make his end on a gibbet, for he deserves no favor nor pardon." "I know not," said the duke, "what the king or his council may wish to do with him: I shall talk with them on the subject." Not long after this conversation, the duke took boat and crossed the Seine to the Louvre, where the king and his council were. He related the intelligence he had received, and gave them the letters of Tournemine to read, which afforded satisfaction to all. The lords said, that such pillagers always came to a disgraceful death, and that sooner or later it awaited them. It was determined, that the duke of Berry should undertake the management of this business, and order the séneschal of Auvergne to fetch Aymerigot, and bring him to Paris, where he should be confined in the Bastille, at the gate of St. Anthony, and delivered over to the provost of the Châtelet, who would take good care of him. It was also resolved, that on account of the agreeable service Tournemine had now done to the crown of France, all his former misdeeds should be forgiven, and a pardon granted by letters patent, which Tournemine's servant brought back with him, and by it pleased his master greatly, for in them he confided.

It was not long before the séneschal of Auvergne, by an order from the duke of Berry, came to the castle of Tournemine, and had Aymerigot Marcel delivered up to him: who was thunderstruck at thus finding himself in the hands of his enemies. Why should I make a long story of it? The séneschal had him escorted by a body of men-at-arms through the country, and crossed the Seine and Marne at Charenton. Thence he conducted him to the castle of the Bastille, and delivered him to the charge of the viscount d'Achy, who was at that time governor of it. He was not long detained there, but given up to the provost of the Châtelet, who carried him thither. True it is, that he offered sixty thousand francs for his pardon, but no one would have anything to do with him: they told him the king was rich enough, and wanted not his money. From the time he was delivered to the provost, there was no delay in his trial, when he was condemned to a shameful death, as a traitor to the crown of France.

He was first carried in a cart to the pillory in the market-place, and turned round within it several times. His different crimes were then read aloud, for which he was to receive death. Sir William le Trun* was by his side a long time, and talked much with him, on the affairs of Auvergne, as it was supposed, and to learn the truth respecting several captains of forts, whether they had been associates in his wickedness. This was certainly known to the lords, but I never could gain information respecting it. His head was cut off, and his four quarters affixed over four different gates of Paris. Such was the end of Aymerigot Marcel; but I know not what became of his wife, or of his wealth.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHRISTIAN LORDS WEIGH ANCHOR, AND LEAVE THE ISLAND OF COMINO, IN ORDER TO LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF AFRICA. THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY CONDUCT THEMSELVES.

I HAVE dwelt very long on the subject of Aymerigot Marcel, in detailing his actions, that I might illustrate his life and death; for in such a history as this, both good and bad must be spoken of, that they may serve as an excitement or warning in times to come. Had Aymerigot turned his mind to virtue, he would have done much good, for he was an able man-at-arms and of great courage; but, having acted in a different manner, he came to a disgraceful death.

We will return to the noble enterprise the knights of France and other countries had undertaken against Africa, and continue our narrative from the place where we left off. It was, I believe, at the island of Comino that the knights had assembled, after the great storm in the gulf of Lyons, to wait for those who had separated from the fleet, as that island was but thirty miles from Africa, whither they were bound. They remained there nine days, and, when recovered from their fatigues, they addressed the masters of the galleys as follows: "Gentlemen, we are now on the nearest land to the strong town of Africa, whither, if it please God, we will go, and besiege it. We must therefore consult with you how we may enter the harbor and disembark. We propose to send in advance our smaller vessels, called brigandines, to amuse the enemy, while we remain at the mouth of the harbor: on the following day we will, at our leisure, land, through God's grace, and encamp ourselves as near the town as possible, out of the reach of their bricolles:* the Genoese cross-bows shall be drawn up, and ready for defence or attack. We suppose that, on our debarkation, a multitude of your young squires will demand to be knighted, for increase of honor and advancement. Instruct them gently how they ought to act, for you are very capable of doing it; and know, gentlemen, that we are well inclined to acquit ourselves handsomely toward you; and, to show our eagerness to annoy the enemy, we shall take every possible pains that this town of Africa may be won. It has done you too great damage to be longer endured, and is, besides, the key to the empire of Barbary and the surrounding kingdoms of Africa, Morocco and Bugia. Should God, of his goodness, permit us to conquer it, all the Saracens will tremble, as far as Nubia and Syria, and we shall be everywhere talked of. With the assistance of the princes of Christendom, who are the nearest to us, we may reinforce it with men, and victual it again; so that, if once we gain possession, it will become a place for all knights and squires to adventure themselves in arms against the enemies of God, and conquer their lands." "My lords," replied the masters of the vessels, "we shall never pretend to teach you how to act, but give our opinions with all modesty and humility; for you are too noble, wise and valiant, for us to pretend to lay down rules for your conduct." The lord de Coucy said, "We should, however, wish to have your opinions, for we have observed nothing but what is praiseworthy in you; and, as it is you who have brought us hither, to accomplish deeds of arms, we shall never act without having your advice." Such were the conversations held in the island of Comino, in the presence of the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Eu, and some of the great barons of France, with the captains of the Genoese vessels, before they sailed for the coast of Africa.

When all was ready, and the men-at-arms had reëmbarked on board their galleys, with a good will to meet their enemies the Saracens, the admiral gave orders for the trumpets to sound, and the fleet to get under weigh. The sea was now calm, and the weather fine: it was a pleasure to see the rowers force their vessels through its smooth surface, which seemed to delight in bearing these Christians to the shores of the infidels. Their fleet was numerous and well ordered; and it was a fine sight to view their various banners and pennons, emblazoned with their arms, fluttering with the gentle gales, and glittering in the sun. Late in the evening, the Christians saw the towers of Africa, as pointed out to them by the sailors, which, as they advanced, opened more to their view. Every one was rejoiced at this sight, and not without cause, as they had in part accomplished the object of their voyage. If the Christians, on thus seeing Africa, conversed much concerning the war they were about to commence, the Saracens, who had so plainly observed them from their town, and were on the watch, did the same. They were astonished at the great number of vessels, of all descriptions, and concluded they had a very large army on board, to besiege the town. They were not cast down with this, for they knew the place was strong, well fortified with towers, and plentifully stored with artillery and provisions.

On their first noticing the fleet, they sounded, according to custom, a number of bells on the towers, to alarm and inform the country that an enemy was on the coast. There were encamped near the town a large body of barbarians and infidels, whom the kings of Tunis and Bugia had sent thither to defend the coast, and prevent the Christians from making any progress into the interior of the country. The noise of the trumpets and drums announced the arrival of the Christians; and, in consequence, they formed their army according to their manner, and sent some of the ablest captains to the shore to observe the motions of the enemy, and the manner of their debarkation. They also posted their most expert men-at-arms on the towers and battlements of the town, that they might not be taken by surprise; for it was strong enough to resist everything but a long siege, if they were on their guard.

As I, John Froissart, the author of these chronicles, was never in Africa, I sought all the information I could from those knights and squires who had been on this expedition, and made several journeys to Calais to learn the truth of all that passed.† [Having inquired as to the size and form of the town of Africa, some who had been there figured it out to me, and said it was in the form of a bow, like to Calais, extending its arms toward the sea. This town of Africa, at the time the lords of France and other nations were before it, with an anxious desire to win it, was wonderfully strong, surrounded with high walls at proper distances: the entrance of the harbor was defended by a tower larger than the rest, on which was placed a bricolle to cast large stones and quarrels, with which it was well provided.

When the Christians approached the harbor, the walls of the town seemed to be hung with cloths or tapestry, somewhat similar in appearance to coverlids of beds. They cast anchor about one league

* In the MSS. it is sir William le Boutellier, which I should think more probable.

* "Bricolles," machines to throw stones: a sort of sling.—DU CANGE.

† All within these marks [ ] is additional matter, omitted by Sauvage and Verrard, from MS. No. 4379, Bib. Harl. in the Museum, and from a MS. in the Hafod Library, which is precisely the same.

distant from the port, where they remained until the morrow. The night was clear and serene, for it was the month of July, about Magdalen-tide; and they made themselves comfortable, rejoicing that, through God's pleasure, they had so far succeeded as to have the town of Africa now before them.

The Saracens, who were on the opposite shore watching the Christian fleet, held this night a council on their future mode of proceeding, for they knew the town would be besieged. They thus conversed among themselves: "Our enemies are now arrived: they will, if they can, land and lay siege to Africa, which is the key to the adjoining kingdoms. We must, therefore, consider well our plans for opposing them; otherwise we shall be greatly blamed, and especially if we should not at first dispute their landing." It was proposed by a valiant Saracen, called Mandifer, to resist their landing, as being the most honorable, and to oppose them instantly with their whole force, or they would probably have fault found with them. This was strongly supported by many, as it seemed the most courageous plan; when an ancient Saracen began to speak, who had great influence among them, as he showed. This lord came from a town in Africa called Maldages, and his name was Bellius. He gave his opinion quite contrary to that of Mandifer, and supported it with the following reasons: "Gentlemen, we are sent hither to guard the coast and defend this country: but we have no orders from the kings of Tunis or of Bugia to attack our enemies without having maturely considered the consequences. What I have to propose, I will maintain by such reasons as these: First, you must suppose that this army of Christians has been long in preparation, and is provided with all things necessary. Their captains, you may also believe, are perfect men-at-arms, as able in council as in the field, with the greatest ardor to perform deeds of arms. If we meet them on the shore, they will advance their Genoese cross-bows, for you may be assured they have brought numbers of them. It will be against them who have such excellent cross-bows that we must support the first attack; and we are not armed nor have we shields to guard us against their arrows: our men, finding themselves wounded, will draw back and refuse the combat, so that these Genoese will make good their landing in spite of us. Their men-at-arms, desirous of displaying their courage, will leap from their boats, and, observing our disorder, will attack us with lances, and gain a victory: should this happen, the town of Africa is irrecoverably lost for anything we can do to prevent it. Those within will be so much discouraged by our defeat, that before our men can be rallied, the place will be taken by storm or capitulation, and be so well guarded that we shall have the greatest difficulty to regain it. The French, and those with them, are very expert and subtle in arms. I therefore maintain, that it will be more to our advantage that the enemy should be ignorant of our force at the onset; for at this moment we have not a sufficiency to offer them battle, though our strength is daily increasing. I advise, that we suffer them to disembark at their ease; for, as they have no horses to advance into the country, they will remain where they land, suspicious of our intentions.] The town of Africa is not afraid of them, nor of their attacks, for it is tolerably strong, and well provided with everything. The air is now warm, and will be hotter. They will be exposed to the heat of the sun, while we shall be in the shade. Their provisions will be destroyed, without hopes of having a supply, if they make any long stay, and we shall have abundance from our own country: we will frequently beat up their quarters; and should they be unfortunate in these skirmishes, they will be worn down. We must avoid all general engagements, otherwise we cannot conquer them; but we shall do it by this plan, and trusting to the climate, which is contrary to the nature of their constitutions. [They will not have any reinforcements, and we shall have many. The extreme heat of the sun, and the fatigue they will undergo from being always armed in fear of us, will very soon bring on disorders which will carry numbers to the grave, and thus shall we be revenged without striking a blow.] Such is the plan I propose; and, if I knew of any better, I would lay it before you."

All those in the council who had been used to arms, adopted the advice the old Saracen lord had given. It was in consequence forbidden, under pain of death, for the army to attack or skirmish with the Christians on the sea-shore, but they were ordered to remain quietly in their quarters, and suffer them to land and encamp themselves without any opposition. None dared infringe these orders. They sent a body of their archers into the town of Africa, to assist in its defence, and never made any movement until the morrow, so that the country seemed uninhabited.

The Christians having lain this night, as I have said, at anchor at the mouth of the harbor, made themselves ready the next day, which was a clear bright morning, for approaching the town, being very desirous to land. Trumpets and clarions began to sound and make a loud noise on board the different galleys and ships. When it was about nine o'clock, and the Christians had drunk a cup, and partaken of soup made of Grecian or Malmsey wines, with which they had abundantly provided themselves, to cheer their hearts and raise their spirits, they began to execute the plan they had laid down while at the island of Comino. They sent, as it seems to me, some light vessels called brigandines, armed with bricolles and cannons, first toward the harbor. When they were properly drawn up in array, they entered the haven, and saluted the town with arrows and stones; but the walls were hung with wet carpeting to deaden the blows. These brigandines entered the port without damage, and were followed by the galleys and other vessels in such handsome order as to make a pleasant show. In turning into the harbor, there was a large castle with towers, and on one larger than the rest was placed a bricolle, for the defence of the place, which was not idle, but threw quarrels among the fleet. On each of the towers on the walls was a bricolle which shot well; and, to say the truth, the Saracens had laid in stores for a long time, from the expectation of a siege.

When the Christians entered the port of Africa, to disembark, the weather was so beautiful, and their order so well preserved, that it was delightful to see it. Their trumpets and clarions made the air resound, and were echoed back by the waves. Many knights both from France and from other countries now displayed their banners, and several knights were created. The first of whom was John lord de Ligny, in Hainault: he was knighted by his cousin, sir Henry d'Antoing, and the lord de Ligny there first displayed his banner, which was emblazoned with his arms on a field or, having a bend gules. He was accompanied by his cousin-german, the lord d'Havreth in Hainault. All the knights and squires disembarked in view of the Saracens, on a Wednesday, the vigil of Magdalen-day,* in the year of grace 1390, and as they landed, encamped according to orders from the marshals. Thus they took possession of the land of their enemies, who, noticing their camp, could not avoid highly praising the good order of it. Those in the larger galleys, that could not lie near the shore, were put into boats and conveyed to land, under the banner of our Lady. The Saracens, both within and without the town, allowed them to land peaceably, for they were not in numbers sufficient to oppose them: and the French advanced with displayed banners, on which were emblazoned their arms, to places marked out for their lodgings by the marshals.

The duke of Bourbon, as commander-in-chief, was lodged in the centre of his army, with all honor, and powerfully guarded. The device on his banner, powdered over with flowers-de-luce, was a figure of the Virgin Mary in white, seated in the centre, and an escutcheon of Bourbon at her feet. I will name those lords of rank who were quartered on the right of the duke, looking toward the town: first, sir William de la Tremouille and his brother with a pennon; the lord de Bordenay, with a banner; sir Helion de Lignac, with a pennon; the lord de Tours, the same. Then were placed the Hainaulters, whose standard bore the device of the lord William of Hainault, at that time count d'Ostrevant, eldest son of duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Holland, Hainault and Zealand, which device was a harrow or, on a field gules. There was the lord d'Havreth with his banner; the lord de Ligny, with his; and then the lord Philip, count d'Artois, with his banner; the lord de Mathefelon, with his banner; the lord de Calan, with a pennon; the sénéschal d'Eu, with the same; the lord de Linieres, with a banner; the lord de Thim, with the same; the lord d'Ameval, with the same; sir Walter de Chastillon, with a pennon; sir John de Châteaumorant, with a banner; the brother to the marshal de Sancerre, with a pennon; the lord de Coucy, with his banner, and better supported than any, except the duke of Bourbon; the lord de Licques, with a pennon; sir Stephen de Sancerre, with the same; and then the pennon of the king of France, blazoned with his device; beside it, was sir John le Barrois, with his pennon ornamented with his arms; sir William Morles, with his banner; the lord de Longueval, with a pennon; sir John de Roye, with a banner; the lord de Bours, with a pennon; the viscount d'Ausnay, with a banner; and sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, with his banner.

Those on the left hand of the duke of Bourbon were, the lord d'Ausemont, with a banner; sir John Beaufort, bastard to the duke of Lancaster, a banner; sir John le Bouteiller, an Englishman, a pennon; sir John de Crama, a banner; the souldich de l'Estrade, a pennon; sir John de Harcourt, a banner; the lord Berald, count de Clermont, and dauphin of Auvergne, a banner, and with good array; sir Hugh Dauphin, his brother, a pennon; the lord de Berthencourt, a pennon; the lord de Pierre Buffiere, a banner; the lord de Saint Semere, a banner; the lord de Louvart, marshal of the army, a pennon; the begue de Beausse, a pennon; the lord de Louvy, a banner; sir Gerard de Louvy, his brother, a pennon; the lord de Saint-Germain, a banner; and then the pennon on a standard, with the device of the duke of Bourbon; the lord Philip de Bar, a banner; sir Lewis de Poitiers, a pennon: sir Robert de Calobre, the same; the viscount de Les, a banner; the lord de Nogent, the same; the lord de Villeneuve, a pennon; sir William de Moulin, the same; the lord de Longwy, a pennon; sir Angorget d'Amboise, the same; sir Alain de la Champaigne, a pennon.

All these banners and pennons that I have named were placed in front of the camp, facing the town of Africa; but there were many knights and squires, of great courage and ability, who were quartered in the fields, whom I cannot name, and, if I could, it would take up too much space, for they were, in the whole, fourteen thousand, all gentlemen. This was a handsome army, able to perform many gallant deeds, and support a hard warfare, if the Saracens had ventured an attack, which they did not, contenting themselves this day with throwing large bolts, not meaning to act contrary to their plan.

* "Magdalen-day"—the 22nd July.

When the Christians were encamped, it was necessary for them to be careful of the provision they had brought, for they could not now venture to forage in this country, nor collect wood nor boughs for huts, as they would have run many risks, by foolishly venturing themselves for such objects.

The knights were lodged under tents and pavilions of cloth, which they had procured at Genoa. The Genoese cross-bows formed two wings, inclosing within them the principal lords, and, from their numbers, they occupied a great deal of ground, turning toward the sea-shore. All their provision was on board the vessels, and there were boats continually employed in bringing different articles from them, as they were wanted. When the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, such as Sicily and others, as well as those in the kingdom of Naples, la Puglia, and Calabria, heard the Christians were laying siege to Africa, they exerted themselves to supply them with every sort of provision: some from a desire of gain, others from affection to the Genoese. From Candia were brought good sweet wine and grenaches,* to comfort and refresh them, without which they could not long have supported their fatigues. They were a very large body of men, who daily consumed much in eating and drinking. However, these purveyances did not come regularly; for at times the supply was most abundant, at others, they were in great distress from want.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CONDUCT OF THE SARACENS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE TOWN OF AFRICA. THEY SEND TO DEMAND FROM THE FRENCH THE CAUSE OF THEIR MAKING WAR AGAINST THEM.

I will say something of the Saracens, for it is but just they should be equally spoken of as the Christians, that the truth may be more apparent. You must know that these infidels had, for a long time, been menaced by the Genoese, and were expecting the town of Africa to be besieged, in which they were not disappointed. They had made preparations for resistance, when they heard of the arrival of the Christian fleet, an event that had been long looked for by the neighboring nations; for they are not prudent nor well advised, who fear not their enemies, however small they may be. The Saracens, however, do not hold the Christians cheap: on the contrary, they consider them as men of courage and enterprise, and much fear them. The better to resist their enemies, they assembled the most experienced warriors from the kingdoms of Bugia, Morocco, and Tunis, in which last the town of Africa is situated, and encamped on the downs near the sea-shore. They took advantage of a large and thick wood in their rear, to avoid any danger from ambuscades or skirmishes on that side. The Saracens showed much ability in thus posting themselves. They amounted, according to the estimate of able men-at-arms, to thirty thousand archers and ten thousand horse. Others thought they were more; but their exact numbers were unknown, for the Christians supposed many were lodged in the wood. They were very numerous, for they were in their own country, and could come and go from their army at their pleasure without danger. They received continual supplies of fresh provision, which was brought on the backs of camels.

The second day after the Christians had landed, the Saracens, about dawn, came to attack the camp, sir Henry d'Antoing having the command of the guard of two hundred men-at-arms and one thousand Genoese cross-bows. The skirmish lasted more than two hours, and many gallant deeds were done in shooting and thrusting the lance, for there was not any engagement with the sword hand to hand. The Saracens did not fool-hardily risk themselves, but fought with valor and more prudence than the Christians. When they had skirmished some time, the Saracens retreated; for the army began to be in motion, and some of the French barons had come to witness the action, and observe the manner of their enemies' fighting, that they might be prepared to meet them another time. The Saracens retired to their camp, as did the Christians to theirs; but, during the whole time of this siege of Africa, the Christians were never left quiet, for their camp was every night or morning attacked by the enemy.

Among the Saracens was a young knight, called Agadinquor Oliferne, excellently mounted on a beautiful courser, which he managed as he willed, and which, when he galloped, seemed to fly with him. From his gallantry, he showed he was a good man-at-arms; and, when he rode abroad, he had with him three javelins, well feathered and pointed, which he dexterously flung, according to the custom of his country. He was completely armed in black, and had a kind of white napkin wrapped round his head. His seat on horseback was graceful; and, from the vigor and gallantry of his actions, the Christians judged he was excited thereto by his affection to a young lady of the country. True it is, he most sincerely loved the daughter of the king of Tunis, who, according to the report of some Genoese merchants who had seen her, was very handsome, and the heiress of his kingdom. This knight, called Agadinquor, was the son of duke Oliferne; but I know not if he ever married this lady. I heard that, during the siege, he performed many handsome feats of arms, to testify his love, which the French knights saw with pleasure, and would willingly have surrounded him; but he rode so good a horse, and had him so well in hand, that all their efforts were vain. The Christian lords were very anxious to make some Saracens prisoners, to learn from them the real state of their army; but they could not succeed, and, having noticed their intent, the Saracen chiefs gave orders accordingly. The Saracens were much afraid of the Genoese cross-bows: they shielded themselves as well as they could against their bolts, but they are not armed so strongly as the Christians; for they know not the art to forge armor like theirs, nor have they workmen who could make such. Iron and steel are not common among them; and they wear light targets hanging on their necks, covered with boiled leather from Cappadocia, that no spear can penetrate, if the leather has not been overboiled. Their manner of fighting, according to what I heard, was to advance on the Christians, and shoot a volley of arrows at the Genoese the moment they made their appearance, and then to fall down under shelter of their shields, by which they avoided the bolts from the cross-bows, that went over them: they then rose, and either shot more arrows, or lanched their javelins with much dexterity.

Thus, for the space of nine weeks that the siege lasted, were continual skirmishes made; and on both sides many were killed and wounded, more especially such as ventured too rashly. The Christians imitated the Saracens by avoiding a close combat; and the lords from France and other countries took delight in their manner of fighting, for, to say the truth, novelty is always pleasing. The young lords of these infidels were greatly struck with the glittering armor and emblazoned banners and pennons of their enemies, and, when returned to their camp, they conversed much about them. They were, however, astonished at one thing, which I will now relate. The Saracens within the town of Africa were anxious to know on what pretence the Christians had come with so large an army to make war on them; and, to learn the reasons, they resolved, as I was told, in council, to send a person that could speak Genoese, and gave him the following orders: "Go and take the road to the camp of the Christians, [and manage, before thou returnest, to speak with some lords in their army,] and demand, in our name, why they have brought so powerful a force against us, and taken possession of the lands of the king of Africa, who has not done anything to offend them. True it is that, in former times, we were at war with the Genoese, but that should no way concern them; for they come from very distant countries, and the Genoese are our neighbors. Our custom has been, excepting in times of truce, to seize mutually all we can from each other."

Having received these instructions, the messenger departed and rode on to the camp. The first person he met was a Genoese, to whom he said that he was sent by the Saracens to speak with some baron from France. The Genoese, to whom he had addressed himself, was called Antonio Marchi, a centurion of cross-bows, who took him under his care, to his great joy, and conducted him instantly to the duke of Bourbon and the lord de Coucy. They both listened very attentively, and what they did not understand the centurion interpreted in very good French. When he had finished all he had been ordered to say, he asked for an answer. The French lords told him he should have one as soon as they had considered the purport of his message. Twelve of the greatest barons of the army assembled in the duke of Bourbon's tent, and the messenger and interpreter being called in, the last was ordered to tell him from the lords present, "That in consequence of their ancestors having crucified and put to death the son of God, called Jesus Christ, a true prophet, without any cause or just reason, they were come to retaliate on them for this infamous and unjust judgment. Secondly, they were unbaptized, and infidels in the faith to the holy Virgin, mother of Jesus Christ, and had no creed of their own. For these and other causes, they held the Saracens and their whole sect as enemies, and were come to revenge the injuries they had done to their God and faith, and would to this effect daily exert themselves to the utmost of their power." When the messenger had received this answer, he departed from the army unmolested, and returned to report to his masters what you have just read. The Saracens laughed heartily at hearing it, and said, they made assertions without proofs, for it was the Jews who had crucified Jesus Christ, and not they. Things remained on the former footing: the siege was continued, and each army on its guard.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOME MIRACLES ARE SHOWN TO THE SARACENS, AS THEY ATTEMPT TO ATTACK THE CAMP OF THE CHRISTIANS. SEVERAL SKIRMISHES DURING THE SIEGE. THE CLIMATE BECOMES UNWHOLESOME, AND OTHER ACCIDENTS BEFAL THE BESIEGERS.

Shortly after this message, the Saracens determined in council to remain quiet for seven or eight days, and, during that time, neither to skirmish nor any way to annoy the Christians, but, when they should think themselves in perfect security, to fall on their camp like a deluge. This was adopted; and the ninth evening, a little before midnight, they secretly armed their men with their accustomed arms,

* "Grenaches"—"One of our ancient poets of the fourteenth century mentions, under the year 1315, Greek wine and wine de Grenache. This last, which, since Roussillon has formed part of France, is become a national wine, was then esteemed a foreign wine. It is probably that which Froissart calls Galvache, Garnache, or Galrigache."—*Vie Privee des François*, vol. iii.

and marched silently in a compact body toward the Christian camp. They had proposed making a severe attack on the opposite quarter to the main guard, and would have succeeded in their mischievous attempt, if God had not watched over and preserved them by miracles, as I will now relate. As the Saracens approached, they saw before them a company of ladies dressed in white; one of whom, their leader, was incomparably more beautiful than the rest, and bore in front a white flag, having a vermilion cross in the centre. The Saracens were so greatly terrified at this vision, that they lost all strength and inclination to proceed, and stood still, these ladies keeping steadily before them. The Genoese cross-bows had brought with them a dog, as I heard, from beyond sea; but whence no one could tell, nor did he belong to any particular person. This dog had been very useful to them; for the Saracens never came to skirmish, but by his noise he awakened the army, and as every one now knew that whenever the dog barked the Saracens were come, or on their road, they prepared themselves instantly: in consequence of this, the Genoese called him the dog of our Lady. This night, the dog was not idle, but made a louder noise than usual, and ran first to the main guard, which was under the command of the lord de Torcy, a Norman, and sir Henry d'Antoing. As during the night all sounds are more easily heard, the whole army was in motion, and properly prepared to receive the Saracens, who they knew were approaching.

Siege of the Town of Africa. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

This was the fact; but the Virgin Mary and her company, having the Christians under their care, watched over them; and this night they received no harm, for the Saracens were afraid to advance, and returned the way they had come. The Christians were more attentive to their future guards. The Saracen knights and squires, within the town, were much cast down at the sight they had seen, more especially those who were advanced near this company of ladies. While, on the other hand, the Christians were greatly exerting themselves to win the place, which was courageously defended. At this period the weather was exceedingly hot; for it was the month of August, when the sun is in its greatest force, and that country was warmer than France, from being nearer the sun, and from the heat of the sands. The wines the besiegers were supplied with from La Puglia and Calabria were fiery, and hurtful to the constitutions of the French, many of whom suffered severely by fevers, from the heating quality of their liquors. I know not how the Christians were enabled to bear the fatigues in such a climate, where sweet water was difficult to be had. They, however, had much resource in the wells they dug; for there were upward of two hundred sunk, through the sands, along the shore; but, at times, even this water was muddy and heated. They were frequently distressed for provision, for the supply was irregular, from Sicily and the other islands: at times they had abundance, at other times they were in want. The healthy comforted the sick, and those who had provision shared it with such as had none; for in this campaign they were all as brothers. The lord de Coucy, in particular, was beloved by every gentleman: he was kind to all, and behaved himself by far more graciously, in all respects, than the duke of Bourbon, who was proud and haughty, and never conversed with the knights and squires from foreign countries in the same agreeable manner the Lord de Coucy did.

The duke was accustomed to sit cross-legged the greater part of the day before his pavilion; and those who had anything to say to him were obliged to make many reverences, and address him through the means of a third person. He was indifferent whether the poorer knights and squires were well or ill at their ease: this the lord de Coucy always inquired into, and by it gained great popularity. It was told me, by some foreign knights who had been there, that had the lord de Coucy been commander-in-chief, instead of the duke of Bourbon, the success would have been very different; for many attacks on the town of Africa were frustrated by the pride and fault of the duke of Bourbon: several thought it would have been taken, if it had not been for him.

This siege lasted, by an exact account, sixty-one days; during which, many were the skirmishes before the town and at the barriers: they were well defended, for the flower of the infidel chivalry was in the town. The Christians said among themselves, "If we could gain this place by storm or otherwise, and strongly reinforce and victual it during the winter, a large body of our countrymen might then come hither in the spring and gain a footing in the kingdoms of Barbary and Tunis, which would encourage the Christians to cross the sea annually and extend their conquests." "Would to God it were so," others replied; "for the knights now here would then be comfortably lodged, and every day, if they pleased, they might have deeds of arms." The besieged were alarmed at the obstinacy of their attacks, and redoubled their guards. The great heat, however, did more for them than all the rest, added to the uncertainty of being attacked; for the policy of the Saracens was to keep them in continual alarms. They were almost burnt up when in armor; and it was wonderful that any escaped death; for, during the month of August the air was suffocating. An extraordinary accident happened, which if it had lasted any time, must have destroyed them all. During one week, from the heat and corruption of the air, there were such wonderful swarms of flies, the army was covered with them. The men knew not how to rid themselves of these troublesome guests, which multiplied daily, to their great astonishment; but, through the grace of God and the Virgin Mary, to whom they were devoted, a remedy was found, in a thunder and hail-storm, that fell with great violence, and destroyed all the flies. The air, by this storm, was much cooled, and the army got to be in better health than it had been for some time.

Knights who are on such expeditions must cheerfully put up with what weather may happen, for they cannot have it according to their wishes; and, when any one falls sick, he must be nursed to his recovery or to his death. Although the knights from France had undertaken this voyage with an eagerness and resolution that bore them up under the pains they suffered, they had not many luxuries to gratify them; for nothing was sent them from France, nor had any in that kingdom more intelligence from them than if they were buried under ground. Once, indeed, there came a galley from Barcelona, laden more with oranges and small grain than with anything else. The oranges were of the greatest service, by the refreshment they afforded; but, whatever vessel came to them, none returned, for fear of meeting the Saracens at sea, and because they wished to wait the event of the siege, and see whether the Christians would conquer the town.

The young king Lewis of Sicily exerted himself, in order that his subjects should carry a constant supply of provision to them, for he was their nearest neighbor. It was fortunate the Saracens were not strong enough at sea to prevent the vessels coming from the ports of Sicily and Naples, or they would have conquered them without striking a blow. They therefore contented themselves with keeping the Christians under perpetual alarms on land. The Saracens have not a large navy like the Genoese and Venetians; and what they get at sea is by thievery; and they never dare wait the attack of the Christians unless they be in very superior numbers, for a well-armed galley with Christians will defeat four of such enemies. In truth, the Turks are better men-at-arms by sea and land than any other nation of unbelievers of our faith; but they were at too great a distance from Africa, and the town could not receive any aid from them. The Turks had heard that the town of Africa was besieged by the Christians, and had often, but in vain, wished to have been there.

CHAPTER XXII.

A CHALLENGE IS SENT BY THE SARACENS TO OFFER COMBAT OF TEN AGAINST TEN CHRISTIANS. THE SARACENS FAIL IN THEIR ENGAGEMENT. THE TOWN OF AFRICA IS STORMED, BUT UNSUCCESSFULLY, AND WITH THE LOSS OF MANY WORTHY MEN.

THE besiegers and their enemies studied day and night how they could most effectually annoy each other. Agadinquor Oliferne, Madifer de Tunis, Belins Maldages, and Brahadin de Bugia, and some other Saracens, consulted together, and said; "Here are our enemies the Christians encamped before us, and we cannot defeat them. They are so few in number when compared to us, that they must be well advised by their able captains; for, in all our skirmishes, we have never been able to make one knight prisoner. If we could capture one or two of their leaders, we should acquire fame, and learn from them the state of their army and what are their intentions. Let us now consider how we may accomplish this." Agadinquor replied, "Though I am the youngest, I wish to speak first." "We agree to it," said the others. "By my faith," continued he, "I am very desirous of engaging them; and I think, if I were matched in equal combat with one of my size, I should conquer him. If you will therefore select ten valiant men, I will challenge the Christians to send the same number to fight with us. We have justice on our side in this war, for they have quarelled with us without reason; and this right and the courage I feel, induce me to believe that we shall have the victory." Madifer de Tunis, who was a very valiant man, said: "Agadinquor, what you have proposed is much to your honor. To-morrow, if you please, you shall ride as our chief toward the camp of the Christians, taking an interpreter with you, and make a signal that you have something to say. If you be well received by them, propose your combat of ten against ten. We shall then hear what answer they give: and, though I believe the offer will be accepted, we must take good counsel how we proceed against these Christians, whom we consider as more valiant than ourselves."

This being determined on, they retired to rest. On the morrow, as usual, they advanced to skirmish; but Agadinquor rode on at some distance in front with his interpreter. The day was bright and clear, and a little after sunrise the Saracens were ready for battle. Sir Guy and sir William de la Tremouille had commanded the guard of the night, and were on the point of retiring, when the Saracens appeared in sight about three bow-shots distant. Agadinquor and his interpreter advanced toward one of the wings, and made signs to give notice that he wanted to parley with some one; by accident, he came near the pennon of a good squire-at-arms called Affrenal, who, noticing his signs, rode forward a pace, and told his men to remain as they were, "for that he would go and see what the Saracen wanted: he has an interpreter with him, and is probably come to make some proposition." His men remained steady, and he rode toward the Saracen.

When they were near each other, the interpreter said, "Christian, are you a gentleman, of name in arms, and ready to answer what shall be asked of you?" "Yes," replied Affrenal, "I am: speak what you please, it shall be answered." "Well," said the interpreter, "here is a noble man of our country who demands to combat with you bodily; and, if you would like to increase the number to ten, he will bring as many of his friends to meet you. The cause for the challenge is this: They maintain, that their faith is more perfect than yours; for it has continued since the beginning of the world, when it was written down; and that your faith has been introduced by a mortal, whom the Jews hung and crucified." "Ho," interrupted Affrenal, "be silent on these matters, for it does not become such as thee to dispute concerning them; but tell the Saracen, who has ordered thee to speak, to swear on his faith that such a combat shall take place, and he shall be gratified within four hours. Let him bring ten gentlemen, and of name in arms, on his side, and I will bring as many to meet him." The interpreter related to the Saracen the words that had passed, who seemed much rejoiced thereat, and pledged himself for the combat.

This being done, each returned to his friends; but the news had already been carried to sir Guy and to sir William de la Tremouille, who, meeting Affrenal, demanded how he had settled matters with the Saracen. Affrenal related what you have heard, and that he had accepted the challenge. The two knights were well pleased, and said, "Affrenal, go and speak to others, for we will be of your number ten." He replied, "God assist us! I fancy I shall find plenty ready to fight the Saracens." Shortly after, Affrenal met the lord de Thim, to whom he told what had passed, and asked if he would make one. The lord de Thim willingly accepted the offer; and of all those to whom Affrenal related it, he might, if he pleased, have had a hundred instead of ten. Sir Boucicaut, the younger, accepted it with great courage, as did sir Helion de Lignac, sir John Russel, an Englishman, sir John Harpedone, Alain Boudet and Bouchet. When the number of ten was completed, they retired to their lodgings, to prepare and arm themselves. When the news of this combat was spread through the army, and the names of the ten were told, the knights and squires said, "they are lucky fellows, thus to have such a gallant feat of arms fall to their lot." "Would to Heaven," added many, "that we were of the ten." All the knights and squires seemed to rejoice at this event, except the lord de Coucy. I believe the lord de Thim was a dependent on, or of the company of, the lord de Coucy: for, when he repaired to his tent to arm, he found him there, and acknowledged him for his lord. He related to him the challenge of the Saracen, and that he had accepted being one of the ten. All present were loud in praise of it, except the lord de Coucy, who said, "Hold your tongues, you youngsters, who as yet know nothing of the world, and who never consider consequences, but always applaud folly in preference to good. I see no advantage in this combat, for many reasons: one is, that ten noble and distinguished gentlemen are about to fight with ten Saracens. How do we know if their opponents are gentlemen? They may, if they choose, bring to the combat ten varlets, or knaves, and, if they are defeated, what is the gain? We shall not the sooner win the town of Africa, but by it risk very valuable lives. Perhaps they may form an ambuscade, and, while our friends are on the plain waiting for their opponents, surround them and carry them off, by which we shall be greatly weakened. I therefore say, that Affrenal has not wisely managed this matter; and, when he first met the Saracen, he should have otherwise answered, and said, 'I am not the commander-in-chief of our army, but one of the least in it; and you Saracen, who address yourself to me and blame our faith, are not qualified to discuss such matters, nor have you well addressed yourself. I will conduct you to my lords, and assure you, on my life, that no harm befal you in going or in returning, for my lords will cheerfully listen to you.' He should then have led him to the duke of Bourbon and the council of war, when his proposal would have been heard and discussed at leisure, his intentions been known, and answers made according as they should think the matter deserved. Such a combat should never be undertaken but after great deliberation, especially with enemies like to those we are engaged with. And when it had been agreed on, and the names and qualities of each combatant should be declared, we would then have selected proper persons to meet them, and proper securities would have been required from the Saracens for the uninterrupted performance of the combat, and a due observance of the articles. If matters had been thus managed, lord of Thim, I think it would have been better. It would be well if it could be put on this footing; and I will speak to the duke of Bourbon and the principal barons in the army, and hear what they shall say on the subject." The lord de Coucy then departed for the tent of the duke of Bourbon, where the barons were assembled, as they had heard of this challenge, to consider what might be the probable event of it. Although the lord de Coucy had intended his speech to the lord de Thim as advice for his benefit, he did not the less arm himself: when fully equipped, he went with his companions, who were completely armed, and in good array, with sir Guy de la Tremouille at their head, to meet the Saracens.

During this, there was conversation on the subject between the lords in the tent of the duke of Bourbon: many thought the accepting such a challenge improper, and supported the opinion of the lord de Coucy, who said it ought to have been ordered otherwise. But some, and in particular the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, and the lord Philip de Bar, said, "Since the challenge has been accepted by our knights, they would be disgraced were the combat now broken off: and in the name of God and our Lady, let them accomplish it the best manner they can." This was adopted; for it was now too far advanced to be stopped. It was therefore ordered to draw out the whole army properly arrayed, that if the Saracens had formed any bad designs, they might be prepared to meet them. Every one, therefore, made himself ready: the whole were drawn up, as if for instant combat; the Genoese cross-bows on one side, and the knights and squires on the other; each lord under his own banner or pennon emblazoned with his arms. It was a fine sight to view the army thus displayed, and they showed great eagerness to attack the Saracens.

The ten knights and squires were advanced on the plain waiting for their opponents, but they came not, nor showed any appearance of so doing; for, when they saw the Christian army so handsomely drawn out in battle-array, they were afraid to advance though they were thrice their numbers. At times they sent horsemen, well mounted, to ride near their army, observe its disposition, and then gallop back: which was solely done through malice, to annoy the Christians.

This was the hottest day they felt, and it was so extremely oppressive that the most active among them were almost stifled in their armor: they had never suffered so much before, and yet they remained expecting the ten Saracens, but in vain, for they never heard a word from them. The army was ordered to attack the town of Africa, since they were prepared, and thus pass the day; and the ten champions, in regard to their honor, were to remain on their ground to the evening.

The knights and squires advanced with great alacrity to the attack of the town, but they were sorely oppressed with the heat; and had the Saracens known their situation, they might have done them much damage; probably they might even have raised the siege and obtained a complete victory, for the Christians were exceedingly weakened and worn down. True it is, they gained by storm the wall of the first inclosure: but no one inhabited that part, and the enemy retired within their second line of defence, skirmishing as they retreated, and without any great loss. The Christians paid dear

for an inconsiderable advantage: the heat of the sun and its reflection on the sands, added to the fatigue of fighting, which lasted until evening, caused the death of several valiant knights and squires: the more the pity.

I will mention the names of those who this day fell victims to the heat and unhealthiness of the climate. First, sir William de Gacille, sir Guiscard de la Garde, sir Lyon Scalet, sir Guy de la Salveste, sir William d'Estapelle, sir William de Guiret, sir Raffroy de la Chapelle, the lord de Pierre Buffiere, the lord de Bonnet, sir Robert de Hanges, sir Stephen de Sancerre, sir Aubert de la Motte, sir Alain de la Champaigne, sir Geoffry Sressiers, sir Raoul d'Econflan, the lord de Bourg from Artois, sir John de Crie, bastard de la Mouleraye, sir Tristan his brother, sir Arné de Consay, sir Arné de Donnay, sir John de Compaignie, sir Fouke d'Escauffours, sir John de Cathenais. I will now add the names of squires who fell: Fouchans de Liege, John des Isles, Blondelet d'Arenton, John de la Motte, Blomberis, Floridas de Rocque, the lord de Bellefreres, William Frondrigay, Walter de Canfours, John Morillon, Peter de Maulves, Guillot Villain, John de la Lande, John Purier, John le Moine, John de Launay and William du Parc.

Now consider how great was this loss; and, had the advice of the gallant lord de Coucy been followed, it would not have happened, for the army would have remained quietly in its camp, as it had hitherto done. The whole army was dismayed at it, and each bewailed the loss of his friend. They retired late to their camp, and kept a stronger guard than usual, during the night, for fear of the Saracens. It passed however without further accident, and more prudent arrangements were made. The Saracens were ignorant of what their enemies had suffered; had they known it, they would have had a great advantage over them, but they were in dread of the Christians, and never ventured to attack them but in skirmishes, retreating after one or two charges. The person among them who had shown the most courage was Agadinquor Oliferne. He was enamored with the daughter of the king of Tunis, and in compliment to her, was eager to perform brilliant actions.

Thus was the siege of Africa continued; but the relations and friends of the knights and squires who had gone thither, from France and other countries, received no intelligence, nor knew more of them than if they were dead. They were so much alarmed at not having any news of them, that many processions were made in England, France and Hainault, to the churches, to pray God that he would bring them back, in safety, to their several homes. The intention of the Christians was to remain before the town of Africa, until they should have conquered it by storm, treaty or famine. The king of Sicily, as well as the inhabitants of the adjacent islands, were anxious it should be so, for the Africans had done them frequent damage; but the Genoese were particularly kind, in supplying the knights and squires with everything they wanted, to prevent them from being tired with the length of the campaign.

To say the truth, this was a very great enterprise, and the knights and squires showed much courage and perseverance in continuing the siege in so unhealthy a climate, after the great losses they had suffered, without assistance from any one; and even when the Genoese, who had first proposed the expedition, were dissembling with them, and as it was said, were in treaty with the Saracens, to leave the Christian army unsupported and neglected, as I shall relate in due time, according to the reports that were made to me.

We will now leave the affairs of Africa, and speak of the handsome feasts that were at this time given at London.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A GRAND TOURNAMENT IS HOLDEN AT LONDON. THE KING OF ENGLAND GIVES SPLENDID ENTERTAINMENTS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE TOWN OF AFRICA BY THE CHRISTIANS. THE COUNT D'OSTREVANT RECEIVES THE ORDER OF THE GARTER, WHICH DISPLEASES THE KING OF FRANCE.

News of the splendid feasts and entertainments made for queen Isabella's public entry into Paris was carried to many countries, and very justly, for they were most honorably conducted. The king of England and his three uncles had received the fullest information of them: for some of his knights had been present, who had reported all that had passed with the utmost fidelity. In imitation of this, the king of England ordered grand tournaments and feasts to be holden in the city of London, where sixty knights should be accompanied by sixty noble ladies, richly ornamented and dressed. The sixty knights were to tilt for two days; that is to say, on the Sunday after Michaelmas-day, and the Monday following, in the year of grace 1390. The sixty knights were to set out at two o'clock in the afternoon from the Tower of London, with their ladies, and parade through the streets, down Cheapside, to a large square called Smithfield. There the knights were to wait, on the Sunday, the arrival of any foreign knights who might be desirous of tilting; and this feast of the Sunday was called the challengers'. The same ceremonies were to take place on the Monday, and the sixty knights to be prepared for tilting courteously with blunted lances against all comers. The prize for the best knight of the opponents was to be a rich crown of gold; that for the tenants of the lists a very rich golden clasp: they were to be given to the most gallant tilter, according to the judgment of the ladies, who would be present with the queen of England and the great barons, as spectators.

On the Tuesday, the tournaments were to be continued by squires, against others of the same rank who wished to oppose them. The prize for the opponents was a courser saddled and bridled, and for the tenants of the lists a falcon. The manner of holding this feast being settled, heralds were sent to proclaim it throughout England, Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders, and France. It was ordered by the council to what parts each herald was to go; and, having time beforehand, they published it in most countries.

Many knights and squires from foreign lands made preparations to attend it: some to see the manners of the English, others to take part in the tournaments. On the feast being known in Hainault, sir William de Hainault count d'Ostrevant, who was at that time young and gallant, and fond of tilting, determined, in his own mind, to be present, and to honor and make acquaintance with his cousin, king Richard, and his uncles whom he had never seen. He therefore engaged many knights and squires to accompany him; in particular the lord de Gomegines, because he was well known in England, having lived there some time. Sir William resolved, while his preparations were making, to visit his father, the count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, to speak with him on the subject, and to take leave of him before he went to England. He therefore set out from Quesnoy, in Hainault, and continued his journey to the Hague, a good town in Holland, where his father then resided. During the visit, he told his father his intentions to partake of the great feast in England, to see his cousin and other English lords whom he was desirous of knowing. "William," replied the count, "my good son, you have nothing to do in England: you are now connected by marriage with the blood-royal of France, and your sister is the wife of the eldest son of our cousin the duke of Burgundy: you have no occasion, therefore, to seek other connections." "My lord," answered sir William, "I do not wish to go to England to form any alliance, but merely to tilt and enjoy this feast, which has been publicly proclaimed everywhere, and visit my cousins, whom I have never seen. Should I not go thither, after the particular invitation I have had, for a purpose messenger brought it me, my refusal will be considered as the effect of pride and presumption. I feel myself bound therefore in honor to go, and beg, father, that you will not refuse me your consent." "William," replied the count, "you are your own master; act as you please; but I should think, for the sake of peace, it were better you did not go."

The count d'Ostrevant, perceiving this subject was disagreeable to his father, turned the conversation to other matters; but his resolution was fixed, and his purveyances were continued to be made and forwarded to Calais. His herald, Gomegines, was sent to England to inform the king and his uncles, that he would come honorably attended to his feast. They were much pleased at this intelligence, and presented the herald with great gifts, which were very acceptable, for he became blind toward the end of his days. I know not if he had angered God, that he was afflicted with such a punishment; but this herald, when in power, had behaved with so much insolence, that he was little pitied in his distress. The count d'Ostrevant took leave of his father, and, on his departure from the Hague, returned to his lady at Quesnoy. Many noble knights were busy in preparations for this feast that had been so pompously proclaimed.

The count Waleran de Saint Pol, who had married the half-sister to king Richard, assembled a handsome body of knights and squires, and with them made for Calais, where passage-vessels were waiting to convey to Dover the lords and knights going to this tournament. From Dover they continued their journey to London, where their servants had previously secured their lodgings.

The count d'Ostrevant set out from Hainault with a numerous attendance of knights and squires, and travelled through Artois to Calais, where he met the count de St. Pol. When the wind was favorable, and their attendants embarked, they crossed the channel; but it was told me, and I believe it, that the count de St. Pol arrived first at London, where he found the king and his brother-in-law, sir John Holland, who, with many other nobles, made him a hearty welcome, and inquired the news in France. The count d'Ostrevant having crossed the sea, stopped at Canterbury, and on the Friday morning, without breaking his fast, paid his devotions at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, making at the same time a very rich offering at that altar. He remained that whole day at Canterbury, and on the following went to Rochester. On account of his numerous train, he travelled but a short day's journey, to spare his horses that carried the baggage. After mass he left Rochester and dined at Dartford, whence he continued his journey to London, for it was on this Sunday the tournaments were to begin.

This Sunday, according to proclamation, being the next to Michelmas-day, was the beginning of the tiltings, and called the feast of the challengers. About three o'clock, there paraded out from the Tower of London, which is situated in the square of St. Catherine, on the banks of the Thames, sixty barded coursers ornamented for the tournament; on each was mounted a squire of honor that advanced only at a foot's pace; then came sixty ladies of rank, mounted on palfreys most elegantly and richly dressed, following each other, every one leading a knight with a silver chain, completely armed for tilting; and in this procession they moved on through the streets of

London, attended by numbers of minstrels and trumpets, to Smithfield. The queen of England, and her ladies and damsels, were already arrived and placed in chambers handsomely decorated. The king was with the queen. When the ladies who led the knights arrived in the square, their servants were ready to assist them to dismount from their palfreys, and to conduct them to the apartments prepared for them. The knights remained until their squires of honor had dismounted, and brought them their coursers, which having mounted, they had their helmets laced on, and prepared themselves in all points for the tilt.

The count de Saint Pol with his companions now advanced, handsomely armed for the occasion, and the tournament began. Every foreign knight who pleased tilted, or had time for so doing, before the evening set in. The tiltings were well and long continued, until night forced them to break off. The lords and ladies then retired where they had made appointments. The queen was lodged in the bishop of London's palace near St. Paul's church, where the banquet was held.

Toward evening, the count d'Ostrevant arrived, and was kindly received by king Richard and his lords. The prize for the opponents was adjudged to the count de St. Pol, as the best knight at this tournament, and that for the tenants to the earl of Huntingdon. The dancings were at the queen's residence, in the presence of the king, his uncles, and the barons of England. The ladies and damsels continued their amusements, before and after supper, until it was time to retire, when all went to their lodgings, except such as were attached to the king or queen, who, during the tournament, lived at the palace of the bishop of London.

You would have seen on the ensuing morning, Monday, squires and varlets busily employed, in different parts of London, furbishing and making ready armor and horses for their masters who were to engage in the justs. In the afternoon, king Richard entered Smithfield magnificently accompanied by dukes, lords, and knights, for he was chief of the tenants of the lists. The queen took her station as on the preceding day, with her ladies, in the apartments that had been prepared for her. The count d'Ostrevant came next, with a large company of knights and squires fully armed for tilting; then the count de Saint Pol and the knights from France.

The tournament now began, and every one exerted himself to the utmost to excel: many were unhorsed, and more lost their helmets. The justing continued with great courage and perseverance until night put an end to it. The company now retired to their lodgings or their homes; and, when the hour for supper was near, the lords and ladies attended it, which was splendid and well served. The prize for the opponents at the tournament was adjudged, by the ladies, lords, and heralds, to the count d'Ostrevant, who far eclipsed all who had tilted that day; that for the tenants was given to a gallant knight of England called sir Hugh Spenser.

On the morrow, Tuesday, the tournament was renewed by the squires, who tilted in the presence of the king, queen, and all the nobles, until night, when all retired as on the preceding day. The supper was as magnificent as before at the palace of the bishop, where the king and queen lodged; and the dancing lasted until daybreak, when the company broke up. The tournament was continued on the Wednesday by all knights and squires indiscriminately, who were inclined to just; it lasted until night, and the supper and dances were as the preceding day.

On Thursday, the king entertained at supper all the foreign knights and squires, and the queen their ladies and damsels. The duke of Lancaster gave a grand dinner to them on the Friday. On Saturday, the king and his court left London for Windsor, whither the count d'Ostrveant, the count de St. Pol, and the foreign knights who had been present at the feasts, were invited. All accepted the invitation, as was right, and went to Windsor, which has a handsome castle, well built and richly ornamented, situated on the Thames twenty miles from London. The entertainments were very magnificent in the dinners and suppers king Richard made, for he thought he could not pay honor enough to his cousin the count d'Ostrevant. He was solicited by the king and his uncles to be one of the companions of the order of the blue Garter, as the chapel of St. George, the patron, was at Windsor. In answer to their request, he said he would consider of it, and instantly consulted the lord de Gomegines and the bastard Fierabras de Vertain, who were far from discouraging him from accepting the order. He returned to the king, and was admitted a knight companion of the Garter, to the great surprise of the French knights then present. They murmured together, and then said: "This count d'Ostrevant plainly shows that his heart is more inclined to England than to France, when he thus accepts the order of the Garter, which is the device of the kings of England. He is purchasing the ill-will of the court of France and of my lord of Burgundy, whose daughter he has married, and a time may come for him to repent of it. However, to say the truth, he must know what concerns him best: but he was well beloved by the king of France, his brother the duke of Touraine, and all the royal family; so that when he came to them at Paris or elsewhere, they showed him more kindness than to any other of their cousins."

Thus was the count d'Ostrevant blamed by the French, without the smallest cause; for what he had done was no way to injure the crown of France, nor his cousins and friends of that country. Nothing was farther from his mind than any hostility to the king of France; but he had accepted the Garter to oblige his cousin in England, and on occasion to be a mediator between the two countries. When he took the oaths usual on the admission of knights to the order, it ought to be known publicly that nothing was said or done prejudicial to France, nor any treaties entered into with that intent. I mention this, since it is impossible to prevent the envious from spreading abroad their tales. When the entertainments at Windsor had lasted a sufficient time, and the king had made handsome presents to the knights and squires of France, particularly to the young count d'Ostrevant, the company took leave of the king, the queen, and the court, and departed for their different homes.

Rumor, which magnifies everything, carried to the king of France, his brother and uncles, every particular that had passed at this feast in England. Those who had been there confirmed it; nothing was forgotten, but rather additions made with the intent of doing mischief in preference to good. They related, that William of Hainault, who called himself count d'Ostrevant, had taken great pains to honor this feast; that he had the prize given him at the tournament in preference to many other foreign knights, and that he was loud in the praise of the English, and was become the liege-man to the king of England by taking the oaths and accepting the order of the blue Garter, in the chapel of Saint George at Windsor, which order had been established by king Edward and his son the prince of Wales; that no one could be admitted a knight companion of that order, without making oath never to bear arms against the crown of England; and this oath the count d'Ostrevant had taken without the smallest reservation.

The king of France and his uncles, on hearing this, were much troubled and vexed with the count d'Ostrevant. The king said: "Only think, it is not a year ago since the count begged of me that his brother might be bishop of Cambray; but after what we have heard, that would now be much to our prejudice. It will be better that our cousin of St. Pol have Cambray than John of Haniault. The Hainaulters were never our sincere friends, nor ever will be, for they are too proud and presumptuous, and have always been more attached to England than France; but a time may come when they shall dearly pay for it. We will," added the king, "that the count d'Ostrevant be summoned to appear before us, and to do homage for the county of Ostrevant, or we will dispossess him and attach it to our crown." Such of the council as were present, replied, "Sir, you say well, and what you order ought to be done." The duke of Burgundy, whose daughter the count had married, was highly displeased at these reports; for he had always pushed his son-in-law as much as he could into the good graces of the king and the royal family. This business was not neglected; for the king of France wrote very sharp letters to the count d'Ostrevant, which he sent to him at Quesnoy, commanding him to come to Paris, and, in the presence of the peers of France, do homage for the county of Ostrevant, or he would make war upon him, and dispossess him of it.

The count d'Ostrevant, on perusing these letters, found that the king and his council were much angered, and instantly assembled his most confidential counsellors to consider of the answer. He called to his aid the lord de Fontaines, the lord de Gomegines, sir William de Heremies, the lord de Trassegnies, the bailiff of Hainault, the lord de Sancelles, sir Race de Montigny, the abbot de Crespin, John Semart, and James Barrier of Valenciennes. These counsellors having some time debated, and turned the matter over various ways, thought it most advisable to write to the king of France, and answer generally to what he had urged, and demand an opportunity for so doing more particularly, by persons that were properly qualified and not by letters. In the mean time, they recommended sending a well-informed messenger, to duke Albert in Holland, to acquaint him with what was passing, and have his advice. This was done: they wrote such humble and discreet letters to the king of France and his council as greatly pacified them; and sent the lord de Trassegnies, the lord de Sancelles, John Semart, and James Barrier to Holland. On being admitted to the count of Holland they laid before him the situation of Hainault, and the letters that had been received from the king of France.

If the count of Holland was not surprised at what had happened, it is not to be wondered at; for he replied, "I was just thinking that what you tell me would come to pass: my son William had no business to go to England. I have given up to him the government of Hainault: let him advise with the wisest and most prudent in that country. Make interest with our fair cousin, the duke of Burgundy; for he has the power to set to rights all this business. I cannot give you better advice, nor recommend a more fit person to address yourselves to." On this the envoys returned to Hainault, and related all that had passed, which gave satisfaction. The lord de Trassegnies, sir William de Heremies, sir Race de Montigny, John Semart and James Barrier, were ordered to wait on the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. The detail of all that passed would be too long for such a history as this, that embraces so many objects. The conclusion was, that notwithstanding the support of the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Ostrevant was forced to go to Paris to perform his duty, and acknowledge his holding the county of Ostrevant from the crown of France, otherwise he would have had war instantly carried into Hainault. The lord de Coucy and sir Oliver de Clisson took much

pains that a war should ensue; but the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier counteracted them to the utmost of their power. As we have dwelt too long on these matters, we will return to the barons and knights of France, who were besieging the strong town of Africa against the Saracens.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SIEGE OF AFRICA IS RAISED. THE CAUSE OF IT. THE KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.

You have before heard, what pains the Christians took to conquer the town of Africa; for they thought, if they succeeded, they should gain renown, and be able to withstand, during the winter, all the forces the infidels could bring against them, until they should be reinforced from Europe, especially by the king of France, who was young and fond of arms, and there were still two years to run of the truce with England: the Christians had therefore laid siege to Africa, as being the most convenient entrance into Barbary. The infidels, suspicious of such being their intentions, well victualled the place, and reinforced it with a new garrison, the better to guard it.

The siege still continued, although, after the before-mentioned loss on the part of the Christians, little advantage was gained, and the men-at-arms were greatly discouraged; for they could not obtain any opportunity of changing the tiresomeness of their situation, and of revenging themselves on the enemy. Many, in consequence, began to murmur and say, "We remain here in vain; for if we do nothing more effectual than skirmishing, we shall never gain the town: if, by accident we kill one infidel by our arrows, they supply his place with ten more, as they are in their own country, and have provision and stores in abundance, while ours are brought with much difficulty and uncertainty. What will become of us, if we stay longer? The cold nights of winter freeze and benumb us to death. We shall be in a most disagreeable state for many reasons: first, at that time of the year the sea will be so tempestuous no one will venture on it. We have now but eight days provision, and should the stormy weather set in, and prevent any vessels arriving, we must inevitably perish. Secondly, suppose we have provision and stores in plenty, how can the army support, for so long a time, the fatigue of a regular guard? The danger will be too great; for the enemy is on his own ground, and well acquainted with the country, and may attack us in the night-season, as we have already seen, and do us infinite damage. Thirdly, should we be infected with any disorder, from want of better air and fresh provision, it may be contagious, and we shall drop off one after another, for we have not any remedies to guard against such a misfortune. Besides, should the Genoese, who are a treacherous race, wish to return without us, they might embark in the night-time, and, when once on board their vessels, we could not prevent them, and they would leave us here to pay the reckoning. It will be right that we remonstrate with our lords, who are enjoying their ease, on these our suspicions; for the Genoese do not conceal their opinions of us. Some of their talkers have said to our men, 'You Frenchmen are odd men-at-arms: when we sailed from Genoa, we thought you would have conquered this town of Africa within a week or a fortnight after your landing; but we have been here nearly two months, and nothing has been done: by the assaults and skirmishes you make, the town need not fear you these two years; and at the rate you go on, you will never conquer the kingdoms of Tunis or Africa.'"

The Genoese had so frequently held this language to the varlets and others of the army, that it reached the ears of their lords, and was repeated to the lord de Coucy, who was wise and prudent, and to whom the whole army looked up. He considered a while, and then said to himself, "The conversations of these Genoese are but too well founded in truth: to put a stop to them, a full assembly of the principal knights must be held, to consider how we are to proceed, for winter is fast approaching." At this council, which was held in the duke of Bourbon's tent, various plans were proposed; but the conclusion was, that they would, for this season, break up the siege, and every person should return home the way he had come. The chief lords secretly made preparations accordingly, and, calling to them the masters of the galleys and other vessels, acquainted them with their intentions. The captains were much surprised, and said, "My lords, do not harbor any suspicions of us, for we are pledged to you by our honor and oaths, and we will most loyally and honestly acquit ourselves. Had we pleased, we might have accepted the favorable offers that were made us by the Africans, but we refused to enter into any treaty with them, from our attachments and engagements to you."

"We have no doubts of you, gentlemen," replied the lord de Coucy, "for we look on you as loyal and valiant men: but we have considered our situation; winter is at hand, and we have a scarcity of provision. Should it be God's good pleasure that we return to France, we will inform the king, who is young and fond of war, of the state of this country. At this moment he knows not where to employ his force, for he and the king of England are at peace. He is unhappy when idle, and we shall advise him to undertake an expedition hither, as well to have the pleasure of meeting the king of Sicily as to conquer this country from the Saracens. Prepare and make ready your galleys, for we shall leave this coast in a very few days." The Genoese were not well pleased with the French lords for thus breaking up the siege of the town of Africa; but, as they could not amend it, they were forced to bear with it as well as they could.

There was a rumor current in the Christian camp, that the Genoese were treating with the Saracens to betray and deliver up to them the remainder of the army. It was firmly believed by many, and they said: "Our principal commanders, the duke of Bourbon, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lord de Coucy, sir Guy de la Tremouille, sir Philip de Bar and sir John de Vienne, are well acquainted with this plot; and for this reason they have determined suddenly to break up the siege." When it was proclaimed that every one was to embark on board the galleys or other vessels, in an orderly manner, you would have seen the varlets in the greatest bustle packing up the purveyances of their different lords, and conveying them on board the ships which lay at anchor off the shore. When all things were embarked, the knights entered the galleys that had brought them thither: many had bargained with the captains to carry them to Naples, others to Sicily, Cyprus or Rhodes, thence to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

After having remained sixty-one days before the town of Africa, they broke up the siege, and set sail from that country in sight of the Saracens from the walls. This gave them such joy that they sounded horns and beat drums, and made so great a noise by their shoutings, as to be heard in the army of the Saracens. Several young knights mounted their horses, and galloped to the place where the camp had been, to see if they could find anything left behind. Agadinquor d'Oliferne and Brahadin de Tunis were the first to arrive; but the Christians had so completely cleared the camp, that there was nothing for them to carry away. The Saracens left their station to examine the camp, and remained more than two hours noticing the manner and form of it. They praised much their subtlety in sinking wells for fresh water, and, having for some time viewed the galleys under sail, they returned to visit their friends in the town of Africa. Others went to their quarters, and rejoiced greatly that the Christians had not dared to remain longer. They held their power very cheap, and said, they should no longer fear, as they had done, the French or Genoese. They spoke truly, as I shall explain. When this siege was raised, the Saracens grew proud on the occasion, for they saw the Genoese had exerted themselves to their utmost power to annoy them: this expedition could not have been undertaken without an enormous expense, and they had not gained anything. But they did not know the great losses the Christians had suffered until that day, and I will tell you by what accident it happened. In the camp of the Christians was found, lying on the ground, a Genoese varlet, who was too ill with a fever to be removed when the sailors sought for their men to embark on board the barges. The Saracens were delighted on finding this man, and ordered no harm to be done him. They carried him to the principal commanders of their army, and told them where they had found him. An interpreter was sent for, to examine him; but at first he would not make any answers, considering himself as a dead man, and desiring they would put him out of his pain. The chiefs of the army, such as Agadinquor d'Oliferne and Brahadin de Tunis, thought they should gain nothing by his death; and to induce him to answer truly, without any equivocation, what questions should be put to him, they promised to spare his life, and send him safe and well to his own country on board of the first galley that should come thither from Genoa or Marseilles, with a present of one hundred golden besants. The valet hearing this, was freed from his fears of death and made easy; for he knew that these Saracens never break their words; and, as every one dies as late as he can, he said to the interpreter, "Make them all swear on their faith to keep what they have promised, and I will truly answer whatever you may ask." The interpreter repeated this to the lords, who having consented to his demand, the varlet said, "Now ask what questions you please, and I will answer them." He was first asked who he was, and his place of residence, and replied, "Portevances;* [that his name was Simon Mollevin, and son to a captain of a galley at Portevances:"] then as to the commanders of the Christian army. He named several; for, having kept company and drank with the heralds, he had often heard their names mentioned and remembered some of them. He was asked, if he knew the reasons why they had so suddenly raised the siege and departed. To this he made a very prudent reply, by saying, he was ignorant of it, as he was not present at the council of war when it was determined on, and could only tell them what was the common report in the army. It was said, that the French suspected the Genoese of a design to betray them; but the Genoese declared this was false, and wrongfully imputed to them by the French. They had left the coast because they were afraid to winter in this country, and risk the loss of as many knights as they had once done. "Ask him," said the lords to the interpreter, "to explain this." He replied, "So great was the loss on the day the combat was to have taken place between ten of your knights with ten of ours, that upward of sixty knights and squires, men of renown, died that day; and it was solely on this account," as the Genoese said, "the siege was raised." The Saracen chiefs seemed very much pleased on hearing this, and made no further inquiries, but punctually kept the promise they had made him.

* "Portevances." In the MSS. Portenaues. Q. if not Portocross, one of the islands of Hieres, off Provence.

On his return to Portevances and Genoa, he related all that had passed and what answers he had made, for which he was no way blamed. The Saracens said among themselves, "We have been very negligent in not taking better measures against this union of the French and Genoese; for, though they have been this time unsuccessful against Africa, we must henceforward put our coast in a better state of defence, (which we may easily do;) and we must, in particular, guard the straits of Morocco so strongly that neither the Genoese nor Venetians shall carry their merchandise to Flanders through this strait, without paying so great a toll as to make all the world wonder thereat, and even then it shall be considered as a matter of favor."

What these Africans had proposed they executed: and all the kingdoms to the south, west and east, formed an alliance, such as Africa, Tunis, Bugia, Morocco, Benmarin, Tremeçen and Granada, with a resolution of well guarding their coasts, and equipping such a fleet of galleys as should make them masters of the sea, through hatred to the French and Genoese for their late siege of Africa. They interrupted so much the navigation of the Venetians and Genoese, that merchandise from Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Venice, Naples or Genoa, was difficult to be had in Flanders for money; and, in particular, every sort of spicery was enormously dear.

CHAPTER XXV.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE PROPOSES TO MARCH TO ITALY, TO FORM AN UNION OF THE CHURCH BY FORCE, AND THENCE TO BARBARY. EMBASSADORS FROM ENGLAND OFFER PROPOSALS FOR A PEACE BETWEEN HIM AND KING RICHARD. THE DEATH OF JOHN KING OF CASTILLE. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON HENRY, WHO IS CROWNED KING, THOUGH BUT NINE YEARS OF AGE.

When the Christian fleet sailed from Africa, all crossed the sea, but did not disembark at the same port. Part met with heavy tempests, that put them in great danger: the greater part, however, returned to Genoa. Religious processions were making in France for their safety, for they knew not what was become of them, not having had any intelligence since their departure. The ladies of Coucy, of Sully, and the dauphiness of Auvergne, were in great anxiety for their lords, as long as the expedition lasted, and were much rejoiced on hearing they were returned. The duke of Bourbon and the lord de Coucy set off privately for Paris, leaving their attendants behind, and arrived there about Martinmas-day. The king, as was natural, was well pleased to see them, and asked many questions respecting Barbary, and the success of the expedition. They related all they had seen or heard, which was eagerly listened to by the king and his brother, the duke of Touraine. The king said, "If we can manage to restore union to the church, and establish a sound peace between us and England, we should very much like to lead a great army to Barbary, to exalt the Christian faith, confound the infidels, and acquit the souls of our predecessors, king Philip of happy memory, and king John our grandfather; for both of them put on the vermilion cross, to pass the sea for the holy land; and they would have done so, if violent wars had not nearly overturned their kingdom. Now, if we can restore union and peace to the church, and lengthen our truce with the English to a proper term, we are resolved to undertake this expedition." Such were the conversations between the king of France and his uncle, the duke of Bourbon, and the lord de Coucy, and thus did things remain. By degrees, those who had been in Africa returned home. The king lived at Paris the whole season, residing sometimes at the Louvre, at others, with the queen, at the hôtel de St. Pol.

About St. Andrew's day, when the knights were almost all returned from Barbary, circumstances which served for a topic of conversation with every one, another expedition was talked of, at the court of France, but I cannot say who was the first promoter of it. The king of France, who had a great love of arms, was thus addressed: "Sire, your devotion and inclination naturally lead you to wish to carry an expedition against the infidels beyond sea, to conquer the holy land." "That is very true," answered the king: "it constitutes the occupation of my thoughts night and day." I believe the proposal was made by the lord de la Riviere or sir John le Mercier; for they were both too much attached to pope Clement, and so greatly in the king's favor, that whatever they said was done. Others, who were at the time in the king's company, said; "Sire, you cannot, in conscience, undertake such an expedition, while the church is disunited: begin with the head, and your enterprise will end the better." "How would you have me begin?" asked the king. "Sire," replied they, "at this moment you have nothing on your hands. You are at peace with the English; and you may, during the truce, undertake, if you please, an expedition: we do not see a more brilliant one, than to march a large army to Rome and destroy this anti-pope, whom the Romans, through error, have elected and placed on the throne of St. Peter. This may be done, if you exert yourself: a more meritorious or honorable service cannot be performed; and the instant the anti-pope and his cardinals shall learn you are advancing against them with a large army, they will surrender themselves to your mercy.

The king listened attentively to this, and said he would consider of it. In truth, he was warmly attached to pope Clement; for the preceding year, when at Avignon, he had received the greatest honors and attentions from him, and he had given to him, his brother and uncles, more than they had asked. This he thought was deserving some return, and, on his taking leave, he had promised the pope, that he would attend to his affairs in such wise that the effect of his interference would soon be known. He considered himself bound, therefore, to do something in his behalf.

At this time, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at Paris; and it was generally reported, that soon after March the king would set out from Paris, for Savoy and Lombardy, and that the duke of Savoy was to send his cousin-german with him. The king was to have under his command the duke of Touraine and four thousand spears; the duke of Burgundy two thousand; the duke of Berry the same number; the constable of France two thousand Bretons and Saintongers, from the flat countries; the duke of Burbon one thousand spears: the count de St. Pol, and the lord de Coucy, one thousand spears; and all these men-at-arms were to be engaged and paid for three months, and thus from time to time. The pope and cardinals at Avignon were as much rejoiced, when intelligence of this was carried to them, as if the expedition were already commenced. It was proposed in the council that the king should invite the duke of Brittany to form part of it, as they did not think it prudent to leave him behind. The king in consequence wrote him a handsome letter, to explain the plan and intention of the expedition, and to invite him to make a part of it, which he sent by an honorable man, one of his ushers-at-arms.

When the duke of Brittany had read the letter, he burst out into laughter, and calling to him the lord de Montbouchier, said: "See what my lord of France writes me. He has undertaken to set out in the month of March next for Rome, and destroy by the power of his arms, pope Boniface and his cardinals. As God is my help, he will never succeed, but shortly have other flax to spin, which will force him to give up such foolish business. He desires me to accompany him with two thousand lances. As I wish to pay him every honor that is his due, I shall write a very civil answer back to please him, and say that, if he persists in undertaking the expedition mentioned in his letter, he shall not go without me, since he is desirous of my company; but I tell you, lord de Montbouchier, that I shalll not trouble any of my vassals on the occasion, for I repeat, it will end in words." The duke of Brittany sent very handsome letters by the usher-at-arms, to the king at Paris, who was well satisfied with the answer. No one attempted to discourage the king respecting this expedition, for it was highly agreeable to the knights and squires, as it made them of importance, and employed their time. All ranks of persons made their preparations, even the clergy, and the provinces were willing to tax themselves to send men-at-arms, at their expense, to serve the king.

This expedition ended, however, as the duke of Brittany had foretold; and I will relate what occasioned its being broken off. About Candlemas, intelligence was brought to the king and his council, which they had not thought of, nor foreseen. Part of the king of England's cabinet-council were sent, in handsome state, to wait on the king of France at Paris. At the head of this legation were, sir Thomas Percy, sir Lewis Clifford, sir Robert Bricquet, and other knights, whose names I never heard. The arrival of these knights at Paris was a great surprise, though the king had been informed of their coming; for the king of England had written to him, to say he should in a few days send some of his council to Paris, if he would be there. The king of France was very anxious to learn why these embassadors had been sent in such haste, and what they had to propose. The English knights dismounted at the sign of the Château de Festu, in the street of la Croix du Tiroir, where they had fixed their lodgings. The king of France was at the Louvre, and the duke of Touraine with him: his three uncles, and the constable of France, were likewise at their different hôtels in Paris. The English arrived at Paris in the afternoon, and staid the remainder of that day and the night at their inn: on the morrow, about nine o'clock, they mounted their horses, which were handsomely decorated, and went in state to the Louvre, where the king was waiting for them. He was attended by his brother, his uncles, the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Tremouille, and other great barons.

The embassadors dismounted in the square before the Louvre, and, on entering the gate, were met by the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, sir Helion de Lignac, sir Peter de Villiers, sir William de la Tremouille, and sir William Marcel, who received them as knights of the king of England's council, and conducted them most respectfully to a handsome apartment where the king of France was. On their entrance they took of their hoods, and bowed very low. Sir Thomas Percy was the bearer of their credential letters, which he presented to the king, who, on receiving them, made the knights rise. When they were risen, they retired some paces back. The king of France, having perused the letters, called to him his brother and uncles, and showed their contents. His uncles then said, "My lord, call to you the knights from England, and demand the cause of their coming hither." The king did so, and the knights were asked the purport of their credential letters. Sir Thomas, in reply, said: "Dear sire, it is the wish of our lord the king of England, that his

most confidential counsellors, such as his uncles of Lancaster, York, or Gloucester, or some prelates of England of whom that country has the best opinion for sense and prudence, should meet others of like character, of your council, that they might consider on the means of forming a solid peace between you and him and your allies. This, if it could be effected, would give him such great satisfaction, that he would not complain of any trouble or pain his counsellors may endure, whom he shall send across the sea to Amiens, or any other appointed place, for the carrying on this negotiation; and we are come hither from our lord to propose this matter, and to learn your intentions upon it." The king replied, "Sir Thomas, you and your companions are welcome, and your visit has given us very great pleasure. You will not leave Paris immediately: in the mean time, we will assemble our council, and, before your departure, you shall have such answer as shall be satisfactory to you." The English were well pleased with this reply, and the king entered on other matters of conversation. It was now dinner-time; and the English knights were detained to dine in the Louvre, and given in charge to the lord de Coucy and the lord de la Riviere, who led them into a very richly ornamented apartment, where a table was spread for them. They dined well, and at their leisure, the lord de Coucy and the constable keeping them company. When dinner was over, they went into the king's apartment, and staid until wine and spices were brought in splendid comfit boxes of gold and silver. After the knights had partaken of these, they took leave of the king and his lords, and descended into the court, where they mounted their horses and returned to their lodgings.

The proposals sir Thomas Percy had brought from England were exceedingly agreeable to the king of France, to his uncle the duke of Burgundy, and to others of his council; but not to all, especially to those who were interested concerning the pope of Avignon. They foresaw, that if negotiations were once begun between the two crowns, it would require a long time to bring them to a conclusion, and thus retard the expedition that was intended against Rome, to reduce pope Boniface and his cardinals to the obedience of pope Clement. The object of peace, however, was so welcome to all parts of Christendom, and would be of such advantage to every country, that no one dared to say anything against it. Besides, the duke of Burgundy and his council, and the duke of Bourbon, were unanimous in their opinion with the king. The king of France showed much attention to sir Thomas Percy and his companions; but there was one knight among them, called sir Robert Bricquet, whom he did not see with pleasure, for he was a Frenchman, had always been of the party of England or Navarre, and was now a knight of the king of England's chamber. The king prudently dissembled his thoughts; but, when he conversed with them, he always addressed himself to sir Thomas Percy, sir Lewis Clifford, or to sir John Clanvow. The king said, "We shall be happy to see a solid peace established between our adversary of England and us, for the war and quarrel has lasted too long a time; and I wish you to understand that it shall be no way our fault if the negotiations be not happily concluded." "Sire," replied the knights, "our lord the king of England, who has sent us hither, has the same peaceable inclinations, and said, on our departure, that it should not be to his blame if these wars and dissentions were not put an end to, for they had lasted too long; and he was much surprised some prudent means had not been sooner thought of for this purpose." "Well," replied the king, "we shall see what good affection he bears us."

The English remained at Paris six days, and dined every day with one or other of the dukes. In the mean time, the matter of their coming had been debated in council, and it was settled that the king of France, his uncles, and his cabinet-council, should be at Amiens the middle of March, and wait there for the king of England, his uncles and council, if they were willing to meet them. The English knights engaged, that on their side there should not be any delay, and that some of the king's uncles, if not all, would be at Amiens on the appointed day. Thus was this business concluded; and the day before the embassadors were to take leave of the king and quit Paris, he went to the palace, and magnificently entertained at dinner these English lords: his brother and uncles were present: he made sir Thomas Percy sit at his table, calling him cousin, from his relationship with the earl of Northumberland.

During the dinner, sir Thomas Percy and his companions were presented with rich and handsome jewels, all but sir Robert Bricquet: he was passed unnoticed. The knight, who presented them in the name of the king, (sir Peter Villiers, high steward of the household) said to him: "When you shall have done service acceptable to the king, he is rich enough to reward you for it;" and then passed by. Sir Robert was melancholy on hearing this speech, and then first learnt he was disagreeable to the king of France: he was therefore forced to put up with the slight as well as he could. When dinner was over, and they had washed and the tables were removed, grace having been said, minstrels of song and others were called in, who performed, as usual, before the king and his company. After this, sir Thomas Percy advanced, and, casting himself on his knee, said: "Very dear sire, I and my companions are much surprised at one thing. You have most splendidly entertained us, and presented us with rich gifts, for which we feel very thankful; but sir Rober Bricquet, who is a knight-at-arms, and chamberlain to our sovereign lord the king of England, has been passed by, and we would willingly know the reason of it." The king of France replied: "Sir Thomas, the knight you have named, since you wish to know the cause of his being overlooked, ought not to have taken part against us; for, had he been made prisoner in war, his ransom would have instantly been paid by his death." On saying this, he raised up sir Thomas Percy, and conversed on other matters. Shortly after, wine and spices were brought, which having partaken of at their pleasure, the embassadors took leave of the king, returned to their lodgings, and paid the amount of their expenses. On the morrow, they departed from Paris, and continued their journey to England, where they related to the king and his uncles everything that had passed, greatly extolling the king of France's magnificent entertainments, and the rich gifts he had made them.

We will, for a while leave speaking of England, and say what was passing in Castille. You have heard of the alliance between the king of Castille and the duke of Lancaster, who had claimed that crown in right of his duchess, the lady Constance, eldest daughter of the late don Pedro, by whom he had a beautiful daughter, that was married to don Henry, prince of Galicia, heir to the crown of Castille. This marriage confirmed the peace between them. About two years after the celebration of these nuptials, king John of Castille departed this life, and was buried in the city of Burgos.* On this event, the great barons and prelates of the realm assembled, and declared their intentions to have for their king the young prince of Galicia. This was done, and the prince was crowned in the ninth year of his age: his queen was six years older. Thus was the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, by the lady Constance, queen of Castille, and of all the possessions of don Pedro, don Henry, and don John, excepting those parts which had been assigned to the duke and duchess of Lancaster for their joint lives. They had, besides, a pension of one hundred thousand florins, for which four of the most opulent cities in Castille were pledged. The duke of Lancaster had the pleasure of seeing his two daughters queens of Castille and Portugal.

We will now speak of the expedition made by John count d'Armagnac in Lombardy, for the matter requires it.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE EXPEDITION OF COUNT JOHN D'ARMAGNAC INTO LOMBARDY. HIS DEATH, AT THE SIEGE OF ALEXANDRIA.

The intention of the count d'Armagnac to lead an army into Lombardy has been already mentioned in this history. His object was to assist his sister-german and her husband, sir Bernabo Visconti, eldest son of that Bernabo whom the duke of Milan had unnaturally put to death. This duke was Galeas Visconti, count de Vertus, whose daughter the duke of Touraine had married. The lady of sir Bernabo was daughter to sir John d'Armagnac, and, being in great affliction, had recourse to her brothers, to whom she related the misery of her situation, her poverty and necessity, and humbly prayed their pity, and that they would defend her against that tyrant, the count de Vertus, who had disinherited her without the smallest reason. The count d'Armagnac promised his sister that he would comply with her request, and had declared, that whatever it might cost him to recover her rights, he would exert himself in the attempt to the utmost of his power. What he had engaged to do, he performed; for I have before mentioned, that in conjunction with the dauphin d'Auvergne, he had entered into treaties with many of the captains of forts in Auvergne, Limousin, Quercy, or other parts, who, under color of fighting for the king of England, had done the greatest mischiefs to France. These garrisons of English, Gascons, and Bretons, received different sums, and a pardon from France, on surrendering their castles and quitting the kingdom. They readily, therefore, engaged to follow the count d'Armagnac into Lombardy, and retired until the proper time toward the rivers Rhône and Saone. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy permitted them to take what purveyances they pleased in their lordships, for they were very desirous to be rid of them. The lieutenant of the king of France for Dauphiny was at that time sir Enguerrand Durdin, and the king had written to him to permit all men-at-arms and their companions, who should say they belonged to the count d'Armagnac, to pass freely through Dauphiny, and to have whatever they might be in need of, for their money.

The count de Foix, hearing at his residence at Orthès of the large armament the count d'Armagnac was raising, began to be alarmed, for he was of a suspicious temper. He had indeed learnt, for common report flies everywhere, that it was intended for Lombardy against the duke of Milan; but as the ancestors of this count d'Armagnac, and himself and his brother sir Bernard, had been at war with him, he was doubtful if this expedition might not in the end be directed against him. Not to be unprepared, therefore, he had reinforced and revictualled all his castles, that if they should make an attack, he might be enabled to meet them. But neither the count d'Armagnac nor his brother had such thoughts: they were desirous

* King John died from the injuries received in a fall from his horse, on the 24th August, 1390, aged thirty-two. His son Henry, who succeeded him, was then *eleven* years old.—Ed.

strictly to observe the truce now established between them. Many knights and squires from Gascony, England, and Brittany, who had engaged their services to the count d'Armagnac, had he declared war against the count de Foix, would have left him and joined his adversary: so much was the count de Foix beloved by men-at-arms for his liberality and courage.

When the duchess of Touraine was informed that the count d'Armagnac was preparing to lead a large body of men-at-arms into Lombardy to make war on her father the duke of Milan, and that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy consented, from their desire to rid the kingdom of so many pillagers which had of late so grievously harassed it, she did not remain idle, but instantly wrote letters to the count de Vertus to give notice of it, that he might provide himself accordingly. The duke of Milan was already informed of this intention of the count d'Armagnac, and had collected men-at-arms wherever he could find them, and reinforced his towns and castles with men, stores, and provision, concluding he should have a war to support against this count d'Armagnac.

About the middle of March, the greater part of the men-at-arms were assembled in the country near Avignon: between that place and Lyons, on the banks of the Rhône, were fifteen thousand horse. They crossed that river where it was easiest to pass, and, entering Dauphiny, took up their quarters in the villages or fields. Others continued their route, the more speedily to clear the passes of the mountains, which are dangerous for man and horse. The count d'Armagnac, his brother, with other knights, visited pope Clement and his cardinals at Avignon, and offered to serve them and the church against the tyrant of Lombardy, for which they felt themselves obliged, and returned many thanks. They staid at Avignon eight days, while their troops passed: they then took leave of the pope and cardinals, and made ready to follow them. The two brothers, sir John and sir Bernard d'Armagnac, here separated, and thus sir John addressed him: "Fair brother, you will now return to Comminges and Armagnac, to guard our lands, for all the forts are not yet free from the marauders. There is Lourde, which sir Arnaute de Béarn holds in the name of the king of England; and Bouteville is garrisoned by Foixens under the command of sir John de Greilly, son to the late captal de Buch. Notwithstanding there is a truce between the count de Foix and us for the present, he is so bold and enterprising a knight, that we are never sure what his intentions may be; and for these reasons I wish you to return instantly home. You shall hear very frequently from me during my absence, and do you write constantly." Sir Bernard readily consented to what his brother had proposed, for he thought it prudent and well advised: he had not, besides, any great inclination to cross the mountains. Just on his departure, the count said: "Bernard, you will go hence to our cousin Raymond de Touraine, who has married my cousin the daughter of the prince of Orange, and is now engaged in war with the comté Venaissain, that belongs to the pope: entreat of him, for I have been so requested by the pope, that he make his preparations to follow me in this expedition, and he shall be my companion in all things: I will wait for him at Gap,* situated among the mountains." Sir Bernard promised to convey this message, and the brothers separated, never to see each other again.

The count d'Armagnac took the road leading to the town of Gap, and sir Bernard that to the castle of Boulogne, where sir Raymond de Touraine resided, who received him very kindly. Sir Bernard eloquently delivered the message from his brother, to induce him the more readily to comply with the request contained in it. Sir Raymond replied, "Fair cousin, before your brother, the count d'Armagnac, shall have advanced far into Lombardy, or laid siege to any town, it is very possible that I follow him; but it is full time as yet for me and my people to begin our march. If my cousin therefore sends me intelligence about the middle of May, I will set out, for by that time I hope to make an end of my war against my uncle, the pope at Avignon, and his cardinals, who not only refuse me justice, but detain from me, by force, everything that my uncle, pope Gregory, disposed of in my favor. They think to tire me out and excommunicate me, but they shall be mistaken. They engage knights and squires to make war on me, by granting them absolutions, but such have no talents for war; and I shall have more effective men-at-arms for a thousand florins, than they can obtain by their absolutions for seven years." "My good cousin," answered sir Bernard, "keep to your resolutions: what you say is true; and I would not, by any means, advise you to act otherwise than you do: just as you have spoken will I write to my brother d'Armagnac."

They were one whole day together, in the castle of Boulogne. On the morrow, sir Bernard d'Armagnac departed, and crossing the Rhône at the Pont du Saint Esprit, rode over the mountains, through Quercy, until he reached his destination, leaving his brother to manage for himself his war with the count de Vertus. Before, however, he left Pont du Saint Esprit, he wrote letters to the count d'Armagnac, to inform him of the answer he had received from sir Raymond de Touraine, and had also letters from his brother, on his road toward Gap. Having read their contents, he pursued his journey without farther attending to them.

We will continue our history of the count John d'Armagnac* until we bring it to a conclusion, without speaking of other events. It was his great love and affection for his sister and brother, who had been fraudulently disinherited by the count de Vertus, who styled himself lord of Milan, that had induced him thus gayly to march into the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy. There were, likewise, two very just reasons for this armament; one was, the carrying away such numbers of pillagers, who had for so long a time oppressed and robbed many of the provinces in France, for by this means the country was cleared of them: the other to assist his sister and her husband, who had unjustly been deprived of their inheritance, so that he had, on every account, justice on his side. The companions were unanimous to serve him, and exclaimed, "Let us cheerfully attack these Lombards: we have a just quarrel and a good captain, which will assist our cause, and we are going to the richest country in the world; for Lombardy receives the fat from other parts; and, as the Lombards are rich and cowards, we shall gain great profit. We, who are captains, shall return so enormously rich, that we need never more think of war, nor carry on any future warfare."

Such were the conversations on their march; and when they came to a rich country they halted there for some time, to refresh themselves and their horses. At the time I am now speaking of, that gallant English knight, sir John Hactonde,† was making war on the Florentines for pope Boniface, and had fixed his quarters in the neighborhood of Florence. That country as well as Perugia were in rebellion against the pope. The count d'Armagnac thought if he could gain the assistance of John Hawkwood, who was a most enterprising and courageous knight, he should be more successful in his war. In consequence, during his residence in Grande,‡ at the entrance into Piedmont, he wrote to him long letters, explanatory of his situation, and the reasons which urged him to make war on the duke of Milan. Having properly sealed these letters, he gave them to a prudent messenger, who performed his duty well, in delivering them to sir John Hawkwood: he was then near Florence, and had under his command full two thousand combatants. He read the letters, or had them read to him. On hearing their contents, he was well pleased, and replied, "that as soon as he should have put an end to the war he was then engaged in, he would not attend to any other before he had joined the count d'Armagnac." The squire of the count, who had brought these letters, was an honorable man, and replied, "Sir, you speak well and to the point: have the goodness to put into writing what you say, that my lord, the count d'Armagnac, may be the more assured of your intentions." "Very willingly," said sir John Hawkwood; "and it is but right, since my pleasure and will are to meet him." In the course of two or three days, the letters were written and given to the squire who had come from the count d'Armagnac. He instantly set out on his return, and found the count near to Pignerol.§ There were great negotiations going forward between him and the marquis de Saluces, and the marquis was to join him in his war against Milan. The news the squire brought from sir John Hawkwood was highly agreeable to the count d'Armagnac. He said, "that if it pleased God, he would this season make so severe a war on the count de Vertus, that he should be glad to accept of reasonable terms, or he would perish in the attempt."

From what you have heard, you may suppose the count d'Armagnac had a great desire to aid his sister, and it was compassion for her that urged him to it. When his men-at-arms had passed the mountains, and had gained the rich plains of Piedmont, near to Turin, they were not long before they made excursions, and committed great destruction on the surrounding villages, which could not any way withstand them. The count d'Armagnac laid siege to Asti,‖ intending to wait there for Sir John Hawkwood. Purveyances came from all quarters; and the companions ransomed small forts for provision, and, until their wants were supplied, they took everything away. The country of Pignerol and the territories of the marquis of Montferrat were open to their foraging for themselves and horses. There came likewise great quantities of provision to them from Dauphiny and Savoy. Many leant to the count d'Armagnac from the justice of his quarrel with the count de Vertus, who had wickedly put to death his uncle Bernabo, to gain his inheritance; and, although several of the great lords of that country were silent on the subject, they felt much compassion for those who had been thus disinherited.

During the siege of Asti, very agreeable news was brought to the count d'Armagnac from sir John Hawkwood. He informed him, that the Florentines and Venetians had submitted to the mercy of the pope; that he was to be paid sixty thousand florins, for himself and his companions; and that, the moment these were received, he would march with five hundred men-at-arms and a thousand infantry¶ toward the frontiers of Genoa, and, whether his enemies would or not, he intended to force a passage to join him. The count d'Armagnac and his army, were much pleased at the thoughts of being

* "Gap"—an ancient city in Dauphiny, capital of the Gapençois, generality of Grenoble.

* John III. of Armagnac. His sister had married Charles Visconti, the son of Bernabo.—Ed.

† "Sir John Hactonde." Sir John Hawkwood.

‡ "Grande"—in the MSS. Granido. Q. Grenoble. The count of Armagnac entered Italy in July, 1391.

§ "Pignerol"—an episcopal town of Piedmont, at the entrance of the valley of Perouse.

‖ "Asti,"—an ancient town of Piedmont, five leagues N. E. from Alba, eight S. W. from Casal.

¶ *Mille Brigands.* A thousand soldiers armed with *brigandines.*

assisted by so able a commander as John Hawkwood: and he was advised to break up the siege of Asti, and transfer it to a larger town called Alexandria, situated at the entrance of Lombardy, and, after they should have conquered it, to advance to Vercelli, which is also a large and handsome city. The siege was, in consequence, transferred from Asti to Alexandria, which is a fine city, and seated in a rich plain on the frontiers of Piedmont and Lombardy, in the direct road to Genoa. The men-at-arms had crossed the Tesino, and lodged themselves at their ease in this plentiful country.

Sir Galeas, lord of Milan,* count de Vertus, resided in the city of Pavia, and daily heard of his enemies establishing themselves in his country: but his greatest surprise was, how the count d'Armagnac found money to satisfy the large body of men-at-arms he had brought with him. His council, with whom he conversed on this subject, replied, "Sir, these are free companions, and part of those pillagers who have so long harassed France: they do not require pay, but to seek adventures, and run the chance of gain from plundering the country. In order to deliver France from them, after the surrender of their strongholds, the count d'Armagnac leads them hither. The duke of Berry and the dauphin of Auvergne, whose lands they had sorely oppressed, treated with them by means of the count d'Armagnac, who offered the king of France and the above-mentioned lords to engage them in his quarrel with you. By dint of money he purchased their forts; and the king of France granted them a free pardon for all their past deeds, on condition they joined the count d'Armagnac; and whatever they could conquer in these countries was to be their own. They, therefore, ask no pay; and there are among them men-at-arms that have five or six horses, who, if in their own country, would be constrained to go on foot like absolute paupers. They adventure themselves boldly, and it is hazardous to engage with them, for they are all of determined courage. The best advice we can give is, that you guard well your cities and principal towns, which are strongly garrisoned and well provided with all things; for they have no artillery, nor any machines for carrying on a siege worth thinking of. They will advance to the barriers of your towns to skirmish and do gallant deeds of arms; but they will not gain anything you may regret, if one may judge by what has passed, for they have now been in this country more than two months, and have only conquered a small and insignificant fort. Let them therefore come and go, without offering them combat; for they will soon be tired of the war, and will be defeated without a battle. When they have destroyed all the low countries, they will be in want of provision, and famine will force them to return, if no worse accidents befal them. You must order your men-at-arms to keep in bodies near to each other, that, in case of need, they may succor and give advice to those of the garrisons who may want it. Reinforce with them all your towns and castles; for the rich citizens are not accustomed to war, and will not defend themselves like knights or squires who have been brought up to the profession. Send some of your chivalry into Alexandria: you will gain doubly by it, for your city will be more ably defended, and your subjects will love you with greater affection when they see you are attentive to them in their distress. You are besides bounden to do this, for they pay you taxes and other levies, for your governing and taking care of them. Your enemies cannot have a sufficient force to surround Alexandria on all sides, and prevent the men-at-arms you shall send thither from entering the town; and, when the inhabitants shall see them arrive, their courage will be raised, their attachment to you increased, and any treaties they might have thought of entering into with your enemies will be put an end to."

The lord of Milan followed the advice that had been given him, and without delay, sent thither a body of knights and men-at-arms that were in his pay On being mustered, they amounted to five hundred lances; and an ancient knight, who had long been used to arms, called sir James de la Berme,† was appointed their commander. They rode through bye-ways until they arrived at Alexandria in the evening, and entered it, when their enemies had retired fatigued to their quarters, from skirmishing at the barriers, for they could not remain idle. The citizens were rejoiced at the arrival of sir James de la Berme and his companions, and not without cause; for the count d'Armagnac, not having seen any men-at-arms during the three days he laid before it, concluded none were in the town, and had kept up a continual assault at the barriers; but, small as the defence was, it had done so well, that the Armagnacs had not gained any advantage. Sir James de la Berme, on entering the town, retired with his men to the lodgings which had been assigned them, and, having taken some refreshment, they were waited on by the principal inhabitants, to congratulate them on their arrival. He inquired into the state of the town, and the numbers and situation of the enemy, in order that he might act accordingly. The most intelligent replied, "that from the moment the count d'Armagnac had come, there had never been any cessation of skirmishes and attacks on the barriers." "Well," replied the knight, "to-morrow if it please God, we will see how they bear themselves, and what they may be inclined to do. They are ignorant of my arrival, and I will lay an ambush for them, and make a private sally." "Ah, my lord," said those who had before spoken to him, "you must be very cautious how you act, for they are sixteen thousand horse at least, and, should they discover you in the open plain, they will surround and overpower you by their numbers, without striking a blow." The knight answered, "We will consider more of it; for, since we are come, we must attempt some deeds of arms." The conversation now ended and every one returned to his home; but the knight told his men, secretly, he intended making a sally and placing an ambush, that all might be prepared against the morrow.

The next day, sir James de la Berme and his troops being armed, made a sally through a private gate, on the opposite side of the town to the place where the besiegers lay. He was accompanied, at the distance of half a league, by about three hundred of the townsmen, to a narrow valley where they could not be seen. He had left two hundred without the barriers, with orders, if they were attacked to defend themselves faintly, retreating toward this valley, where they would be supported by the ambuscade. They promised punctual obedience to these orders. The day was exceedingly hot; but the count d'Armagnac was young and enterprising: having heard mass in his pavillion and drank a cup, he demanded his arms, and, having completely equipped himself, displayed only his pennon, and was attended by no more than one hundred men; for he did not expect to meet with greater opposition than usual, and advanced at a slow pace toward the barriers. True it is, that some few men-at-arms followed him by degrees; but others said, "What signifies arming? and why should we give ourselves so much trouble, when we cannot meet with any one at the barriers worth fighting with?" They staid, therefore, within their camp, eating and drinking. The count d'Armagnac, on coming to the barriers, began to overthrow and beat down many of those posted there to receive him, as good men-at-arms know how to do; but the townsmen did not wait long, before they began to retreat slowly toward the ambuscade.

When sir James de la Berme saw it was time, he sallied forth out of the ambush, and the Armagnacs were surrounded and attacked on all sides. They valiantly defended themselves, and were reinforced by little and little with men from the camp. Many gallant deeds were done this day, which was the feast of St. James and St. Christopher. It was so very hot, that those who bore arms thought they were in an oven, for there was not any wind; and the young men-at-arms were overpowered by the heat, and unable to exert themselves. Add to this, that the force of the lord de Milan was three to one of the Armagnacs. The dust oppressed them so much, they could not see each other; but the Armagnacs, in this, suffered the most. This was an unfortunate day for the count, who was so overcome by the heat, and near fainting, that he withdrew from the battle, without friend or foe knowing whither he was gone. He had retreated to a small grove of alders, through which ran a little brook; and he no sooner felt his feet in the water, than he thought he was in paradise, and seated himself by the side of the stream. He, with some difficulty, took off his helmet, and remained covered only by the linen scull-cap, and then plunged his face in the water, at the same time, unfortunately, drinking large draughts; for he was thirsty from the heat, and could not quench it. He drank so much, that his blood was chilled, and a numbness of limbs seized him, with a strong inclination to faint. He could not move, and lost the use of speech. His attendants knew not what was become of him, and were the more uneasy, because many prisoners had been made: they therefore ceased fighting.

A short time after this, a squire belonging to the duke of Milan perceived the count d'Armagnac, and wondered much, when he saw him, who he could be; for it was visible he must be some knight or man of high rank: he called out, "Who are you? Surrender; for you are my prisoner." The count heard him, but could not make any answer, as he was unable to articulate, but held out his hand, and made signs that he surrendered. The squire then endeavored to raise him, but, finding his attempts vain, seated himself beside him, while the skirmish was still continued, and many gallant actions performed.

Sir James de la Berme, being a prudent and valorous knight, perceiving the day was his own, and that many of the enemy were killed and wounded, but that his men were growing weary, and the Armagnacs increasing by fresh men from their camp, ordered a retreat to Alexandria, his men vigorously defending themselves as they retired. The squire, who had fortunately found the count d'Armagnac in the state I have mentioned, unwilling to leave him behind, for he thought him a person of distinction, called to some of his companions to assist in carrying him to the town; and declared, that whatever he should receive for his ransom, he would handsomely divide with them for the trouble they would have. They complied with his request, and, with some difficulty, carried him to the squire's lodgings in the city, where the count was disarmed, undressed, and put to bed. By this time, sir James de la Berme had, with his men, reëntered the place, and barricaded the bars and gates, having many prisoners with them. They disarmed and refreshed themselves with what they found at their quarters, as did likewise the Armagnacs, who had been at this skirmish, on their return to the army.

When it was mentioned in the camp that no one knew what was become of the count d'Armagnac, they were much alarmed, and some went to search the places in the neighborhood where the skir-

* He was created Duke of Milan 1395, by Wenceslaus king of the Romans.—*Dict. Hist.*

† Known also as Jaques del Verme.

mish had been fought; but, to the great dismay of their companions, they returned without having discovered any traces of him. The squire, into whose hands he had fallen, desirous to know who he was, addressed himself to a Gascon squire, a man of honor that had been made prisoner, and begged of him to accompany him, with the person who had captured him, to his lodgings. They went thither, and the Lombardy squire led the Gascon to his chamber, where the count d'Armagnac lay, bitterly bemoaning. He brought a candle near his face, and said to the Gascon, "My friend, do you know who this man is?" The Gascon, leaning down to examine his features, instantly recognized him, and replied, "Yes, I ought to know him well; for it is our commander, the count d'Armagnac." The Lombardy squire was rejoiced to hear his prisoner was of such distinction; but the count was so very ill he heard nothing they asked of him. Upon which, his master said; "Come, come, let us leave him quiet, that he may recover himself;" and they all quitted the chamber. He died, however, that same night. When, on the morrow, it was known that the count d'Armagnac had died in his bed at Alexandria, sir James de la Berme would not that it should be made secret, but sent information of the event by some of the prisoners to the camp, to see how they would act on the occasion.

The whole army were in dismay on hearing their loss; for they had now no commander-in-chief to look up to, as they were mostly all free companions. They therefore said, "Let us hasten back to our own countries, for we have lost all opportunities of gaining anything here." It was soon known in Alexandria that the Armagnacs were in despair for the death of the count: they therefore made a sally from the town, advancing full gallop to the camp, shouting "Pavia for the lord of Milan!" Not one of the Armagnacs made any defence, but allowed themselves to be slain, like wicked people as they were: the conquest was great, for the army were so cast down, that they surrendered without striking a blow, and throwing down their arms, made for Alexandria, whither the Germans, and other soldiers in the pay of the lord of Milan, drove them like a herd of cattle. This unexpected death of the count d'Armagnac happened very unluckily for himself and his army. Had he remained quiet but five days, sir John Hawkwood would have arrived with five hundred horse and one thousand foot; and many valiant deeds would have been done by this knight and his men; but an end was now put to everything by this loss.

You may suppose the count de Vertus was in high spirits on hearing his enemies, whom he greatly dreaded, were killed, made prisoners or put to flight, and that the count d'Armagnac was dead. He more dearly prized his knight, sir James de la Berme, through whose prudence and valor this good fortune had befallen him. He appointed him commander-in-chief of his chivalry, and president of his council. The lord of Milan considered how he should act toward the prisoners; and, as he was anxious to free his country of them, he behaved in the most courteous manner, giving to every gentleman a horse, and to the infantry one florin each, besides their liberty, free of ransom; but he made them all take an oath that they would never more bear arms against him.

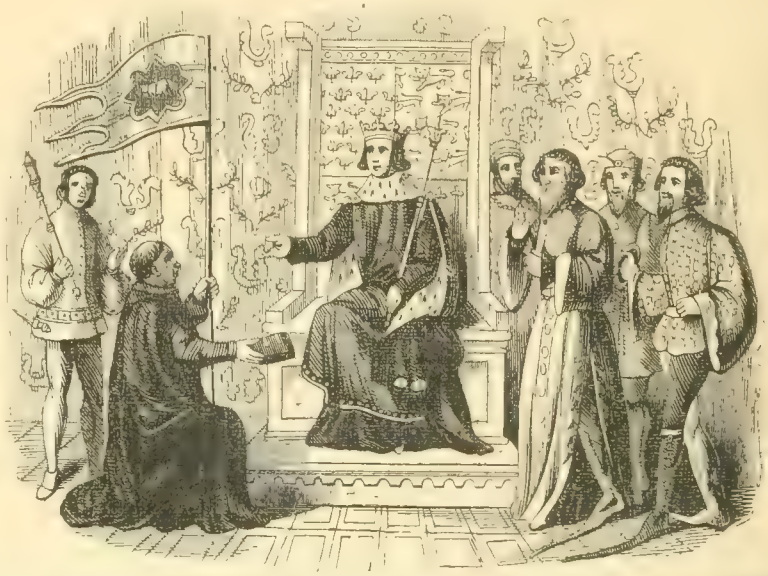
Thus did this army return defeated from Lombardy and Piedmont, to Savoy and Dauphiny; but they were in the utmost distress, for the inclosed towns refused them admittance, and the gates of all castles were shut against them. They had soon spent their florins, and it was necessary for them to work or starve. Some showed compassion, and gave them money; but others, on the contrary, laughed at and abused them, saying, "Go, go seek your count d'Armagnac, who has burst himself by drinking at a fountain near Alexandria." They were still worse off when they came to the rivers Rhône and Saone, which they thought to cross without molestation; but it was otherwise, for the king had commanded all the bridges and fords to be guarded against them. They fell now into the greatest poverty, and were never after able to unite together.

Thus was the armament of count John d'Armagnac destroyed, and his sister remained in the same distressful state as before. The lord of Milan ordered the body of the count d'Armagnac to be embalmed, put into a coffin, and escorted by a bishop of his country and such of his relations as had remained to his brother sir Bernard d'Armagnac, who was much concerned at the melancholy event, but could not any way remedy it. The count d'Armagnac was buried in the cathedral church of Rodez, where he lies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ANXIOUS TO MAKE A PEACE WITH FRANCE. THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER THROWS OBSTACLES IN THE WAY. SIR PETER DE CRAON, FORMERLY THE FAVORITE OF KING CHARLES AND HIS BROTHER THE DUKE OF TOURAINE, INCURS THEIR HATRED, AND TAKES REFUGE WITH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

Sir Thomas Percy, as you have heard, was sent by the king of England to propose a treaty of peace to the court of France, for king



Richard II. and his three Uncles the Dukes of Lancaster, York and Gloucester. From an illumination at the head of a most beautiful MS. Epistle, written by an old Monk of the order of the Celestines at Paris on the subject of the peace between France and England, and presented, (as shown by the drawing) by him to Richard. Royal MSS. 20. B. VI.

Richard was very desirous to accomplish it. Two of his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and York, were of his opinion; but his other uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, earl of Essex and Buckingham, and constable of England, would no way listen to it; telling his friends secretly, that he would never agree to any peace with France, whatever negotiations might be taken in hand on the subject, if it were not an honorable one; that all the towns, castles, and lordships which were yielded to England, but had since been fraudulently taken back, must be restored, and the sum of 1,400,000 francs, which had remained unpaid by the French when they began the war, must also be paid down. He declared, that as long as he lived he should never change these sentiments; in which he was joined by many of the barons of England, particularly the earl of Arundel, who privately said the duke of Gloucester was in the right, though they dissembled their opinions in public from seeing how much the king of England was bent upon peace.

The poorer knights and archers were of course for war, as their sole livelihood depended upon it. When these things are considered, and the claims of the French, it will be very clear nothing like peace could be concluded. The French demanded to have Calais destroyed, and possession given them of the lordships of Guines, Hames, Merle and Oye, with the lands of Fretun and the dependencies of Guines as far as the river that runs by Gravelines. True it is, the king of France and his commissioners were willing to give up to the king of England and his heirs as many lands in Aquitaine, of equal or more value as to revenue than those they demanded; but the duke of Gloucester made too firm an opposition to this article, saying, "The French wish to pay us back with our own lands; for we have the charter of king John, sealed by him and his children, which gives up to us the whole of Aquitaine in fee simple. Whatever they have taken from it since, has been a fraud and a robbery; and their whole attempt, night and day, is to deceive us. Should Calais and the lands they require be given up to them, they will be lords of the sea and attack our coasts. Never, therefore, so long as I live, will I consent to peace with France on these terms."

At the time I am now speaking of, a knight of noble extraction, from Anjou and Brittany, was greatly in favor with the king of France, as well as with his brother the duke of Touraine. His name was sir Peter de Craon, and of such power that nothing was done but with his advice. He had been favorite of the late duke of Anjou, king of Sicily, and was immensely rich, which had given rise to many scandalous reports against him; for it was currently said in France, that he had robbed the duke of Anjou. This caused him to avoid the

presence of the young king of Sicily and the queen his mother; but he had managed to acquire the affections of the king of France and the duke of Touraine. The constable sir Oliver de Clisson, was likewise in high favor with the king and his brother for the meritorious services he had done them in arms, and his brilliant actions during the reign of the late king. Sir Oliver's daughter was married, as you have heard, to John of Brittany, brother to the queen-dowager of Sicily; and his marriage had sorely displeased the duke of Brittany, who mortally hated the constable, considering both him and John of Brittany as his secret enemies. He had often repented not having put the constable to death when he had him in his castle of Ermine. Sir Peter de Craon was a favorite with the duke of Brittany, being also his cousin, and, during the reign of his power with the king of France and the duke of Touraine, would willingly, had he been able, have caused a quarrel between them and the constable. Thus envies and jealousies, which have always underhand ruled in France, continue to act until they bring their favorites to an unfortunate end.

The constable of France had been so loyal in his whole conduct toward the crown, that he was beloved by all except the duke of Burgundy; and the hatred he bore him originated in the duchess, who was a lady of a high spirit, and too nearly related to the duke of Brittany to love the constable; besides, she continued the affection of her father to all whom he loved, and hated those he had hated; such was her temper. Sir Peter de Craon, who at this time resided at the court of France with the duke of Touraine, kept up a frequent correspondence with the duke of Brittany, they writing, in the most friendly manner to each other, concerning the state of their affairs.

I am unable to describe the exact grounds of their correspondence; but I, John Froissart, author of this history, during the time of my residence at Paris, (which was when sir Peter de Craon made the daring attack, in the night-time, on the constable, who narrowly escaped death, as I shall relate,) seeing public affairs likely to be much troubled and turn out unfortunate, made many and frequent inquiries why sir Peter de Craon had so very suddenly lost the affections and favor of the king and the duke of Touraine. I had so often demanded the cause from those who ought to be acquainted with it, that at last I heard the truth of what was commonly believed to have occasioned it. He was under the displeasure of the duke of Touraine, for having revealed secrets intrusted to him by the duke, to the duchess; and, if he did so he behaved shamefully. The duke was so fond of sir Peter de Craon that he made him his companion, dressed him in the same clothes as himself, and carried him wherever he went, intrusting him with all his most secret thoughts. The duke, at the time young and amorous, much amused himself with the company of ladies and damsels, and, as I heard, was particularly attached to a young frisky damsel of Paris. His intrigue was known and his secrets betrayed, to the great vexation of the duke, who could not accuse any other of having done it but sir Peter de Craon; for to him alone the duke had discovered it, and had led him with him when he visited secretly this noble young lady. The duke was much smitten with her, and had proffered her, if she would consent to his wishes, one thousand golden crowns; but she had refused them, saying, "That her love for him was not on account of his riches, but that his affection had won hers; and that she scorned to sell her honor for gold." The whole of this business was told the duchess, who sent for the young lady to her chamber. On her entering, she called her by her name, and, with much anger, said, "How is this? do you seek to wrong me with my lord?" The lady was thunderstruck, and, with tears replied, "Oh no, madam: please God, I never will nor even think of it." 'It is not so," said the duchess; "for I am well informed, my lord and you love each other mutually; and the matter is so far advanced, that, at such a time and place, he offered you a thousand golden crowns to possess you. You refused them, for which you behaved well, and this time I forgive you; but, I caution you, if you value your life, not to have any further conversation with my lord, but through your regard to me send him a dismissal."

The young lady, finding herself very justly accused and in some danger, replied: "Madam, I will free myself from him as soon as possible, and henceforth so act that you shall never again hear anything disagreeable of me." On this, the duchess permitted her to depart, and she returned home. The duke much in love, and ignorant of what had passed, went to the place where the lady resided; but, on seeing him, she fled, and acted contrary to her usual manner, showing dislike rather than love; for she was afraid to do otherwise, from the promises she had made to the duchess. The duke noticing such a difference in his reception, was very melancholy, and would know the cause of it. The young lady, with tears, said, "My lord, you have revealed to the duchess the offer you once made me, or, if not yourself, some one has done it for you: recollect yourself, for you are discovered. Madame de Touraine told me of it herself, and frightened me exceedingly; but she has this time forgiven me, on condition that I promised, on my oath, never again to give her cause for jealousy by any further conversation with you." The duke was much vexed at hearing this speech, and said: "Fair lady, I swear on my faith, that I would rather have lost one hundred thousand francs, than have betrayed you to the duchess. Since you have given her a promise on oath, keep it; but, cost what it may, I will find out who has discovered our secrets." He then went away, and though he dissembled his agitation, he did not think the less concerning the cause. In the evening, he came to the duchess's apartments and supped, showing her more affection than he had hitherto done, insomuch that, by fair speeches and attentions, the duchess discovered the author of her information concerning his intrigue to be sir Peter de Craon.

The duke took no further notice of the matter, and, having passed the night, on the morrow, at nine o'clock, mounted his horse, and went from the hôtel de St. Pol to the Louvre. The king was going to hear mass, and received his brother affectionately; but perceiving from his manner that he was angered, he said, "Fair brother, what ails you? you seem much agitated." "My lord, if I am I have good cause for it." "What is the matter?" said the king, "we wish to know it." The duke, unwilling to hide his grief, told him, word for word, everything that had passed, complaining bitterly of sir Peter de Craon, and added: "My lord, if it were not for the love I bear you, and for my own honor, I swear on the faith I owe you I would have him slain." "Do no such thing," said the king; "we will order him, by our special counsellors, to quit instantly our palace, for that we have no further need of his services; and do you the same on your part." "That I intended," replied the duke of Touraine, who was satisfied with what the king had said. This same day, sir Peter de Craon was told by the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, from the king, that he must no longer reside in the palace, and instantly seek other lodgings. At the same time, sir John de Bueil and lord d'Ervaux, sénéschal of Touraine, delivered him a similar message from the duke of Touraine. Sir Peter, seeing himself thus dismissed, was much ashamed and greatly angered: he could no way account for it, as the messenger had not declared to him the cause of his disgrace. Being desirous of admittance to the presence of the duke, to learn from him how he had angered him, he was told, that neither the king nor the duke would hear anything he had to say. When he found his disgrace was resolved on, he packed up all he wanted, and set out much dejected, from Paris, for a castle of his in Anjou, called Sable*. He remained there for some time, but in very low spirits, from being driven from the palaces of France, Touraine and Sicily. He therefore determined, since their gates were shut against him, that he would retire to the duke of Brittany, and relate to him what had happened.

This he executed, and met the duke at Vannes, who received him kindly. He had already heard what had befallen him, and sir Peter again told him every particular that had passed, and that he was banished the court of France. The duke of Brittany, having heard his story, replied, "Good cousin, make yourself easy: it is the lord de Clisson who has brewed this mischief for you." From this speech a deadly hatred sprung, and greatly increased, as you will hear in the course of this history. Sir Peter de Craon lived so long with the duke of Brittany, that he was forgotten in France; for the constable and the king's council never publicly mentioned his name. They did not like the duke of Brittany more for having invited and retained him; but the duke was indifferent to the king of France's anger or love, and provided all his towns and castles plentifully with stores and provisions, plainly showing he cared not whether it was war or peace between him and France. Everything he did was known to the king and his council; and those most in the king's favor thought him presumptuous, and menaced him for his conduct. The duke held their menaces cheap, and declared he would wage war on the count de Penthievre in earnest, and on all his abettors, for he had just cause of quarrel. He said, "This count de Penthievre, our cousin, signs himself John of Brittany, as if he were our heir. We have no objection to his signing John, for that is his name, or count de Penthievre; but we are resolved he shall lay down the ermines, and title himself John of Blois, or of Châtillon, and bear none other arms but those; if he refuse, we will force him to do it, and take from him his lands, which he holds in vassalage from us. With regard to the duchy of Brittany, he need not think of that, for we have a son and a daughter who are our heirs. Let him seek some other inheritance, for he will be disappointed in ours." Such were the conversations of the duke with sir Peter de Craon, who, far from contradicting any of his future plans, rather urged him on, from hatred to the constable and council of France.

We will now leave this subject, and speak of a more melancholy one relative to the count Guy de Blois, whom I have before mentioned in this history as my great patron and master.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE DEATH OF THE YOUNG COUNT LOUIS DE CHASTILLON, SON TO COUNT GUY DE BLOIS. THE SUDDEN DEATH OF GASTON COUNT DE FOIX.

I HAVE already spoken of the marriage that took place between Louis de Chastillon, son of the count de Blois, and the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry. In the settlements of this marriage, the duke managed well for his daughter; for she had a dower of six thousand livres, French money, (which are well worth the same sum of francs, reckoning them as florins) assigned her on the county of Blois, so that if she survived her husband, the county of Blois would be obliged to pay her this sum annually during her life. Now it fell

* The castles of Craon and Sablé are in Anjou, two leagues distant from la Flèche.

out, that about St. John Baptist's day, in the year of our Lord 1391, the boy whom I have called Louis de Blois, son to the count de Blois, left his father at the chateau des Moutils,* situated in the county of Blois, and set out for Hainault to visit his mother and wife. Not long after his arrival, he was seized with a fever, for he had rode very hard and the weather was hot: he was also of a tender age, being no more than fourteen years old, and, in spite of the physicians, he died, for they could not check the fever. His parents, you may suppose, were much grieved for the loss of their heir, as was the young lady of Berry: she loved him most affectionately, and considered herself as nobly married. The count de Blois was uneasy at the consequences, for his affairs were rather in confusion, and he knew the duke of Berry to be avaricious beyond measure, who, in order to grasp at the dower of his daughter, would take possession of the county of Blois: he therefore awaited the event in silence.

Thus were the two daughters, Bona and Mary, widowed in the same year. The eldest was married to Amadeus count of Savoy, who died very suddenly, and so much was said on the subject, that sir Otho Grandeson was near being arrested for the suspicions that were laid to his charge, and forced to quit Savoy, France, and Germany, to fix his residence in England.

In this year, died likewise suddenly, the noble and gallant count de Foix. I will say how it happened.† True it is, that of all the pleasures of this world he took most delight in the chase, and was always well provided with hounds of all sorts, having never less than sixteen hundred. The count de Foix was at this season hunting in the forest of Savaterre, on the road to Pampeluna in Navarre, not far distant from Orthès in Béarn. The day he died, he had all the forenoon been hunting a bear, and it was late in the evening when he was taken and cut up. His attendants asked where he pleased to have his dinner prepared: he said, "At the inn of Rion, where we will dine, and in the cool of the evening ride to Orthès. His orders were obeyed. The count with his companions rode a foot's pace toward the village of Rion, and dismounted at the inn. The count went to his chamber, which he found ready strewed with rushes and green leaves; the walls were hung with boughs newly cut, for perfume and coolness, as the weather was marvellously hot, even for the month of August. He had no sooner entered this room, than he said "These greens are very agreeable to me, for the day has been desperately hot." When seated, he conversed with sir Espaign du Lyon on the dogs that had best hunted; during which conversation his bastard-son sir Evan, and sir Peter Cabestan entered the apartment, as the table had been there spread. He called for water to wash, and two squires advanced, Raymonet de Lasne and Raymonet de Copane: Ernaudon d'Espaign took the silver basin, and another knight, called sir Thibaut, the napkin. The count rose from his seat, and stretched out his hands to wash; but no sooner had his fingers, which were handsome and long, touched the cold water, than he changed color, from an oppression at his heart, and, his legs failing him, fell back on his seat, exclaiming, "I am a dead man: Lord God, have mercy on me!" He never spoke after this, though he did not immediately die, but suffered great pain. The knights present and his son were much terrified: they carried him gently in their arms to another chamber, and laid him on a bed, covering him well, thinking he was only chilled.

The two squires who had brought water to wash in the basin, said, to free themselves from any charge of having poisoned him, "Here is the water: we have already drank of it, and will now again in your presence," which they did, to the satisfaction of all. They put into his mouth bread, water, and spices, with other comforting things, but to no purpose, for in less than half an hour he was dead, having surrendered his soul very quietly. God, out of his grace, was merciful to him.

You may imagine all present were exceedingly afflicted at what had happened: they fastened the door of the chamber, that his household might not instantly be made acquainted with his death. The knights, seeing sir Evan lamenting and wringing his hands, said to him, "Evan, the business is over: you have lost your father and lord. We know that he loved you in preference to all others. Take care of yourself: mount your horse, ride and gain possession of the castle of Orthès, and the treasure within it, before any one know of your lord's death." Sir Evan made them a low reverence, and replied: "Gentlemen, I return you many thanks for the friendship you now show me; I trust I shall not forget it; but tell me what are my lord's tokens, or I shall not gain admittance into the castle." "You say true," answered the knights: "take them." This he did. The tokens were a small golden ring the count wore on his finger, and a little knife with which he sometimes cut his meat at table. These were the tokens the porter of the castle at Orthès was acquainted with, and had he not seen them he would never have opened the gate.

* "Les Moutils,"—a village in the Blesois, diocese of Blois.

† Gaston de Foix was born in 1331, and died in 1391. His character is nowhere better delineated than in the pages of Froissart: from them posterity have formed their judgment. One accomplishment, however, he has left unrecorded. Gaston was a poet, or at least a rhymer, for the verses he has left behind him do not display much of the poetic fire; but the accomplishment of verse-making was considered a necessary part of a Provençal gentleman's education, and accordingly we find that *Phœbus* possessed it. This surname, or rather *sobriquet*, is not well accounted for; some say it was given him for his love for the chase, others from his fair complexion, and others from his choice of the sun as his armorial bearings.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SIR EVAN DE FOIX, BASTARD-SON TO THE LATE COUNT, INTENDING TO CARRY AWAY PRIVATELY THE TREASURE OF HIS FATHER, IS DISCOVERED BY THE TOWNSMEN OF ORTHES, WHO, HOWEVER, PROMISE EVERY ASSISTANCE TO HIM AND TO HIS BROTHER THAT IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE TRUE HEIR TO THE COUNT DE FOIX, THE VISCOUNT DE CHASTELBON.

Sir Evan de Foix left the inn at Rion with only two servants, and rode in haste to Orthès, where nothing was known of the count's death. He passed through the streets without speaking to any one, or his errand being suspected, until he came to the castle, and called to the porter. The porter said, "What does my lord Evan want? Where is my lord?" "He is at Rion," answered the knight, "and has sent me to seek for some things that are in his chamber, and to return back to him. To convince you of what I say, look, here are his tokens, his ring and knife. The porter, having eyed them through a window, knew them well and opened the wicket, through which sir Evan entered, and his servants led the horses to the stable. When sir Evan had passed the gate, he told the porter to fasten it; which being done he seized the keys, and said to him, "Thou art a dead man, if thou do not obey me." The porter was frightened, and asked the cause. "My lord and father is dead," said the knight, "and I wish to gain possession of his treasure before any one know of it." The porter obeyed, as it was necessary for him to do; but he would indeed have preferred that sir Evan should have the treasure to all other persons. Sir Evan knew well enough where it was deposited, in the great tower, but he had three pair of strong doors to open, and with separate keys, before he could gain admittance. These keys he was unable for some time to find, as they were in a small long box of fine steel, locked with a little steel key, which the count de Foix carried with him when he rode abroad; and it was found hanging to a piece of silk which he wore over his shirt. The knights, who were watching the body of the count at Rion, noticing this key, could not imagine the use of it; but the chaplain of the count, sir Nicholas de l'Escalle, being present, knew it well. He had been much loved by the count, who intrusted him with all his secrets, and, when he had visited his treasure, had never taken any one but his chaplain with him. On seeing the key, he said, "Sir Evan will lose his pains, for without this key he can never enter the treasury: this opens a small steel casket in which the other keys are." The knights were vexed at hearing this, and said, "Carry it to him, sir Nicholas: you will act well by so doing, for it is better sir Evan should gain the treasure than any other: he is a good knight, and our late lord loved him exceedingly." The chaplain answered, "Since you advise me, I will cheerfully do it;" and, instantly mounting his horse, he hastened with the key to the castle of Orthès, where sir Evan was very melancholy at not finding the keys, and at the impossibility of forcing the locks of the doors, as they were very strong, and he had not any instruments for the purpose. While he was in this distress, and sir Nicholas on the road to assist him, it was known in Orthès (I know not whether by inspiration, or from women and servants returning from Rion) that the count de Foix, their lord, was no more.

This was very afflicting news, for the count was greatly beloved by all ranks. The whole town was in motion, and met in the public square, where they conversed together on the subject. Some who had noticed sir Evan ride up the town, said, "We saw sir Evan de Foix gallop toward the castle, and he seemed much distressed." Others replied, "Without doubt, what we have heard is true; for it is not usual for him to ride without his father." As the men of Orthès were thus conversing and murmuring, the chaplain, sir Nicholas, fell into their hands. They surrounded him to inquire the news, and said, "Sir Nicholas, how fares my lord? they tell us he is dead: is it true?" "No," replied the chaplain: "he is not dead, but most dangerously ill; and I am hastening to seek for some things that may do him good, which I shall return with to him." On saying this, he passed on to the castle. Having gained admittance, sir Evan was rejoiced at his arrival, for without the small key he could never have entered the tower.

I will say how the townsmen behaved. They began to suspect the death of the count had been hid from them, and said among themselves, "It is now night, and we hear nothing certain of our lord's health, from his officers or secretaries. Sir Evan and his chaplain, who was his confidential secretary, have entered the castle: let us guard that place this night, and to-morrow we shall have certain news. We will send privately to Rion to inquire how things are; for we know that the greater part of our lord's treasure is in the castle, and if he be robbed or defrauded of any part of it, we shall be blamed. We must therefore be on our guard concerning what passes." "That is true," replied others, who thought the advice good. They instantly surrounded the castle, and placed sufficient guards at all the gates of the town, so that no one could enter or go out without permission; and this strict watch they continued until the morrow. The truth was now known of the count's death, and caused the greatest tribulation among the inhabitants of all descriptions, for he was much beloved by his subjects. The guards were now doubled, and the principal townsmen drew up before the castle.

When sir Evan de Foix saw, from the castle of Orthès, the man-

ner in which the townsmen had drawn themselves up, and that the death of the count was known to them, he said to the chaplain, "Sir Nicholas, I have failed in my attempt: I can never go hence without leave of the inhabitants, for they know my father is dead, and their numbers are every moment augmenting. I must humble myself to them, for force will be of no avail." "You say well," replied the chaplain: "you will gain more by civil words than by harsh ones: go, and speak to them, but act cautiously." Sir Evan went to a tower near the gate, which had a window looking over the bridge to the square where the townsmen were assembled. It was in this tower the lady Jane of Boulogne was brought up and educated, until she became duchess of Berry, as has been already noticed in this history.

Sir Evan opened the window of the tower, and called to him some of the principal inhabitants, who advanced on the bridge to hear what he had to say. He thus addressed them aloud: "Good people of Orthès, I know but too well why you are thus assembled and sorrowful: you have good cause for it. I therefore most earnestly entreat, for the love you bore my late lord and father, that you will not be displeased nor angered, if I have hastened to take possession of this castle and what is contained within it, for I mean nothing but what is just. You know the great affection my lord and father had for me, and that he would willingly have made me his heir. It has happened, by the will of God, that he died without having completed any regulations to that effect, which has thrown me upon you, with whom I was brought up and educated, a poor knight, bastard to the count de Foix. I therefore beg you would counsel me how to act, and assist me in this time of distress. I pray God that you will have compassion on me, as it will be an act of charity; and I shall open the castle for your free admittance, as I never thought of closing its gates against you."

The chiefs among the townsmen answered, "Sir Evan, you have well spoken, and to the purpose, and we are satisfied. We therefore say, that you shall live among us: and it is our intention that you keep this castle, and all that is within it, which we will aid you to defend. Should the viscount de Châtelbon, your cousin, who is heir to the territory of Béarn, and the nearest relation to our late lord, your father, claim anything belonging to this castle, we will strenuously defend you, and your brother sir Gracien, in your rights. But we suppose, that when the king of France was last at Toulouse, and our lord, your father, waited on him, some regulations were made respecting these matters; and your cousin, sir Roger d'Espaign, ought to know all the circumstances relative to them. We will write, to inform him of the death of our lord, and to invite him hither, to give us his advice, as well on the state of Béarn and Foix, which may fall to ruin, as respecting the moveables and funeral of our lord. What we have now said, we promise you most faithfully and loyally to observe."

Sir Evan was well satisfied with this speech, and threw open the gates of the castle for all to enter who pleased. Many did so, examined it well, and placed sufficient guards to defend it.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CORPSE OF THE COUNT DE FOIX IS BROUGHT FROM RION TO ORTHES. THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE BISHOP OF NOYON AND THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE INTO THE COUNTRY OF FOIX, TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS, ACCORDING TO THE DECREE OF THE COUNCIL.

This same day, the body of the count de Foix was put into a coffin, and brought to Orthès. The inhabitants, men, women and children, who went to meet it, wept most bitterly, remembering his valor, prudence and generosity, and the happiness they had enjoyed during the whole of his reign; for there was neither Englishman nor Frenchman who dared to anger him. They said, "Our neighbors will now make war on us who have hitherto lived in peace, and we shall inhabit a land of misery and slavery. No one will now attend to or defend our rights. Ah, Gaston! fair child, why didst thou anger thy father? If thou hadst remained to us, whose youth promised so much, we should be comforted; but we lost thee when too young, and thy father has lived too short a time. He was but sixty-three years old,* and that is no great age for such a handsome and healthy prince, and one who had every comfort about him. Ah, desolated and comfortless Béarn! now thou hast lost thy prince, what will become of thee? Never shalt thou have an equal to the gallant and noble Gaston." With such lamentations was the body of the noble count carried through Orthès, attended by the following knights: first, the viscount de Bruniquel and the lord de Copane, then sir Roger d'Espaign and the lord de Laisne, sir Raymond de la Motte and the lord de Besach, sir Menaut de Noailles and sir Richard de Saint George. Sir Evan de Foix walked in the rear, attended by the lord de Corasse, the lord de Barentin, the lord de Baruge, the lord de Quer, and upward of sixty knights of Béarn, who had hastened to Rion on hearing the melancholy news of their lord's death. The body of the count was borne, with his face uncovered, to the church of the Cordeliers in Orthès, where it was opened, embalmed, and put into a leaden coffin, and left in that state until the day of its interment. It was handsomely watched; for there were continually burning around it, night and day, twenty-four large wax tapers, which were held by as many varlets; twenty-four being employed on this service during the day, and the like number of others during the night.

The death of the count de Foix was now public in various places, and more were sorry than rejoiced; for he had made, in his lifetime, innumerable valuable gifts, and was beloved by all who were acquainted with him. Even pope Clement showed much concern on hearing it, notwithstanding the difficulties the count had, for a long time, thrown in the way of the marriage of his cousin, the lady Jane of Boulogne, now duchess of Berry. The bishop of Pamiers was at this time resident at Avignon; for he was afraid of living in his diocese, from the hatred the count de Foix bore him. Although they were relations, and the count had made him a bishop, he incurred the count's disgrace, from his attempts to extend his jurisdiction to the prejudice of the count. The pope sent for him to the palace, and said, "Bishop of Pamiers, your peace is made: the count de Foix is dead." The bishop was well pleased to hear it, and, in a few days, set out from Avignon, for his bishopric in the county of Foix.

When intelligence of the count's death was carried to the court of France, the king, his brother, and the duke of Bourbon were grieved thereat, for his many good qualities. The council addressed the king: "Sire, the county of Foix is now yours by lawful succession; for, since the count has died, without leaving any heirs by marriage, no one can dispute your claim. This is understood by the landholders of Foix. There is also another circumstance which adds to your claim, you have lent on mortgage of that county fifty thousand francs; send and take possession for payment, and hold it as your legal inheritance: those of the county desire nothing more eagerly than to be under your government. It is a fair possession, and comes very opportunely, for it borders on Catalonia and Arragon; and if, in time to come, you should be at war with the king of Arragon, the county of Foix will be a good frontier; for it has many castles and forts which may be very advantageously garrisoned with men-at-arms." The king listened with pleasure to this speech, and, agreeing with his council, said, "See whom we shall send thither." They resolved on the lord de la Riviere, because he had formerly been there, and determined that he should be accompanied by the bishop of Noyon. These two lords on hearing of their embassy, made very handsome preparations, but did not immediately set out. When they did, they travelled slowly and at their leisure, taking the road to Avignon.

* He died on the 12th of August 1391, and was born in 1331.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE VISCOUNT DE CHATELBON, HEIR TO THE COUNT DE FOIX, ATTENDS HIS FUNERAL AT ORTHES. HE IS ADVISED TO SEND TO THE BEFORE-NAMED COMMISSIONERS FROM FRANCE, TO DEMAND POSSESSION OF THE SUCCESSION WHICH HAD FALLEN TO HIM BY THE DEATH OF THE COUNT DE FOIX: HE AFTERWARDS SENDS, TO THE SAME PURPORT, TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

The death of the count de Foix was signified to the viscount de Chatelbon in Arragon. He instantly set out for Béarn, and arrived at Orthès; but, though the inhabitants made him very welcome, they did not acknowledge him for their lord. They said, "They were but a part of the country; and that it would be necessary for all the barons, prelates, and citizens of the principal towns to assemble, and consider of the business; that Béarn was an independent territory, and those lords who resided in it would never consent that it should pay homage to any one." It was now determined to perform the obsequies of the count de Foix, and then to summon all the barons of Béarn and Foix; that all who pleased might attend and deliberate how to act, on the present occasion, in the choice of a lord. The barons, prelates and chief citizens of Béarn and Foix were invited to the funeral of the count. Those from Béarn came; but the Foixiens refused, sayng they should stay at home to guard and defend their country until the matter of succession were determined, for they had heard the king of France laid claim to it. The bishop of Pamiers, notwithstanding this, being a relation and invited, went to Orthès in handsome state, becoming his rank.

Great were the numbers who attended the funeral of Gaston count de Foix, the last of the name, in the church of the Cordelier friars of Orthès, on a Monday, the 12th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1391. In addition to the barons and knights, there were three bishops: first, the bishop of Pamiers, who said mass and performed the service; then the bishops of Lescar and Oléron. The church was splendidly illuminated, and, during mass, four knights displayed, in front of the altar, the emblazoned banners of Foix and Béarn. The first was supported by sir Raymond de Châtelneuf, the second by sir Espaign du Lyon, the third by sir Peter de Quer, and the fourth by sir Menaut de Noailles. Sir Roger d'Espaign made the offering of his sword, supported by the bourg de Copane* and sir Peter Andrew de Béarn, governor of Lourdé. The viscount de Bruniquel offered the shield, supported by sir John de Châtelneuf and John de Chantiron. The helmet was offered by the lord Valentin de Béarn, supported by sir Arnold de Rostem, and Arnold de Sainte-Colombe. The war-horse was offered by the lord de Corasse, supported by sir Arnauton d'Espaign and Raymonnet de Copane.

* The family of Copane is known at this day under the name of Caupenne. The castle of Caupenne is near Bayonne.—*Note by the Marquis de Sy.*

Every part of the obsequies was most honorably and magnificently performed according to the custom of the country. Sir Evan and sir Gracien de Foix, the two bastard-sons of the count, were present, as were the viscount de Châtelbon, all the barons from Béarn, and some from Foix; but the last, as soon as the service was ended, mounted their horses, and went to dine at Heritiel, two leagues distant from Orthès. Very early on the morrow, the bishop of Pamiers took his departure, refusing to assist at the assembly of the barons of Béarn, which was fixed for that day. As soon as the obsequies had been performed, the body of the count de Foix was taken from the leaden coffin, enwrapped with a new and handsome waxed cloth, and buried in front of the grand altar in the choir of the church of the Cordeliers. Of him there is an end: God pardon his sins!

I will now say what was done at this great meeting of prelates, barons, knights, and principal citizens of Béarn, at Orthès. I imagine, from the information I received, the viscount de Châteaubon was addressed nearly as follows: "My lord, we know well that, from your relationship to our late much honored lord, whose soul God pardon! you are entitled to succeed to all his inheritances, as well in Béarn as in Foix; but at this moment we dare not acknowledge you as our lord, lest we be guilty of great imprudence, and hazard this country of Béarn in a dangerous war; for we have heard that the king of France, who is our good neighbor, and very powerful, has ordered hither some of his council: we know not, nor shall we learn until they arrive and tell us, on what cause they are sent. You are not ignorant, any more than ourselves, that our late lord, whom God forgive! was last year with the king of France at Toulouse, when they had many secret conferences; and the object of these must be explained, for, should he have signed and sealed any transfer of Foix and Béarn, the king of France will think himself justified to possess them by force. We therefore must know the terms of such treaties if they exist, for we are otherwise situated than Foix. Ours is a free country,* which owes neither homage nor servitude to any one; whereas the county of Foix is a tenure from the king of France, and the Foixiens are so attached to France, that they will cheerfuly acknowledge that king for its lord: indeed, they already say, that since the count de Foix has deceased without heir-male by legal marriage, that county naturally falls to the king of France, its lord paramount. My lord, you know we shall maintain our rights, and that we will not surrender them to any lord, whether the king of France or you. We recommend, therefore, that in this business you take the lead, by treaty or otherwise." The viscount replied; "And how would you advise me to act? for I have declared my willingness to follow everything in reason that you shall counsel me." "My lord," said they, "we think you should desire your cousin sir Roger d'Espaign, who is here present, to accompany you at your expense to the county of Foix, to negotiate with the barons, prelates and principal inhabitants. If you succeed in prevailing on them to accept you for lord, or to keep secret their intentions until you shall have gained over the king of France by means of a composition in money, that the inheritance may be yours, you will have done well. Have an interview with the commissioners sent by the king of France to Foix, and offer one or even two hundred thousand francs; you will find it cheaply bought, and have more than enough to pay it from the treasure our late lord (whose soul may God pardon!) has left behind him. But we are resolved that his two bastard-sons shall have a handsome share of his landed property, and of the ready money."

The viscount de Chateau-bon answered; "Gentlemen, I consent to all your wishes. Here is sir Roger d'Espaign, and in your presence I entreat that he will accompany me on this journey." Sir Roger said, he would cheerfully do so, as he might mediate between them; but if the king of France, his sovereign lord, or his commissioners, should require him to be of their party, or wish him to retire, he should then return. The viscount was satisfied with this answer, and said, "I will never act, cousin, but by your advice; and when you are by my side, I shall be more encouraged and the sooner accomplish my ends." On this, the meeting was on the point of being dissolved, when the viscount requested that he might have, by way of loan, five or six thousand francs from the treasury, to carry on his affairs. The two bastards likewise put in their claims, and desired they might have a share of the money of their father which the men of Orthès had now under their guard. The barons, prelates and citizens, having considered these demands, agreed that the viscount should have five thousand francs, on the terms he had proposed, and the two bastards of Foix two thousand. Orders were accordingly given for their delivery. This was complied with, and the treasurers summoned to pay it. Not one person who had any office under the late count was dismissed; but the guard of the castle of Orthès, and all within it, was given to the inhabitants of the town.

The viscount de Château-bon, on his arrival at Orthès, set at liborty all prisoners confined in the castle. They were very numerous; for the count de Foix was very cruel to any person who incurred his indignation, never sparing them, however high their rank, but ordering them to be thrown over the walls, or confined on bread and water during his pleasure; and such as ventured to speak for their deliverance ran risks of similar treatment. It is a well-known fact, that he confined, in a deep dungeon, his cousin-german, this viscount de Château-bon, during eight days; and he would not give him his liberty until he had paid down forty thousand francs. Since that time he bore him such a hatred, that he dared not appear before him; and had the count lived two years longer, the viscount de Château-bon would never have inherited his posessions in Foix and Béarn. Those who had attended this meeting at Orthès now separated, to return to their homes, leaving the viscount to the care of his own affairs. He was not idle, but collected about his person those knights and squires he thought attached to him, and left Orthès with an attendance of two hundred horse. He went to Morlaas, a good town and well inclosed: it is the last in Béarn, on the side of Bigorre, four leagues from Pau, and six from Tarbes.

On the morrow, as he was preparing to set out for Saint Gaudens, another good town at the entrance of Foix, on the Garronne, news was brought him that the bishop of Noyon and sir Berau de la Riviere were arrived in great state at Toulouse. The viscount de Châteaubon asked sir Roger d'Espaign how he should act. Sir Roger replied, "Since we have now heard of them, we will remain and observe how they proceed. In a few days, they will make us acquainted with their intentions." This advice of sir Roger was followed: indeed, it would have been useless to advance further into Foix, for all the chief towns, castles, and passes over the river Garonne were shut against them, such as Palaminich, Castres, Montesquieu, Carthas, Ortingas, Sossa, the city of Pamiers, the castle of which was under the guard of the townsmen, Savredun, Montant, Mazeres, Vespuis, and all the castles on the frontier of Arragon. The inhabitants of Foix declared that no foreign power, of men-at-arms, should enter their country, until the right of succession was established: they, however, showed a great inclination that France should have their country, and that it should be governed by a séneschal, like Toulouse, Carcassonne and Beaucaire; but it happened otherwise, as I shall shortly relate.

When the commissioners from France arrived at Toulouse, they sought intelligence from the archbishop, the séneschals of Foix and Toulouse, who told them enough; for the two last had, from the great love they bore the count de Foix, with many of the principal persons in Toulouse, attended his funeral at Orthès. They had, when there, inquired into the state and disposition of the country, from such as they imagined could inform them. Upon hearing their report, the bishop of Noyon and lord de la Riviere consulted together, and determined to send for sir Roger d'Espaign, for he was liegeman to the king of France, his officer, and séneschal of Carcassonne, and keep him with them should there be occasion. According to this plan they sent off an honorable squire, with letters sealed to sir Roger. He left Toulouse, thinking to meet sir Roger at Montréal or at Saint Gaudens, with the viscount de Château-bon; for he had heard they had left Morlaas on their road to enter Foix. The squire followed the road to Saint Gaudens, and soon arrived there, as the distance was not more than twelve leagues. He presented the letters to sir Roger, telling him at the same time from whom they came. Sir Roger, having read them, said, "You shall stay here to-day: to-morrow you shall return, and I hope have company with you." The squire assented to this.

The viscount and sir Roger had a long conference on the subject of these letters, and it was concluded that sir Roger should wait on the commissioners at Toulouse, when he would hear what was the object of their coming, and what their intentions. On the morrow, the knight, in company with the squire who had brought the letters, set out for Toulouse, and they continued their journey until they arrived there in the evening, when sir Roger retired to his lodgings, and the squire to his masters. On learning that the knight was arrived, the commissioners said, "Since sir Roger d'Espaign is come in person, to-morrow we shall have some intelligence." The next day, after mass, sir Roger waited on the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere, who kindly received him. After some conversation on different subjects, they told him the cause of their coming, and showed the king's procuration, for them to take possession, in his name, of the county of Foix. Sir Roger observed their papers and credential letters were properly drawn up, and, after a short pause, he replied: "My lord of Noyon, and you my lord de la Riviere, I am not such an intimate counsellor of the king as ye are, for, if I were, I would (under your favor) advise him to take the money, and indeed somewhat more than what he has, on mortgage on this county, advanced to the late count, and to be repaid on his death, and let the natural heir succeed to his inheritances. This would be, in my mind, greatly to his honor and profit, and to the salvation of his soul. I will give you other substantial reasons why this should be done, if you will listen to me. First, it is well known that this mortgage was fraudulently made by the late count, for he abounded in money; and was in this matter actuated solely by his hatred to the true heir, the viscount de Château-bon, whom he thought he could never sufficiently injure. The king may therefore, if he consent to it, be implicated in this disgraceful transaction. Secondly, by following my advice the king will be a gainer; for the county of Foix will cost him full as much to guard and defend as his receivers can collect from it, and he will, besides, lose the homage and service of a powerful man. Thirdly, he will heavily load his conscience by thus disinheriting another; for if he had meant to act justly in such a bargain and sale, he ought to have called upon all the relations of the late count, who had the remotest claims on his succession, to

* The Bearnese had their own courts and customs which they long preserved.—Ed.

oppose this act, if they should have thought it necessary, which was not done. Consider, therefore, my lords, you who have so good understandings, and are come hither as those most looked up to in the king's council, all that I have said, before you approve yourselves abettors of frauds, which must affect the conscience of the king, for on you will the whole blame be thrown, and, before it be too late, apply a remedy. You have now time, for my cousin the viscount de Château-bon, has sent me to remonstrate with you on this business; and he, as well as myself, beg you will pay attention to our complaints; for it is not just to seize all that strength and power may enable you to do." When sir Roger had done speaking, the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere looked at each other; and the bishop thus replied: "Sir Roger, we are convinced the proposition you have made us is caused by your love of justice; but our commission does not extend to annihilate the bargains which may have been made between the king of France and the count de Foix. However, from consideration and love to you, and for the satisfaction of all parties, we will not proceed further in the business, if you will undertake a journey to Paris, and make to the king and council what remonstrances you may please relative to it. If you can by your eloquence prevail, that the succession of Foix devolve to the viscount de Château-bon, who is indeed, as you say, the legal heir, we shall be right glad, for we are no way inclined to disinherit him." "My lords," replied sir Roger, "you make me very happy by what you say: remain, therefore, and amuse yourselves in Toulouse during my absence, for all your expenses shall be defrayed from the treasure in the castle of Orthès."

Thus did sir Roger d'Espaign manage the matter, during his stay of two days in Toulouse with the commissioners from France: a better negotiator could not have been sent. On the third morning, when taking leave of them he said: "My lords, since I have begun this business, I see the necessity for my going to Paris, to bring it to a conclusion; but I know not in what disposition I shall find the king and his court. Should I stay longer than I propose, I beg you will not be uneasy, for it will be the fault of those with whom I must treat, if I do not very speedily return: in the mean time you shall constantly receive messages with letters from me."

"Go, in God's name," said the two lords: "we know it will not be your fault if any delay happen." Thus satisfied with each other, they separated. The commissioners remained at Toulouse, and sir Roger returned to the viscount de Château-bon at St. Gaudens, to tell him what had passed. The viscount was rejoiced on hearing it, and said, "Sir Roger, my fair cousin, I put my whole confidence in you, and the matter interests me greatly; for it is nothing less than whether I am or not to have the property of my family, from whom I am sprung, and whose arms I bear. I have none other but you to send to France, nor any one on whom I can depend, to lay before the king and council the hardship of my case, with a force of eloquence equal to the occasion. I therefore entreat, from your affecto me, and for the obligation I shall ever be under to you, that you would undertake this journey." Sir Roger said, "I knew well that you would charge me with this business, and, from my love to you and our relationship, I will readily undertake it." He was not long in making his preparations to go to Paris, and took the road through Rodez, as being the shortest, for there was now a truce between France and England. Had it not been so, this way would not have been the most expedient; for there were many forts on the borders of Quercy, Rouergue and Limousin, in the hands of the English.

We will now leave sir Roger to pursue his journey, and speak of the king of France and the duke of Brittany.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MEET AT TOURS, TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES. EMBASSADORS FROM ENGLAND COME THITHER ALSO TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE.

The great hatred which subisted between the duke of Brittany and sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, has been repeatedly mentioned in this history. The duke, in addition to the ill-will he bore him, was envious of the favor he was in with the king of France, and the opinion he had of his advice: he would willingly have prevented or troubled this, if he had the power, and was not fearful of offending the king. This made him frequently repent that he had not put him to death when in his castle of Ermine, for no one would have revenged it, and the matter would soon have been forgotten. The duke, on account of this hatred and envy of the constable, was very backward in his duties to the crown of France, and, when he could, absolutely refused paying them. He knew he was acting improperly, but persisted in this conduct, for he was too much inclined to England, and provided his castles and towns with artillery and stores, sending secretly to England for men-at-arms and archers, whom he placed in his forts, giving it out that he was expecting war to be made on him; but his subjects could not guess from what quarter.

News of all that he was doing was carried to the court of France, and several spoke loudly against him. The duke, indeed, knew that many of the French lords disliked him; but he was indifferent as to this, and continued to act as before, intrusting only the duchess of Burgundy with the real state of his affairs and his intentions. He was right so to do, for he was by her strongly supported. She had a great affection for the duke of Brittany, not only because he was her relation, but her father, the late earl of Flanders, had been much attached to him, and comforted him in all his distresses. This duchess of Burgundy was a determined lady, and the duke, her husband, would not willingly have angered her, as was indeed natural; for he had gained by his marriage with her immense possessions, and was the father of many fine children, which bound him, as well as the whole royal family, the more to her.

These hatreds and jealousies were daily increasing; and although the duke of Brittany went to Paris, and paid his homage to the king, I will not pretend to say that it was done from the heart, for on his return to Brittany, very little change was observed in his conduct. He had also sworn obedience to the pope of Avignon, but acted contrary to his solemn pledge, for he disclaimed him by words, and would not allow his bulls to have effect in his duchy. He was neuter between the two popes in many things, and disposed of vacant benefices according to his pleasure; so that no foreign clerk, unless he was perfectly agreeable to the duke, could obtain any benefice in Brittany. And with regard to any writs, or law processes, which were sent thither from the parliament of Paris, he held them very cheap, and seemed to expect that his own officers should take the precedence in all such proceedings.

The duke deprived even the prelates of Brittany of many of their rights, who, though they made loud complaints of this to the parliament of Paris, could not obtain redress; for when the duke was summoned to defend himself against these charges in the courts of justice, he never came nor sent any persons sufficiently authorized to answer for him. When, by order of the parliament, the king's officers were sent into Brittany to serve the duke with writs of summons, they never could speak with him nor obtain a sight of him, from different excuses he made; but when they had left his country, and were returned to Paris, he said: "Yes, to be sure I will go to Paris to hear law! never will I do such a thing. Three years ago, I was there for that purpose and to obtain justice; but the last I never could get. Our judges of the parliament turn it as they please; and they must think me very young and ignorant, when they want thus to manage me. I wish to let them know, that if all my subjects were unanimous in the same opinions with me, I would find the king of France so much employment that the most obstinate should listen to reason. All who had loyally and faithfully served, should be rewarded accordingly, and such as had acted on opposite principles should be punished; and those who demanded justice should have it." Such speeches, which were often repeated, were carried to the French court; and the king's most confidential ministers said, "This duke of Brittany is so presumptuous and obstinate in his opinions, that, if he be suffered to go on with such discourses, the kingdom will be weakened, by other lords following his example, and the rights of the crown by degrees may be lost." It was therefore resolved, to obviate all difficulties, that the duke of Brittany should be civilly invited to come to Tours, where the king of France, from the affection he bore him, would endeavor to give him the meeting, attended only by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the bishops of Chartres and Autun, members of his council, who were expressly named, as more in favor with the duke of Brittany than any other lords in France, except the lord de Coucy and the lord d'Estampes.

This plan being followed, the count d'Estampes and sir Yves d'Orient were sent into Brittany, where they had much difficulty to persuade the duke to meet the king of France and his uncles at Tours. They discussed the matter so ably, he at length said, "that he would go to Tours; but they need not press him to prolong his journey, for further he would not go, neither would he see his enemy, sir Oliver de Clisson, as he hated him mortally." These terms were complied with before he would consent to set out for Tours. The two envoys returned to France to tell the king and his uncles their success with the duke of Brittany. They appeared satisfied therewith, since they could not do better. The king and his lords began to make preparations for this journey to Tours on a large scale; for they imagined they should remain there two or three months, as the treaties and negotiations which were to be proposed, would require much time before they could be concluded.

The king of France, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, his son John of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, the count de la Marche, the count de Saint Pol, and the whole of their councils, came to Tours, where lodgings had been provided for them. The constable of France and his son-in-law, John of Brittany, came thither from a different quarter, as indeed they were nearly concerned in the matters then going forward. The duke of Brittany, after keeping them waiting a fortnight, at last arrived. Some said, that notwithstanding he had made them come there, he would not meet them; for he had sent twice or thrice to say he was too ill to ride; but having considered the business, he at length came. His purveyances were grand, and he and his people were lodged at their ease.

[The negotiations instantly began on both sides; but as the days were now short, it being the winter season, there could not be any long discussions before dinner, which were renewed afterwards until the evening. During the time these treaties were going forward at

Tours, between the king of France and the duke of Brittany, which lasted good part of the winter, sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon arrived there from Toulouse on a Wednesday. The city was so full of lords and other company, that it was with much difficulty they could find lodgings. Having at last obtained them, they waited on the king and his ministers, and explained, as eloquently as they were able, the cause of their coming, and the case of the viscount de Château-bon, in regard to his claims on the county of Foix, and the honor of Béarn.] The king and his council were so fully occupied with the affairs of Brittany, which touched them more nearly, that they could not attend to other business.

Sir Roger d'Espaign was however well heard, though he had not a speedy answer: he remained there upward of two months, and was daily told his proposal should be considered, but the answer was not given. There was another cause of delay, during the king's residence at Tours, that increased the labors of his council; for sir John Clanvow, counsellor and chamberlain to the king of England, and Richard Rowhall, clerk, doctor of laws, and of the council of England, arrived there from king Richard, on the subject of a peace which had been first proposed by sir Thomas Percy and the lord de Clifford, some time before at Paris, as you have heard. On their arrival, all other business was laid aside, and they alone were attended to. It was told me, they had brought credential letters to the king, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who heard what they had to say. Their mission was to know if the king of France and his council were willing to hold conferences at Amiens, as had been proposed, to endeavor to establish a lasting peace between the two kingdoms and their allies. The king of France, who, from every appearance, seemed desirous of peace, answered in the affirmative, and said, "that as soon as the business between him and the duke of Brittany was finished, and he was returned from Tours, he would not attend to anything until he arrived at Amiens, according to the former propositions; and that he would await there the arrival of the commissioners from England, who should be made welcome with the best cheer of the country."

The English were well pleased with this answer, and staid five days at Tours, passing their time with the king, the chief lords and the chancellor of France. Having accomplished the object of their coming, they took leave of the king and court. The king made them handsome presents, for which they returned thanks, and had all their expenses, while at Tours, paid. During their stay, they neither saw nor spoke with the duke of Brittany, for they were anxious to avoid giving the French any cause of suspicion of underhand dealing. They returned through Paris and Picardy to Calais, and, having a favorable passage, arrived at Dover, and thence journeyed to London, where they found the king and council assembled at Westminster, and related to them the answer they had received, and what observations they had made. The king and council were satisfied with what they heard, and gave orders respecting the conferences to be holden at Amiens.

We will now return to the embassadors from Béarn and Foix.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SIR ROGER D'ESPAIGN AND SIR ESPAIGN DU LYON, EMBASSADORS FROM THE VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBON, PRACTICE SO SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE COURT OF FRANCE, THAT HE IS DECLARED HEIR AND SUCCESSOR TO THE COUNT DE FOIX BY LETTERS PATENT FROM THE KING OF FRANCE.

Sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon acquitted themselves handsomely and successfully, in regard to the affairs of the viscount de Châteaubon. They had many difficulties to overcome with the king and court, more especially with the members of the privy council, who had advised the king to annex the county of Foix to the crown of France, since the inhabitants were desirous of it. The king was likewise of this opinion, but the duke of Burgundy more wisely opposed it, and recommended it to the king to do nothing more than to receive back the money he had advanced, saying, he had lands enough to guard without adding these, and disinheriting the lawful heir. I believe the duke of Burgundy's advice would not have been attended to, if the duke of Berry had not taken up the matter. You have heard, that formerly he had sent to the count de Foix the count de Sancerre, the viscount d'Assy, sir William de la Tremouille, and the lord de la Riviere, to treat for his marriage with the lady Jane of Boulogne, whom the count de Foix had in ward. The count listened to the proposals, but told the envoys that the duke of Berry should never have her for his wife, if he did not give him thirty thousand francs for the expenses of her education; and this demand the duke paid, for he was determined to have the lady. This he had not forgotten, and, sending for sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon to his chamber at Tours, shut the door and conversed with them in private, saying, "You may, if you please, succeed in the object of your journey hither; but you must first promise me, that I shall be fully repaid the sum my treasurer gave the count de Foix when I was married to my present duchess. I have always determined, that if I survived the count, this money should be paid me back."

The two knights, hearing the duke thus talk, looked at each other, but said not a word. The duke added, "My fair sirs, it was for this I wished to speak with you by ourselves: consult together on what I have told you; for, be assured, whether you consent or not, I will obtain repayment, and your treaty shall not succeed. I can depend on my good brother of Burgundy acting as I please; he is lieutenant over all the countries of Oil, as I am over those of Oc, and none will dare to controvert my orders, or oppose my will. This viscount de Châteaubon will find money enough for my demand, since the late count has left more behind him than the king has in his treasury." Sir Roger d'Espaign now answered, "My lord, suppose we were to accede to your proposal, we have not any money with us." "Oh," replied the duke, "sir Roger, that shall be no hindrance. You shall take the debt on yourself, and give me your bond for it: I have that opinion of your honor I will credit you for this, or a much larger sum if it were necessary." "My lord," said sir Roger, "I thank you: we will consult together, and you shall to-morrow have our answer." "I am satisfied," answered the duke; when the conversation ended, and the doors were opened.

The two knights returned to their lodgings, and had many conversations, whether or not they should agree to the duke's demand, and accept of his mediation. Everything considered, they thought the best they could do would be to consent; for the matter had been drawn out to a great length without any appearance of being decided: but on condition that all the landed property was yielded to the viscount de Châteaubon. On the morrow, they returned to the duke of Berry, and engaged themselves for the payment of thirty thousand francs, on condition he would influence the king and council to allow the viscount de Châteaubon to inherit Foix, on his paying back the sum it had been mortgaged for. The duke replied, "Leave that to me: I will have it done, otherwise I shall not expect you to fulfil your engagements." From that day forward, the duke of Berry was so anxious to receive his thirty thousand francs, and so able an advocate for the viscount de Châteaubon, that everything was arranged according to his wishes. The king and council desisted from their first demands; and the two foreign knights had given them letters of confirmation of the county of Foix to the viscount de Châteaubon, addressed to the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere, who had remained at Toulouse.

The substance of these letters, as I learnt from credible persons who had been on this embassy, was as follows: "We Charles, by the grace of God king of France, order and command our reverend father in God the bishop of Noyon, and our knight and chamberlain the lord de la Riviere, to allow the viscount de Châteaubon, heir of Foix and Béarn, to have peaceable possession and enjoyment of the same, and of all dependencies thereto belonging, on condition that he first pay into your hands the sum of sixty thousand francs, which you will receive in one payment in the city of Toulouse; and we will, after payment made, that the receipt, sealed by our séneschal of Toulouse, to the viscount de Châteaubon, shall be a full and legal acquittance to him, and to whomever else it may concern. In addition, we expect payment of twenty thousand francs, for the expenses you have been at in your journeys to and from the county of Foix on this occasion: you will for this money give acquittances from our above-named office in Toulouse: saving and reserving that sir Evan and sir Gracien de Foix, bastard-sons of the late Gaston count de Foix, of happy memory, have a reasonable share of the moveable property and inheritances of their deceased father, according to the discretion and advice of sir Roger d'Espaign, the viscount de Bruniquel, sir Raymond de Châteauneuf, and the lord de Corasse, to whom we will write, that they acquit themselves in the matter honorably to the discharge of our conscience; for, some time since, we made such promise to their father. And should any demur arise, either on the part of the four knights to whom we have intrusted this business, or from obstinacy and rebellion on the part of the viscount de Châteaubon, we annul and declare all treaties we may have entered into void, and of no effect. In testimony whereof, we have given these letters under our seal, in the city of Tours, this 15th day of December, in the 12th year of our reign."

When these letters were finished to the satisfaction of the king, council, and embassadors, the knights made preparations for their departure; and, having taken leave of the king and lords, and paid their expenses, they set out from Tours on their return home.

You before heard that the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, was resident in the neighborhood of Carcassonne, and had been so a long time, as lieutenant for the king over all those countries as far as the Dordogne. The bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere sent for him to Toulouse, and thus addressed him: "Marshal, the viscount de Châteaubon, who declares himself heir, by the death of Gaston count de Foix, to the county of Foix and its dependencies, save and except what may concern Béarn, is in treaty with us. We have sent intelligence of it to the king and his council; but we know not, nor indeed can we as yet, how the king and his ministers may please to act in the matter. Be you, therefore, provided with a sufficient body of men-at-arms, and garrison well the frontiers of Foix. Sir Roger d'Espaign and sir Espaign du Lyon are now in France; and if we hear from them, or by messengers from the king, that there is no probability of any compromise taking place, but that the king means to annex Foix to his crown, you will instantly enter that county, and take possession of it, according to the powers the king has intrusted to us in this affair." The lord

Louis said, that in regard to this he was well prepared, and was increasing his strength daily, waiting for the answer from the king.

We will now return to the duke of Brittany.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DURING THE RESIDENCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE AND DUKE OF BRITTANY AT TOURS, THEIR DIFFERENCES ARE PARTLY ACCOMMODATED BY MEANS OF THE MARRIAGES OF THE DUKE'S SON WITH A PRINCESS OF FRANCE, AND A SON OF JOHN OF BRITTANY, SON TO THE LATE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS, WITH A DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

I HAVE mentioned that treaties were negotiating at Tours between the king of France and the duke of Brittany. The duke gave the king and his council a great deal of trouble, for he would not abate any of his pretensions. When any propositions were made to him, he refused them; and in like manner was it returned, when he offered any on his part; so that there did not seem a probability of their disputes being terminated. The duke declared himself willing to serve the king according to the homage he had paid, and to the duty he owed. "Why then," asked the king's council, "since you acknowledge yourself vassal to the king, do you not obey him in all things?" "Wherein am I a rebel?" demanded the duke. They mentioned many instances, and first, his conduct toward the pope of Avignon, whom the king, his lord, obeyed as the true pope, and with regard to whom he was dissembling his opinion, and refused to obey his commands, filling up all the vacant benefices in his duchy, without paying attention to those who had provided themselves with bulls from the pope. This, they said, was rebellious against the king in thought and deed. The duke replied: "That no one had a right to arraign or judge his conscience but God alone, who was its supreme lord. With regard to the two rival popes, he had never made any declaration; that when Urban was elected, he was with his cousin, the earl of Flanders, in the town of Ghent; that the cardinal, Robert de Geneve, sent to the earl letters patent, sealed with his seal, which signified and certified to my cousin, that, by the grace of God and the divine inspiration, the conclave had elected Urban pope. How can an election be set aside that seems to be made in the most regular manner? I wish not to say a word against the king or his crown, for I am his cousin and vassal, and will faithfully serve him, whenever I am required, to the utmost limits of my duty; but I shall speak my mind as to those who do not advise him honorably." "Tell us who they are, and we will provide a remedy."

"Oh," replied the duke, "you know them better than I do, for you live more with them; but, as to what you have said touching the vacant beneficies, I am not so severe against suitors for them as you say, for I permit the clergy of my duchy to provide themselves with bulls from pope Clement; but I object to strangers having the same liberty, and will tell you why I refuse it. They want to carry all the profit of the benefices out of the country, without serving them. This is so contrary to reason, conscience, and justice, that I will never consent to it. You say my conduct was rebellious and haughty, respecting the king's sergeants that came with writs into my country of Brittany. I neither am rebellious nor wish to be so. You ought to know, or, if you do not, you should learn, that the fief of Brittany is so noble, no law proceedings can take effect unless the duke, its natural lord, shall hold an open court of justice, to hear causes, and the reasons why any appeals may be made thence, and to see that the officers, who bring writs of appeal or summons, do their duty regularly: should there be sergeants or other officers in my duchy negligent, or against whom strangers have cause of complaint, I would punish them severely, for a warning to others. In addition to what I have said, that the king's council do many reprehensible things, they plainly discover their inclinations to encourage the hatred of the king against me: the proof is clear, by their suffering my cousin, John of Blois, to act in two instances very injuriously against me: the first is, the signing himself John of Brittany, as if, by bearing this name, he could form a claim on the inheritance of that duchy; but he cannot have any right, because I have children, a son and daughter, who will succeed to my possessions. Secondly, he bears the ermines, which are the arms of Brittany, and he had formerly renounced the name, arms, and all things thereto appertaining. True it is, that sir Oliver de Clisson supports him in this conduct, to vex me; and, as long as this shall continue, I will not listen to any treaty of peace or friendship with the king. I shall not make war against him, for he is my natural lord, but if, through envious or malevolent informations, he make war on me, I will defend myself, and shall be found ready on my own territories. All that I have now said, I wish the king to be made acquainted with."

Such was the bitterness with which these negotiations were carried on between the king of France and the duke of Brittany. The duke was master of his council, but the king was led by sir Oliver de Clisson, the bègue de Villaines, sir John le Mercier, and sir William de Montagu. The duke of Burgundy, who saw more clearly into this matter, was uneasy that the duke's reasons were made public, though he supported them privately as much as he could, in which he was assisted by the duke of Berry, who hated the confidential advisers of the king. By their means, his treasurer, Bethisac, had suffered an ignominious death at Beziers, which he was forced to put up with, for it was not yet time to revenge himself.

In this state did they remain at Tours for upward of three months without any progress being made in the treaties. They were on the point of being broken off, for the king was impatient at the delays, and wanted to return to Paris, whence he would issue a special summons for the ensuing summer, and make war on the duke of Brittany and his allies, leaving all others in peace. But the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the lord de Coucy, the count de Saint Pol, sir Guy de la Tremouille, the chancellor of France, and many other great barons and prelates, desirous that an end should be put to these differences, held a conference, and said: "We, who are so nearly connected with the king and the greatest barons of his realm, having agreed to meet the English commissioners this Lent at Amiens, to consider of a treaty of peace, must hasten to put an end to this ill humor of the king and the duke of Brittany; for should we separate without doing so, the English would have the advantage in the business at Amiens: they will expect the support of the duke of Brittany and his country, for they are near neighbors, and we shall have a war with Brittany and England, like what we had before, and it will be too heavy for us."

These lords and their councils so often turned the matter over, that they at length discovered a means of reconciliation between the king and the duke of Brittany. I will mention it, for without this I do not believe it would ever have taken place. It was proposed that a marriage between the son of the duke of Brittany and a daughter of the king of France should take place; and, as John of Brittany had a son, a similar connection should be formed with the daughter of the duke of Brittany. These articles were agreed upon; but, notwithstanding this alliance, John of Brittany was obliged to lay aside the arms of Brittany, and take those of Châtillon; and, if he were desirous of bearing anything relative to Brittany, as a descendant of that house by his mother's side, he might bear on the arms of Châtillon a bordure ermine, three sables or, and an escutcheon ermine in chief gules, and none others. Thus was the business brought to a conclusion, and the duke restored to the friendship of the king of France and his uncles. He dined with the king, in company with John of Brittany, count de Penthievre; and much affection was mutually displayed by all parties, on account of the marriages which had been agreed to be solemnized.

The duke of Brittany would never see sir Oliver de Clisson, for the hatred he bore him; but the constable was indifferent to this, as the hatred was mutual. All things being now settled, and the lords having sworn to see these marriages consummated when the children should be of a proper age, and the different treaties having been engrossed, they thought it time to quit Tours, for their stay had been too long, and to return to Paris, as the time was approaching for the conferences at Amiens. The king of France, his brother, uncles, and council, had promised to be there to receive the king of England and his council. The duke of Brittany took leave of the king, his brother, and uncles, and of those most in his favor, and set out from Tours for his own country; as did the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with other lords; but the king, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon, and the lord de Coucy, staid at Tours, and I will tell the reason.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE COUNT DE BLOIS AND MARY OF NAMUR, HIS COUNTESS, SELL TO THE DUKE OF TOURAINE THE COUNTY OF BLOIS WITH OTHER LANDS. THE VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBON TAKES POSSESSION OF THE INHERITANCES OF THE LATE COUNT DE FOIX.

I HAVE before recorded in this history, that Louis de Blois, son to the count de Blois, had died when young, at Beaumont in Hainault, leaving the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry, a widow, who lost by the event many of the good things of this world: for her husband was a rich heir, and would have been a powerful lord. I mention this, because I wish it to be known in times to come how such large properties have been disposed of or alienated. The count and countess of Blois were not formed to have any more children; for by indulging themselves too much in the pleasures of the table, and eating too many sweet dishes, they were become enormously fat. The count could no longer mount his horse, but was always carried in a car whenever he travelled from one place to another, or took the diversions of hunting or hawking. As this was well known to the lords of France, a thought struck the duke of Touraine, during his residence at Tours, which he carried into effect.

The duke had a large sum of ready money, perhaps a million of florins, lying idle, which he had received from the count de Vertus, on his marriage with the lady Valentina of Milan. This money he wanted to dispose of to advantage. He knew the great properties of the count de Blois would be dispersed after his death. The county of Blois would fall to John of Brittany, who was his cousin-german; the lands in Hainault to the duke of Juliers and duke of Lancaster, excepting Chimay, which would go to Conflans in Champagne. The county of Soissons had belonged formerly to the counts of Blois, but was alienated to the lord de Coucy, for the ransom of Guy de Blois, from England. The lands of Argies and Nouvion went to other heirs: Holland and Zealand fell to the count of Hainault. Thus would this noble inheritance be dispersed piece-meal, for it was well known it must happen on the death of the present possessor. The

duke of Touraine and his men on their property, as he had already engaged to surrender it, were it sold to any other, and demanded to know what he intended to treat with the viscount de Blois for the county of Foix, which was a very valuable property, and very convenient to him by reason of its vicinity to the duchy of Touraine. The duke answered and also declared many considerations to him. The duke of Touraine, during the embassy on his behalf, had not failed to remonstrate, first of all with the king, then with the duke of Bourbon, and to the last the duchess, who was also quite supportable that matter, to obtain with the count de Foix, for he was engaged by daughter of the count-germain the prince of Lorraine. The duke of Touraine, and the ambassadors and persons were unable and to stop the worst half of this business to the duke of Berry, because the duke Marie, on account, but are partners of the treasure, have a great affair on this account, and the duke of Berry, engaged thereby this affair and the duchess that would accept, as should remain the money of Foix, for a piece of ruin a portion of other people's property would not be found. The duke of Burgundy was also kept ignorant of this plan, because the lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, was married to William of Hainault, son to the count of Hainault, and to prevent that he might succeed, by purchase or otherwise, the lands of Holland, Zealand and Hainault, might prevent to his succession. For these considerations, as to the son of Jean de Berry, espousing Marie Margaret, eldest daughter of the count of Hainault. The king and the lords above said proposed therefore on their departure from Tours, to visit more closely the viscount Guy de Blois, who resided at a handsome castle, eight leagues from Tours, called Chateau-Renaud, and bargain a treaty for the sale of the country of Blois with the count and the ministers, with what they could.

In consequence, my worthy ancient Lord unacquainted with, that the lord of Foix, named sir Reginald de Vertz, a knight of law and arms and of great prudence, heard of the intended visit and its purpose. He was also determined that no one should have the profit, nor he might discover himself and dominate besides by a sale, for which he had no need, and secretly wished his establishment. He determined therefore, of passion to prevent it, and, coming out from Blois, rode all night to Chateau-Renaud, without having communicated to the count, he said: "My lord the king of France, the dukes of Touraine and Bourbon, with the lord de Coucy, are coming hither." "Then I cannot expect the money to be paid me immediately?" "I can come to sell it, because you will be pressed to sell your heritage. Consider well the matter, it is worthy of your consideration." The count de Blois was much surprised at hearing this, and said: "I cannot prevent any one from spending his own money, but I will endeavour to employ my time and treasure more profitably." "My lord," replied the knight, "remember that when they were here, you told me that as I had to do with a prince." "Truly, quoth he himself," said the count: "I am not to trifle any more with you, you shall have your money." So that the lord of Bearn, who resided at Orthez, was sent for. Two days after the king and his company arrived at Chateau-Renaud, to the great joy of the count and inhabitants of Blois, as the visiting lords and they entertained him sumptuously. The king, to whom the affairs of the country and great sum were to be paid, said: "Fair cousin, I see you are the lord of many castles, and have a great household and dwelling, and this is likewise makes you more hard for your expenses: I am of your employment, you are very great, as for the country of Blois that shall be worthy twenty thousand francs."

The count answered his thanks and replied that, that, which, he was ever ready to pay to him, for he never purchased the country from it. After this the matter of sale of the country of Blois was entered on first by the king and secondly by the duke of Berry: but, finally, at the last very civil and unaffected manner they addressed themselves to the count, and communicated with him on speedy return, mentioning the business that required to be paid to a great extent, and that the count was ready to the last very appropriate of a count, and it would be to his advantage to have monies and powers in plenty, which the count readily answered, it was merely persuade her and to better to the great sum that was the purchase of the country of Blois. This business, from the commissioners employed and the eagerness of everyone was shortly completed, and provided everything they wanted with the exception of another person, that is to say, a written obligation of the count, to pay the money, which was the sum of a thousand francs on the town of Montpon. This Count so many pressing, promised the money, that everything was done to be refused, and that the count should be paid the thousand francs of yearly revenue for ever. But the viscount of such views, and now understanding his character and principles, for better had another profession and commissioned to deserve such remarks, thought to furnish payment effected what was called a fortnight's time.

On this occasion the duke of Berry had a wonderful favour, called Jacque Tedigny, the principal man, to whom he had at different times given very handsome presents, money, which he might as well be thankful for the time. In consequence Jacque would have refused to receive anything from the count, but he could not refuse, as he had promised to accept it from every one. But as regards the duke of Touraine and Bourbon and the viscount Guy, and the inhabitants of Blois were strongly attached, and a treaty commenced to everything, he urged on the count to pay, and made him totally forget everything he had promised his lord, and the possession of the county of Blois was sold for two hundred thousand francs, and the duke of Touraine was to remit on account the payment of the countess to Dampierre's portion of six thousand francs. Count Guy de Blois, indeed, preserved in this last sale the consent of the count de Hainault, the chief instrument of these terms, but who would never insist on his homage for them. The king of France and the duke of Touraine, however, took an oath to observe the conventions, and before they left the count they returned him all compacted in writings sealed, that he could not in any way retract, for he had none to advise him but Sohier, who was illiterate, having never had any education, and he was already an old man.

In such a manner were these treasures concluded, which I have declared as fast as I was able, that in future times the whole truth of the transaction may be made public, by means of these chronicles. In good truth, my lord and patron, count Guy de Blois, like an ancient and well-beloved person, pursued me by the countess and his council, I should make these researches. When everything was concluded relative to this business, to the satisfaction of the king, the duke of Touraine and their counsellors, they took leave of the count and returned to Paris. The news of these purchases made a great noise in many countries, and astonished all who heard of it.

We will speak of sir Roger d'Espagn and sir Espagn de Lyon, and say how they prospered when they departed from Tours, in the road to Toulouse, where the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere were waiting for them. Their arrival at Toulouse gave great pleasure, for they had been long expected: they instantly waited on the commissioners in my France, to show their papers, which they had received from the king, and which duly explained the successful issue of their journey. The bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere entertained them well, and showed they were much rejoiced at the succession, with all its dependencies, of the count de Foix, devolved on the viscount de Châteaubon, according to the tenure and form whereby the count of Gaston had held them, and in the manner declared in the written documents. After considering the business, they thought it advisable that sir Roger d'Espagn and sir Espagn de Lyon, who had taken so much pains and incurred so much fatigue in it, should wait on the viscount de Châteaubon and the countess of Foix and Béarn, to inform them what had been agreed on that all things might be regularly managed, to bring the whole to a happy conclusion.

The ambassadors consented to this proposal, and, having refreshed themselves two days in Toulouse, set out for Saint Gaudens. The viscount was not there, but at a beautiful castle, at the entrance of Béarn, called Pau, where they found him. He was happy to see them, having long wished it, but much more so when he learnt that the king of France desisted from taking possession of the county of Foix: he knew well where to find the money required for the repayment of the mortgage, and that enough would remain after this was done.

I believe my readers, as well as myself, will think I have said enough respecting the affairs of Foix and Béarn: I will therefore leave them, and enter on other matters; for it would take up too much time to pursue in detail everything that passed there on the return of the two knights to my France. The viscount, the viscount de Châteaubon was acknowledged count de Foix and Béarn, on the same terms as when count Gaston Phœbus, of happy memory, had held them, and he received the homage of all who owed vassalage. He satisfied the two knights, sir Espagn and sir Gratacol, two natives of France, by the handsome entertainment he gave them, of the inheritances and possessions of their father, and repaid to the count, who came from France, the mortgage that was on Foix. Before all these things were accomplished, summer was far advanced, and the bishop of Noyon returned to Toulouse with the lord de la Riviere, for they would not depart until everything was completely settled, to the honour and profit of the crown, according to the instructions they had received from the king of France.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A TREATY COMMENCED AT AMIENS, BY THE KING AND LORDS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, TO PUT AN END TO A WAR BETWEEN THE TWO KINGDOMS.

We will now speak of the affairs, especially of the king of France and England, which took place in the city of Amiens in favour of a final peace between the two countries, at Mid-lent, in the year of grace 1391. Great preparations were made before the arrival of the lords, and in particular those made for the king, his chief counsellors, and many of the great barons and greatest, which were numerous. Other lords were gentlemen to make a figure: this is very commonly practised and be served, most being Frenchmen at England, and being there in person to form an acquaintance with them, who had never

yet seen, but he had not come. That he had intentions of coming there was certain, for he came as far as Dover with the three dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, meaning to cross the sea with them. Many councils were held at Dover, to debate whether the king should proceed further or not: and the council having considered all things, decided he should remain in the castle of Dover, and the duke of Gloucester with him. The dukes of Lancaster and York, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Derby, sir Thomas Percy, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Lincoln, and three of the king's council, prepared to cross the channel. They did not all pass over

Assembly of the French King and the Lords of France and England to treat of a Peace between the two Kingdoms. From a MS of Froissart, of the Fifteenth century.

instantly, but sent their purveyances forward, and soon crossed themselves to Calais, where they were lodged. When the day appointed for the meeting at Amiens, these lords set out from Calais together: they were more than two hundred in all, and it was a fine sight, for they rode in handsome array. The king of France had given orders that, during the time the conferences should last, all the expenses of the English, in coming to and returning from Amiens to Calais, should be defrayed by the township: that is to say, their nourishment: as well as that of their horses.

In company with the dukes of Lancaster and York was their niece, daughter of their sister and the lord de Coucy: she was styled duchess of Ireland, having been married to that duke, as you have heard. This young lady came to visit her father at Amiens; for hitherto she had seen but little of him, which naturally made her more anxious to visit him. She remained in good state, but was a widow who had enjoyed but little pleasure in her marriage. It had been ordered by the king and council of France, that the English lords who were coming to Amiens to arrange a solid peace, should be received with the greatest honors; and that the four dukes then at Amiens, namely, the dukes of Touraine, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, should ride without the town to meet and bid them welcome. As soon, therefore, as the English were near Amiens, these dukes, attended by all the great barons of France, rode out in grand array. The duke of Touraine took the lead, in great state, and, when he met the princes of England, they most courteously saluted each other, with every respect, as each lord knew how to act. When the duke of Touraine had conversed a short time with them, he took his leave, returned to the town with his numerous attendants, and dismounted at the palace of the bishop, where the king resided, remaining with him in his chamber.

The other three lords, after the departure of the duke of Touraine, rode each with his party to meet the English lords; and, on their meeting, many old acquaintances were renewed with a satisfaction such as was a pleasure to behold. When these dukes had conversed a little, the gallant young knights of Artois came, during the time he was a prisoner in England, and been much with the duke of Lancaster, and bade him great welcome, advanced his horse, and saluted him: the duke of Lancaster not content with embracing him when he pressed him in his arms, returned him every sign of friendship: their conversation was interrupted by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who joined the duke of Lancaster. The duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy and the count de St. Pol rode with the duke of York, the earl of Huntingdon and sir Thomas Percy, conversing all the way as they approached Amiens. At the entrance of the city, the honors paid the English were increased: for the duke of Lancaster rode between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and [illegible] three princes rode in a line, while those lords and knights [illegible] rode in front. The streets were lined with the citizens, all anxious to see the English lords, who were conducted to the palace of the bishop, where the king and the queen of France were. Here the dukes alighted, and were received by their nephew the king of France with every mark of affection. After the first salutations, the lords of England took their leave of the king, queen, and princes, and were conducted as far as the gates of the palace. When they arrived [illegible] were returning to their lodgings, [illegible] France, the duke of Berry, the count de St. Pol, sir Enguerrand de Coucy, and the other princes of France, who there took leave and went back to the king as he was dismounting. The business of [illegible] was [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible] of England, [illegible] the [illegible] of Berry and Burgundy, and [illegible] the [illegible] of Amiens.

It was [illegible] for the king and council, and other gentlemen who had been sent from England, before the arrival of the English, that all the gay young princes, great lords, and knights of France, should be in the king's palace by nine o'clock in the morning, to wait upon the English lords, and accompany them to the king as he was dismounting. The business of [illegible] was [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible] of England, [illegible] the [illegible] of Berry and Burgundy, and [illegible] the [illegible] of Amiens. All this was done with the greatest [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] of Amiens.

All the [illegible] and [illegible] were strictly commanded by the king, under pain of undergoing the severest punishment, not to [illegible] or provoke any quarrels of arms with any knight or squire from England, but to treat them with the greatest courtesy and attention wherever they should meet, in the fields, the palace, or in church: that no pages nor varlets of any lords of France should go armed in the inns, under pain of losing their heads; and that whatever the English knights or squires might ask for should be instantly given them: that no innkeeper should demand payment for meat or drink, or other common necessaries. It was also forbidden any knight or squire of France to be out at night without a torch; and the English might be so, if they pleased, and if any Englishman were found on the roads, or in any other place, having lost his way, he should be courteously conducted to where he resided.

Four guards of one thousand men each were stationed at the four quarters of the town: and, should there be a fire during the night in any part of the town, these guards were not to move on any account from their posts: but, when the fire-bell rang, those appointed to run help there to hasten to extinguish it. It was likewise ordered, that no knight or squire should advance from his place to speak with the king, unless called or spoken to by his majesty; and that, during the time the English barons were in the king's presence, no knight or squire conversed together nor address the English. It was commanded, under heavy penalties, that no innkeeper, or others, steal or put aside, through avarice, any of the bows or arrows of the English: but if, out of charity, the English thought proper to give any to them, they might accept such presents.

You must know, that all these orders and regulations were formed with great consideration of council in the most ample manner by the English. They were come to negotiate a peace, and proclaimed several times, that they might be surely attended to: for if they were infringed, those guilty of it were to have been punished without mercy.

Every day conferences were held with the English lords, with scarcely any intermission, during the fortnight they stayed at Amiens, without coming to any conclusion, for the differences were too great to reconcile. The French would have Calais restored to them immediately: it was what they had a right to demand, as it had been a long time in their possession, and it was their intention to recover it, by force of arms, if it could not be done by treaty: for the commons of England love Calais more than any other town in the world, saying, that as long as they are masters of Calais, they keep the keys of France at their girdle. However, great civilities were between the lords of England and France in these moments, and the length of time they were occupied on them, they separated with

great good humor on both sides from the conference, saying, "We will again meet to-morrow on this business; and we hope, through our diligence, to bring the matter at last to a happy conclusion." The king of France entertained the lords of England three times most magnificently at dinner in the episcopal palace. The duke of Touraine, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, the count de Saint Pol, gave each a dinner to the English commissioners. Whatever the English wanted was delivered them, free of cost, by clerks who were appointed to take an account of all things they had, which they referred to the king's exchequer for payment.

You must know, that although the dukes of Lancaster and York were at Amiens, they had received such instructions from the king of England and his council, that they could not add to nor alter any of the terms of the treaty they had been charged with. Many persons will not readily believe what I am about to say, though it is strictly true, which is, that the English are fonder of war than of peace. During the reign of king Edward of happy memory, and in the lifetime of his son, the prince of Wales, they made such grand conquests in France, and by their victories and ransoms of towns, castles and men, gained such wealth, that the poorest knights became rich; and those who were not gentlemen by birth, by gallantly hazarding themselves in these wars, were ennobled for their valor and wealth. Those who came after them were desirous of following the same road, although sir Bertrand du Guesclin and many other knights of France, as has been related in this history, by their valor and prudence had greatly changed the face of the English possessions in France since the times of king Edward and his son. Even the duke of Gloucester, son of king Edward, inclined to the opinion of the commons, as did many other knights and squires, who were desirous of war to enable them to support their state. This caused great difficulties in forming any treaty of final peace, notwithstanding the king of England was earnest about it. By him and the duke of Lancaster were these conferences holden, in the city of Amiens; but they were fearful of angering the commons of England: they indeed would have consented to a peace, if the French would have restored all that had been given them by the treaty of Bretigny, and paid the arrears of fourteen hundred thousand francs, which were unsettled when they recommenced the war.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH LORDS, NOT BEING ABLE TO AGREE ON THE TERMS OF PEACE, PROLONG THE TRUCE ONE YEAR. THE ENGLISH, ON THEIR RETURN, ARE ACCOMPANIED BY THE LORD DE CHATEAU-MORANT, TO BRING BACK THE KING OF ENGLAND'S FINAL ANSWER.

The conferences were held at Amiens, respecting a peace, with great perseverance and attention on the part of the lords commissioners of each nation. It was wondered why the matter failed; for the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Lancaster were much in earnest to bring it to a happy conclusion, reserving always what was contained in their private instructions, which they dared not go beyond. The French, perceiving the English were obstinate in their terms, in order to soften them offered, if they would consent to raze Calais, the peaceable possession of what they then held in Aquitaine, with nine bishoprics, independent of all other jurisdictions, and payment of the fourteen thousand franks within three years. The duke of Lancaster and his council replied: "We have remained here a long time without concluding anything, nor shall we be able to finish the business without returning to England, and reporting to the king our lord, and the three estates of the realm, what you have now proposed. Be assured, that my brother York and myself will use every diligence, as well as our council who have attended us hither, in ending the matter according to our and your wishes, with the exception of what you demand concerning Calais; but that we dare not mention, without incurring the hatred of the people. It will be therefore better to remain silent, than to say what would bring blame and hatred against us." The king of France was tolerably satisfied with this answer, as were his uncles: they said, that if, when returned to England, they would exert themselves to obtain peace, a trifle on their part should not prevent it; for the war had lasted too long, and caused numberless misfortunes to both countries.

During the assembly at Amiens, the commissioners bethought themselves, that as the truce between France and England would expire on St. John Baptist's day, they might prolong it, for themselves and their allies, without any blame, for one year longer, by sea and land. With regard to the determination that might be given by the parliament to their proposals, they desired to send two knights with them to England, to bring back the final answer. To this the dukes of Lancaster and York readily assented.

I was told and believe truly, from the appearances I observed, that the king of France was very desirous of peace at almost any rate; for there were reports current throughout France, that Amurat* had invaded with a powerful army of Turks, the kingdom of Hungary. The intelligence had been brought by the elder lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, and sir John de Carouge, who were lately returned from Greece and parts of Turkey.

The king of France, when younger, had an anxious wish to undertake an expedition against Amurat, and recover Armenia, which the Turks had seized from king Léon, who was then present at the conferences at Amiens. He had stated his grievances to the dukes of Lancaster and York, who knew him well, for he had been in England to offer his mediation for peace between the two countries, when the king of France was encamped near Sluys. The king of France, weighing this invasion of the Turks in his mind, and his former promises of support to the king of Armenia, thus spoke to the duke of Lancaster when he took his leave: "Fair cousin, if peace shall be established between us and the king of England, we may undertake an expedition to Turkey, to assist the king of Armenia and the emperor of Constantinople,* whom Amurat presses very hard, and recover Armenia from the hands of the Turks. They tell us that Amurat is a man of great valor and enterprise, but of a sect contrary to our faith, which he daily oppresses: we ought, therefore, to unite in its defence; and I entreat, fair cousin, that you will consider of it, and do everything you can to promote this expedition when returned to England." The duke of Lancaster promised to comply with his request, and to exert himself so strongly in the matter that the effects would soon be apparent. Upon this they took leave of each other.

The conferences at Amiens lasted fifteen days, and the lords from England were the first to separate. They carried with them the outlines of a treaty, to lay before the king of England and his council. The duchess of Ireland bade adieu to her father, the lord de Coucy, and accompanied her uncles on their return. All the English, on their road to and from Calais, and while at Amiens, need not to have expended a farthing unless they chose it, for the king had ordered their whole expenses to be defrayed by his officers. The duke of Burgundy went to Arras, where he met his duchess, who, during the time of the conferences, had visited Flanders. The dukes of Touraine, Berry, and Bourbon remained with the king, whose intention it was to go to Beauvais and Gisors, to amuse himself, and return that way to Paris.

In company with the dukes of Lancaster and York, were the two French knights who were sent to England by orders from the king of France; their names were sir John de Châteaumorant and sir Taupin de Cantemerle; and they were to bring back the final answer of the king and council of England respecting a general peace. The English dukes were escorted to Calais by sir Reginald de Roye, the lord de Montaurel and the lord de la Vieville, who then took their leave and returned. The English crossed the channel at their leisure, to Dover, where they found the king and duke of Lancaster waiting for them. A grand council was holden by the king and his lords on all that had passed at Amiens; the king was well pleased with what his uncles had done there; but the duke of Gloucester, who was always against any treaty with France, declared, that not any propositions for peace could be determined on till they were laid before the parliament, which ought instantly to be summoned; and whatever measure the three estates of the realm should resolve on, that ought to be adopted, and none other.

This proposal of the duke of Gloucester was agreed to: indeed they dared not oppose him, for he was too popular with the commons of England. The French knights were told that they must continue their journey to London, otherwise they could not obtain any answer. They were willing to consent to this, as was right, and set out with the king and his lords, the greater part of whom went to London; but the king turned off at Dartford, and took the road to Eltham, where he had a handsome palace. He there staid some little time with the queen, and they came together to Shene,† and thence to Windsor, where the French knights received an answer: but before I say what that answer was, I must speak of the king of France.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE FIRST ILLNESS OF KING CHARLES. COUNT BERNARD D'ARMAGNAC DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING. THE LORD DE CHATEAUMORANT RETURNS FROM ENGLAND WITH AN ANSWER RESPECTING PEACE.

After the conferences at Amiens, the king of France, unfortunately, and through his imprudence, was seized with a burning fever, for which he was advised to change the air. He was put into a litter and carried to Beauvais, where he remained in the bishop's palace until cured. His brother, the duke of Touraine, and his uncles of Berry and Bourbon, attended him constantly, and there kept their Easter. When the king was perfectly recovered, and able to ride, he went to Gisors, at the entrance of Normandy, for the pleasure of hunting, as there are many large forests in the neighborhood. During his residence at Gisors, sir Bernard d'Armagnac, brother to the count who died in Itally, came thither in handsome state, accompanied by the dauphin of Auvergne, whom he met at Paris. As he held the counties of Armagnac and Rodez from the crown of France, he paid the king homage for them, in the usual manner of vassals to their lord paramount for the fiefs they hold. He became now the king of France's man, and, having had the articles of homage properly drawn out and engrossed, he and the dauphin took leave of the king,

* Amurat died the same year, and was succeeded by Bajazet.—Ed

* Emanuel Paleologue.—Ed.

† Richmond

and returned to Auvergne and Languedoc. About Ascension-day, the king came to Paris in perfect health, and fixed his residence at the hôtel de Saint Pol, which had been prepared for him, the queen, and the duchess of Touraine having arrived there before him.

The lord de Châteaumorant and sir Taupin de Cantemerle were all this time waiting in England for an answer. They had attended the feast of Saint George at Windsor, where was a brilliant company of barons, and the king's uncles. The lords who had been at Amiens consulted together, on the promises they had made the king of France, as well as in respect to an answer for the two knights, who were very pressing to have one, and leave to return home. After considering the matter, they thus addressed them: "You Châteaumorant, and you Cantemerle, must know, that at this moment we cannot obtain any answer for you to carry to the king of France. It will be a long time before the parliament will take up the matter, for it does not meet before Michaelmas. But to acquit ourselves, and to excuse you, we will write letters fully explanatory of the delay; and if you, or any others, will return hither during the sitting of parliament, you shall receive such answer as the three estates of the kingdom shall think proper to give." The French knights hearing this, and seeing no probability of having any other answer, replied, "In the name of God, we are satisfied with what you now say: write and seal your letters, and we will set out on our return." This being done, they took leave of the king, and went to London to make preparations for their departure. The king ordered all their expenses to be paid, and had them conducted to Dover, where the bailiff had provided a vessel for them and their horses; but they were detained at Dover five days waiting for a wind. On the sixth it was favorable, and they landed at Boulogne. They took their road through Amiens, and by short days' journeys arrived at Paris, when they found the king and his lords, for it was Whitsuntide. They delivered their letters, which were immediately read, but I believe no great reliance was put on them; and in a short time, they had other affairs of greater consequence at home to attend to.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

SIR PETER DE CRAON, THROUGH MALEVOLENCE, WAYLAYS SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON, BEATS AND SEVERELY WOUNDS HIM. THE KING AND COUNCIL ARE GREATLY ANGERED THEREAT.

You have before heard how sir Peter de Craon, a knight of high birth and great wealth, was disgraced by the king of France and his brother, as well as the reasons for it; and that having retired to the court of Brittany, the duke had assured him that sir Oliver de Clisson was at the bottom of this business. Some supposed the duke had been instigated to say this from his hatred to the constable, whom he wished to dishonor and destroy. While sir Peter de Craon was with the duke of Brittany, they had frequent conversations on what means they would employ to put sir Oliver to death; for they said, that if he were but destroyed, no one would seek to revenge his loss; and the duke expressed his regret he had not put him to death when in his castle of Ermine, adding, he would willingly give one hundred thousand francs if he could once more have him in his possession. Sir Peter de Craon, observing the mortal hatred of the duke to Clisson, thought of an extraordinary expedient when meditating alone on this subject, for it is from appearances we must judge. He resolved, whatever might be the consequences, that he would himself assassinate the constable, or have it done under his own eyes, and not attend to anything until the deed were performed, when he would afterwards treat for his pardon. He was no way afraid of what John of Blois or the viscount de Rohan, who had married the constable's two daughters, could do against him: he held them very cheap, for, with the assistance of the duke and his family connections, he could withstand them both. The house of Blois was much weakened, and the count Guy de Blois had just sold the reversion of that county to the duke of Touraine, which by succession, ought to have descended to John of Brittany, who had in this sale been very unkindly treated by the count de Blois. Now, if the constable were slain, by degrees he would soon get the better of the favorites of the king and the duke of Touraine, such as the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, Montagu, le bègue de Villaines, sir John de Bueil, and others in the king's confidence who were friends of the constable, and whom the dukes of Berry and Burgundy detested, notwithstanding the outward marks of friendship they showed them.

Sir Peter de Craon persevered in his abominable designs, urged on by that enemy who never sleeps, and who delights in the heart of the wicked man that is inclined toward him. He regularly formed his whole plan, in the manner I shall mention; but, had he foreseen the great evils and mischiefs that ensued from them, it is to be hoped reason and temperance would have raised in his heart to prevent them from being put into execution. It is truly said, that a too great desire to accomplish an object clouds the understanding, and that vicious inclinations overrule virtue. Thus it happened to sir Peter de Craon, whose eagerness to destroy the constable made him listen to the counsels of folly and madness. He had secured a safe retreat with the duke of Brittany, after the deed should be done and the constable dead, without fear of any search being there made for him, for the duke had promised him an asylum; and, should the king of France follow him with a powerful army to Brittany, in one night he could embark and sail for Bayonne, Bordeaux, or England, where he could not come after him. The English mortally hated Clisson, from his great severity to them from the time he had turned to the French: before that period he was strongly connected with them, and had done the crown essential services, as you have had it related in this history.

Sir Peter de Craon long brooded over this intended deed, without mentioning it to any one: I know not if he even told it to the duke of Brittany. Some think he must have disclosed it to him; but others thought the contrary: the first opinion, however, was strengthened, if not confirmed, by sir Peter and his accomplices returning by the shortest road, and as expeditiously as possible, to Brittany, instantly after the assassination, as to a place of refuge. In addition to this, he sold all the castles and estates he held in Anjou to the duke of Brittany, and had renounced his allegiance to the king of France, under pretence of taking a journey to the Holy Land. I shall not say more of these surmises, but relate the fact; for I, the author of this history, was at Paris when this misfortune happened to sir Oliver de Clisson, and ought, therefore, to be well informed from the inquiries I made concerning it.

You must know, that at this period sir Peter de Craon had a very handsome house near the churchyard of Saint John at Paris,* like other great lords, to receive him, when he came to that city. This hôtel was, in his absence, under the care of a house-steward; and, during the last Lent season, he had sent varlets thither for his service, with orders to lay in a large store of wines, and all sorts of provision. He had likewise written to the steward to purchase for him armor, such as coats of mail, gauntlets, steel helmets, and other things sufficient for forty men, and to let him know when they were provided, that he might send for them, but to observe the greatest secrecy in the business. The steward, thinking no harm, obeyed the orders, and provided the armor; during which time, sir Peter resided at a handsome castle of his in Anjou, called Sablé, from whence he sent at different times four or more determined fellows, in the most secret manner possible, to his hôtel in Paris. He said to them nothing more when they left him, but, "When you arrive at my house in Paris, make yourselves comfortable, and ask the house-steward for whatever you may want, who will instantly give it to you; but do not, on any account, pass the gates or show yourselves. I will one day satisfy you well for your obedience, and pay you handsome wages." Upon this, they departed, and journeyed to Paris, which they entered at their pleasure; for in those days the gates were never shut night or day. At length, they amounted to forty courageous bravos, for such were what sir Peter wanted. There were several among them who, had they known the business they were engaged in, would not have come; but sir Peter took good care not to betray his secret. About the feasts of Whitsuntide, sir Peter de Craon came to his hôtel in Paris, not in state, but as privately as his men had done. On his arrival, he asked for the porter, and said: "I command thee, under pain of having thy eyes thrust out, not to admit either man or woman into the hôtel, nor permit any one to go out, without my special orders." The porter, as well as the house-steward, promised obedience. He shut up in their chambers the wife of the latter, her children and the chambermaid. He was in the right to do this. Had these women or children gone into the street, his arrival would have been known: for young children and women naturally tell all they see, and what is intended to be concealed. Thus, as I have related, were the whole of his people confined within the walls of the hôtel, until the feast of the holy sacrament. You may suppose, that sir Peter had his spies fully employed to bring him intelligence; but it was not until the eve of this feast he found a fit opportunity to execute his scheme, which had vexed him much.

It happened that, on the feast of the holy sacrament, the king of France kept an open court at the hôtel de St. Pol, where he entertained all barons and lords who were in Paris. He was in high enjoyment, as were the queen and the duchess of Touraine: to add to their amusements, after the dinner, lists were prepared within the courts of the hotel, and young knights and squires, ready armed and mounted for tilting, came thither, and justed very gallantly. The tiltings were well performed, to the delight of the king and queen, ladies, and damsels, and lasted until the evening. The prize for the best tilter was adjudged by the queen, the duchess of Touraine, and the ladies and heralds appointed to the office, to sir William de Flandres, count de Namur. The king entertained at supper, in the hôtel de St. Pol, every knight who wished to partake of it; and, afterwards, the dancings continued until one o'clock in the morning. When these were over, every one retired to his home, without guard and without suspicion. Sir Oliver de Clisson remained the last;

* "The street of the Mauvais-garçons, in the rue des Bouchers, took its name from a sign. With regard to the other rue des Mauvais garçons, which leads from the rue de la Verrerie to that of la Tixeranderie, it was formerly called rue de Chartron; but when the lords de Craon built a house there, which is now a churchyard, it was called rue de Craon, to the time when Peter de Craon hid himself and accomplices within it, to assassinate sir Oliver de Clisson. The street then changed its name, and was called la rue des Mauvais-garçons. The hôtel was, by orders from the king, razed to the ground, and the spot given to the church wardens of St. John, to enlarge their churchyard.—*Sauval. Antiquites de Paris.*

and, when he had taken leave of the king, he returned to the apartment of the duke of Touraine, and asked, "My lord, shall you stay here to-night, or do you go to Poulain's?" This Poulain was treasurer to the duke of Touraine, and lived at the Croix du Tiroir, near the Silver Lion. The duke replied: "Constable, I am not determined whether I shall stay or not; but do you go, for it is high time to retire." "My lord, God give you a good night!" said sir Oliver, and went away. He found his servants and horses waiting for him in the square before the hotel; but they had not more than eight or ten torches, which the varlets lighted. When the constable was mounted, and the torches were borne before him, he rode down the broad street of St. Catherine.

Sir Peter de Craon's spies had this day exerted themselves, and he knew every particular relative to the constable: of his staying behind the rest of the company, the exact number of his horses and attendants. He had, in consequence, quitted his hotel with his men all mounted and secretly armed; but there were not six of them who knew what his real intentions were. He had advanced to the causeway, near the place of St. Catherine, where he and his people lay hid, waiting for the constable to pass. As soon as the constable had left the street of St. Pol, and turned into the square of the great street, advancing a foot's pace, with a torch on each side to light him, he began a conversation with one of his squires, saying: "I am to have at dinner, to-morrow, my lord of Touraine, the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne, sir Charles d'Angers, the baron d'Ivry, and several more: be sure take care they have all things comfortable, and let nothing be spared." As he said this, sir Peter de Craon and his company advanced, and, without saying a word, fell on the constable's attendants and extinguished the torches. The constable, hearing the clatter of the horses behind him, thought it was the duke of Touraine who was playing him a trick, and cried out: "My lord, by my faith, this is very ill done; but I excuse it, for you are so young you make a joke of everything." At these words, sir Peter de Craon, drawing his sword from the scabbard, said: "Death, death! Clisson, you must die." "Who art thou," said Clisson, "that utterest such words?" "I am Peter de Craon, thy enemy, whom thou hast so often angered, and thou shalt now pay for it." Then, calling to his people, he said: "Advance, advance! I have found him I was in search of, and whom I have long wanted to seize." He then struck him several blows, and his men, drawing their swords, fell on him. Sir Oliver was quite unarmed, having only a short cutlass, not two feet long, which, however, he drew, and defended himself with it as well as he could. His servants, being quite defenceless, were soon dispersed. Some of sir Peter's men asked, if they were to murder all? "Yes," replied he, "all who put themselves in a posture of defence." They could not resist the attack, for they were but eight, and without armor. Sir Peter's men fully intended to murder the constable, and their master wished nothing more than to see it done; but, as I heard from some of those who had been in this attack, the moment they learnt that the person they were assassinating was the constable of France, their arms became, as it were, nerveless through surprise, and their blows were given weakly and through fear: for in perpetrating wickedness none are bold.

The constable parried the blows tolerably well with his short cutlass; but his defence would have been of no avail, if God's providence had not protected him. He kept steady on horseback some time, until he was villainously struck on the back part of his head, which knocked him off his horse. In his fall, he hit against the hatch of a baker's door, who was already up to attend to his business and bake his bread. Having heard the noise of horses on the causeway and high words, the baker had, fortunately for the constable, half opened the hatch; and sir Oliver, falling against it, burst it quite open and rolled into the shop. Those on horseback could not follow him, as the entrance was neither wide nor high enough, and besides, they did their work like cowards. It must be owned for truth, that God showed great favor to the constable: if he had not exactly fallen against the hatch, or if it had been closed, he would infallibly have lost his life, and have been trampled to death by the horses, for they were afraid to dismount. Several of them imagined, even sir Peter de Craon and the person who had hit him, that the blow on his head which unhorsed him must cause his death: sir Peter, therefore, said: "Come, let us away: we have done enough: if he be not dead, he never can recover from the last blow, which was given by a lusty arm." On saying this, they collected together and left the place at a good trot, and were soon at the gate of Saint Anthony, which they passed, and gained the fields; for since the battle of Rosebecque, ten years ago, the gates were never shut. The Parisians had then their mallets taken from them by the constable, and many of the citizens punished and fined for their imprudent conduct, as I have fully narrated.

CHAPTER XL.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS HIS OWN PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS TO VISIT THE CONSTABLE DURING THE NIGHT. HE ORDERS THE PROVOST OF PARIS TO PURSUE SIR PETER DE CRAON, WHO HAD FLED FOR REFUGE TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY. SOME OF HIS MEN, HAVING REMAINED AT PARIS, ARE EXECUTED.

Thus was sir Oliver de Clisson left for dead at the baker's, who was much frightened when he learnt it was the constable. Sir Oliver's attendants, who had been little hurt, for sir Peter de Craon's men were only bent on killing their master, collected together as well as they could, and dismounting before the baker's door, entered the shop, where they found their lord severely wounded on the head, and his face covered with blood. They were, as may be supposed, greatly affected, and with tears and groans bewailed his loss, for at the first moment they thought he was a dead man.

News of this was carried to the king at the hôtel de Saint Pol, just as he was going into bed. In much alarm, they said, "Ah, sire! we dare not conceal from you a shocking event that has just happened in Paris." "What event?" asked the king. "Your constable, sir Oliver de Clisson, is murdered." "Murdered!" repeated the king. "How? and who has done it?" "Sire, that we do not know; but this misfortune has befallen him hard by, in the great street of St. Catherine." "Come, quickly light torches, for I will go and see him," replied the king. The torches being ready, the varlets bore them before; and the king threw only a cloak over him, while the shoes were putting on his feet. The men-at-arms and ushers of the guard of the palace escorted him. Those who were gone to bed, on hearing what had passed, instantly dressed themselves to follow the king, who had left the hôtel de Saint Pol in such haste, that sir Walter Martel and sir John de Lignac were the only chamberlains that attended him, for he would not wait for others, and thus he walked at a good pace with torches before and behind him. In this manner he arrived at the baker's shop, which he entered; but the chamberlains, with many torches, staid without. The king found his constable nearly in the state he had heard him to be in, except that he was not dead; for his servants had stripped him to see if he had received many wounds, and where they had been given. The first words the king said, were, "Constable, how fares it with you?" "Dear sire," replied he, "but so so, and very weak." "And who has put you in this state?" "Sire, Peter de Craon and his accomplices have traitorously, and without the smallest suspicion, attacked me." "Constable," said the king, "nothing shall ever be more severely punished than this crime, nor can any sufferings make amends for it: run quickly," added the king, "for doctors and surgeons." These were before sent for; and they arrived from all quarters, particularly those attached to the king's person. On their arrival, the king was well pleased, and said, "Attend well to my constable, and tell me what state he is in; for I am sorely grieved at his misfortune." The doctors, having declared they would, examined him all over, the king being present, who was greatly angered at this event: he asked, "If there were any danger of death?" The doctors unanimously replied, "Sire, certainly not; and, within fifteen days, we will restore him well enough to ride on horseback." This answer pleased the king, who said, "God be praised, this is excellent news." Then addressing himself to the constable, added: "Take care of yourself, and do not think of this or other business; no crime shall be more rigorously punished than that of these traitors: they shall pay for it as if it were done to myself." The constable faintly answered, "May God repay you all, and for your kindness in this visit."

On this, the king took leave and returned to his palace, and sent for the provost of Paris, who made no long delay before he arrived, for it was now quite day. When the provost entered, the king said: "Take with you a body of armed men, and pursue that traitor, Peter de Craon, who has treacherously assassinated, and nearly murdered, our constable. You cannot do us a more agreeable service than to take him and bring him before us." The provost replied: "Sire, I will do everything in my power; but what road do you suppose he may have taken?" "Inquire, and make good diligence," said the king. At that time, the four principal gates of Paris were always open night and day: this regulation had been observed from the time the king returned from Flanders, after defeating the Flemings at the battle of Rosebecque, and when the Parisians, showing symptoms of rebellion, had their mallets taken from them. In order the more easily to chastise the Parisians, sir Oliver de Clisson had advised the chains to be taken from across the streets, and the gates off their hinges, which had been done; and the gates had been, for the last ten years, lying against the walls, so that any one might enter, or go out of Paris, at all hours. Now, observe how the seasons repay, sir Oliver reaped what he had sown himself: had the gates and chains remained, sir Peter de Craon would not have dared to commit this outrage, for he could never have got out of Paris; but knowing he could set off at any hour, he was encouraged thus to disgrace himself. When he left the constable, he concluded he was dead, or at least that he would never recover; but it was not so, as you have heard, to his great mortification. He quitted Paris by St. Anthony's gate, about one o'clock in the morning, and, as some say,

crossed the Seine at the bridge of Charenton, and continued his road to Chartres; but, according to others, after going out of Paris, he returned by the gate of St. Honoré, under Montmartre, and crossed the Seine at Ponçon. Whichever way he passed the river, he arrived at Chartres at eight o'clock in the morning, with some of the best mounted of his accomplices. All did not follow but took different routes, and in small companies, to avoid being taken in the pursuit. On his way to Paris he had ordered twenty horses to be in waiting for him, at the house of a canon, who was his friend and had served him; but it would have been better for him never to have known him, although the canon was ignorant of the crime he had committed. Sir Peter de Craon, on his arrival at Chartres, drank some wine and changed horses, and then instantly departed, taking the road for Maine. He continued his journey, until he came to a strong castle he still possessed, called Sablé, where he stopped and refreshed himself, and said he would not go further, but wait there until he heard some intelligence of the constable.

On the Friday, the day following this assassination, it was all the news of Paris, and every one greatly blamed sir Peter de Craon. The lord de Coucy was no sooner informed of it, than he mounted his horse, attended by only seven persons, and rode to the constable's hotel behind the Temple, whither he had been carried; for they mutually loved each other, styling themselves brothers and companions in arms. This interview with the lord de Coucy was of service to the constable; and he was visited by all the other lords of the court. The duke of Touraine accompanied the king in his next visit: the two brothers were very wroth, and said sir Peter de Craon had committed this crime in spite of them; and that it was a plot formed by traitors to throw the kingdom into confusion. The duke of Berry, who was at the time in Paris, dissembled his sentiments, and seemed to make light of what had passed. I, the author of this history, was then informed, that if he had pleased, this accident would not have happened, for it was in his power to have prevented it, and I will tell you how.

The day of the feast of the holy sacrament, a clerk, who was one of the familiars of sir Peter de Craon, came to the duke of Berry, and said: "My lord, I would willingly open my mind to you, respecting some improper conduct that is going forward, which is illegal, and may end unfortunately, for you are more able than any other to put a stop to it." "What is it?" asked the duke. "My lord, I must first insist that you promise my name shall never be brought into question; for, to prevent great mischief being done, and the peril that may ensue in the matter, I am come to discover the whole to you." "Speak out then, boldly," replied the duke: "I will bear you through it." "My lord," said the clerk, "I very much suspect that sir Peter de Craon intends murdering the constable; for he has collected within his hotel, in the churchyard of St. John, a number of companions, whom he has secretly kept there, ever since Whitsuntide. Should he accomplish his purpose, the king will be exceedingly vexed, and confusion ensue to the kingdom. It is for this I disclose it to you, my lord; for, although I am secretary to my lord of Craon, and have sworn fidelity to him, I cannot suffer such an outrage to be committed. If you do not take measures to prevent this none others will, at this moment, and I beg you will remember what I have now told you, at a proper opportunity; for, since I find sir Peter de Craon is determined to persevere in this business, I must fly, and never again return to his service." The duke of Berry perfectly well comprehended all the clerk had told. He said to him: "Remain with me to-day, and to-morrow morning I will inform my lord of this plot. It is now too late, and I wish not to trouble the king on such a day as this, but, to-morrow, I will not fail doing it; and we will provide a remedy, since sir Peter de Craon is in the town, which I was ignorant of." Thus, by the delay and negligence of the duke of Berry, did the mischief happen, as I have related.

The provost of Paris, with upward of sixty horse, issued out at the gate of St. Honoré, on the traces of sir Peter de Craon. When he came to Ponçon, to cross the Seine, he asked the bridge-keeper, if any one had passed that morning? he answered: "Yes, my lord, a company of about twelve horsemen; but I did not see any knight or person whom I knew." "And what road did they take?" demanded the provost. "That leading to Vannes," said the bridge-master. "Ah," replied the provost, "it may very probably be they, who are making for Cherbourg." He then quitted the road to Chartres, following that to Cherbourg, and thus lost all traces of them. When they had rode on the road to Vannes till it was dinner-time, they met a knight of that country hare-hunting; and, making inquiry from him, he said that he had seen in the morning about fifteen horsemen riding over the fields, and he thought they were going to Chartres. Upon this, the provost again changed his road, and, arriving in the evening at Chartres, learnt that sir Peter de Craon had been at the canon's house about eight o'clock, where he had disarmed himself and changed horses. He now saw that all further pursuit would be vain, as sir Peter had got so much before him, and returned to Paris on the Saturday.

The king of France and the duke of Touraine were very anxious to lay hands on sir Peter de Craon; and, as it was uncertain what road he had taken, they ordered sir John le Barrois, with sixty horse, after him by the gate of Saint Anthony. Sir John crossed the Seine and Marne at the bridge of Charenton, and scoured the whole country as far as Estamps. On Saturday he arrived to dinner at Chartres, where he heard the truth of his escape, and concluded it would be fruitless to follow him, as he must be at too great a distance. He returned to Paris on the Sunday, and related to the king the country he had been over, with the same ill success as the provost had before complained of.

On the Saturday morning, the officers of justice, who had been searching all the villages round Paris, discovered in a hamlet seven leagues from Paris, two men-at-arms, squires to sir Peter de Craon, and his page, who had stopped in this village from inability or unwillingness to proceed further. They were arrested by the officers, brought back to Paris, and executed on the Monday following. They were, however, first led to the place where the crime had been committed, and each had his hand cut off at the wrist: they were then beheaded in the market-place, and their bodies hung on a gibbet. On the Wednesday following, sir Peter's house-steward was executed; but many said this was unjustly done, while others replied, that he suffered for not having revealed the arrival of sir Peter de Craon at Paris. The canon of Chartres, at whose house sir Peter had stopped to refresh himself and change horses, was arrested and confined in the bishop's prison. Everything he possessed was confiscated, and himself condemned to perpetual imprisonment on bread and water: no excuses he could plead for his innocence in this matter were of the smallest avail, though he bore in Chartres the character of an honest prudent man.*

Sir Peter de Craon was exceedingly vexed, when he heard for certain, at his castle of Sablé, whither he had retired, that the constable was not dead, and had not received any wounds that, in six weeks' time, could prevent him mounting his horse. He considered that he would not be safe in this castle when it should be known where he was, and that he would be too closely surrounded to quit it when he pleased. He, in consequence, gave the charge of it to some of his people, and left it secretly, taking the road toward Brittany, where he arrived without stopping and found the duke at Susmet.† The duke, who had already heard the issue of the assassination, and that the constable was not dead, said, on receiving sir Peter de Craon, "You are a poor creature, who cannot slay a man when you have him in your power." "My lord," replied sir Peter, "it was a damnable business. I believe all the devils in hell, to whom he belongs, defended him, and preserved him from mine and my men's blows. There were upward of sixty thrusts and cuts made at him with swords and cutlasses; and when he was knocked off his horse, in good truth, I thought he was dead; but his good fortune made him fall against the hatch of a baker's shop that was half open, by which means he rolled into the shop. Had he fallen in the street we would have killed him, and trampled him under our horses' feet." "Well," said the duke, "it cannot be otherwise at present. I am sure it will not be long before I hear from the king of France, and shall incur as much hatred as yourself. Keep quiet near me; for I am convinced things will not remain as they now are, but that the king and constable will wage a serious war against me. However, since I promised you protection, I will keep my word."

CHAPTER XLI.

THE KING OF FRANCE SUMMONS THE DUKE OF BRITTANY TO DELIVER UP SIR PETER DE CRAON. HIS ANSWER NOT BEING SATISFACTORY, THE KING DECLARES WAR AGAINST HIM. THE KING'S UNCLES MURMUR AT THE GREAT RICHES OF THE CONSTABLE, WHICH WERE DISCLOSED BY HIS WILL.

INTELLIGENCE was brought to the king of France, some days after the assassination of the constable, that the duke of Brittany had received sir Peter de Craon. His most confidential counsellors advised him to send instantly to the duke of Brittany, and summon him, on his faith and homage, should that false traitor to the crown of France, sir Peter de Craon, be in any part of Brittany, to arrest him and send him without delay to France. When these letters were written and sealed, they were given to one of the king's messengers, who set out for Brittany, and found the duke at his castle of Ermine, near Vannes. The duke, having received and read the letters, told the messenger, he would write an answer to the king. The substance of it was, that he excused himself from knowing anything of sir Peter de Craon, or where he was; nor did he wish to know anything, for it was no concern of his; and that, as to sir Peter's hatred and quarrel with sir Oliver de Clisson, it no way touched or regarded him, and he entreated the king to hold him excused. When this answer had been properly drawn up and sealed, it was given to the messenger, who returned with it to Paris. The king and his council were impatient to receive the duke's answer; and, when the letters were delivered to the king, he attentively read them, and turning to his brother the

* A process was instituted against Peter de Craon, who was condemned for contumacy. All his goods were confiscated, his houses taken possession of, his furniture seized by the king and his lands given to the duke of Orleans and other courtiers. The monk of St. Denis relates that Jean de Vienne, the admiral of France, who was charged with taking possession of the estate of Ferté-Bernard, disgraced himself by infamously outraging the modesty of Jeanne de Chastillon the wife of Peter de Craon, and her daughter, a celebrated beauty of the time, and afterwards turning them out of doors in their chemises.—BUCHON.

† "Au Susmet." Q. Succinio, which was a residence of the duke of Brittany.

duke of Touraine, and the council said, "This is not satisfactory." Others replied, that the duke of Brittany was at the bottom of the whole mischief. The king and the duke of Touraine declared that such an outrage was too great to be lightly passed over, and was a direct attack on the royal majesty of France.

The duke of Berry was at this time in Paris, and, in his frequent visits to the palace, the king talked much to him concerning the crime of sir Peter de Craon. The duke replied: "My lord, he has certainly committed a great outrage; and if it were known where he was, I would advise that he be arrested and punished for it." "Good uncle," said the king, "he is now with the duke in Brittany, and nowhere else: we are determined to march thither, and you shall accompany us." The duke of Berry assented, though he was dissembling his real sentiments, and added, "My lord, we must have our good brother of Burgundy also with us." "We will have him," replied the king, "for we will not go without him; and our army shall be of strength sufficient to conquer all our enemies. We now clearly see, that this duke of Brittany neither loves nor esteems us. Good uncle, he is very proud and presumptuous; and we will not attend to any other affair until we have brought him to reason." Thus did the king and the duke of Berry converse together: the duke assented to everything his nephew proposed, though determined, in his own mind, to act in opposition to it. The king of France was too earnest in his desire to revenge the insult offered his constable, and was daily pressing forward the preparations for his expedition to Brittany. He was to march first into Anjou, to destroy all the castles and possessions held there by sir Peter de Craon, notwithstanding the duke of Brittany claimed them for his own by purchase. The king and his council answered, that he had never had possession given him of them; and that from having supported and protected sir Peter de Craon, he had incurred personally the indignation of the crown of France, although a marriage had this season been formed between the son of the duke and a princess of France.

While these preparations were going forward, and the rumor of the king's expedition against Brittany was everywhere talked of in France, the bishop of Noyon and the lord de la Riviere returned to Paris, having fulfilled their mission to Béarn and Foix. They related to the king and council what they had done, but the affairs of Brittany occupied so entirely the time of the council, they could not attend to anything else; and the king was impatient for the constable to be sufficiently recovered to mount his horse.

Before the king left Paris, he commanded the very handsome hotel sir Peter de Craon had, near the churchyard of Saint John, to be razed to the ground, and the spot given for an addition to the churchyard. The king ordered large provision of stores to be made on the roads to Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Brittany, and along the banks of the Loire, ready for his intended expedition: for no one dared to make any opposition to it. It was well known in Paris, and likewise in different parts of the country, that sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, had made his will, in order that, in case of death from his wounds, his heirs might know where to seek for his wealth. He had but two children, both females, one married to John of Brittany, count de Penthievre, whom he had ransomed from England for six score thousand francs paid to the duke of Ireland, as has been related. His other daughter was, or would be viscountess de Rohan, in right of her husband. The whole of his money and moveable property, without including any part of his heritage, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand francs, to the great astonishment of all who heard it, as to the means by which he had been able to amass so large a sum. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, in particular, were much surprised, as well as their councils, for the constable was not any way in favor with them: so that, when among themselves they thus spoke very freely on the subject: "How the devil can this constable have collected such an immense sum of florins, and such splendid furniture? The king of France has nothing like it. We must suppose that it has not been lawfully acquired." This passed off; but those who hated him did not think the less of it.

The king was still at Paris, though his preparations were ready; and all who had been summoned to accompany the expedition to Brittany were assembling accordingly. The duke of Burgundy was, however, much vexed at this war, saying that it was made without reason, and would end badly; for neither France nor Brittany, nor their knights and squires, were any way concerned in the quarrel between sir Oliver de Clisson and sir Peter de Craon; nor had they any business to make war on their account, but should let them fight it out themselves, without thus destroying and harassing the poor of both countries. The duke of Berry was of the same opinion; but they could not be heard, for the king had other counsellors, to whom he listened in preference. They knew not, therefore, how to prevent the war from taking place, and when they saw the king was obstinately bent upon it, they obeyed, but as slowly as they could. I heard, and believe it true, that, through the intervention of the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Ostrevant was summoned by the king of France to attend him with three hundred lances: the count, who loved arms, made his preparations, and summoned his vassals; but, when he had completed everything at a great expense, he received counter-orders, not to stir.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE DUKE OF TOURAINE IS CREATED DUKE OF ORLEANS. THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE BEING RECOVERED, THE KING OF FRANCE ADVANCES TO MANS, WITH THE INTENTION OF CONTINUING HIS MARCH, TO MAKE WAR ON THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

When all things were ready for the king's departure from Paris, an exchange of lands was made between the king and the duke of Touraine, but this exchange was greatly in favor of the duke; for he surrendered to his brother the duchy of Touraine and its dependencies, receiving in return the duchy of Orleans, which was of four times the value, on the same terms and conditions that Philip duke of Orleans had formerly held it. We shall henceforward call him the duke of Orleans.* The king was so pleased when sir Oliver de Clisson had recovered from his wounds sufficiently to ride, that he said he would now set out from Paris to Brittany, to show he made the quarrel his own. In consequence, he and the duke of Orleans took leave of the queen, the duchess, and the other ladies and damsels who were at the hotel de Saint Pol, and went that night to the house of his minister, Montagu, where they supped and lay. The duke of Bourbon, the count de Namur, and the lord de Coucy, went with them. I know not if they all lay there, but the king did so, and dined there on the morrow. In the afternoon he departed in handsome array, and supped and lay at St. Germain-en-Laye, where he remained several days. At this period, according to the report of his physicians, the king's health was not good: but, he was so impatient to carry on the war, he declared his health was better than theirs. This he said to push forward the business; for his two uncles of Berry and Burgundy were still behind, and showed clearly the expedition was contrary to their opinion, and that willingly they would avoid going with him. They had, however, issued summonses to their vassals, for they were bound in honor to accompany the king.

When the king had sojourned at St. Germain for fifteen days, and the different lords were arrived, or on the road, he was advised to depart. He did so, crossed the Seine, and marching for Chartres, arrived at Auneau, a good town and handsome castle, that belonged to the lord de la Riviere in right of his wife. In company with him were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. The lord de la Riviere received the king and these lords very magnificently, as he was able to do, and they remained his guests for three days. On the fourth day they departed, and went to Chartres, of which place the brother of Montagu was bishop. The king, the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Bourbon, were lodged in the episcopal palace. On the second day, the duke of Berry, and the count de la Marche, came there; but the duke of Burgundy was still behind. He had begun his journey, and on the fourth day arrived, to the great joy of the king. Men-at-arms were pouring in from all quarters; and the king said he never would return to Paris until he had made the duke of Brittany listen to reason, who had so often given him plague and vexation. There were too many about the king, who urged him on; so that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who wished for more moderate counsels, were not attended to. This created a disgust in them and their advisers; and they said among themselves, that public affairs could not long remain in their present hazardous and unsettled circumstances, and that the king was cutting out for himself and kingdom work enough, when he rejected the advice of his uncles and listened to others of little weight. After staying about seven days in Chartres, he departed for Mans. He was followed by men-at-arms from Artois, Beauvais, Vermandois and Picardy, and other distant countries. They said when together, "How comes this duke of Brittany to give us so much trouble. He is full of pride, and has never been truly affectionate to the crown of France. If it had not been for his cousin, the late earl of Flanders, who supported him, and the duchess of Burgundy, who does so at this moment, he would long ago have been destroyed. He never could bear the lord de Clisson from the moment he quitted the English party, and is greatly to blame now in assisting sir Peter de Craon against the king and the constable." Others replied, "Let the king alone; for he has taken this business so much to heart, he will make the duke repent of it before he returns." "That he will," said others, "if there be no treachery in his way. Do you suppose that all who now accompany him are enemies to the duke of Brittany? Certainly not; for whatever they may dare say, they show their intentions too openly by their actions. They are plotting night and day how they may prevent the expedition, and they harass the king so much, it will be well if he keep his health."

Such were the conversations of the men-at-arms on their march, following the king to Maine. The king, on his arrival at Mans, was lodged in the castle, and his lords in the town, as well as the state of its accommodations would allow. The army spread themselves abroad in the plains, which were rich and good lodging for men-at-arms. The king and his court remained at the city of Mans upward of three weeks, for the king was in a very feverish state and unfit to ride. The physicians told the duke of Orleans and his uncles, that the king was oppressed with too much business, and was not in a situation to go through with it; that rest and quiet were absolutely

* He was created Duke of Orleans on the 4th of June, 1393.—Ed.

necessary, for that ever since he had left Amiens after the conferences, his health had not been so good as it was formerly. The king's uncles remonstrated on all this with the council, for the king would not pay any attention to what the physicians said; and he was so impatient to carry the war into Brittany, he told his uncles, that he was always better when on horseback, than when doing nothing; and added, "Whoever advises me to the contrary will highly displease me, and show he has not any love for me." This was all the answer he would give. Every day there was a council holden, which lasted until noon, or beyond it; and the king would always be present, to check any delays being made to the expedition into Brittany.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE, DURING HIS STAY AT MANS, AGAIN SENDS SOME NOBLE PERSONAGES TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, WITH ORDERS TO DISMISS SIR PETER DE CRAON. THE KING IS INFORMED THAT SIR PETER IS ARRESTED AT BARCELONA BY COMMAND OF THE QUEEN OF ARRAGON.

The king was advised, during his stay at Mans, to which he assented, out of affection for his uncles, to send four knights to Brittany. They were to remonstrate strongly with the duke, on the part of the king and council, how greatly he had misbehaved by affording an asylum to an enemy of the king and realm; and that, if he were desirous to acknowledge his fault, and make amends for it, he must send sir Peter de Craon to Mans, when they would endeavor to make his peace with the king, and prevent this expedition from doing harm to him or to his country. According to what I heard, sir Reginald de Roye, the lord de Garencieres, the lord de Chateaumorant, and sir Taupin de Cantemelle, governor of Gisors, were ordered on this mission. They left the city of Mans with forty lances, and, having passed through Angers, journeyed on to Nantes, when, having entered the town, they found there the duke. He gave them a good welcome, and entertained them with a splendid dinner; but, before this, they had fulfilled their commission, and had ably explained to him the object of their coming, and what the king and council had ordered them to say. The duke answered prudently and nobly, "That he would be most happy to arrest and give up to the king sir Peter de Craon, but, as God might help him, he neither knew where he was, nor what he was about: he therefore entreated these lords to make his peace, for he had assured them of the truth;" adding, "he had heard, upward of a year ago, sir Peter de Craon declare, that sir Oliver de Clisson hated him so mortally, he would attack him the first favorable opportunity, with all the force he could muster, let the event be what it would. When he told me this, I asked him if he had notified this to sir Oliver: he said he had, and had sent him his defiance; adding, that he would put him to death, by day or night, the very first time he met him. I know nothing further of the matter, and am surprised that my lord should think of making war on me for this cause. Begging his pardon, I do not feel that I am any way so blameable, either toward him or the kingdom of France, that war should be declared against me; for never will I infringe, if it please God, the alliances that have been entered into between us, as well in regard to the marriage of our children, as respecting other matters." This was the answer the French knights received from the duke of Brittany; and, when they had dined with him, and remained one day more at Nantes, they took leave, and set out on their return the way they had come.

The king and council were impatient for their arrival, to hear the duke's answer. What you have just heard, the knights repeated to the king, and to those interested, from the duke of Brittany. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were well satisfied with it, and would have persuaded others to be so likewise, saying, the answer was proper and reasonable. But the king declared that, from the information he had received, he was of a contrary opinion, and since he was come so far, he would never return to Paris until he had humbled the duke of Brittany. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy would willingly have altered this declaration, had they known how, but they were not attended to; and the king had taken such a hatred to sir Peter de Craon, whom he said the duke of Brittany secreted in his country, that no excuses were of avail.

There was a report at Mans, and in many other places of France, that the lady Jolande de Bar, queen of Arragon, and cousin-german to the king of France, had thrown into the prisons of Barcelona, a knight who was unknown to her or to her people; and, from his refusal to tell his name, he was thought to be sir Peter de Craon. The queen of Arragon, wishing to please the king, wrote to him in the most friendly terms, to say, "that on the fifth day of July a knight, with a handsome array, had come to Barcelona, with intent to cross the sea; that he had hired at a very dear rate, a vessel to carry him, as he said, to Naples. Having had all our ports well guarded, so that no stranger could leave them without permission, and this knight refusing to say who he was, we have detained him in prison. We suppose, from the great anxiety he shows for his liberty, that he is the knight you are seeking for, and on whose account you have written to us. Have the goodness, therefore, to send hither, as speedily as may be, some persons who are acquainted with sir Peter de Craon; for he whom we hold in prison shall not be set at liberty until we have heard from you. We shall learn with pleasure that the intelligence we have sent has been agreeable to you and to your council. May the Holy Spirit have you in his keeping! Written at Perpignan the ninth day of July," and signed "Jolande de Bar, queen of Arragon and Majorca, lady of Sardinia." The superscription was, "To our very redoubted lord the king of France."

This intelligence softened the hearts of many, and the expedition was on the point of being broken off; but the friends of the constable thought this was an invented story, to prevent the king advancing further; and that sir Peter de Craon was in danger of no other prison than what the duke of Brittany pleased, for he was safely in refuge within his duchy. The king paid no attention to this letter, saying it was all deceit; but the duke of Burgundy replied, "At least, my lord, to satisfy my niece of Arragon, who has written to you, and to deliver this knight, if he be guiltless, condescend to send some one thither, that our cousin may not be displeased with you and with us." "We are very willing to do so, good uncle," said the king, "for I wish not to vex you. Let some persons be sent to Barcelona; but I am firmly persuaded that the traitor, Peter de Craon, is not there, nor in any prison but the duke of Brittany's palace; and I swear, by the faith I owe St. Denis, that one day he shall severely pay for it." Nothing could alter the king's opinion that sir Peter de Craon was in Brittany. The duke of Brittany received regular information of what was passing, and, as the king was so much enraged against him, was not well satisfied of his security; for he saw that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had no weight in the council, and that the party of his adversary, Clisson, led the king just as they pleased. He had his castles and towns most strictly guarded; but, unfortunately for him, there were no towns or castles he dared trust his person to, excepting Vannes, Campel, Dol, Quimperlé, Ermine, Quimper-Corentin, and Suseniot. He had written to the knights and barons of Brittany, from whom he looked for support and advice, but they all dissembled with him, seeing the king, their lord paramount, so wroth against him, and from his so openly taking the part of sir Peter de Craon against the king and the constable, which was very indecent. He almost repented what he had done; but his spirit was so lofty, he disdained to own it, and he said to himself, "If the king, as he seems now inclined, enter Brittany with his army, I will not, at the beginning, make any opposition, that I may see who are my friends and enemies, nor will I hurry myself to retaliate; but, when he shall think himself in full security, I will fall upon him, since there is no other way of obtaining peace."

Thus did the duke counsel with himself, and at times with his ministers; for he concluded that a war with France was now inevitable. It was not so, however, for matters turned out otherwise than he expected, to his great advantage. The old proverb says, "He is not poor who is lucky." The duke of Brittany was wondrous fortunate at this season, from an astonishing and pitiable accident that befel the king of France. Nothing less could have withdrawn from him the dangers he was surrounded by, and permitted him the enjoyment of peace.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE KING, HAVING LEFT MANS TO CARRY ON HIS WAR AGAINST BRITTANY, IS ORDERED TO RETURN, BY AN UNKNOWN PERSON. THIS SAME DAY, HIS MIND IS DERANGED, AND HE IS BROUGHT BACK TO MANS.

When the king of France had resided about three weeks in the city of Mans, during which time councils were daily held, and when the knights were returned with the duke of Brittany's answer, as you have heard; the king said, that since he knew what to depend on, he would not longer stay at Mans, for it was displeasing and hurtful to him, but advance toward the frontiers of Brittany, nearer this duke, who was supporting the traitor, sir Peter de Craon. The intention of the king was to deprive the duke of Brittany of his duchy, and nominate a governor of it, until his children should be of age to have it restored to them, but the present duke was to be driven thence; and this determination was so firmly rooted in his mind, nothing could make him change it. He set out from Mans between nine and ten o'clock in the morning; and the lords and others who had been quartered there prepared to follow him, after they had heard mass and drank a cup. He had, the evening before, sent for the marshals of his army to his chamber, and ordered them to have the men-at-arms ready by early morn to march to Angers; "for," he added, "we have determined never to return from Brittany, until we shall have destroyed the traitors who give us so much trouble." The marshals gave their orders for the army to march on the morrow, and assured the captains that it was now determined upon to pursue the road to Brittany. The day the king left Mans was excessively hot, as was to be expected, for it was the middle of August, when the sun is in its greatest force.

You must know, in order perhaps to account truly for what followed, that the king, during his stay at Mans, labored hard and assiduously in the council, where he had but little assistance, and was besides not perfectly recovered in health. He had been the whole summer feeble in body and mind, scarcely eating or drinking anything, and almost daily attacked with fever, to which he was naturally inclined, and this was increased by any contradiction or

fatigue. He suffered much from the insult offered his constable, so that his physicians and uncles noticed that at times his intellects were deranged; but they could not do anything, for he would not listen to what they proposed, nor would he consent, on any account, to defer the expedition to Brittany.

I was told that a strange accident happened to him as he was riding through the forest of Mans, for which he ought to have assembled his council, instead of pursuing his march farther. A man, bareheaded, with naked feet, clothed in a jerkin of white russet,* that showed he was more mad than otherwise, rushed out from among the trees, and boldly seized the reins of the king's horse. Having thus stopped him, he said, "King, ride no farther, but return, for thou art betrayed." This speech made such an impression on the king's mind, which was weak, that his understanding was shaken. As the man finished his speech, the men-at-arms advanced and beat him soundly on his hands, which made him drop the reins. They suffered him to run off, without paying attention to what he had said, thinking he was some madman, for which they were by many afterwards greatly blamed and disgraced: they ought at least to have arrested him, to have examined if he were really mad, and to learn why he had uttered such words, and whence he had come. Nothing, however, was done, and he made off by their rear, and was never after seen by any who had the least knowledge of him. Those who were near the king's person, heard very plainly the words he had spoken.

The king and his army passed on; and it might be about twelve o'clock when they were clear of the forest. They now entered an extensive sandy plain; and the sun was so resplendent, and in such force, that scarcely any could endure the heat: the horses, consequently, suffered much. There were none so used to arms as not to complain of the oppressive heat; and the lords took different routes, apart from each other. The king rode by himself, to have less dust; and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, conversing together, kept on his left hand, at about two acres' distance from him. The other lords, such as the count de la Marche, sir James de Bourbon, sir Charles d'Albret, sir Philip d'Artois, sir Henry and sir Philip de Bar, sir Peter de Navarre, rode in different paths. The duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, sir Charles d'Angers, the baron d'Ivry, were following at a gentle pace, talking together, and some distance from the king, not suspecting the misfortune which was on the point of befalling him. It was manifestly the work of God, whose punishments are severe, to make his creatures tremble. Have we not seen many similar examples, both in the Old and the New Testament, especially in the instance of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians? He reigned over them with such power, that nothing was spoken of but his magnificence and glory; when suddenly, in the midst of his pomp, the Lord of kings, God, the Master of heaven and earth, and Creator of all things, struck him in such wise that he lost his senses and his kingdom He continued for seven years in this deplorable state, living on acorns and wild fruits, having the taste of a wild boar or hog. After this period of penitence, God restored to him his senses and memory; upon which he declared to Daniel, the servant of the Lord, that there was none other God but the God of Israel. To speak truly, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three in name, but one in substance, was, is and ever will be, of as sufficient power to declare his works as from the beginning, and one ought not, therefore, to be surprised at whatever wonderful things happen.

The reason why I thus speak is, that a great influence from Heaven this day fell on the king of France, and, as some say, from his own fault. The physicians of his body, who ought to have known well his constitution, declared, that considering the weak state of his health, he should not have thus exposed himself to the heat of the day, but have rode in the cool of the mornings or evenings. Those who had advised otherwise were disgraced; but he had been long led by his ministers to act just as they pleased. The king rode over this sandy plain, that reflected the heat, which was much greater than had been ever before known or felt in that season: he was besides dressed in a jacket of black velvet that added to the warmth, and had only a single hood of crimson, ornamented with a chaplet of large beautiful pearls the queen had presented to him on his leaving her. He was followed by one of his pages, who had a Montauban cap of polished steel on his head that glittered in the sun, and behind him another page rode on horseback, carrying a vermilion-colored lance, enveloped with silk for the king, the head of which lance was broad, sharp and bright. The lord de la Riviere had brought a dozen such when he last came from Toulouse, and this was one; for he had presented the whole to the king, who had given three to the duke of Orleans, and the same number to the duke of Burgundy.

As they were thus riding, the pages, who were but children, grew negligent of themselves and their horses; and the one who bore the lance fell asleep, and, forgetful of what he had in his hand, let it fall on the casque of the page before him, which made both the lance and casque ring loudly. The king, being so near, (the pages rode almost on the heels of his horse,) was startled and shuddered; for he had in his mind the words the wise man or fool had spoken when he seized his horse's reins in the forest of Mans, and fancied a host of enemies were come to slay him. In this distraction of mind, he drew his sword, and advanced on the pages, (for his senses were quite gone, and imagined himself surrounded by enemies,) giving blows of his sword, indifferent on whom they fell, and bawled out, "Advance! advance on these traitors." The pages, seeing the king thus wroth, took care of themselves, for they imagined they had angered him by their negligence, and spurred their horses different ways. The duke of Orleans was not far distant from the king, who made up to him with his drawn sword, for at that moment his frenzy had deprived him of the means of knowing either his brother or uncles. The duke of Orleans, seeing him apprroach with his naked sword, grew alarmed, and, spurring his horse, made off and the king after him. The duke of Burgundy, hearing the cries of the pages, cast his eyes to that quarter, and seeing the king pursuing his brother with his drawn sword, was thunderstruck, and not without reason: he cried out for help, saying, "My lord has lost his senses: for God's sake lay hands on him:" and then added, "Fly, fair nephew of Orleans: fly, or my lord will murder you." The duke of Orleans was much frightened, and galloped as fast as his horse could go, followed by knights and squires. There were now great shoutings, insomuch that those at a distance thought that they were hunting a wolf or hare, until they learnt it was the king, who was not himself.

The duke of Orleans, however, escaped by making several turns, and was aided by knights, squires, and men-at-arms, who surrounded the king, and allowed him to waste his strength on them; for, of course, the more he exerted himself, the weaker he grew. When he made a blow at any one knight or squire, they fell before the stroke, and I never heard that in this fit of madness any one was killed.* Several were struck down by his blows, because no one made any defence. At last, when he was quite jaded and running down with sweat, and his horse in a lather from fatigue, a Norman knight, who was one of his chamberlains, and much beloved by him, called sir William Martel, came behind, and caught him in his arms, though he had his sword still in his hand. When he was thus held, all the other lords came up, and took the sword from him: he was dismounted, and gently laid on the ground, that his jacket might he stripped from him, to give him more air and cool him. His three uncles and brother approached; but he had lost all knowledge of them, showing no symptoms of acquaintance or affection, but rolled his eyes round in his head without speaking to any one. The princes of the blood were in amazement, and knew not what to say nor how to act. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy at length said, "We must return to Mans, for the expedition is at an end for this season." They did not then say all they thought; but they made their intentions very apparent to those who were not in their good graces, on their return to Paris, as I shall relate in the course of this history. It must be owned, that when all things are considered, it was a great pity for a king of France, who is the most noble and powerful prince in the world, to be thus suddenly deprived of his senses. There could not be any remedy applied, nor any amendment expected, since God willed it should be so.

Having undressed and cooled him as gently as they could, they laid him on a litter, and carried him slowly to Mans. The marshals instantly sent orders for the van to return, and the whole army was informed there was an end to the expedition. To some the reasons were told why it was thus put an end to, to others not. The evening the king was brought back to Mans, his physicians were much occupied with him, and the princes of his blood in the utmost trouble. The event was spoken of very differently; some said the king, to ruin the kingdom of France, had been poisoned, or bewitched, the morning before he left Mans. These words were so often repeated, that they came to the ears of the duke of Orleans, and others of the blood-royal. In conversation together, they said, "Do you hear (for you must unless you shut your ears,) what murmurings there are against the king's ministers? It is reported and commonly believed, that he has been poisoned or bewitched; now, how can we know whether this has been done or not?" Some made answer, "From his physicians, for they must know his habit and constitution." The physicians were sent for, and most strictly examined by the duke of Burgundy. To this examination they replied, "that the king had, for a long time, been suffering under this disorder; and, knowing that this weakness of intellect oppressed him grievously, it would make its appearance." The duke of Burgundy told the physicians, "that in the whole of the matter they had honestly acquitted themselves, but that the king, from his great anxiety to undertake this war, would not listen to any advice on the subject of his health. Cursed be this expedition, and unhappy is it that ever it was proposed, for it has been his destruction; and it would have been better that Clisson and his whole race had been murdered, than that the king had been afflicted with such a disorder. News of it will be carried everywhere, and, as he is now but a young man, we who are his uncles, and his blood, who should have advised him, shall be much blamed, though we have been no way in fault. Now tell us," said the duke, addressing himself to the physicians, "were you present yesterday morning at his dinner before he mounted his horse?" "Yes, in God's name were we," said they. "And what did he eat and drink?" "So very little, that it is scarcely worth

* Burel blanc.

* "Les Grandes Chroniques de France" say, that he killed four men, and the anonymous MSS. of St. Denys add a fifth, a knight of Guyenne called the Bastard of Pelignac.—Ed.

mentioning; for he sat musing the whole time." "And who was the person that last served him with liquor?" asked the duke. "That we know not," said the physicians; "for as soon as the table was removed, we went away to make ourselves ready for riding, but you will learn it from his butlers or chamberlains." Robert Tulles, a squire from Normandy, and head butler, was called. On his coming, he was questioned who had served the king with wine. He replied, "My lords, sir Robert de Lignac." The knight was then sent for, and asked whence he had taken the wine to serve the king the morning before he mounted his horse. "My lords," said he, "here is Robert Tulles who gave it me, and tasted it, as well as myself, in the king's presence." "That is true," added Robert Tulles; "and in this respect there shall not be the smallest ground for suspicions; for there is now some of the very same in bottles to what the king drank, which we will open and drink before you."

The duke of Berry then said, "We are debating here about nothing: the king is only poisoned or bewitched by bad advisers, but it is not time at present to talk of these matters. Let us bear the misfortune as well as we can for the moment."

CHAPTER XLV.

KING CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE, CONTINUING DERANGED IN MIND, IS REMOVED FROM MANS TO CREIL, ON THE OISE. THE REGENCY OF THE KINGDOM IS GIVEN TO THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY BY THE THREE ESTATES.

On the conclusion of the duke of Berry's speech, the lords retired to their lodgings for the night; and the king's uncles ordered four knights of honor to sit up with the king, to attend him quietly, and administer to his wants. They were sir Reginald de Roye, sir Reginald de Trie, the lord de Garencieres, and sir William Martel. The lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, Montagu, the bègue de Villaines, sir William des Bordes, and sir Helion de Lignac, were ordered not to interfere in any manner of business until the king should be perfectly recovered. On receiving this order, they departed, and others took charge of the government. On the morrow morning, the king's uncles visited him: they found him very weak, and asked how he had slept? His chamberlains replied, "Very little: he cannot rest." "This is sad news," said the duke of Burgundy. All three then approached him; and by this time the duke of Orleans arrived, and asked him how he was? He made no answer, but stared at them without recollecting who they were. These lords were much shocked, and, conversing together, said, "We need not stay longer, for he is extremely ill, and we do him more harm than good by our presence. We have ordered his chamberlains and physicians to take every care of him, which of course they will do. Let us consider how the kingdom is to be governed, for a government must speedily be provided, or all things will go ill." "Good brother," said the duke of Burgundy to the duke of Berry, "it will be necessary for us to go to Paris, and order the king to be brought hence gently; for we can have him better attended when nearer to us than here. We will assemble the whole council at Paris, and discuss how the kingdom shall be governed, and whether our fair nephew of Orleans be regent or we." "It is well spoken," replied the duke of Berry: "let us consider of the best place for the king to be removed to for the recovery of his health." After some consultation, it was determined he should be carried, with every precaution, to the castle of Creil, which has a good air, and is in a rich country on the river Oise.

When this was settled, the men-at-arms were disbanded, and orders given by the marshals for them to retire peaceably to their homes, without committing any ravages on the country; and that, if such excesses were indulged in, the leaders would be called upon to make reparation. The king's uncles and the chancellor of France sent off varlets to the different cities and principal towns in Picardy, to order the inhabitants to be very attentive in the guard of them, for the reason that the king was indisposed. These orders were obeyed. The French nation was dismayed and concerned when it was publicly known that the king labored under a frenzy. They spoke much against those who had advised him to this expedition to Brittany, and said he had been betrayed by those who had urged him on against the duke and sir Peter de Craon. People's tongues could not be stopped, for it was so serious a misfortune, it was necessary vent should be somehow given to the vexation it caused.

The king was carried to Creil, and put under the care of the before-named knights and his physicians. The men-at-arms were disbanded, and marched home. It was strictly forbidden the queen's household and all others, under pain of being severely punished, to mention this misfortune to the queen, who was far gone with child. It was concealed from her for some time, during which the king was under the care of the knights at Creil, and his physicians, who were giving him various medicines, which, however, did him little good. At this time, there was a most learned physician in France, who had not his equal anywhere, a friend of the lord de Coucy, and born on his lands. His name was master William de Harseley: he had fixed his residence in the city of Laon, which he preferred to any other. On first hearing of the king's illness and the cause of it, knowing, as he thought, the king's constitution, he said, "This disorder of the king proceeds from the alarm in the forest, and by inheriting too much of his mother's weak nerves." These words were carried to the lord de Coucy, at that time in Paris with the duke of Orleans and the king's uncles. The whole of the council, and the principal barons and prelates of the realm, were there assembled, to consult on the government of the kingdom during the king's illness, and until he should be perfectly restored; and whether the duke of Orleans, or his uncles, or all three, should have the regency. They were upward of fifteen days before they could agree: at last, it was thought advisable, from the youth of the duke of Orleans, which made him unfit to bear so great a weight, that the two uncles of the king should govern the kingdom; but that the duke of Burgundy should be the principal; and that the duchess of Burgundy should remain with the queen, and be respected as second to her in rank.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE LORD DE COUCY INTRODUCES THE GREAT PHYSICIAN, MASTER WILLIAM DE HARSELEY, TO CURE THE KING OF FRANCE. VARIOUS CAUSES ASSIGNED FOR THIS DISORDER.

The Lord de Coucy was not unmindful of what he had heard of master William de Harseley. He spoke of him to the king's uncles, and mentioned his learning and success, and that it would be proper he should try his skill to recover the king. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy listened to it, and sent for him. On his arrival at Paris, he first waited on the lord de Coucy, with whom he was very intimate, and he introduced him to the king's uncles, saying: "Here is master William de Harseley, of whom I spoke to you." The two dukes received him kindly, and made him welcome. They then ordered him to visit the king at Creil, and remain with him until he should have restored him to health. Master William, in consequence of these orders from the duke, set out from Paris in good array, as was becoming him, and arrived at Creil, where he established himself near the king's person, and took the lead over the other physicians, undertaking to make a cure; for he saw it was to be done, since the disorder was caused by weakness of nerves, from the sudden alarm of the appearance of the madman, and then by the noise from the blow on the page's helmet; and he was very anxious to restore the king to health.

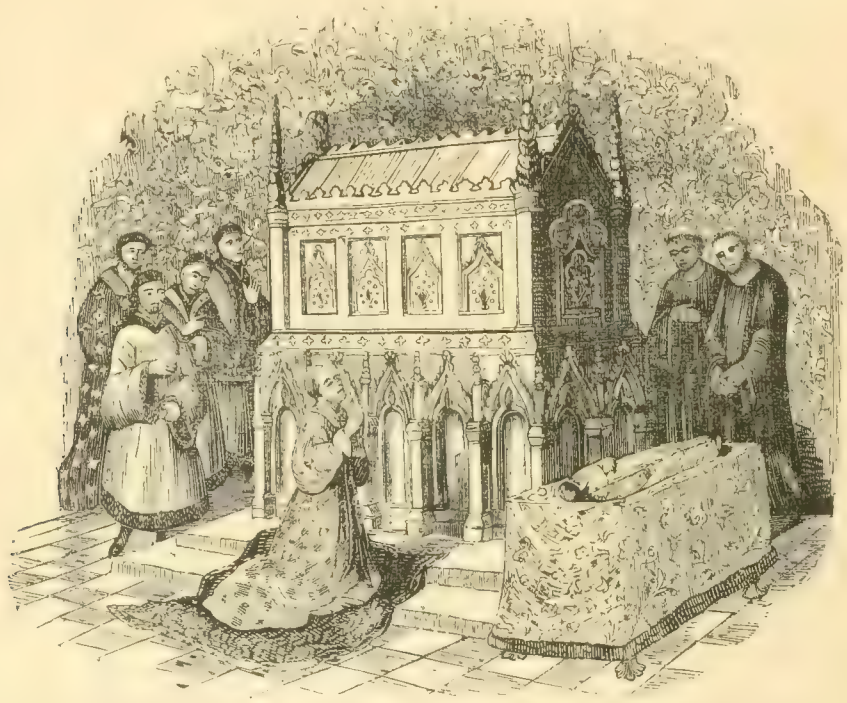
News of the king of France's illness was carried far and near, and, however others may have been grieved at it, you may suppose that the duke of Brittany and sir Peter de Craon were not much affected: they soon dried their tears, for he was pursuing them with bitter hatred. Pope Boniface and his cardinals at Rome were rejoiced on hearing it. They assembled in full consistory, and said the worst of their enemies, meaning the king of France, was severely chastised, when God had thus deprived him of his senses; and that this punishment had been inflicted by Heaven, for having so strenuously supported the anti-pope of Avignon; that this chastisement should make him attend more to his own kingdom, and that their cause would now be better.

The pope and cardinals at Avignon, considering the great support the king had given them, had cause for alarm; but they showed none for the honor of the king and realm. They said among themselves, that the king was young and willful, and had, by his own fault, brought on him this disorder; and those about his person had allowed him to act too much as he pleased; and that he had exerted himself in different excesses, and by riding post night and day; and had labored unreasonably, in mind and body, on matters that should have been done by his ministers and not by himself; and that if he had been properly and soberly educated by the advice of his uncles, this unfortunate illness would never have happened. They added, that, "when he was on his journey to Languedoc, he had promised, on the word of a king, and swore likewise on his faith, that he would raise a sufficient force to destroy the anti-pope and his cardinals at Rome, and put an end to the schism and troubles of the church; but he had done nothing, and thus forfeited his oath and promise, by which he has angered God, who, to correct him, punishes him with this rod of frenzy. It therefore behooves us, when he shall have recovered his health, which may soon happen, to send properly instructed legates to remonstrate with him on this breach of promise, in order that, through our neglect, he may not be forgetful of it." Such was the language at Avignon between the pope and cardinals, who agreed that this disorder had been incurred by his own negligence and fault; but they greatly blamed those of his council and household for not having better attended to him. Many others, in France, did the same.

In a church at Haspres, in Hainault, dependent on the abbey of Saint Vast at Arras, lies the canonized body of Saint Aquaire, in a rich shrine of silver. The saint is celebrated for the cures he has performed on those afflicted with madness, and on that account is much visited from all parts. To pay due respect to the saint, there was a figure of wax resembling the king, which was sent thither with a large wax taper, and offered, with much devotion, to the shrine of the saint, that he might pray to God to alleviate this cruel affliction of the king. A similar offering was made to Saint Hermier in Rouais, who has the reputation of curing madness, and wherever there were saints that were supposed to have efficacy, by their prayers to God,

in such disorders, thither were sent offerings from the king with much ceremony and devotion.

When this event was known in England, the king and lords were greatly concerned thereat. The duke of Lancaster especially testified his sorrow, and said to the knights near his person: "On my faith, it is a great pity, for he showed himself a man of courage, with a strong inclination to do good. When I took leave of him at Amiens, he said: 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, I earnestly entreat you will exert yourself to the utmost of your power that there may be a solid peace between our kingdoms: we may then march a powerful army against this Amurat, who has conquered the kingdom of Armenia from its lawful monarch, and who intends to destroy all Christendom, that we may exalt our faith, as we are bounden so to do.' Now," added the duke, "there is an end to this, for he will never again have that confidence he before enjoyed put in him." "That is true enough," said those who heard him, "and the kingdom of France seems likely to fall into much trouble."



SHRINE OF ST. AQUAIRE. Presentation of the waxen figure of the King. Designed from contemporary MSS.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY RUIN THOSE WHO HAD BEEN THE CONFIDENTIAL SERVANTS OF THE KING. THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TREATS RUDELY THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON.

SUCH were the conversations of lords in different countries on hearing of the king of France's illness, who remained confined in the castle of Creil, under the care of the four knights, and master William de Harseley, who had the sole management of him: none were allowed to speak with the king, nor even enter the castle, but such as had his permission, or were acting under his orders. At times, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon came to visit the king, and see how he was going on, but the dukes of Berry and Burgundy never left Paris. They had not as yet made any changes in the government, but they shortly intended doing so in regard to many who were not in their good graces, from their behavior when in power, which was, as they thought, contradictory and presumptuous.

The duke of Berry said, that Clisson, la Riviere, le Mercier, and le beguede Villaines, had, during their attendance on the king in Languedoc, caused his treasurer and faithful servant Bethisac to be disgracefully punished with death, through envy and wickedness; and that in spite of anything he could say or do, he could never get him out of their hands. "Let them now beware of me, for the time shall come when I will repay them with the same coin, and struck from the same mint." The duke of Burgundy and those attached to him loved no better the above-named persons, who had governed the king; for whenever they wanted anything at court, they were repulsed sharply enough, and very little done for them, of which they murmured and talked loudly behind their backs.

The duchess of Burgundy, who was a very unforgiving and haughty lady, resided at Paris with the queen, and had the supreme government of her and her household, so that no one was permitted to speak with the queen but through her permission. This lady hated with her whole heart sir Oliver de Clisson, on account of the duke of Brittany, who was nearly related to her. She frequently remonstrated with the duke of Burgundy, saying, that those who had supported sir Oliver de Clisson against so potent a prince as his cousin the duke of Brittany, were very blameworthy. The duke of Burgundy was cool and prudent, and saw far into the state of affairs and their consequences: he wished not to encourage any troubles in France, but to keep every one in good humor as long as it should be possible, and on this account had never opposed any measures of his late brother, Charles V. nor of his nephew, the present king. He therefore replied thus gently to his wife: "Lady, it is good at all times to dissemble. The duke of Brittany, it is true, is a great prince, and an overmatch for the lord de Clisson. If I join the duke and make myself openly one of his partisans, the kingdom would be dissatisfied, and not without reason; for the lord de Clisson would declare and prove, that the whole hatred our cousin the duke bears him is for having supported the interests of France, in which we have so large a share, and it is so believed throughout the realm. Hitherto I have no cause whatever to incline me to the duke against the lord de Clisson. It therefore behooves me to dissemble my real sentiments, if I wish to preserve the favor of the king and country to whom I am bounden by every tie, which is not my case with regard to the duke of Brittany. It has happened that my lord the king is indisposed, and in an alarming state as you know: this is very much against the lord de Clisson, and will be hurtful to all who advised him to undertake this expedition, and on which he was so obstinately bent, in spite of everything my brother and myself could urge against it. The rod is already prepared with which they shall be punished, as you shall shortly witness or hear of; but have the goodness, at this moment, to have a little patience. Lady, lady, there is no season but what makes some return, nor any fortune stable, nor afflicted heart but is at times rejoiced, nor angered minds but have their revenge. Clisson, la Riviere, Montagu, le Mercier, de Villaines, and others who have acted improperly, will shortly be made to suffer for it." With such conversations did the duke and duchess of Burgundy amuse themselves; and not many days after this last, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had a private conference. They said, "it was now time to punish those who had dishonored their nephew, the king, and who had led him to act according to their pleasure. We will begin first with the constable, for he is of the highest rank and greatest wealth: when he made his will a short time ago, on being wounded, he proved he had seventeen hundred thousand francs in money and moveables. How the devil could he have amassed such a sum? For the marriage of his daughter, with our cousin, John of Brittany, whom he ransomed from England, must have cost him, in

the whole, two hundred thousand francs! But how shall we manage to begin on him, with any reasonable pretext? for he is strongly supported by our nephew, the duke of Orleans, and by many of the great barons of France. However, if we can but once lay hands on him, we will attack him by law, and the parliament at present is of our party." "That is true," replied the duke of Burgundy; "and the first time he comes to me, which he must do to-morrow on business, I will convince him by the reception I give him, that he is not in my favor, and do you, brother of Berry, do the same when he comes to you." "That I will," answered the duke of Berry; and with these words the conference ended.

The lord de Clisson, who thought not but that he was moderately well in favor with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, waited on the last, for business of his office. He had been much teased by many knights and squires, who were of the late expedition, and wanted money, for they had never received anything: the chancellor of France and the treasurer had sent them to the constable to be paid. He came therefore one afternoon to the hotel d'Artois, to remonstrate with the duke of Burgundy on this business, and nothing else, for he had already been dismissed from any share in the government. When he arrived at the hotel d'Artois he entered the court with his attendants, who were not numerous, and dismounted. The constable ascended the stairs attended by only one squire, the others waiting for him in the court. He found two of the duke's knights in the hall, and demanded from them if the duke was disengaged, and if he could speak with him. "Sir, we know not," replied they, "but will soon inform you if you will wait here." They entered the duke's apartment, and found him unoccupied, chatting with a herald, returned from a grand feast in Germany. The knights interrupted the conversation, by saying, "My lord, sir Oliver de Clisson is in the hall, and wishes to speak with you, if it be your pleasure." "In God's name," replied the duke, "let him come forward: we have at present leisure to speak with him, and hear what he has to say." One of the knights left the apartment, and called the constable, saying: "Sir, come on: my lord sends for you." The constable no sooner entered the room, than the duke changed color, and repented having sent for him, although he was anxious to tell him his mind.

The constable took off his hood, and, bowing to the duke, said: "I am come, my lord, to know how to act respecting the payment of the knights and squires who were of the late expedition, for my office is perpetually besieged by them; and, as you and my lord of Berry at present govern the kingdom, have the goodness to inform me." The duke of Burgundy angrily replied: "Clisson, Clisson, you need not trouble yourself about the state of France; for, without your office, it will be perfectly well governed. In an evil hour have you interfered in it. How the devil can you have amassed such a sum as seventeen hundred thousand francs, which you declared yourself to be possessed of by your will? Neither my lord the king, my brother of Berry, nor myself, with all our power, have been able to collect such a sum. Quit my presence, and leave my house, and let me never see you again; for, if it were not from regard to my own honor, I would have your other eye put out." At these words the duke of Burgundy went away, leaving the lord de Clisson astonished. He quitted the apartment, with his head sunk down, and quite melancholy, without being attended by any one. Having crossed the hall he descended into the court, mounted his horse, and departed with his people, taking a private way to his own hotel, without saying a word.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON, AFTER THE HARSH ANSWER OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, RETIRES TO MONTLHERY. BEING PURSUED THITHER, HE HAS TIME TO MAKE HIS RETREAT TO CHATEAU-JOSSELIN.

When the lord de Clisson had entered his hotel, he formed various plans in his own mind as to his future conduct: he foresaw that very shortly public affairs would be badly managed, and had no one to open his mind to on the subject, for the duke of Orleans was at Creil: indeed, had he been at Paris, he had no power to save or defend him. Suspecting, after what had passed, that the duke of Burgundy would arrest him, and force his hotel, he determined not to wait the event, but ordered his most confidential servants to pack up all he should want, and, in the evening, set off from Paris, attended by only two persons. He passed the gate of St. Anthony, and rode to Charenton, where, crossing the Seine by the bridge, he continued his journey to his castle of Montlhery, seven* leagues from Paris, where he remained until he heard other news.

The same day the duke of Burgundy had rebuffed the constable, he met the duke of Berry at the Louvre, on the affairs of the nation. He told his brother of Berry how he had spoken to sir Oliver de Clisson, who answered, "You have well done. We must, by some means or other, lay hold of him; for in truth, Clisson, le Mercier, la Riviere, and Montagu have plundered the kingdom; but the time is now come when they must make ample restitution, and their heads ought to pay the forfeit also." I know not the particular reasons, but it is a fact, that the day the constable left Paris, Montagu did the same, and also by the gate of St. Anthony. He took the road for Troyes in Champagne, but said he would not stop anywhere until he was arrived at Avignon, whither he had already sent the greater part of his wealth. He had left a sufficiency with his wife to maintain her state handsomely; for he foresaw, since the king was deprived of his senses, public affairs would go ill under the government of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who never spoke to him.

Sir John le Mercier would have been glad to have done the same, had he been able; but he had been put under an arrest, and nothing could come in or go out of his house without the knowledge of his guards. What he had before laid by in a place of security was of the greatest service to him at a proper opportunity, for all that was known to be his was claimed and seized by the two regents. He was afterwards committed a prisoner to the castle of the Louvre, as was in like manner le bègue de Villaines, count de Ribadeo in Spain. They sent to the hotel of Montagu, but found no one, nor could they learn whither he was gone, and with this they were forced to be satisfied. Inquiries were made if sir Oliver de Clisson were in Paris, and orders were sent to his hotel for him to surrender himself a prisoner in the Louvre: but no person was at his hotel except the house-steward, who could not give any intelligence concerning him. Two days passed before it was known that he was in his castle of Montlhery. The two dukes, impatient to lay hold on him, ordered instantly Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châteaumorant, the lord de Coucy, and sir William de lay Tremouille to collect three hundred lances, and said to them; "March with this force without delay to Montlhery, invest the town and castle, and do not leave it until you shall bring us Clisson dead or alive."

The knights obeyed, as was their duty, for the government of the kingdom was now in the hands of these two dukes, and they left Paris with three hundred lances, not all at once, but in five separate bodies, that their departure might be the less noticed. God, however, assisted the constable; and he had such good friends among this armament, that he was punctually informed of its departure, and the hour it would arrive, so that he had full leisure to take proper measures not to suffer from it. He and his people left Montlhery, and by travelling through by-roads, over heaths, and avoiding all inclosed towns or cities, arrived safely in Brittany, and entered his castle, called Château-Josselin, which was well provided with all things, where he remained to wait other intelligence.

Barrois des Barres and the other knights put their orders into execution, took possession of the town of Montlhery, and surrounded the castle. They remained thus one night, imagining the constable was within, but he was not, as you have heard. On the morrow, while they were preparing for the assault, the servants in the castle came out to know what they were about. The knights said they wanted sir Oliver de Clisson, and that was the object of their coming. The servants in guard of the castle replied, that the lord de Clisson had left it four days ago; and offered to open every part of it for them to search. The knights and squires entered the castle armed from head to foot, as if for instant combat, for fear of being surprised by treachery or an ambuscade. They, however, found that the servants had told them the truth; for they minutely searched every part of it, without discovering any traces of the lord de Clisson. After this, they marched away on their return to Paris, when they related to those who had sent them all they had done.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE, THE PRINCIPAL MINISTER OF THE KING OF FRANCE BEFORE HIS ILLNESS, IS MADE PRISONER BY ORDERS OF THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY. THE DUCHESS OF BERRY INTERCEDES FOR HIM WITH HER LORD.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, finding that the constable had escaped, were much vexed; while, on the contrary, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon rejoiced at it. "Now," said the duke of Burgundy, "he shows by his flight that he suspects us; but, though he has fled, he is not yet acquitted. We will force him hastily to return, or he shall loose everything we can lay our hands on. Even this shall not free him from some heavy charges which only wait for trial, to prove him guilty and deserving punishment. If the great, the powerful, and the wicked be not chastised, justice will not be equally dealt, and the lower ranks and the poor will in truth be discontented. Justice ought to be dealt out without discrimination to all, that every one may take example." Such was the discourse of the duke of Burgundy; but the lord de Clisson was safe in his castle of Josselin, in Brittany, well provided with everything to defend it, and to hold out a long siege.

The day that Barrois des Barres returned to Paris, to tell his lords that sir Oliver de Clisson was not at Montlhery, the two dukes said, "Barrois, set out to-morrow very early, and ride to Auneau. We have heard the lord de la Riviere is there. Demand to see him from us and from the council, and manage so that you give a good account of him when we shall require it from you." Sir Barrois, having promised obedience, rode the next morning with his men-at-arms to Auneau, near to Chartres. It was a handsome castle, which the lord de la Riviere received in marriage with his wife, the lady of Auneau, and he had greatly improved both the castle and lands. He was much beloved by his vassals, whom he treated with affectionate care. The commissioners sent by the dukes, on their arrival at Auneau, executed their orders on the lord de la Riviere, whom

* Montlhery is only *six* leagues from Paris.—Ed.

they found with his lady and children. He was expecting such a message, for he had already learnt that sir John le Mercier and the count de Ribadeo were in prison, and that the constable had fled from Montlhery to a more distant and secure castle. Those who had brought him this intelligence said: "Sir, save yourself; for the envious, who at this present time govern, are against you, and fortune has turned with them." To this he had replied; "Here and everywhere else I am in the power of God: if I fly or hide, I should accuse myself as guilty of crimes of which I feel myself incapable and innocent. God has given me all I possessed, and he may take it from me whenever he pleases: to his will I submit. I have faithfully and loyally served the late king of happy memory, as well as the present king. My services have been well known to both, and they have royally rewarded them. I feel bold enough, from what by their commands I have done for the good of the kingdom, to stand the judgment of the parliament of Paris; and, if they shall find in my whole conduct anything worthy of blame, let me be punished."

Such was the declaration of the lord de la Riviere to his wife and his friends, before the commissioners from the regents came to Auneau. On their arrival, his servants said; "My lord, here are such and such persons, with a large force, who want to enter the castle: what do you say? shall we open the gates?" "Why not?" he replied: "they are very welcome." On saying this, he went to meet them, and received every one most graciously; and in conversing together they all entered the hall of the castle of Auneau. After a short pause, sir Barrois des Barres, a gallant and courteous knight, with much vexation, arrested the lord de la Riviere, according to the orders he had received, which he was bound to execute. The lord de la Riviere held him excused, and immediately obeyed his summons; for he neither could nor would otherwise act by disputing it; and he remained a prisoner in his own castle of Auneau. You may imagine his lady was in great anguish when she saw fortune thus adverse to her lord, and she still more dreaded the conclusion.

The lord de la Riviere was not long a prisoner in his own castle, before he was sent for by those who ruled the temporality and spirituality of France, (for the person who signed himself pope Clement held all his power in that country through the good-will of these dukes,) to Paris, where he was confined in the prison of the Louvre. Many in France were afflicted at this, but they dared only speak of it in private. They were indifferent as to sir John le Mercier, but the lord de la Riviere had been courteous, debonair, and patient in hearing poor people, and such as were not of rank to attend his public audiences. It was reported in Paris that they were to be beheaded; and it was whispered slanderously, to ruin their popularity, that they had been traitors to the crown, and plundered the treasury of great wealth; with which they had kept up their state, and built houses and fine castles, while poor knights and squires, who had exposed their lives in arms for the service of the realm, and sold their inheritances for subsistence, could not obtain any payment, for a long time past, from sir Oliver de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, or from Montagu, who had fled. Their numerous enemies, who were in great strength, declared they deserved to die, which put them in great risk. They urged as a crime against them, that they had advised the king to go to Mans, and thence to Brittany, and had, by poisoned liquors which they gave him to drink, brought on this frenzy; and it was currently reported, that the king's physicians, who had the care of his health, were not, in any way, permitted to have their will, nor was their advice followed.

So much was said against these two, that the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier were removed from the Louvre and delivered over to the provost of the Châtelet, and confined in the castle of St. Anthony, under the guard of the viscount d'Achy, at that time the governor. On this removal, though the common report ran that they were to be put to death, in truth they were never condemned; nor could those by whom they had been examined, ever in their consciences find them guilty of death. They were, however, daily attacked by some, who said, "Take heed to your souls, for your bodies are already disposed of: you are both condemned to have your heads cut off." In this distressing state they were kept for some time; but the bègue de Villaines, a great knight and valiant man-at-arms, from the country of Beauce, inculpated in the same accusations, had many friends, who pleaded effectually in his favor, and he was freed from prison with a full acquittal. On his leaving the prison, he was told by his relations, sir Barrois des Barres and others, to prepare to set out for Castille, where in future he must reside, on the handsome inheritance he gained by his marriage with the countess de Ribadeo. He followed the advice that had been given him, and speedily packed up all he wanted, and set out for Castille, leaving his two friends in prison, and in daily peril of losing their lives. All the property, moveable and immoveable, of sir John le Mercier, that was in France, and could be laid hold of, was confiscated and given to others. His fine house at Pont à Louvion,* in the diocese of Laon, that had cost him such immense sums, was seized and given to the lord de Coucy, with all its estates, manors, and dependencies. I am ignorant if this was done at his request, but he possessed it, and his heirs afterwards.

The regents treated the lord de la Riviere very cruelly. They confiscated all his estates, as well what had descended to him as those he had purchased, and all his moveables wherever they could be found. The lady, his wife, had, however, reserved to her use all the domain of Auneau, and whatever else she had inherited from her family, by father or mother. She had a young and genteel daughter, of ten years old, who had been betrothed to James de Chastillon, son and heir to sir Hugh de Chastillon, who had formerly been master of the cross-bows of France; he was already in possession of large estates, and in the expectation of more. He had made several excursions with his intended father-in-law, the lord de la Riviere; but, notwithstanding this, the regents would break off the intended marriage in spite of the young man. This connection was put an end to, and he married elsewhere, according to the pleasure of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the lord de la Tremouille, who took the managment of the business.

The lord de la Riviere had likewise a son, a squire, who was his heir, married to the only daughter of the lord de Dampmartin, who was not likely to have more children, and this daughter was his heiress. The regents wanted likewise to break of this marriage, and unite her more nobly; but the count de Dampmartin, like an honorable man, stepped forward, and said: "That as long as the son of the lord de la Riviere lived, his daughter should have no other husband; and, if violence were used to shorten his days, his daughter should remain a widow, and he should so strongly settle his property, that those who might wish to gain it by fraud or otherwise would find themselves disappointed." When they saw the firmness of the count de Dampmartin, and that he would not give up his son-in-law, they left him quiet, and the marriage remained good; but the first I mentioned was set aside by an absolution from pope Clement, who was forced to give it whether he would or not; for he had no power over the realm of France but what the two dukes were pleased to allow him, so greatly was the church lowered and hurt by the disgraceful schism, and by the conduct of those who ought to have ruled it better.

Many in France, and in other countries, acquitted the lord de la Riviere from all blame, but their excusing him was of no avail; for although his innocence was as clear as the day, no one dared to speak in his behalf, but that courageous young lady the duchess of Berry. Too often had that good lady cast herself at her lord's feet, saying, with uplifted hands: "Ah, my lord, you allow yourself to be swayed wrongly and sinfully, by the envious and disappointed, who poison your mind with tales against this valiant knight, and virtuous man, the lord de la Riviere. They accuse him unjustly, and no one dares to say a word in his defence. I wish you therefore to know, that, if he shall be put to death, I shall never again taste happiness, but remain all my days in sorrow and affliction. He is, whoever may say the contrary, a most loyal and prudent knight. Ah, my lord, you little remember the handsome services he has done you, nor the pains and difficulty he had to encounter when he accomplished our marriage. I do not say this as pretending to have been worth the trouble, for I am but a poor lady in comparison to you; but you, who were so anxious to have me, had to deal with a hard and cunning lord, the late count de Foix, in whose wardship I then was; and, if it had not been for the persuasive manners of the lord de la Riviere, I should have never been your duchess, but settled in England; for the duke of Lancaster solicited me for the earl of Derby, and the count de Foix inclined more to him than to you. Most dear sir, you ought not to be forgetful of these things, for you know what I say is true. I therefore most humbly entreat that you would have compassion on that gallant knight who so courteously conducted your business, in regard to me, that he suffer neither in life nor limb."

The duke of Berry, thus attacked by his young and handsome wife, whom he doted upon, and feeling that all she had said was true, was much softened in his hatred to the lord de la Riviere; and to appease his lady, who he saw was in earnest, replied: "Lady, as God may save my soul, I would rather have paid twenty thousand francs, than that la Riviere should have misconducted himself toward the crown of France. Before this indisposition of the king I loved him well, and considered him a prudent and valiant knight. Since, however, you thus anxiously interest yourself for him, I will abate my anger; and from your entreaties and solicitations he shall fare the better. I will exert my power to the utmost, and do more for your prayers than if all France united had petitioned me in his behalf." "My lord," answered the lady, "please God, I shall see the effects of it. You will do a good and charitable act; for I believe there is not one, besides myself, that has spoken in his favor." "You say truly," replied the duke; "but when you so warmly take up the matter, it is fully sufficient." Thus was the duchess contented with the answers of the duke; and when he and the duke of Burgundy, with their councils, met on the business, there was much altercation. There is not a doubt but, if this virtuous lady had not interfered, he would have been put to death. From affection to her, it was otherwise; and John le Mercier was fortunate in being the companion of the lord de la Riviere, and implicated in the same charges, for they could not in conscience have executed one without the other.

Notwithstanding this delay, they did not feel perfectly secure in prison; for they knew they had many enemies, who were now in power, and angry (though they were forced to abide by it) that they had not sooner been punished. Sir John le Mercier, during his confinement in the Bastille, was in such continual grief and tears that he nearly lost his sight. It was melancholy indeed to hear the bitterness of his lamentations.

* "Pont à Louvion." It is in the MSS. Pont Aubumen, and Pont a Lounion. Q. if not Pont a Nouvion. There are three villages of that name in the election of Laon.

CHAPTER L.

AFTER MANY ADJOURNMENTS AND DELAYS, THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON IS, BY JUDGMENT OF THE COURT OF PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, BANISHED THE REALM OF FRANCE, CONDEMNED TO PAY A FINE OF ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND FRANCS, AND DECLARED INCAPABLE OF HOLDING THE OFFICE OF CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

During the confinement of the two knights in prison, where they remained upward of a year, uncertain what the conclusion would be, the lord de Clisson was attacked every way, to degrade his honor and deprive him of his office. They were more desirous to lay hold of him than any others of the late ministry, but he took good care to prevent it. He was wise in so doing; for if he had been arrested, everything was prepared for his execution the moment he should be condemned, without the smallest hope of mercy, to please his adversary, the duke of Brittany, who had never done any good to France.

When the regents found he had escaped, they resolved to proceed in a different manner. It was ordered, that he should be summoned by the court of parliament of Paris to appear before it, and answer such charges as should be made against him, under pain of being dishonored and banished from France. Commissioners were sent after him into Brittany, by the chamber of parliament, to summon and arrest him. They acquitted themselves well, so far as going into Brittany and demanding at all the towns and castles belonging to sir Oliver de Clisson where he was to be found, saying, "We are sent by the king and council to speak with my lord the constable: tell us how we can see him, that we may perform our message." The inhabitants of the towns or castles dependent on the lord de Clisson answered, as they had been tutored to do; "Gentlemen, you are very welcome: if we wanted to speak with our lord the constable, we would go to such a place, where we should find him without fail." Thus were the commissioners sent from town to town, asking after sir Oliver de Clisson, but without ever finding him, or having any other answers. At length being tired of the pursuit, they returned to Paris, and related their ill success, and the tricks the constable's vassals had played them. Those who had accused him, and wished his condemnation, would not that he had acted otherwise, for now, they said, they would have instant judgment, and he should be treated according to his deserts.

They publicly summoned, by order of parliament, sir Oliver de Clisson in all legal form, allowing the usual interval between each summons, to prevent those attached to him from saying that hatred or malice had outstripped justice. After every adjournment was completed, without any intelligence received from him, and after he had been summoned first at the door of the chamber of parliament, then publicly at the gates and on the steps of the palace, with every usual solemnity, without any answer being returned, a most cruel sentence was passed by the court. He was banished the kingdom of France for a false and wicked traitor to the crown, condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thousand marcs of silver, for the extortions which he had fraudulently and wickedly committed in former times, as well in the office of constable as in the exchequer and elsewhere, and to be deprived for ever of the office of constable of France. The duke of Orleans was invited by the court to be present when this sentence was passed, but he would not, and excused himself. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were there, with a great many of the barons of France.

Now observe the works of Fortune, how firm and steady they are, when such a valiant and good knight who had labored so successfully for the honor of France, was thus maliciously degraded in honor and hurt in his fortune. He was lucky in not obeying any of the summonses, for, had he come, they would have disgracefully put him to death; nor could the duke of Orleans have saved him, for, if he had interceded for him, no attention would have been paid to it. You may suppose that the duke of Brittany and sir Peter de Craon, who were strongly connected with each other, were much rejoiced at this; but they were vexed the constable had not borne company with the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier. This sentence made a great noise in France and elsewhere. Some pitied him, and said in secret that he had been unjustly treated: others opposed it, saying it was fortunate he had not been laid hold of and hanged, for he was deserving of it. "Our regents," they added, "who are well acquainted with his manner of life, have not been to blame in suffering him to be thus treated. How the devil could he have laid by such a sum as a million and a half of florins? It could not have been by conquests in war, but from pillage and robbery, and from the pay of poor knights and squires, as is well known at the chancery and treasury, where it is all written down. In the expeditions to Flanders, he raised and received large sums of money, as well as in that which the king made into Germany. All the taxes for the war, and the payment of the men-at-arms, passed through his hands. He paid himself and others as he pleased, keeping the better part, without any one daring to say a word against it." In such terms was sir Oliver de Clisson accused behind his back; and the proverb says truly, that "those whom necessity forces to sell have never a fair offer."

The duke of Brittany caused it to be rumored throughout his country, that whenever the dukes of Berry and Burgundy should please, he could easily reduce the lord de Clisson to the lowest state; but at the moment he left him undisturbed, to see what turn affairs would take, for he expected, from the measures then pursuing, the lord de Clisson must be deprived of the constableship. The duke of Brittany and sir Peter de Craon were thus suddenly relieved from all anxiety by the favor of dame Fortune, who, ever in motion, exalts those who least expect it, and tumbles others into the dirt from the top of her wheel.

Sir Oliver de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere, and sir John le Mercier, were principally accused of being the authors of the king's ill-

KING CHARLES AND A HAWKING PARTY. From an original design.

ness; and it was commonly reported by those who hated them, and wished their death, that they had poisoned the king. Now consider how little there was in this charge, or how little probability of their attempting such an act, who were sure of being prosecuted if any accident happened to the king, and of course would have been the most eager to have preserved him in health. But nothing was believed which they urged in their defence, as you already know. The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier were for a long time imprisoned in the Bastille, and in great danger of being publicly beheaded. It would undoubtedly have been done, if the king had not very opportunely recovered his health, and had it not been for the strong and repeated intercessions the duchess of Berry made for the lord de la Riviere. The lord de Clisson resided in Brittany; and a severe warfare was kept up between him and the duke, which cost many lives, as will be related hereafter.

CHAPTER LI.

KING CHARLES RECOVERS HIS SENSES THROUGH THE MERCY OF GOD, AND THE DILIGENT ATTENTION OF HIS PHYSICIAN, MASTER WILLIAM DE HARSELEY.

The disorder, which befel the king on his journey to Brittany, greatly affected all his subjects, and they naturally felt for their king, who, before his illness, was very popular with all ranks. Being the chief, every part of the government suffered; for, in like manner, when the head of a man is sick, his other members are not painless. No one ventured to talk openly of his indisposition, which was concealed as much as it could be. Indeed, it was perfectly unknown to the queen until she was recovered from her lying-in; and I believe this time she was brought to bed of a daughter. Master William de Harseley, who had the king under his care, resided quietly with him at Creil, and was very attentive to him, which gained him honor and profit, for by little and little he recovered for him his health. He first got rid of the fever and great heat he complained of, and then restored to him his appetite, sleep, and his recollection of things about him. Until he was strong enough to bear removal for change of air, he allowed him to ride, hunt, and amuse himself with hawking.

On the news of the king's recovery being spread abroad, the whole kingdom of France was rejoiced, and most heartily and sincerely were thanksgivings offered up to God for having restored the king to his senses and memory. During his residence at Creil, he demanded to see the queen and his son: she came thither, and brought the dauphin. The king received them very kindly; and thus by degrees, through the mercy of God, was he restored to health. Master William de Harseley, seeing him in so fair a way, was in high spirits, and not without reason; for he had performed an astonishing cure. He now gave him up to the care of his brother, the duke of Orleans, and his uncles, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, saying to them; "Thanks to God, the king is now well: I deliver him up to you; but henceforward, you must carefully avoid angering or vexing him, for as yet his nerves have not quite recovered their strength, though they will daily get better. Amusements and relaxations from the fatigues of business will be of service to him, and above all, he must not weary himself too much with his ministers or council; for his head will continue some time weak and delicate, as he has been much pulled down and shattered by this indisposition."

Having consulted together, they resolved to retain master William de Harseley at such an ample salary as should satisfy him; for it is the object of all medical men to gain large salaries, and as much profit as possible, from the lords and ladies who call for their aid. It was therefore proposed to him to remain with the king; but he excused himself, saying, "that he was old and weakly; that the manner of living at court would not agree with his years, and that he must immediately return to his nursling at home." When they saw he was determined in his refusal, they pressed him no further. They gave him permission to depart, and, on his taking leave, presented him with one thousand crowns of gold, and an order for four horses on the postmasters whenever he should please to come to court. I believe he never returned; for he continued in the city of Laon, where he died very rich, possessed of thirty thousand francs. He was the most niggardly man of his time: his whole pleasure was amassing money, and never spending a farthing at home, but eating and drinking abroad wherever he could. With such rods are physicians corrected.

CHAPTER LII.

THE TRUCE IS PROLONGED BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. THE VISCOUNT DE CHASTELBON DOES HOMAGE FOR THE COUNTY OF FOIX TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

To continue this noble and pleasant history, undertaken at the request and pleasure of that liberal and potent prince, my very dear lord and patron, Guy de Chastillon, count de Blois, lord of Avesnes, Chimay, Beaumont, Schoenhoven and Turgow; I, John Froissart, priest and chaplain to my very dear lord before named, and at the time treasurer and canon of Chimay and Lille in Flanders, set myself to work at my forge, to produce new and notable matter relative to the wars between France and England and their allies, as clearly appears from the various treaties which are of this date, and which excellent materials, through the grace of God, I shall work upon as long as I live; for the more I labor at it the more it delights me: just as a gallant knight or squire-at-arms, who loves his profession, the longer he continues it so much the more delectable it appears.

You have had it before related in these chronicles, that a truce had been agreed on for three years at Leulinghen, between France and England; that embassadors from France, namely the count de Saint Pol and the lord de Châteaumorant, had brought the papers signed and sealed from England; and that, since then, the lord de Châteaumorant and sir Taupin de Cantemerle, had accompanied the dukes of Lancaster and York from the conferences at Amiens to London, to learn the intentions of the king and parliament of England, in regard to the advances which had been made at Amiens toward a solid peace between the two nations, subject, however, to the consent of England, which had been reserved in the treaty by the dukes of Lancaster and York. The French knights had returned to France; for they were told nothing could be done in the matter until the meeting of the parliament, which was appointed to be holden at Westminster at Michaelmas: that then the affair would be discussed, and they should have an answer. When it was known in England how grievously the king of France was afflicted, the business was much retarded. Nevertheless, the king and the duke of Lancaster were desirous of peace between England and France, and, had it depended on them, it would have been concluded; but it was not so, for the commons of England preferred war to peace, saying, "that war with France was more beneficial to them than otherwise." This was also the opinion of Thomas duke of Gloucester, constable of England, who was very popular throughout the country. He inclined for war, as did all the young men who were anxious to signalize themselves in arms; but his brother, the duke of Lancaster, as the oldest and most powerful, took the lead, and said, "the war had lasted long enough between France and England, and that a good peace, if properly attended to, would be very welcome to all parties, who had suffered greatly from the long state of warfare." The duke added, "that holy Christendom was in danger from Bajazet, who was in great force on the frontiers of Hungary, sorely oppressing that country; and that was the proper time for all young bachelors who wished to try their skill in arms."

Let us weigh well these words of the duke of Lancaster, which were offered with the best intentions; for he had many times invaded France and overrun that country with small gain. He had undergone great bodily fatigue; and though he burnt and destroyed the flat country, it was almost as soon recovered again from the damages it had suffered. He said that this war led to no good end; but, if continued, must be pushed forward with vigor, and the slightest reverse might be attended with the worst consequences. He likewise porceived the king was more desirous of peace than war. I, the author of this history, know not how to determine who was in the right, or who in the wrong; but it was said the reason of the duke of Lancaster's conduct was, that he had married his two daughters in Castille and Portugal, and therefore he was desirous of peace. His son-in-law, the king of Castille, was young; and to prevent any troubles from his grandees, and in order that he might reign quietly, it was necessary there should be such a peace with France as the English could not infringe. Should they do so, the French would instantly fall on Castille; for they had free entrances thither, through the kingdom of Arragon, of which the lady Jolande de Bar, a French woman, was queen, and who governed that kingdom as well as Catalonia, or through the countries of Béarn and the Basques; for the viscount de Châteaubon, the heir to the late count de Foix, had sworn and sealed to grant this permission, when required by the king of France. The French had therefore several entrances to Castille, without danger of opposition from the king of Navarre, who would not willingly anger his cousin-german the king of France. His brother sir Peter de Navarre, was besides at the court of France, and would instantly soften any disputes that should arise between the king of France and his brother of Navarre; for he was a good Frenchman, and never acted but for the mutual interest of the two kings. The duke of Lancaster was fully aware of all the consequences of war, and frequently remonstrated on the subject with his son, Henry earl of Derby, who though young, had an understanding and prudence that seemed likely to produce perfection. This earl of Derby had four fine sons, Henry, John, Humphrey and Thomas, and two daughters, by Mary de Bohun, daughter to the earl of Hereford and Northampton, constable of England, and possessed in her right very large estates.

The conclusion of the matter respecting peace, which was long discussed in the parliament held at Westminster, of prelates, noblemen, and citizens from the cities and principal towns, was, that a truce should take place between England, France, and their respective allies, by sea and land, to last from Michaelmas to Saint John Baptist's day, and one year longer. Those who had been sent by the king of France, carried back the articles of the truce properly signed and sealed, and the agreement was observed by all parties.

The health of the king of France had been so exceedingly weakened by his late illness, that his council knew not to whom to apply for advice; for the physician who had before attended, master William de Harseley, was dead. He had, however, given the king,

before he left him, several good recipes which he had used, and had returned to Paris in the winter with very good health, to the great joy of his family and the whole commonalty of France, with whom he was very popular. The queen accompanied him from Creil to Paris, where they resided at the hotel de Saint Pol. At times he went to the Louvre, but for the most part staid at the hotel de Saint Pol; and, during the long winter nights, there were carolings, dancings and other amusements, in the presence of the king, queen, duchess of Berry, duchess of Orleans and other ladies, who thus passed the winter nights.

There was in the king's household, a Norman squire, called Hugonin de Gensay, a near relation of the bridegroom, who thought of the following piece of pleasantry to amuse the king and ladies. This marriage was on a Tuesday before Candlemas-day, and he had in the evening provided six coats of linen covered with fine flax, the color of hair. He dressed the king in one of them, the count de Joigny, a young and gallant knight, in another, which became him well; sir Charles de Poitiers, son of the count Valentinois, had the third; sir Evan de Foix, the fourth; the son of the lord de Nantouillet, a young knight, had the fifth, and Hugonin dressed himself

The Masque at Paris, in which the King and others were in great danger. From a MS. of the 15th century.

At this season, the viscount de Châteaubon came to Paris, to do homage to the king for the county of Foix, which he inherited as legal heir to Gaston de Foix, and which was a fief dependent on France. Béarn is an independent state, and the lords of it owe service to none other lord but God, notwithstanding the claims the late prince of Wales, of happy memory, urged against Gaston de Foix, the late lord of Béarn. The prince pretended it was dependent on Aquitaine, but the count de Foix denied the fact. To say the truth, all these claims of the prince were instigated through the count John d'Armagnac, as has been already told, so that I shall now pass the matter over. When the viscount de Châteaubon, whom henceforward I shall call the count de Foix, came to Paris, he brought a cousin with him, a bastard son of the late count, called Evan de Foix, a handsome and accomplished knight; whom his late father would have willingly made his heir, with his brother Gracien, that was now with the king of Navarre, but the barons of Béarn would not consent to it. The matter, therefore remained unsettled, for the count, as you have seen, died suddenly. On sir Evan being introduced to the king, he took a great liking to him, for he was wonderfully handsome and well made; he was besides of the same age with the king; and the affairs of the viscount de Châteaubon were benefited by this friendship, as they were the more speedily concluded. The viscount returned home; but sir Evan remained at court, and was named by the king one of the knights of his bed-chamber, with twelve coursers at the charge of the crown.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE IN GREAT DANGER OF HIS LIFE AT A MASKED DANCE OF MEN DRESSED LIKE SAVAGES. POPE BONIFACE AND THE CARDINALS AT ROME SEND A LEARNED FRIAR TO THE KING.

Not long after this, a marriage took place between a young squire of Vermandois and a damsel of the queen, both of the royal household. The court were much pleased at it, and the king resolved to keep their wedding-feast at his expense. It was held at the hotel of Saint Pol, and great crowds of lords attended; among whom were the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, and their duchesses. The wedding-day* was passed in dancing and joy. The king entertained at supper the queen in great state; and every one exerted himself to add to the gayety, seeing how much delighted the king appeared.

in the sixth.* When they were all thus dressed, by having the coats sewed round them, they appeared like savages, for they were covered with hair from head to foot. This masquerade pleased the king greatly, and he expressed his pleasure to the squire. It was so secretly contrived that no one knew anything of the matter but the servants who had attended on them. Sir Evan de Foix, who seemed to have more foresight of what was to happen, said to the king, "Sire, command strictly that no one come near us with torches; for, if a spark fall on the coats we are dressed in, the flax will instantly take fire, and we inevitably be burnt: take care, therefore, of what I say." "Evan," replied the king, "you speak well and wisely, and your advice shall be attended to." "He then forbade his servants to follow, and, sending for one of the serjeants-at-arms that waited at the doors of the appartments, said to him, "Go to the room where the ladies are, and command, in the king's name, that all the torches be placed on one side of it, and that no person come near six savage men who are about to enter."

The serjeant did as he had been ordered by the king, and the torch-bearers withdrew on one side and no one approached the dancers, so long as the savages staid in the room. The apartment was now clear of all but ladies, damsels, and knights and squires, who were dancing with them. Soon after, the duke of Orleans entered, attended by four knights, and six torches, ignorant of the orders that had been given, and of the entrance of the savages. He first looked at the dancing, and then took part himself, just as the king of France made his appearance, with five others dressed like savages, and covered with flax, to represent hair from head to foot. Not one person in the company knew them; and they were all fastened together, while the king led them dancing. On their entrance, every one was so occupied in examining them, that the orders about the torches were forgotten. The king, who was the leader, fortunately for him, quitted them to show himself to the ladies, as was natural to his youth; and passing by the queen, placed himself near the duchess of Berry, who, though his aunt, was the youngest of the company. The duchess amused herself in talking with him, and endeavoring to find out who he was; but the king, rising up from his seat, would not discover himself. The duchess said, "You shall not escape thus, for I will know your name."

At this moment, a most unfortunate accident befel the others,

* The 28th of January 1392 old style, 1393 new style.—Ed.

* In the history of France, by Villaret, these masquers were—the king—Hugues de Guisan—le comte de Joigni—Aymard de Poitiers, son of the count de Valentinois—le bâtard de Foix—Jean de Nantouillet.

through the youthful gayety of the duke Orleans, who, if he had foreseen the mischief he was about to cause, it is to be presumed would not, for any consideration, have so acted. He was very inquisitive in examining them, to find out who they were; and, as the five were dancing, he took one of the torches from his servants, and, holding it too near their dresses, set them on fire. Flax, you know, is instantly in a blaze; and the pitch, with which the cloth had been covered to fasten the flax, added to the impossibility of extinguishing it. They were likewise chained together, and there cries were dreadful; for the fire was so strong, scarcely any dared approach. Some knights indeed did their utmost to disengage them, but the pitch burnt their hands very severely; and they suffered a long time afterwards from it.

One of the five, Nantouillet, recollected that the buttery was near, broke the chain, and flying thither, flung himself into a tub of water which was there for washing dishes and plates. This saved him, or he would have been burnt to death like the others: but he was withal some time very ill. When the queen heard the cause of the cries, she was alarmed lest the king should be hurt, for he had told her he would be one of the six, and in her fright fainted and fell down: her ladies and knights hastened to her assistance; and the confusion was so great, no one knew what to do. The duchess of Berry saved the king by throwing the train of her robe over him, and detaining him, for he wanted to quit her. "Where are you going?" said she: "do you not see your companions are in a blaze? who are you? for it is not now a time to keep it a secret." He then named himself, saying, "I am the king." "Ah, my lord," replied the duchess, "put on quickly another dress, and show yourself to the queen, for she is very much distressed about you."

The king on this left the room, and, having thrown aside his mummery, dressed himself as fast as he could, and returned to the queen, who had been much comforted by the duchess of Berry. When the king had quitted her, she went to the queen and said, "Madam, do not be alarmed for the king: you will shortly see him, for I have been talking with him." As she said this, the king appeared, and the queen trembled for joy: she was carried by her knights to her chamber, where the king attended and comforted her. The bastard of Foix, when on fire, cried aloud, "Save the king! save the king!" who indeed was saved in the manner I have related. It was the providence of God that inspired him to leave his companions and converse with the ladies, for, had he remained with them, he must inevitably have been burnt to death.

This terrible accident happened about twelve o'clock at night, in the ball-room, at the hotel de Saint Pol, and it was a most melancholy spectacle. Of the four that were on fire, two died on the spot: the other two, the bastard of Foix and the count de Joigny, were carried to their hotels, and died two days afterwards in great agonies. Thus unfortunately did the wedding-feast end, although the married couple could no way be blamed. The duke of Orleans was alone in fault, who certainly intended not any harm when he held the torch so near them. His giddiness caused it; and, when he witnessed how unlucky he had been, said aloud: "Listen to me all that can hear me. Let no one be blamed for this unfortunate accident but myself: what has been done was through my fault: but wo is me that it has happened! and, had I foreseen the consequences, nothing on earth should have induced me to do it." The duke then followed the king, and made his excuses, which were accepted. This melancholy event happened on the Tuesday before Candlemas-eve, in the year of grace 1392: it made a great noise in France and in other countries.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were not present when the maskers were set on fire, but were at their own hôtels, having taken leave of the king, queen, and ladies. When, on the morrow, it became public in Paris, the people wondered greatly, and said that God had a second time shown his kind providence to the king, and that he ought now to put aside these childish things, and occupy himself more seriously; for that he had too long played the boy, which was unbecoming a king of France. The commonalty murmured among themselves, and said, "What a narrow escape the king has had! if he had been burnt like the others, which might easily have happened, what would have become of his uncles? They may be assured not one of them would have escaped death, nor any knight found in Paris." The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, hearing of this language, were astonished and alarmed, and not without cause. They mounted their horses, and rode to the hôtel de Saint Pol to the king, and congratulated him on his escape. They found him still frightened, for he had not yet recovered the sense of the peril he had been in the preceding night. He told them his fair aunt of Berry had saved him from being burnt, but that he was exceedingly grieved for the melancholy end of the count de Joigny, sir Evan de Foix, and sir Charles de Poitiers. His uncles consoled him, saying, "My lord, what is done cannot be recovered: you must forget their deaths, and render thanks to God for the miraculous escape you yourself have had; for this event might have been nearly the death of the kingdom as well as your own. You may easily imagine what would have been the consequences, when the commons of Paris hold such language as has been reported to us; and God knows, that if you had perished, they would have murdered us all. Make yourself ready to go in royal state, suitable to your rank, and ride in pilgrimage to the church of Notre-Dame and show yourself to your people; we will accompany you, for the citizens of Paris are very desirous to see you." The king replied, he would do as they advised; and then entered into conversation with his brother the duke of Orleans, whom he much loved. His uncles received the duke kindly, blaming him a little for the youthful trick he had played. It seemed he was not displeased at their lecture, and declared he never intended or suspected he was doing wrong.

On the point of nine o'clock, the king and his attendants mounted their horses, and rode through Paris from the hôtel de Saint Pol, to the church of Nôtre-Dame, to appease the people, who were in great commotion, where he heard mass, and made his offerings. He then returned to the hôtel de Saint Pol with his lords, who dined there. This accident was by degrees forgotten, and obsequies, prayers, and alms were made for the dead. Ah, count Gaston de Foix! hadst thou been alive and heard of the cruel death of this thy favorite son, thou wouldst have been sadly grieved, for thou didst love him much, and I know not how thou wouldst have been consoled. All the lords and ladies in France, when they heard of this accident, were shocked and grieved.

But you must know, that pope Boniface and his cardinals at Rome were well pleased when they learnt the news, because the king was contrary to their interests. They said among themselves, in a consistory, that it was a second punishment sent by God, to make him take warning, for having supported the anti-pope of Avignon, Robert de Geneve, who was false, proud, and presumptuous, and had never done one good act in his whole life, but had deceived the world. The pope and cardinals resolved so send in secret manner and without pomp, a learned friar to the king of France, well instructed how to speak and preach, to attempt to bring him and the French nation back to the way of salvation. They maintained, that he was now gone astray, and that being the greatest king in Christendom, the church ought to be enlightened and supported by him more than by any other. They selected a devout and sensible man, whom they ordered to go into France; but, before his departure, they instructed him what to say and how to act. This was not so quickly done, nor did the envoy soon arrive; for the distance was great, and he had many different states to pass through. It was besides necessary that the friar, who was a Franciscan monk, should know if the king of France were willing to see him before he set out.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE DUCHESS OF BERRY SUPPORTS THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE IN OPPOSITION TO THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY.

We will return to the affairs of France, and say how they were going on. Notwithstanding the king's recovery, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy did not desist from their attempts to ruin that valiant and prudent knight, the lord de la Riviere. He and sir John le Mercier were still confined in the Bastille of Saint Anthony, under the care of the viscount d'Achy; and it was current through Paris, that they would be put to death, insomuch that it was daily expected they would be delivered over to the provost of the Châtelet; and when once this was done, nothing could prevent them from being publicly beheaded as traitors to the crown of France. From the information I then had, I am convinced their execution would have taken place, had not the grace of God been shown them, and the duchess of Berry exerted herself so much. This good lady was incessant in her entreaties for la Riviere—who had carried her to France and concluded her marriage—but not without great difficulty, with the duke of Berry. Sir John le Mercier was therefore fortunate in his situation to share the benefits of her exertions. She frequently, with tears, addressed her lord, saying, "that he was instigated by the malicious and envious insinuations of the enemies of la Riviere to keep him so long in prison, and confiscate his inheritance. Ah, my lord, you make him a very ungrateful return for all the pains he took in bringing about our marriage, when you thus consent to his destruction. At least, if you take his property, spare his life; for, if he be executed for the charges that are so unjustly made against him, I shall never again enjoy happiness. My lord, I do not say this from any feigned motive, but I really feel that it will weigh most heavily on my mind. I therefore pray God you will take proper measures for his deliverance." The duke perceiving she was in earnest, and that her arguments were good, abated greatly his hatred to the lord de la Riviere, who would sooner have obtained his liberty; but they were desirous of putting to death sir John le Mercier, and they could not punish one without the other. This sir John le Mercier had wept so long in prison, that he had almost lost his eye-sight.

Had the duchess of Burgundy been listened to, they would have suffered a disgraceful and public death, without hopes of mercy; for she hated them because they had, with sir Oliver de Clisson, advised the king of France to make the expedition into Brittany, to destroy her cousin the duke. She said, that Clisson, le Mercier, and la Riviere were the cause of the king's illness, which would never have happened, had they not persuaded him to undertake the war against Brittany. You must know, that although the king was now in a tolerably good state of mental and bodily health, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy did not resign the government of the kingdom; and, as they had all the weight, they determined to have the profit also. To

this end, they placed only their creatures about the king's person, who was but a king in name, for the two dukes took on themselves to manage whatever concerned the realm. The duchess of Orleans was not pleased that the duchess of Burgundy should have rank second to the queen. She loved honors, and said to those in her confidence, "The duchess of Burgundy has no right to take precedence of me: I am nearer the crown of France than she is, for my lord is brother to the king. It may so happen that he shall be king; and, as I then must be queen, I know no reason why she is thus eager of honors that are not belonging to her, and to place me behind her."

We will for a while leave these ladies, and speak of some changes in France, and of sir Oliver de Clisson, and of the manner in which he was treated.

MARRIAGE OF PHILIP D'ARTOIS AND LADY MARY DE BERRY. Designed from Monuments of the family at the Château d'Eu.

CHAPTER LV.

THE LORD DE COUCY REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE SWORD OF CONSTABLE IN THE ROOM OF CLISSON. THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY INVEST THE LORD PHILIP D'ARTOIS, COUNT D'EU, WITH IT, IN CONSIDERATION OF HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY MARY OF BERRY, WIDOW OF THE LORD LOUIS DE BLOIS.

You have before heard that the constable was summoned publicly by the parliament of Paris, after an adjournment of fifteen days between each summons, and how commissioners were sent in pursuit of him to Brittany, but in vain, for he concealed himself from them. Had they been able to have spoken to him, they would have served him personally with the orders of the court, and laid hands on him, according to the instructions they had received. When, on their return, they had given an account of their mission to the parliament, it was determined by the court and lords of parliament, that sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, had forfeited the protection of the court, and should be banished France, and deprived of all offices and possessions he held within that kingdom; for that he had contumaciously refused obedience to the summons of the great chamber, though sealed with their seal, and also had refused to send back his sword of office. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with their councils, who all hated the constable and wished his ruin, said they would provide a remedy; for the office of constable was so noble, and of such weight, it could not long remain vacant, for fear of accidents that might happen,

The lord de Coucy was thought the most proper person to fill it; but he excused himself, and refused positively to accept of it though he should be forced to leave France. When they saw he was determined, they looked elsewhere. At this time, a treaty of marriage was in agitation between the lord Phillip d'Artois and the young countess de Dunois, the widow of the lord Louis de Blois, and the king of France was well inclined that this marriage with his cousin should take place, but the duke of Berry refused his consent; for the county of Eu is but of small value, in comparison of what she was entitled to from her first union, and he looked to marry her more nobly. To say the truth, the countess was, for beauty and goodness, and everything belonging to a noble lady, worthy of the highest rank. The duke of Berry, however, was unwilling to anger the king of France, who knew well that he was solicited by many persons for the hand of his daughter: among whom were the young duke of Lorraine the count d'Armagnac, and the eldest son of the count de Foix and de Béarn The king was averse to all these proposals, and said to the duke of Berry, "Fair uncle of Berry, we are not willing that our cousin your daughter should be settled at a distance from the fleurs-de-lis. We will provide a marriage for her, that shall be suitable in all respects. We see her with pleasure near us; and it becometh her not to leave her mother-in-law, as they are nearly of the same age." These words and others cooled the duke's intentions of marrying his daughter otherwise than as it pleased the king, who leant to his cousin the lord Philip d'Artois. He was a young and gallant knight, and had acquired great renown in arms, in the different expeditions he had made, as well near home as beyond sea; and was also much in favor of the knights and squires of France.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy agreed, that if the king would give to their cousin of Artois the office of constable of France, which was now vacant, from the sentence against sir Oliver de Clisson, the marriage with the lady Mary should take place; for, in case he were constable, he would be wealthy enough to keep a becoming state. They resolved to speak to the king on this subject, which they did as follows: "My lord, your council recommends that our cousin, the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, be invested with the office of constable of France; for Clisson, by the sentence of your judges in parliament, has forfeited it, and the office cannot longer be vacant without great prejudice to the realm. You are bounden, as well as ourselves, to assist our cousin of Artois, for he is very nearly related to us by blood; and, since such an office is vacant, we cannot better fill it than by sir Philip d'Artois, for he will ably and loyally execute it, and is much beloved by every knight and squire, being without envy or avarice." This speech was very agreeable to the king, who gayly replied, that he would think of it; and, if the office was to be disposed of, he would rather the count d'Eu had it than any other. Things remained some time in this state; but the king was continually solicited by his uncles, who were desirous of advancing sir Philip d'Artois, and degrading sir Oliver de Clisson; for the duke of Berry hated him for the death of Bethisac, and the duke of Burgundy for his opposition to the duke of Brittany; but the duchess of Burgundy was yet more inveterate against him than her lord. The king at length gave his assent, on condition the duke of Berry gave him his daughter.

But, before matters had proceeded thus far, in order to avoid disgusting the king, and to satisfy the duke of Orleans, who strongly supported the lord de Clisson, sir William des Bordes, sir William Martel, both knights of the king's chamber, and sir Philip de Savoisis, knight to the duke of Berry, were again sent to Brittany, to speak with sir Oliver de Clisson in the king's name. These knights, having made their preparations, took their road through Angers, where they met the queen of Jerusalem and John of Brittany, who handsomely entertained them, in honor of the king. They remained at Angers two days, and inquired where they could find the lord de Clisson, for they had a very courteous message to deliver to him from the king alone, who had ordered them to speak with him. They replied, that they had not any positive intelligence where he was; but they supposed he must be in one of his castles in Brittany: that he did not constantly remain in any one, but moved from one to another. At their departure the knights took leave of the queen, her son Charles, prince of Tarentum, and John of Brittany, count de Penthievre, and continued their journey to Rennes. The duke of Brittany had shut himself up with his duchess in Vannes, without making any excursions abroad for fear of ambuscades, and meeting his adversary Clisson, as they were carrying on a murderous war against each other. When their parties met, mercy was shown by neither, and the field was gained by the death of their opponents: if, therefore, he felt alarmed, he had cause for it; for, although the duke was sovereign of the country, there was not a knight or squire that would bear arms against the lord de Clisson. They dissembled with the duke, saying, the quarrel did not in any way concern them, and staid at home without interfering. This the duke was forced to put up with.

When the knights arrived at Rennes, they asked where they could for certain find sir Oliver de Clisson, but no one could positively answer them. They resolved to ride to Château-Josselin, and were well received by the vassals of sir Oliver, out of respect to the king of France. They inquired after their lord, and where they could see him, for they were sent by the king and the duke of Orleans to speak with him. They either would not, or could not, give them any satisfactory account; but said, in excuse for themselves and sir Oliver: "Certainly, my lords, not one of us knows where to find him: to-day he is at one place, to-morrow at another. You may safely ride all

over Brittany, since you come from the king; and all the castles and houses of our lord will be thrown open to you."

Perceiving they could not obtain any further information they left Chateau-Josselin, and rode to all the castles, both great and small, of the lord de Clisson, but without learning anything more. They then waited on the duke and duchess at Vannes, who gave them a hearty welcome; but they only staid half a day with them, without discovering the object of their secret mission, nor was the duke very inquisitive about their coming. They did not see sir Peter de Craon. On taking leave of the duke and duchess, they set out on their return to Paris to the king and lords, who were expecting them. They gave an account to the king and the duke of Orleans, of having visited all the towns and castles of the lord de Clisson without seeing or gaining any certain intelligence of him. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were pleased at hearing this, and would not have wished it otherwise.

Shortly afterwards the marriage was consummated between the lord Philip d'Artois and the lady Mary of Berry. He was appointed constable of France, to enjoy all the privileges and emoluments of that office, although sir Oliver de Clisson had not resigned it, nor sent back his sword of office. He persisted that he was still constable, for that he had never done anything against the king or crown of France that could deprive him of it. Things, therefore, remained in this state.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON, DURING HIS ABSENCE FROM FRANCE, WAGES WAR ON THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

Sir Oliver de Clisson was soon informed that the count d'Eu was nominated constable of France, and was to do the duty and receive the profits from the date of his appointment, with the consent of the king of France, and that he had married the daughter of the duke of Berry, widow of lord Louis of Blois. To all this he was perfectly indifferent, for he felt that his loyalty and honor were as firm as ever, and that he had never done anything to forfeit either against the king or crown of France; but that all these proceedings originated in the hatred and malice of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, which were so great that they could not conceal them. This determined the lord de Clisson to continue his war with prudence and vigor against the duke of Brittany. It was severe and bloody, for neither party, when they met, made a sham of fighting, but killed each other without mercy. The lord de Clisson rode frequently from one of his castles to another, and laid more ambuscades than the duke, finding himself superior in numbers to oppose him. None of the Breton chivalry would interfere by bearing arms on either side; but, when the duke sent for them, they came to know what he wanted. He demanded from them aid and advice to correct his vassal, sir Oliver de Clisson, who had greatly misbehaved himself toward him. The barons of Brittany, such as the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Dinant, sir Herman de Lyon, and many more, excused themselves, saying, they were uninterested in this quarrel, and would not therefore bear arms against the lord de Clisson; but that they would heartily labor to mediate between the duke and him, if they knew how, or saw any probability of establishing peace between them.

The duke, seeing he could no way prevail on them to join him, and that in this warfare he was losing more men than the lord de Clisson, consented to send the above-named barons to treat with him, and bring him, under safe passports, to Vannes, that they might confer together. They were to add, that he would find him courteous, and well-inclined to listen to any reasonable terms; and, if he had treated him with contempt, he would make such reparations as those he addressed should think proper. The knights willingly undertook the mission, for the sake of doing good, and set out in search of sir Oliver de Clisson, whom I believe they found at Château-Josselin. They told the message they were charged with from the duke, and urged him strongly to accept of peace; for war between them was very unbecoming, displeasing to the nobles, and highly oppressive to the lower orders in Brittany. "Sir Oliver," said they, "we are thus pressing, in the hope that you will be pleased to wait on our lord; and, for your safety and secure return, we pledge ourselves to remain in your castle of Josselin, without ever stirring beyond the gates. We imagine, that when our lord and you shall confer together, you will very speedily settle your differences, for we left him with the best intentions toward you."

To this speech, sir Oliver replied: "My good sirs, what advantage can my death be to you? Do you think I know not the duke of Brittany? Most certainly I do; and he is too haughty and revengeful, whatever he may have assured you relative to my security and safe return, not to resolve, the moment I shall be in his presence to have me put to death, in spite of his promises to you; and, if I be killed, your fate will be the same, for my people will of course retaliate on you. It is, therefore, much better we run not such risks. I will guard myself well against him; and let him, if he please, do the same." "Fair cousin," replied sir Charles de Dinant, "you may say what you please; we have not seen him show any wish to have you killed, if he could converse with you in the manner we have proposed, but, on the contrary, the strongest desire to accommodate all matters of dispute. We therefore, for him and for ourselves, beg you will consent to it." Sir Oliver answered: "I believe firmly, that you wish me every good; but, on the security he offers through you, I will not advance one step. However, since you are all so earnest in the business, for which it behooves me to thank you, I will mention on what terms I will come to him; and you shall, if they be agreeable to you, carry them back as my final answer. On your return, you will tell the duke, that I will not accept other pledge for my safety than his only son, who is betrothed to a princess of France. Let him send him hither to remain under the guard of my men, in Château-Josselin, until I be returned, and I will then set out to wait on him. This mode is more agreeable to me than any other, and also more reasonable; for were you to remain here as hostages, as you offer, who would there be to negotiate the treaty? or who would be the mediators between us? and how, without your interference, shall we ever come to an agreement?" When the three barons saw he was determined, they took leave of the lord de Clisson, and returned to Vannes, to relate to the duke what sir Oliver had said. In regard to sending his son to Château-Josselin, the duke absolutely refused; and the war continued on the same footing as before, so that no merchants or others dared to travel through the country. All commerce was at a stand in Brittany, which was severely felt in the cities and large towns: even the laborers in husbandry were also in a state of idleness.

The duchess of Burgundy assisted her cousin as much as she could with men-at-arms from Burgundy and elsewhere, for the duke could not prevail on his subjects to take part in the war, and the knights and squires, excepting those of his household, dissembled their opinions. On the other hand, the duke of Orleans, who was attached to the constable, supported him underhand, and sent him men-at-arms, and good coursers to re-mount his men. Sir Oliver made more frequent excursions than the duke, and it happened that he met with two of the duke's squires who were going on his business: one of them was called Bernard, and the other Yvonnet: they could neither fly nor avoid falling into sir Oliver's hands, who was rejoiced at it, for he was well acquainted with them. One had in former times done him a service, the other the contrary, which he then recollected. They were much frightened at being thus caught, and sir Oliver addressed them: "Dost thou remember, Yvonnet, how cruelly thou behavedst to me in the castle of Ermine, near Vannes, when thou didst shut me up in a dungeon? Thou, Bernard, then hadst pity on me, and pulling off thy coat, because I was only in my doublet and lying on the pavement, gavest it to me, to cover me from the cold. I will now return that friendship, by sparing thy life; but as for this wicked traitor, Yvonnet, who might have avoided, if he pleased, the cruelty of his conduct, he shall suffer. At these words, he drew his dagger, and slew him on the spot. He then continued his course, without touching the servants.

Another time, sir Oliver de Clisson, with about three hundred lances, was riding before the castle of Auray, in which were the duke and duchess. He met about forty of the duke's varlets, who had tied their horses to trees, for it was near midsummer, and having cut some hay, were trussing it up to carry, like foragers, to their lodgings. Sir Oliver galloped among them, without other harm than the fright he put them to, and said: "How dare you take the field, and carry away the harvest of the farmers? You have not sown this, and are cutting it before it is ripe: you have begun your harvest too soon. Come, take up your scythes, and mount your horses: for this time I will do you no harm; but go and tell the duke of Brittany, who I know is in Auray, to come hither, or send his men to receive me; and that Clisson informs him he will remain here until sunset." The varlets were happy in their escape, for they thought they should all be killed; therefore they picked up their scythes, mounted their horses, and returned to the duke in Auray. I doubt not they punctually delivered the message, but the duke neither sallied out himself, nor sent any of his men to meet sir Oliver de Clisson. Such skirmishes passed often between them, but the principal inhabitants never interfered.

We will now leave the affairs of Brittany, and return to those of France and England.

CHAPTER LVII.

A TREATY OF PEACE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THEIR UNCLES.

You have before heard of the conferences that were held at Amiens on a peace between France and England, and on what terms the duke of Lancaster had gone back. The English were unwilling to consent to a peace, notwithstanding the king, the dukes of Lancaster and York, and all the commissioners who had been at Amiens, strongly urged it; for the majority of the commons were desirous of war; and two-thirds of the young knights and squires knew not how to employ themselves: they had learnt idleness, and looked to war as the means of support. However, they were forced to submit to the opinions of the king, his uncles, and the more intelligent part of the nation. The duke of Lancaster, considering the matter, as well in regard to the welfare of his two daughters, the queens of Castille and Portugal, as in respect to his nephew, the king of England, who was greatly inclined to peace, took much pains to bring it about, be-

cause he thought it would likewise be for the honor and advantage of England.

On the part of France, the duke of Burgundy greatly exerted himself, for he found the whole weight of the government rested on him; since his nephews, the king and the duke of Orleans, were weak in body and mind. He was of great power by his marriage with the heiress of Flanders, and daily expecting to inherit Brabant also. If, therefore, in times to come, these countries should quarrel with France, and unite themselves, as they had formerly done, with England, they would be an overmatch for her. The duke of Burgundy was a long-sighted politician, as I was told by those who ought to know; and he and the duke of Lancaster effected that these conferences should be renewed at Leulinghen, where they had before been held, and that the commissioners should have full powers to conclude a peace. The conferences were to be holden in the ensuing month of May, at Leulinghen, in the year of grace 1393. It had been thus agreed to by both parties, and commissioners were appointed by each king.

On the part of the king of England, were his two uncles the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester: this last was very popular with the commons of England, and all others who preferred war to peace. From among the prelates were selected the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, and other clerks learned in the laws, to expound the Latin letters.

These lords* repaired to Calais soon after St. George's day, which is always celebrated at Windsor with great feastings by the knights of the blue garter. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy made preparations for coming to Boulogne, that they might be near at hand to the place of conference. The king of France showed great impatience for peace, as the wars had lasted too long; and he said to his uncles, that he would fix his residence near to Leulinghen, to prove how eager he was in the matter, and to be ready at hand if necessary. It was proposed that he should be at Saint Omer, on the frontiers of Calais, or at Therouenne, Montreuil, or Abbeville; but the last place was determined on for his residence, as it was large and convenient, and the court could easily be lodged on the banks of the beautiful river Somme.

When this was fixed, great preparations were made for the reception of the king in Abbeville; and the abbey of Saint Peter, as being a large and handsome edifice of the Benedictine monks, was chosen for his lodgings. Thither came the king of France, accompanied by his brother, the duke of Orleans, and sir Reginald de Corbie† chancellor of France. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with the other commissioners, were at Boulogne, and the duke of Lancaster and his company at Calais. It was a handsome show to see the state and array of the French and English commissioners, when they opened the conferences at Leulinghen, between Boulogne and Calais. There were tents and pavilions erected for them to take refreshments, or sleep in on occasion; and two or three days in the week the commissioners met, and were frequently nine hours discussing the preliminaries for a peace, in a large and handsome pavilion that had been pitched for their assembling in.

It was told me (for I, John Froissart, the writer of this history, was at Abbeville, that I might learn the truth of what was passing,) by those who were well informed, that after the procurations from the two kings had been verified as to the commissioners' powers of concluding a peace, the French proposed that Calais should be so demolished, as that it could never again be made habitable. The dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester instantly answered, that they needed not have made this proposition, for that Calais should be the very last town the crown of England would part with; and that, if they intended this as a basis for treating, there was an end to the business, for they would not hear further on the subject. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, perceiving their cousins of England so determined, dropped the matter, for they found it would be in vain to press it, and discoursed on other topics. The English, for a long time, demanded restitution of everything that had been yielded to the late king Edward, and, in addition to these territories, the balance of the ransom that had been due when the war was renewed between France and England. This was resisted strenuously by the French dukes, who argued themselves, and by their learned clerks, on the unreasonableness of the demand. The two dukes and the chancellor of France replied with temper: "that with regard to the first demand, that the whole of the territory that had been yielded to king Edward should be restored, it was impossible; for the inhabitants of the towns, castles, and lands, which had been assigned to England by the treaty of Bretigny, and afterwards confirmed at Calais, in the year 1360, were too adverse to such restoration; and the king of France, to whom they had voluntarily surrendered themselves, had, in consequence, accepted their homage, granted them protection, and such other privileges, on his royal word, as could not be broken; and that, if they wished for peace, they must offer other preliminaries."

It was then resolved, between the four dukes, on whom it solely depended whether there should be peace or war, that each party should reduce to writing their different grounds of treating, and mutually deliver them to each other, to consider of them at their leisure, with their clerks, learned in the laws, who had accompanied them, and determine on what parts they could agree to, and what would not be accepted. This was assented to by all; for the dukes were before much fatigued in hearing the various papers read and discussed; more especially the English commissioners; for, as it was carried on in French, they were not so well used to the finesse and double meanings of that language as the natives, who turned and twisted it to their own advantage at pleasure. The English opposed this, for they wished everything to be made clear and intelligible to every one. The French accused the English of having, at various times, infringed the articles of the peace; and offered to prove it by written documents, and the word of their king, as well as by the judgment of the pope. This made the English more diligent to have everything made out plain; and, whenever they found anything obscure in the proposals that had been given them from the French commissioners, which they examined carefully and at leisure, they made their clerks demand from the dukes of Berry and Burgundy how they understood such expressions; for the English dukes would not pass over an article that had the least tendency to a double meaning; and whatever they did not clearly understand, they had erased in their presence, declaring they would not allow of anything that could bear a misconstruction, for that the French, who had been from their youth trained to such things, were more subtle than the English.

So many difficulties greatly lengthened the conferences; and the English held themselves obliged to demand restitution of all the lands dependent on Aquitaine, and their profits since the commencement of the war, as they had been charged to do by the parliament of England. This the French would not agree to: they were willing, indeed, to yield the countries of Tarbes, Bigorre, Agen, and the Agenois, with Perigord, but declared they would never restore Cahors, Rouergue, Quercy, and Limousin, nor give up any part of Ponthieu or Guines more than the English possessed at the present moment. On these grounds things remained: they stood out for upward of fifteen days, and only came to the conclusion that it should be laid before the two kings: to forward the business, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy offered to set out for Abbeville, to inform the king of France of all that had passed; and, if he would acquiesce in the English proposals, they would not oppose them. They entreated, on the other hand, their cousins to write to king Richard, and amicably let him know what they had done; for he had, for two years past, shown the most anxious desire for peace between England, France, and all their allies. The two dukes promised compliance; but you must know, as I was well informed, the duke of Gloucester was more difficult to persuade than his brother, and he had been purposely chosen his colleague, by those who preferred war to peace, because they knew he would not assent to anything that was in the least dishonorable to his country. The four dukes then separated in a most friendly manner, having been nine days in conference. The English commissioners returned to Calais, and the French to Boulogne, whence they set out for Abbeville. They found there the king of France, who was amusing himself, he having taken a liking to the place. There is scarcely any city in France more pleasantly situated; and within it is a handsome inclosed garden, partly surrounded by the river Somme, in which the king spent much of his time, and often supped there, telling his brother and council that the air of Abbeville had done his health great good.

At this time, Leon king of Armenia was with the king of France: he was just come from Greece and the frontiers of his own kingdom, into which he dared not venture; for the Turks had conquered, and kept possession of it as well as other places, in defiance of the world, excepting the strong town of Conich,* situated on the sea-shore, which the Genoese had strongly garrisoned and guarded against the Turks; for, if they had possession of this place, they would grievously harass by sea the Cypriotes, and other Christians of Rhodes and Candia. The king of Armenia would gladly have seen a peace concluded between France and England, that such knights and squires as wished for deeds of arms might travel to Greece, and assist him in the recovery of his kingdom.

The king received kindly his two uncles at Abbeville, and made them good cheer. He asked how the treaty was going on, and how they were themselves. They having related to him the true state of affairs, and how all had passed, he was well contented, and testified his joy and wishes for peace. In like manner, the two English dukes, on their arrival at Calais, had written to the king of England the demands and answers made to them, which, being sealed, were forwarded to him. In reply to which, the king had desired they would proceed in the treaty, for the war had lasted long enough, to the ruin of the country, and the slaughter of chivalry, and the great weakening of Christendom. "This might," he added, "have serious consequences; for Bajazet with his Turks were advancing toward the kingdom of Hungary, and were now in Wallachia, as letters to France and England had brought information."

The time was now come for the return of the four dukes and commissioners to the renewal of the conferences at Leulinghen. With the French lords came the king of Armenia, to remonstrate

* In the Fœdera the commissioners are, the duke of Lancaster, the duke of Gloucester, Walter bishop of Durham, Thomas earl Marshal governor of Calais, sir Thomas Percy, sir Lewis Clifford, Richard Rouhall, doctor of laws.

† I imagine this must be a mistake, though the MSS. are the same; for Pierre de Giac was chancellor after sir Miles des Dormans, and died 1407. Arnaud de Corbie succeeded him, and died 1413.—Henault. [Pierre de Giac died the 17th of Aug., 1387, and Arnaud de Corbie succeeded him in that year, and not in 1407.—Ed.]

* "Conich." The MSS. have Gourch.

with the English on his distressing situation: he was well known to the duke of Gloucester, when he had visited England during the threatened invasion from France, who had shown him many civilities, and carried him to a beautiful castle he had in Essex called Pleshy. The dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester received him well, particularly the last, on account of former acquaintance. They patiently listened to all his grievances, and replied so graciously that he was well contented with them. At these conferences many different proposals were made, and the cardinal de Luna,* in hopes of being heard by the commissioners, had made a long stay at Abbeville, whither he had been sent as legate by pope Clement for the affairs of the church. He was lodged at the convent of the Cordeliers, on the river Somme. The French wanted to insert in their preliminaries some articles relative to the church and to the support of this Robert de Geneve, who styled himself pope: but when the English dukes observed this, they stepped forward with courage, saying to their cousins of France: "Take away this legate: we want not to hear his speeches: it has not been without fully weighing their merits that we have determined which of the popes to obey. We desire, therefore, not to hear anything on this subject: and, should he again come forward under your protection, we will break up the conference and return home." From this time, nothing more was said of the cardinal, who remained quiet in Abbeville. The lords now pushed forward the treaty with such success that it was brought to a happy conclusion, and to the satisfaction of all parties.

The four dukes saw their respective kings were anxious for peace, more especially the king of France, who, when the duke of Lancaster had taken leave of him at Amiens during the former conferences, had said: "Fair cousin, I beg you to exert yourself that there may be a solid peace between my brother of England and me, that we may assist our cousin the king of Hungary against Bajazet, who is so powerful in Turkey." The duke of Lancaster had promised the king to do his utmost; and indeed, it was through his remonstrances with his nephew, king Richard, his brothers, and the parliament, that the conferences were renewed at Leulinghen, to establish a peace, if possible, to the honor of England. The duke of Gloucester was much colder in the matter, and carefully noticed all the contentious speeches of the French, saying, the French always wished to fight with both hands. He made so strong an opposition, that the adverse party perceiving it, sent a squire of honor, and of the bedchamber and the council of the king of France, to the duke: his name was Robert l'Hermite; and this is what he said, for the duke related to me the words at his castle of Pleshy. "My lord, for the love of God do not oppose a peace. You see how diligent our lords of France are in promoting it, and it will be charity in you to join them, for the war has lasted too long; and, when kings wish for peace, their relations and subjects ought to obey." "Robert, Robert," replied the duke of Gloucester, "I wish not to prevent a peace; but you Frenchmen use such specious words, beyond our understanding, that, when you will, you may urge them as signifying war or peace as you shall choose. In this manner has the business hitherto been conducted, dissembling always until you have gained your end. If my lord the king had believed me, and the majority of those who are bound to serve him, there never would have been peace with France, until you had restored to us all you have taken through treacherous causes, as is known to God, and to all who will search into the business. But, since my lord inclines to peace, you are in the right to press it forward: it is just that we should also approve of it, and since peace is so much wished for are we here assembled: let it, however, be well kept on your side, as it shall be on ours." On saying this, the duke of Gloucester went away. Robert l'Hermite, at the same time, took his leave, and returned to his countrymen. I will not protract the subject longer, but come to the conclusion, as the matter requires it.

The four dukes, having full power from their respective monarchs, to conclude a truce or peace, continued their conferences with such success, that the report in Abbeville was current of a peace having been made between France, England, and their allies. But I, the author of this history, who at the time resided in Abbeville, to learn news, could never understand that a peace had been concluded: only the truce had been prolonged for four years, on sea and land, between all the parties. It was imagined that before the expiration of this term, all the territories and lordships in Languedoc, that were to revert to the kings of England and their heirs for ever, would be surrendered to king Richard, or to his commissioners. In return for the giving up so many towns, castles, and lordships, which had been agreed to by the commissioners for peace, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester engaged that their captains, of whatever nation they might be, who held possession of different forts in France, that were to revert to the king of France, should evacuate them, and cease from carrying on any war under the name and pretext of the king of England or the English. All the articles of the truce were fairly written out, signed and sealed by the different lords, and copies of them sent to the two kings, before they parted, at Leulinghen.

The king of England was very impatient to hear of peace being concluded, and his uncles, knowing this, determined to send him an express with the news: they called to them a herald, named Marche, who was king-at-arms in England, and wrote to the king by him the whole detail of what had been agreed on, and signed by both parties. The herald was rejoiced to receive these letters from the dukes, and, leaving the English tents, rode to Calais, where he hired a fishing-boat, and, by the grace of God, a favorable wind, and the exertions of the fishermen, was speedily landed at Dover. He then continued his journey until he came to London, where he found the king. On his arrival, he was introduced into the king's chamber, because he was come from Calais, where the king's uncles were negotiating a peace. He presented his letters; and the king, having perused them, was so well pleased with their contents, and the good news he had brought, that he gave him very rich gifts, and a handsome annuity, as the herald told me afterwards when riding through part of England.

* "The cardinal de Luna," an Arragonian, was anti pope after the death of Clement, under the name of Benedict XIII. See more of his turbulent life in Muratori, &c.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE TREATY OF PEACE IS NEARLY BROKEN OFF BY POPE BONIFACE, AND BY THE KING OF FRANCE RELAPSING INTO HIS FORMER ILLNESS.

Let us return to the commissioners from France and England at Leulinghen. When they pleased they lived in tents, which were prepared for them in great numbers and magnificence. The English were very attentive to the verification of the different papers, that nothing obscure or doubtful might remain. They examined every paper, and had every expression made clear before they signed them. From an event that happened, the negotiations which had taken up so much time were near being broken off. I will say what it was; for in matters of history everything should be detailed, that the truth may be more apparent. You have heard that the king of France had made a long stay at Abbeville: he took pleasure in the place, but his stay was prolonged on account of the treaty that was going forward at Leulinghen.

Just at the conclusion of the treaty, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester declared it was the intention of king Richard and the parliament, that pope Boniface, who was acknowledged for the true pope by the Romans, Germans, Hungarians, Lombards, Venetians, English, and by all Christendom except France, should be received as such, and the person who styled himself pope Clement be degraded and condemned. This proposal, the two dukes said, they had been specifically ordered to make by the three estates of England. When the dukes of Berry and Burgundy heard this, to please their cousins of England, and to prevent the treaty from being interrupted, they desired, in a friendly way, to have a little time to consider what they had proposed. It being granted, they consulted together; and the duke of Burgundy eloquently and prudently answered as follows, to soften the matter to the English dukes: "It does not seem to us any way proper that we should intermix with our negotiations the dispute between the two popes. My brother of Berry and myself are somewhat surprised how you could have proposed it, for at the beginning of the conferences you objected to the presence of the cardinal de Luna, who is now at Abbeville as legate from the pope, and refused to hear anything he had to say. We had before determined, that when the cardinals elected Urban for pope, and on his death Boniface, the elections were null, for no one either from your country or ours was summoned to them; and the election of him who calls himself Clement and resides at Avignon is, from the same cause, in the like predicament. We do not deny that it would be great charity in those who could attend to it, to appease and put an end to this schism in the church. But, in regard to ourselves, we must refer the matter to the university of Paris; and, when all our business here shall be concluded by a solid peace, we will, in conjunction with the council of our cousin the emperor of Germany, willingly attend to this matter, as you may do on your side."

This reply of the duke of Burgundy was agreeable to the English dukes, for it seemed reasonable, and they answered, "You have well spoken: let the matter now rest, and be as you say." The negotiations were going on as well as before; but there fell out, just at the conclusion, a great hindrance, by the king of France relapsing into the same frenzy by which he was afflicted in the preceding year. He had remained at Abbeville until near midsummer, at the abbey of Saint Peter, passing his time in a variety of amusements. The first that noticed his relapse was a Norman knight, called sir William Martel, who was employed the most about the king's person. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at the time at Leulinghen or Boulogne, bringing the conference to a close, or at least finishing all that could be done this year. The moment the duke of Orleans perceived the state of the king's health, he sent information to his uncles by a favorite squire of his own, called Boniface, an agreeable man. The two dukes, on hearing this unfortunate intelligence, set out as speedily as they could; for they had already taken leave of their cousins of England, who were returned to Calais to wait for information from the king of Navarre and the duke of Brittany.

It had been proposed at the conferences, that as the castle of Cherbourg in Normandy had been mortgaged to the king of England for sixty thousand nobles, who in consequence had possession, it should be restored to the king of Navarre, on the king of France repaying the sixty thousand nobles; and in like manner was the castle of Brest to be surrendered to the duke of Brittany. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy did not wait for the conclusion of these two articles, but

hastened to Abbeville, where, to their sorrow, they found the king in a very poor state of health. The king's disorder was kept secret as long as possible, but in such cases it is very soon publicly known. The court at Abbeville was shortly dispersed, and every one retired to his home. Councils were holden as to the proper place the king should be conveyed to, and in respect to his management. The castle of Creil was again fixed on for his residence, whither he was carried in a litter. The weather was now so hot, that they rested the day and only travelled the night season: the king was attended to Creil by his brother and the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgundy went to Artois, and thence visited Flanders, having met his duchess at the castle of Hédin.

The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, seemed entirely forgotten: no one spoke of them, nor interfered in their delivery from prison. This relapse of the king had, however, greatly exculpated them for the accusations of having been the cause of his first illness, in the eyes of the public. The wisest in France had now learnt, that from the weakness of his nerves he was naturally inclined to this disorder, which had been brought forward with greater force from the excesses he had indulged in. It was much regretted by those who wished his recovery, that master William de Harsely was no more, for his relatives knew not where to seek a prudent physician that was acquainted with his disorder. It was, however, a matter of necessity to make the best use of such as they had.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE DEATH OF POPE CLEMENT AT AVIGNON. THE ELECTION OF POPE BENEDICT. A LEARNED CLERK, IN THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF RHEIMS, SUPPORTS THE RIGHT OF THE SEE OF AVIGNON, BY HIS SPEECHES AND PREACHINGS.

In the month of September, of this year, Robert de Geneve, whom we have called pope in our history, died at his palace in Avignon.* It happened to him just as he had wished, that he might die pope. He died, indeed, with the honor and state I have mentioned; but whether he enjoyed these wrongfully or not, I shall not pretend to determine, for such matters do not belong to me. The cardinals at Avignon were much surprised at this event, and resolved to form a conclave in haste, and elect one from among themselves as his successor.

The health of the king of France was again beginning to return, to the great joy of all who loved him, and his good queen, who had been in great affliction. She was a valiant lady, whom God corrected and loved; she had made many processions, and given great alms in hopes of his recovery, in several parts of France, but especially in Paris.

The college of cardinals at Avignon, as I was then informed, elected pope the cardinal legate de Luna. To say the truth, he was a devout man, and of a contemplative life; but they had chosen him subject to the approbation of the king of France and his council, otherwise they would not have been able to maintain their election. Consider, how much the church must have been degraded by this schism, when those who were, or ought to have been free, thus subjected themselves to the will of others, whom they should have commanded. All the solemnities required at the coronation of a pope were paid to the cardinal de Luna, who took the name of Benedict.† He offered a general pardon to all the clergy who should come to Avignon; and, by the advice of his cardinals, wrote letters to the king of France, to announce his elevation to the papacy. I heard that the king paid little attention to his letter; for he was not yet determined whether to acknowledge him for pope or no; and, to have the best advice on the occasion, he summoned before him the most learned and prudent clerks of the university of Paris.

Master John Gigencourt and master Peter Playons,‡ who were esteemed the most learned and acute in the university, told the king, as did others, that the schism in the church corrupted the Christian faith; that the church ought not longer to be kept in this state, for that all Christendom suffered from it, but more particularly churchmen; and that it was unbecoming the university to send to pope Benedict at Avignon, lists of those priests who had need of briefs. The king, on hearing their opinions, thought them reasonable, and consented that there should be a cessation of such lists as were usually sent to the pope, until the disputes between the two popes were settled: things therefore remained in this state. The duke of Berry, however, strenuously supported the new pope; and all the clergy dependent on him acknowledged him for the true one; and many of his people were provided with pardons from this Benedict. The duke and duchess of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans, with many other great lords of France, dissembled their real opinions on the subject to the king. Some through favor acknowledged Benedict, who was prodigal of his pardons, in order that the court of Avignon might thrive the more.

The duke of Brittany readily enough followed the opinion of the king of France; for he had been in former times so scandalized by the information the earl of Flanders, his cousin, had given him of the rebellion in the church, that he would never allow of Clement being the true pope, although his clergy paid him obedience and acknowledged him. When any of the churches in France became vacant, the king disposed of them to clergymen, without ever speaking of it to pope Benedict, who, as well as his cardinals, was greatly surprised at such conduct, and began to fear the king would deprive them of the benefices they held in his realm. They resolved, therefore, to send a well-instructed legate to France, to remonstrate with the king and council on the state of the church, and to learn their intentions, and likewise to assure them that the pope they had elected was only conditionally chosen, in case of his proving agreeable to the king, but that otherwise they would dethrone him, and exalt another more to his pleasure.

About this period, the friar, whom I before mentioned to have been sent by pope Boniface* to the king of France, but without the pomp or state of a legate, arrived at Paris, with the consent of the king, who listened to his arguments and sermons with pleasure. The legate from Avignon, a subtle and eloquent clerk, was heard also by the king and his court: those attached to the pope at Avignon took good care to push him forward, and contrived that he should have audiences often. It was the opinion of the council, but it was not without great difficulty the university of Paris subscribed to this opinion, that it would be a wise and prudent measure, if means could be found to make the rival popes resign their dignities, as well as all the cardinals, and then select the most learned and prudent among the clergy, from the empire of Germany, France, and other countries, who should form a general council, and then, without favor or affection to any party, restore the church to its former unity, discipline, and stability. They declared they saw no other way of destroying the schism; for the hearts of different lords were so swollen with pride, each would support his own party.

This idea, which was proposed in the presence of the king, and the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, in council, was approved of; and the king, having agreed to it, said he would cheerfully write on the subject to the kings of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary and England; that he thought he could depend on the kings of Castille, Navarre, Arragon, Sicily, Naples, and Scotland, obeying whatever pope he should acknowledge. In consequence of this proposition being adopted, the king of France sent off special messengers with letters to the kings above mentioned, but answers were not returned to them as soon as expected. During this interval, that learned clerk, master John de Gigencourt, died at the Sorbonne. The king of France, his court, and the university were very sorry for the loss, as his equal was not at Paris, and he would have been of singular service in reforming the church, and bringing about a union.

At this time, there was at Avignon a clerk well skilled in science, doctor of laws, and auditor of the palace: he was a native of the archbishopric of Rheims, and called sir John de Varennes. He was much advanced in the church for the services he had rendered pope Clement and others, and was on the point of being a bishop or cardinal. He had also been chaplain to a cardinal, called, at Avignon, Saint Peter of Luxembourg. This John de Varennes, beneficed and advanced as he was, resigned all, retaining only, for his subsistence, the canonry of our Lady at Rheims, which is worth, by residence, one hundred francs; otherwise not more than thirty. He quitted Avignon, returned to his native country, and fixed his abode at the village of Saint Lye, near Rheims, where he led a devout life, preaching the faith and works of our Lord, and praising the pope of Avignon. He declared he was the true pope, condemning, by his speeches, that of Rome. He was much attended to, and followed by the people, who came to see him from all countries, for the sober and holy life he led, fasting daily, and for the fine sermons he preached. Some, however, said, that the cardinals at Avignon had sent him thither to support their cause, and to exhibit the holiness of his life, which was devout enough to have entitled him to be raised to the papacy. Master John de Varennes would not allow himself to be called the holy man of Saint Lye, but simply the Auditor. He lived with his mother, and every day said mass very devoutly. All that was given him, for he asked for nothing, he distributed in alms to the glory of God.

We will now leave him, and speak of other matters.

CHAPTER LX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ADVISED TO MAKE A JOURNEY TO IRELAND, AND TO SETTLE ON THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AND HIS HEIRS FOR EVER, THE DUCHY OF AQUITAINE WITH ALL ITS DEPENDENCIES.

The truces that had been agreed to between the kings of France and England, and their allies, were well observed on sea and land. There were, however, some pillagers still in Languedoc, who came from foreign countries, such as Gascony, Béarn, and Germany. Sir John de Grailly, bastard-son to the late captal de Buch, a young and expert knight, was governor of the strong castle of Bouteville. You may suppose that the captains of such forts as Lourde in Bigorre, on

* He died on the 16th September, 1394.—Ed.

† Peter of Luna, born of an illustrious family of Spain, was elected Pope on the 28th September, 1394, and took the name of Benedict XIII. Before his election, he subscribed an act by which all the cardinals promised on oath to use every effort for the reunion of the church, and even to resign the pontificate if necessary for that purpose. He, however, afterwards showed very little respect to this oath.—Ed.

‡ In the Museum MS. it is Gigoicourt and Pierre de Lyons: in mine, the first as D. Sauvage, and the other Pierre de Palons.

* Boniface IX. elected pope the 2nd Nov. 1389.—Ed.

the borders of Arragon; Bouteville on the frontiers of Saintonge, near la Rochelle, and Mortaign, were sorely vexed they could no longer overrun the country, and make their accustomed pillage from the neighboring towns. They had been particularly forbidden to infringe the articles of the truce, under pain of being severely punished.

At this period, an expedition against Ireland was proposed in the English council; for in the truces king Richard had agreed to with France and her allies, young as he was, he had reserved Ireland from being included, as his predecessors had always claimed it as their right; and his grandfather, king Edward of happy memory had signed himself king and lord of Ireland, and had continued his wars against the natives, notwithstanding his pressure from other quarters. The young knights and squires of England, eager to signalize themselves in arms, were rejoiced to learn that king Richard intended leading a large power of men-at-arms and archers into Ireland, and that he had declared he would not return thence until he should have finally settled everything to his satisfaction. It was, at the same council, ordered, that the duke of Lancaster, who in his time had labored hard, on sea and land, for the honor of England, should make a journey to Aquitaine, with five hundred men-at-arms and one thousand archers. He was to embark at Plymouth or Southampton, as he pleased, and sail for Guienne or Aquitaine. It was the intention of king Richard and his council, that the duke of Lancaster should hold in perpetuity, for himself and heirs the whole territory of Aquitaine, with all its sénéschalships and domains, in such manner as king Edward of England, his father, and the former duke of Aquitaine, had held them, and which king Richard held at this moment, with the reserve of homage to the kings of England. The duke of Lancaster was to enjoy all other rights, lordships, and rents, which stipulation was confirmed by the king, wholly and fully, under his seal.

The duke of Lancaster was very thankful for this magnificent gift, as he had reason to be; for, in truth, the duchy of Aquitaine has wherewithal to enable its lord to keep a grand state. The deed which was to establish this gift, having been properly engrossed, was carefully examined, and passed with great deliberation of council, in the presence of the king, his uncles the dukes of York and Gloucester, the earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Derby (son to the duke of Lancaster,) the earl marshal, the earl of Rostellant,* the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, sir Thomas Percy, the lords Despencer and Beaumont, sir William Arundel, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishop of London, and of all those who were entitled to be present, whether prelates or barons. The duke of Lancaster thanked, in the first place, the king his nephew, then his brothers, and the barons and prelates of the council. After which he began to make most sumptuous preparations for crossing the sea, and taking possession of the duchy the king had invested him with. Purveyors were likewise busy in preparing, on a large scale, for the king's expedition to Ireland; and those lords who were to accompany him were ordered to make preparations of whatever things they might think necessary.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE DEATH OF THE LADY ANNE OF BOHEMIA, QUEEN OF ENGLAND. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LANDS IN AQUITAINE, AND THE KING OF ENGLAND IN IRELAND.

THE king of England and the duke of Lancaster were daily occupied in their preparations for leaving England, and had sent their men and purveyances to the different ports they were to embark from; the one to Ireland and the other to Aquitaine; but their expedition was delayed for about two months, by an event I will now relate. At this period, the lady Anne, queen of England, fell sick, to the great distress of the king and her household. Her disorder increased so rapidly, that she departed this life on the feast of Whitsuntide, in the year of grace, 1394. The king, and all who loved her were greatly afflicted at her death. She was buried in the cathedral church of London;† but her obsequies were performed at leisure, for the king would have them magnificently done. Abundance of wax was sent for from Flanders to make flambeaux and torches, and the illumination was so great on the day of the ceremony, that nothing was ever seen like to it before, not at the burial of the good queen Philippa nor of any other. The king would have it so, because she was daughter to the king of Bohemia, emperor of Rome and of Germany. He was inconsolable for her loss, as they mutually loved each other, having been married young. This queen left no issue, for she had never borne children.

Thus in the same year were the king, the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of Derby made widowers. There was no talk of the king's marrying again, for he would not hear of it. Although the expeditions to Ireland and Aquitaine were delayed by the queen's death, those lords who were named to go to Ireland did not fail continuing their preparations; and, as their purveyances were ready, they sent them across the sea to Ireland from Brisco* and Lolighet† in Wales; and the conductors were ordered to carry them to a city on the coast of Ireland, called Dimelin,‡ which had always been steadily attached to England, and was an archbishopric: the archbishop of which place was with the king.

RICHARD II. ON HIS VOYAGE TO IRELAND. Metrical History of Richard II. Harleian MSS.

Soon after Saint John Baptist's day, king Richard left London, and took the road for Wales, amusing himself by hunting on the way, to forget the loss of his queen. Those ordered to attend him began their journey, such as his two uncles of York and Gloucester, with grand array, as did the other lords: the earl of Kent, half-brother to the king, sir Thomas Holland, his son, the earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York, the earl marshal, the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, sir William Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, sir Thomas Percy his brother, high steward of England, the earls of Devonshire and Nottingham, with numbers of knights and squires. A considerable body remained at home to guard the borders of Scotland; for the Scots are a wicked race, and pay not any regard to truces or respites, but as it suits their own convenience.

At the time the king of England undertook this expedition, he had not the company of his other half-brother, sir John Holland earl of Huntingdon, for he was on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai, and was to return through Hungary. Having heard at Paris, as he passed through France, where he had been handsomely treated by the king and his court, in respect to the king of England, that the king of Hungary and Amurat§ were to have a battle, he declared he would not fail being present.

The duke of Lancaster and his array arrived at Plymouth, where transports waited to carry them across the sea. When his men and purveyances were all on board, they weighed anchor, and steered with a favorable wind for Bordeaux.

We will return to the king of England, who had with him full four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers. They were shipped at three different places, Bristol, Holyhead, and Herford,‖ and passed over daily; but it was a month before the whole armament and their horses landed in Ireland. On the other hand, there was in Ireland a valiant English knight, called the earl of Ormond, who, like his predecessors, held lands in that country, but they were disputed, and he had made similar preparations to his ancestors.

The earl marshal had the command of the van, consisting of fifteen

* Rostellant. Q. Rutland.

† "On the 7th of June, queen Anne died at Shene in Surrey, and was buried at Westminster. The king took her death so heavily that, besides cursing the place where she died, he did also for anger throw down the buildings, unto the which former kings, being weary of the city, were wont for pleasure to resort."—STOWE'S CHRONICLE

* "Brisco." Q. Bristol.

† "Lolighet." Q. Holyhead.

‡ "Dimelin." Q. Dublin.

§ The person thus called was the sultan Bajazet I. who began his reign 1391.

‖ From what follows, I suppose this must mean Haverford west, in Pembrokeshire, as it is pronounced Harford.

hundred lances and two thousand archers, who prudently and valiantly conducted themselves. King Richard and his uncles embarked at Haverford in Wales, many at Holyhead, and others at Bristol, and the whole landed without any loss. As they disembarked, by orders from the constable and marshals, they quartered themselves on the country, occupying a large uninhabited tract, of about thirty English miles, beside the city of Dublin. The army lodged themselves prudently, for fear of the Irish: had they done otherwise, they would have suffered for it. The king, his uncles, and prelates, were quartered in Dublin and near it; and I was told that, during the whole campaign, they were well supplied with all sorts of provision; for the English are expert in war, and know how to forage and take proper care of themselves and horses. I will relate the history of this campaign of king Richard, and what befel him according to the information I received.

CHAPTER LXII

SIR JOHN FROISSART ARRIVES IN ENGLAND, AND IS PRESENTED TO KING RICHARD BY THE DUKE OF YORK, UNCLE TO THE KING.

In truth, I, sir John Froissart, treasurer and canon of Chimay, in the county of Hainault, and diocese of Liege, had, during my stay at Abbeville, a great desire to go and see the kingdom of England: more especially since a truce had been concluded, for four years, on sea and land, between France, England, and their allies. Several reasons urged me to make this journey; but principally, because in my youth I had been educated at the court of king Edward, of happy memory, and that good lady Philippa, his queen, with their children, and others of the barons of those times, and was treated by them with all honor, courtesy, and liberality. I was anxious, therefore, to visit that country, for it ran in my imagination, that if I once saw it, I should live the longer; for twenty-seven years past I had intentions of going thither, and if I should not meet with the lords whom I had left there, I should at least see their heirs, who would likewise be of great service to me in the verification of the many histories I have related of them.

I mentioned my purpose to my very dear patrons, the lord duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and lord of Frizeland; to the lord William his son, styled count d'Ostrevant; to my dear and much honored lady Joan, duchess of Brabant and Luxembourg; and to my very much respected lord Enguerrand, lord of Coucy; as well as to that gallant knight, the lord de Gomegines. We had both, during our youth, arrived together at the English court, where I saw also the lord de Coucy, and all the nobles of France, who were hostages for the redemption of king John of France, which has been before related in this history. The three lords above mentioned, as well as the lord de Gomegines, and madame de Brabant, on my telling them my intentions, encouraged me to persevere, and they all gave me letters of introduction to the king and his uncles, with the reserve of the lord de Coucy, who, from being now so much attached to France, could only write to his daughter, the duchess of Ireland.

I had taken care to form a collection of all the poetry on love and morality that I had composed during the last twenty-four years, which I had caused to be fairly written and illuminated. I was also incited to go to England and see king Richard, son to the noble and valiant prince of Wales and Aquitaine, whom I had not seen since the time of his christening in the cathedral church of Bordeaux. I was then present, and had intentions of accompanying the prince of Wales in his expedition to Spain; but, when we came to the city of Dax, the prince sent me back to the queen his mother in England. I was desirous, therefore, to pay my respects to the king of England and his uncles, and had provided myself with my book of poesy finely ornamented, bound in velvet, and decorated with silver-gilt clasps and studs, as a present for the king. Having this intention, I spared no pains; and the cost and labor seem trifling to people, whenever they undertake anything willingly.

Having provided myself with horses, I crossed from Calais to Dover on the 12th day of July; but found no one there whom I had been acquainted with in my former journeys: the inns were all kept by new people, and the children of my former acquaintance were become men and women. I staid half a day and night to refresh myself and horses; and on Wednesday, by nine o'clock, arrived at Canterbury to visit the shrine to St. Thomas and the tomb of the late prince of Wales, who had been buried there with great pomp. I heard high mass, made my offering at the shrine, and returned to my inn to dinner, when I heard the king was to come the following day in pilgrimage to St Thomas of Becket. He was lately returned from Ireland, where he had remained for nine months, or thereabouts, and was anxious to pay his devotions in this church, on account of the holy body of the saint, and because his father was there buried. I thought, therefore, it would be well to wait his arrival which I did; and, on the morrow, the king came in great state, accompanied by lords and ladies, with whom I mixed; but they were all new faces to me, for I did not remember one of them.

Times and persons had greatly changed since I was last in England, eight-and-twenty years past. The king had not either of his uncles with him: the duke of Lancaster was in Aquitaine, and the dukes of York and Gloucester in other parts. I was at first quite astonished, and should have been comforted could I have seen an ancient knight who had been of the bed-chamber to king Edward, and was in the same capacity to the present king, as well as of his privy council, and could I have made myself known to him. The name of this knight was sir Richard Sturry. I asked if he were alive: they said he was, but not then present, as he was at his residence in London. I then determined to address myself to sir Thomas Percy, high steward of England. I found him gracious and of agreeable manners, and he offered to present me and my letters to the king. I was rejoiced at this promise; for it is necessary to have friends to introduce one to so great a prince as the king of England. He went to the king's apartments to see if it were a proper time, but found the king had retired to repose: he therefore bade me return to my inn. When I thought the king might be risen, I went again to the palace of the archbishop, where he lodged; but sir Thomas Percy and his people were preparing to set out for Ospringe, whence he had come that morning. I asked sir Thomas's advice how to act: "For the present," he said, "do not make further attempts to announce your arrival, but follow the king; and I will take care, when he comes to his palace in this country, which he will do in two days, that you shall be well lodged as long as the court tarries there."

The king was going to a beautiful palace in the county of Kent, called Leeds castle, and I followed sir Thomas Percy's advice by taking the road to Ospringe. I lodged at an inn where I found a gallant knight of the king's chamber, but he had that morning staid behind on account of a slight pain in his head that had seized him the preceding night. This knight, whose name was sir William de Lisle, seeing I was a foreigner and a Frenchman, (for all who speak the language of Oil* are by the English considered as Frenchmen, whatever country they may come from,) made acquaintance with me, and I with him, for the English are courteous to strangers. He asked my situation and business in England, which I related to him at length, as well as what sir Thomas Percy had advised me to do. He replied, that I could not have better advice, for that the king would on Friday be at Leeds castle, and would find there his uncle the duke of York. I was well pleased to hear this, for I had letters to the duke, and, when young, was known to him while in the household of the late king and queen.

I courted the acquaintance of sir William de Lisle, as a means of gaining greater intimacy with the king's household. On the Friday, we rode out together, and on the road I asked if he had accompanied the king on his expedition to Ireland. He said he had. I then asked if there were any foundation in truth for what was said of St. Patrick's hole.* He replied there was; and that he and another knight, during the king's stay at Dublin, had been there. They entered it at sunset, remained there the whole night, and came out at sunrise the next morning. I requested he would tell me whether he saw all the marvellous things which are said to be seen there. He made me the following answer: "When I and my companion had passed the entrance of the cave called the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, we descended three or four steps (for you go down into it like a cellar,) but found our heads so much affected by the heat, we seated ourselves on the steps, which are of stone, and such a drowsiness came on, that we slept there the whole night." I asked, if, when asleep, they knew where they were, and what visions they had. He said, they had

* La Langue d'Oil, was the language spoken in the north of France, in contra-distinction to the Langue d'Oc, the dialect of the south, whence the name of the province Languedoc. Oil and Oc, are now both superseded by the modern "Oui."—Ed.

* "Nothing has rendered this county (Donegal, so famous as the cave discovered by the patron saint of Ireland, or his namesake, abbot of Nevers, about four hundred years after, in which the holy monk obtained a constant exhibition of the torments of the wicked, for the edification of the Irish. But that it could not be Saint Patrick who first invented it, is plain from his silence about it in his book 'de tribus habitaculis,' heaven, earth, and hell. Henry or Hugh, monk of Saltrey, in Huntingdonshire, was the first who wrote about it, and what one Owen or Tyndal, a soldier, had seen there. It was about sixteen feet and a half long, by two feet one inch wide, built of freestone, covered with broad flags, and green turf laid over them, and was so low and narrow that a tall man could hardly sit, much less stand in it. In the side was a window just wide enough to admit a faint ray of light: in the floor a cavity capable of containing a man at his length; and, under a large stone at the end of the pavement, a deep pit, which had opened at the prayers of the saint. The bottom of the cave was originally much below the surface of the ground. It stood on the east side of the church, in the church-yard, encompassed with a wall, and surrounded by circles or cells, called *the beds*, scarcely three feet high, denominated from several saints. The penitents who visited this island, after fasting on bread and water for nine days, and making processions round these holy stations thrice a-day barefoot, for the first seven days, and six times on the eighth, washing their weary limbs each night in the adjoining lake, on the ninth enter the cave. Here they observe a twenty-four hours' fast, tasting only a little water, and, upon quitting it, bathe in the lake, and so conclude the solemnity. The original preparatory fast, as we learn from Matthew Paris, was fifteen days, and as long after quitting the cave out of which all who entered did not return.

"Leave being first obtained of the bishop of the diocese, the prior represented to the penitents all the horrors and difficulty of the undertaking, suggesting to them at the same time an easier penance. If they persevered in their resolution, they were conducted to the door with a procession from the convent, and, after twenty-four hours' confinement, let out the next morning with the like ceremony. In this recess, enlightened only by a kind of twilight, which discovered a field and hall, Owen was first visited by fifteen persons clothed in white, like religious, newly shorn, who encouraged him against the horrid scenes that were next to present themselves to his view. They were succeeded by troops of demons, who began with laying him on a burning pile, which he soon extinguished, by pronouncing the name of Christ. They then dragged him through the several scenes of torment, where the wicked suffered all the variety of tortures of ancient Tartarus; and, standing proof against all these horrors, he was favored with a full view and description of paradise, by two venerable prelates, who refused to let him stay there. He met with the same demons and monks as he went out of the cave, after which he visited the holy sepulchre, and, at his return, taking upon him the habit, assisted in founding Besmagovcisth Abbey."—Gough's *Addition to Camden*, p. 641, vol. 3.

many very strange dreams, and they seemed, as they imagined, to see more than they would have done if they had been in their beds. This they both were assured of. "When morning came, and we were awake, the door of the cave was opened, for so we had ordered it, and we came out, but instantly lost all recollection of everything we had seen, and looked on the whole as a phantom." I did not push the conversation further, although I should have much liked to have heard what he would say of Ireland; but other knights overtook us, and conversed with him; and thus we rode to Leeds castle, where the king and his court arrived shortly after. The duke of York was already there; and I made myself known to him, by presenting him letters from his cousins, the count of Hainault and the count d'Ostrevant. The duke recollected me, and made me a hearty welcome, saying, "Sir John, keep with us and our people; for we will show you every courtesy and attention: we are bounden so to do, from remembrance of past times, and affection to the memory of our lady-mother, to whom you were attached. We have not forgotten these times." I warmly thanked him, as was just, for his kind speech, and was well noticed by him, sir Thomas Percy, and sir William de Lisle, who carried me to the king's chamber, where I was introduced to him by his uncle, the duke of York.

The king received me graciously and kindly; he took all the letters I presented to him, and having read them attentively, said I was welcome, and that since I had belonged to the household of the late king and queen, his grandfather and grandmother, I must consider myself still as of the royal household of England. This day I did not offer him the book I had brought; for sir Thomas Percy told me it was not a fit opportunity, as he was much occupied with serious business. The council was deeply engaged on two subjects; first, in respect to the negotiation with France, to treat of a marriage between the king and the lady Isabella, eldest daughter to the king of France, who at that time was about eight years old. The embassadors appointed to make this proposal to France, were the earl of Rutland, cousin-german to the king, the earl marshal, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Lye, the lord Clifford, lord Beaumont, lord Hugh Spencer, and several others.*

Secondly, the lord de la Barde, the lord de la Taride, the lord de Pinterne, the lord de Châteauneauf, the lords de Levesque and de Copane, the chief magistrate of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Dax, were come to England, and greatly persecuted the king, since his return from Ireland, for an answer to their petitions and remonstrances on the gift the king had made his uncle, the duke of Lancaster, of all Aquitaine, with its lordships, baronies, and dependencies, which had appertained to the king and crown of England. The above-mentioned lords and principal cities and towns in Aquitaine, maintained that such a gift could not be made, and that it was null; for that the whole of Aquitaine was a fief depending solely on the crown of England, and that they would never consent thus to be disjoined from it. They had made several reasonable propositions for an accommodation, which I will relate in proper time and place. In order that these matters might be more fully considered, and indeed they required it, the king had summoned the principal barons and prelates of the realm to meet him on Magdalen-day, at his palace of Eltham, seven miles from London, and the same distance from Dartford. On the fourth day after the king's arrival, when I learnt that he, his council, and the duke of York, were about to quit Leeds castle and go to Rochester, in their way to Eltham, I set out in their company.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE INFORMATION FROISSART GAINS IN ENGLAND, TOUCHING THE OPPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF AQUITAINE TO THE GIFT THE KING OF ENGLAND HAD MADE OF IT TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER. THE COMMISSIONERS SENT TO REMONSTRATE ON THE MATTER WITH THE KING, CANNOT OBTAIN A DECISIVE ANSWER RELATIVE THERETO.

On the road to Rochester, I asked sir William de Lisle and sir John de Grailly, governor of Bouteville, the cause of the king's journey to London, and why the parliament was to be assembled at Eltham. They both answered me satisfactorily; but sir John Grailly particularly informed me why the lords of Gascony, and the deputies from the chief towns were come to England. He was so well acquainted with them, being as it were from the same country and fellow subjects to England, that they hid nothing from him. He said: "That when the duke of Lancaster came last to Aquitaine, he was provided with deeds sealed with the great seal of England, which had been regularly agreed to in parliament and signed by the dukes of York and Gloucester, to whom Aquitaine might possibly revert, by succession, to king Richard of England, who had no children, and these two dukes were brothers-german, by father and mother, to the duke of Lancaster. The duke of Lancaster sent part of his council to Bordeaux, to inform the mayor and magistrates of his coming and the cause of it. They were greatly surprised on hearing it; but, notwithstanding, they well feasted the commissioners he had sent, in honor to the king, to whom they owed service and obedience. They desired time to consider of their answer, which being granted, they replied, that the duke of Lancaster, as son to king Edward of happy memory, who had been their lord, was welcome, but not in any other capacity, as they had not yet sufficiently weighed the matter to determine on receiving him as their lord; for their sovereign, king Richard, to whom they had sworn fealty, had not acquitted them of their obedience. The duke's commissioners replied, that as to this, the duke would take upon himself to satisfy them they should never have any trouble from his nephew the king of England. When those of Bordeaux saw themselves thus hardly pressed, they made another excuse by saying: "Gentlemen, the grant we perceive includes not only us but the cities of Bayonne and Dax, and the prelates and barons of Gascony who are under the obedience of the king of England. Go to them, and as they shall regulate we will do the same." The commissioners, not being able to get any other answer, left Bordeaux, and returned to the duke of Lancaster at Libourne. When the duke heard the above answer, he became very thoughtful, and foresaw that the business he was come upon would not be so soon settled as he had at first imagined, or had been made to understand. He sent, however, his commissioners to Bayonne who were received by the Bayonnois in just the same manner as they had been received at Bordeaux, nor could they obtain a different answer.

At length, the prelates, barons, and deputies from all the towns of Cascony under the obedience of England, assembled, and, having debated the justice of the king of England's grant to the duke of Lancaster, came to the following conclusion. They were very willing to receive in their castles, cities and towns, the duke of Lancaster, as son to the noble king Edward of happy memory, and as uncle to king Richard of England; but on condition he would solemnly swear, that himself and people would peaceably demean themselves during their stay, and they would not take anything by force, but pay ready money for whatever they might want; nor should he, the duke of Lancaster, extend the powers of the crown to oppress any one, nor do so by other means. The duke replied, that he was not come to hurt or oppress the people, but, on the contrary, to guard and defend them as his own inheritance, and entreated that the will of the king of England should be complied with. But the country, with one voice, declared they would not be disjoined from the crown of England, and that it was not in the power of the king of England to turn them over to another. This matter was disputed for a long time between the duke of Lancaster, and the Gascons; and when he saw he could not prevail on them to receive him as their lord, he requested they would send sufficiently-authorized persons to the king of England, as he would do on his part, and whatever the parliament of England should determine, whether in his favor or not, he would abide by. The Gascons, thinking this a very reasonable proposal from the duke, agreed to it; and he then came with his attendants to reside among them, at his former lodgings in the abbey of Saint Andrew. The prelates and barons of Gascony as well as the cities of Bayonne and Dax, selected proper commissioners to send to England.

When the king of France, his uncles, and ministers, heard for certain, that the duke of Lancaster had been peaceably received in Bordeaux, and that he had there fixed his residence, they knew not what to think of it, nor whether he would adhere to the truces that had been made between France and England. This gave them so much uneasiness, that they resolved to send embassadors to the duke of Lancaster to learn his intentions. The lord de Boucicaut, marshal of France, sir John de Châteaumorant and sir John Barrois des Barres, were chosen for this purpose, and they were to have under their command one thousand well appointed men-at-arms. They left Paris, and continued their march to Agen, where they quartered themselves as well as in the surrounding country: they then sent heralds and messengers to the duke of Lancaster, in the city of Bordeaux, to notify their wishes to speak with him. The duke made the messengers good cheer, heard what they had to say, and wrote back to their lords, that since they were desirous to speak with him, he was anxious to meet them; and, in order to give them less trouble, would go to Bergerac, where they would confer together. The messengers, on their return to Agen, gave the letters from the duke of Lancaster, which satisfied them as to their safety, and they made preparations accordingly. As soon as they heard of the duke's arrival at Bergerac, they left the city of Agen, and marched thither, where they found the gates open to receive them. The lords entered the town, and went to the hotels which had been prepared for them; but their men lodged themselves in the suburbs and adjacent villages. The three lords waited on the duke of Lancaster, who kindly received them, as he knew well how to do; and in reply to what they urged, he said, "that he wished always to be a good neighbor, and on friendly terms with the king and realm of France, and to adhere to every article of the truces that had been lately made between France, England, and their allies. He had been very active in forming these truces, and of course would be unwilling any way to infringe them; and of this they might be perfectly assured."

The answer of the duke was highly gratifying to the French lords, who remained with him on the most friendly terms. He entertained them grandly at dinner and supper in the castle of Bergerac, after which they separated in a very amicable manner. The duke returned

* See the Fœdera for full particulars. The embassadors were the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Saint David's, the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal and sir William Scrope. They were to propose also a marriage, between the earl of Rutland and the youngest daughter of the king of France. The instructions to these embassadors are dated "Leeds castle, 8th day of July, 1396."

to Bordeaux, and the French lords toward Paris; but in their way they met the duke of Berry in Poitiers, to whom they related all they had done, and the duke of Lancaster's answer. The duke of Berry thought it satisfactory and reasonable, as did the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, when the three lords reported it to them, on their arrival at Paris. Things remained on this assurance quiet. "What after happened I have told you," added sir John de Grailly; "for the duke of Lancaster sent hither some of the principal of his council, such as sir William de la Perriere, sir Peter Cliqueton, and two doctors of laws, master John Huche and master John Richards de Lincestre, to plead his cause before the king, his uncles and council.* It is for this reason the king is now going to Eltham; for as Thursday next is Magdalen-day, the parliament will meet there. What decision they will come to, I cannot say; but this I know, that the duke of Gloucester will be present, and be violent in his support of the duke of Lancaster's claims; for I have heard from some of the English who ought to know, that he would cheerfully see his brother firmly established in Guyenne, and never to return to England, for he finds him his superior, and for this reason is desirous he should gain the duchy of Aquitaine. The duke of Gloucester has a good head, but is proud, and wonderfully overbearing in his manners. Let him say or act as he pleases, he is always popular with the commonalty, for they are mutually attached to each other. He was the cause of the execution of that valiant knight sir Simon Burley. He it was, likewise, who caused the banishment of the duke of Ireland, the archbishop of York, and other knights of the king's council, who were either put to death on very slight grounds, or forced into foreign countries, during the time the duke of Lancaster, who is more feared than loved in this country, was in Castille.

"Let us for the present," said sir John de Grailly, "quit this matter, and speak of the second object that occupies the council. It seems to me, from what I have seen and heard, that the king of England wishes to marry again, and has had researches made everywhere, but in vain, for a suitable lady. If the duke of Burgundy or count of Haniault had daughters of a proper age, he would not be averse to either; but they have none that are not already betrothed. He has been told that the king of Navarre has sisters and daughters, but he will not hear of them. The duke of Gloucester has likewise a grown up girl and marriageable, and he would be well pleased if his nephew would choose her; but the king says, she is too nearly related, being his cousin-german. King Richard's thoughts are so bent on the eldest daughter of the king of France, he will not hear of any other: it causes great wonder in this country that he should be so eager to marry the daughter of his adversary, and he is not the better beloved for it. This he seems indifferent to, and plainly shows that henceforward he will prefer war with any other country rather than with France. It was known from experience how anxious he was that a stable peace should be established between the two countries; for he said the wars had lasted too long between him and his predecessors with France, and that too many valiant men have been slain on both sides, to the great weakening of the defenders of the Christian faith. To put this idea out of the king's mind, for it is no way agreeable to the people of England, that he should connect himself by marriage with France, they have told him the lady was by far too young, and that for five or six years to come she would not be of a proper age for a wife. He replied by saying, that every day she would increase in age. In addition to this, he gave pleasantly his reasons for his preferring her: that since she was young, he should educate her, and bring her up to his own mind, and to the manners of the English; and that for himself, he was young enough to wait until she should be of proper age for his wife. Nothing can make him change his resolution, and before you leave this country, you may perhaps witness many strange things. It is for this and the other business I mentioned that he is journeying toward London."

With such conversation did sir John de Grailly entertain me while travelling between Rochester and Dartford. He was the bastard-son of that gallant knight the captal de Buch. I eagerly listened to all he said, and treasured his words in my memory; for I rode chiefly in his company, and sir William de Lisle, the whole way from Leeds castle to Eltham.

The king arrived at Eltham on a Tuesday. On the Wednesday, the lords came from all parts. There was the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Derby, Arundel, Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, the earl marshal, the archbishops of Canterbury and of York, the bishops of London and Winchester: in short, all who had been summoned arrived at Eltham on the Thursday, by eight o'clock in the morning. The parliament was holden in the king's apartment, in the presence of the king, his uncles, and council. The knights from Gascony and the deputies from the cities and towns, as well as those sent by the duke of Lancaster, were present.

I cannot say what passed at this parliament, for I was not admitted, nor were any but the members of it. It sat for upward of four hours. When it was over, I renewed my acquaintance after dinner with an ancient knight whom in my youth I well knew, when he was of the the chamber of king Edward. He was one of the principal advisers of king Richard, and deserving of it: his name was sir Richard Sturry. He immediately recollected me, though it was twenty-four years since we had seen each other; the last time was at Colleberge,* at Brussels, in the hôtel of duke Winceslaus and the duchess Jane of Brabant. Sir Richard Sturry seemed very glad to see me, and made me a hearty welcome. He asked me many questions, which I answered as well as I could. While we were walking near the king's apartment at Eltham, I inquired if he could inform me what had been the determination of the parliament: having mused awhile, he said he would tell me, for it was not worth while to conceal what must shortly be made public.

"You know," continued the knight, "or have heard, that the duke of Lancaster left England for Aquitaine, on receiving the magnificent gift the king our lord made him. The king loves all who pretend friendship for him, but particularly the duke of Lancaster; and out of gratitude, which he strongly feels, for the great services the duke has done the crown, as well on this as on the other side of the sea, the king has given to him and his heirs for ever the whole of the duchy of Aquitaine, with all its dependencies, excepting the homage, which is the sole thing he has reserved for the crown of England in times to come. This gift has gone through every legal form, with the approbation and consent of his other uncles and the English parliament. The king had specially commanded all his subjects within the boundaries of Aquitaine, to obey punctually his well-beloved uncle the duke of Lancaster, as their sovereign lord, and to pay him homage and service, in the usual manner as they have done to their lords in former times. Should any prove rebellious to these orders, the king gives the duke of Lancaster full powers to punish such within three days after their disobedience, without any expectation of support from him. It has happened, however, that notwithstanding these strict orders of the king, the barons, knights, gentlemen, cities and towns of Gascony, under the obedience of England, have united together in opposition to the duke of Lancaster, and refuse to obey him, declaring and maintaining that the gift the king made his uncle the duke of Lancaster is null and void. The duke, who is desirous of acting in this business by fair means, has listened to their reasonings on the subject, and advised, to prevent further mischief, that they should send hither properly-instructed persons to lay their complaints before the king, and declare their reasons for having opposed his orders.

"They have certainly, this day, very ably explained the cause of refusing their obedience to the duke of Lancaster, and have given the king and his council enough to think upon. They will probably succeed in their mission, and I will tell you my reasons for so thinking; but you will keep them secret, until the matter shall become more public." I replied, that he might depend on my doing it. He then continued: "I believe it was the official of Bordeaux, who, for his learning, was their spokesman; he began by showing their procurations from the different towns, that greater faith might be given to what he should say. He then declared, that 'the cities of Bordeax, Bayonne, Dax, and all the lordships dependent on them, or within their limits and jurisdictions, are of such noble condition, that no king of England, by any act of his, can disjoin them from the domain of the crown of England, nor alienate or dispose of them to any child, uncle or brother he may have, nor by any way of marriage-settlement nor otherwise. The above-named towns have received, from different kings of England, certain privileges, which their successors have sworn to maintain without any infringement; and the moment a king of England comes into possession of the crown of England and its dependencies, he swears on the missal in his hand, to preserve inviolate all their privileges, which you, dear sire, have also done, as these papers will prove.' He then produced charters, fairly engrossed and sealed with the great seal of England, which king Richard, who was then present, had given them, and read the whole, clause by clause. The contents of the charters were well understood, for they were in Latin and French; and at the end he named several great barons and prelates, to the number of eleven, who had been nominated as sureties.

"When the papers were read, each lord looked at his neighbor and to the king, but not one said a word in reply. The official, having finished reading his deeds, thus spoke, addressing himself to the king: 'Most beloved and renowned sovereign, and you, my dear lords, all what you have just heard, am I charged by the deputies of the principal towns and inhabitants of Gascony to lay before you, and to maintain their dependence solely on the crown of England, as the charters that have been shown plainly declare. Should the country be inclined to receive the duke of Lancaster for its lord, and be freed from the service and homage it owes you, the loss would be very great to England; for if, at this moment, the duke is attached to the king, and attentive to preserve the privileges of the crown of England, that love and affection will, in course of time, be much weakened by his successive heirs, and by intermarriages that may take place: it is necessary that marriages should be concluded between great princes, for the more effectually preserving the love of their subjects. Now it may happen, in times to come, that the heirs of the duke of Lancaster shall unite themselves by marriage with the daughters of the kings of France, the dukes of Berry, Brittany, the counts of Foix or of Armagnac, the kings of Navarre, the dukes of Anjou

* Hollingshed calls them sir William Perreer, sir Peter Clifton, master John Huich, and master John Richards, a canon of Leicester.

* "Colleberge." I do not understand this passage, for the town of Colberg is in the duchy of Pomerania. It never could have been there they met. There is a full stop at the end of Colleberg in the printed and MS. copies. The MSS. say fourteen years instead of twenty-four.

or of Maine, and form alliances with their connections on the other side of the sea, claiming the whole sovereignty of Guienne, and ruining the country, by putting it in opposition to England. The king of England would probably, in such a case, have great difficulty in recovering the rights due to the crown. Condescend, therefore, most noble king, and you, my dear lords, to consider well all the reasons I have laid before you; for the whole country is unanimous and determined to remain under the obedience of our much redoubted lord and king, and in dependence on the crown of England.' The official here ended his speech; and the prelates and lords, looking to each other, approached the king, conducted by his two uncles and the earls of Derby and Arundel.

"It was then suggested to those who had come from Aquitaine, to leave the chamber until called for, which they did, with the two knights who had been sent by the duke of Lancaster. This being done, the king demanded from the prelates and barons what answer should be made. The prelates referred the answer to the two uncles of the king, because the matter more nearly affected them. At first, they excused themselves, saying, it was a public concern, and should be deliberated on in common, and not treated as any matter of favor. The business thus remained for some time; but the duke of Gloucester being desired to give his opinion, he said, it would be a strong measure to take from the king a gift that he had made with the unanimous consent of his council, and that had been invested with every legal form, because his subjects were rebellious; that the king was not lord of his inheritance if he could not dispose of it as he pleased. Some commented on this speech, while others had the courage to say the answer was not reasonable, though they dared not contradict it; for the duke of Gloucester was much feared. The earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster, added, 'Good uncle, you have well spoken, and justly explained the matter, and I support what you have said.' The council on this began to separate, and to murmur one to another; but they did not call in the envoys from Guyenne, nor those from the duke of Lancaster."

Here the old knight ended his conversation; but I learnt from him afterwards, that when the king heard this, he dissembled his opinion, with the intention of again summoning his council after dinner, to know if any measures, more to the advantage of the crown, should be adopted, or if anything further should be done in respect to Aquitaine.

The king made the archbishop of Canterbury speak on the business of his marriage, as he had ordered him in the morning, and who should be sent to France, for he was very earnest that this matter should be accomplished. It had before been in debate, and was nearly agreed to, and those were named who were to cross the sea, although their instructions had not been given to them. In this council it was ordered, that the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Rutland, the earl-marshal, the lord Beaumont, sir Hugh Spencer, sir Lewis Clifford, to the number of twenty knights and forty squires of honor, should wait on the king of France, and propose a treaty of marriage between the king of England and the lady Isabella, his daughter, who might then be about eight years old. She had been betrothed before to the duke of Brittany's son, as you have seen, when the meeting took place, and peace was made between the king of France and the duke of Brittany, at Tours. To break this would be difficult, for the king of France and his uncles had put their seals to the treaty. Notwithstanding this obstacle, the English embassadors, having received their instructions, left London, and crossing the sea at Dover, arrived in two or three days at Calais. They staid there five days to refresh themselves and their horses, and then departed, taking the road to Amiens, having sent before the Irish herald March, who had brought them passports from the king of France on his return to Calais. The lord de Monchourel* was also sent as a guide, and to have all cities and towns opened to them, as well as to provide for what they might want. We will leave them for a little, and return to the matters we were before speaking of.

As I have mentioned, the deputies from Gascony, and from the chief towns in Aquitaine, were earnest in their solicitations to the king and council that they might remain attached to the crown of England, according to their ancient rights and privileges, which it had been repeatedly sworn should be observed, in spite of every cause, obstacle, or condition to the contrary. Three parts of the council, and the unanimous voice of the people of England, were on their side; but Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, youngest son of the late king Edward, opposed them, and plainly showed he wished his brother of Lancaster to be detained in Aquitaine, for he felt he was too powerful when in England, and too nearly allied to the king. As for his brother of York, he held him cheap, for he interfered little in public affairs, and was without malice or guile, wishing only to live in quiet: he had besides just married a young and beautiful wife, daughter to the earl of Kent, with whom he spent most of his time which was not occupied with other amusements. The duke of Gloucester was cunning and malicious, and continually soliciting favors from his nephew king Richard, pleading poverty, though he abounded in wealth; for he was constable of England, duke of Gloucester, earl of Buckingham, Essex, and Northampton. He had, besides, pensions on the king's exchequer, to the amount of four thousand nobles a year; and he would not exert himself in any way to serve his king or country, if he were not well paid for it. He was violently adverse to those of Aquitaine in this business, and did everything in his power that the duke of Lancaster might not return to England, for then he would have everything his own way.

To show that he governed the king and was the greatest in the council, as soon as he had delivered his opinion and saw that many were murmuring at it, and that the prelates and lords were discussing it in small parties, he quitted the king's chamber, followed by the earl of Derby, and entered the hall at Eltham, where he ordered a table to be spread, and they both sat down to dinner while the others were debating the business. When the duke of York heard they were at dinner, he joined them. After their dinner, which took no long time, the duke of Gloucester, dissembling his thoughts, took leave of the king as he was seated at table, mounted his horse, and returned to London. The earl of Derby remained that and the ensuing day, with the king and the lords, but those from Aquitaine could not procure any answer to their petitions.

* Monchourel. In the MSS. Mont caurel.

CHAPTER LXIV.

FROISSART PRESENTS HIS BOOK OF LOVE POEMS TO KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND. HE RELATES WHAT HE HAD HEARD OF THE LAST EXPEDITION OF THE ENGLISH TO IRELAND.

I HAVE taken much pleasure in detailing everything relative to the dispute with Gascony and Aquitaine, that the truth of my history may be apparent; and because I, the author of it, could not be present in these councils, that ancient and valiant knight sir Richard Sturry told me everything, word for word, as I have transcribed. On the Sunday, the whole council were gone to London, excepting the duke of York, who remained with the king, and sir Richard Sturry: these two, in conjunction with sir Thomas Percy, mentioned me again to the king, who desired to see the book I had brought for him. I presented it to him in his chamber, for I had it with me, and laid it on his bed. He opened and looked into it with much pleasure. He ought to have been pleased, for it was handsomely written and illuminated, and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-gilt studs, and roses of the same in the middle, with two large clasps of silver-gilt, richly worked with roses in the centre. The king asked me what the book treated of: I replied, "Of love!" He was pleased with the answer, and dipped into several places, reading parts aloud, for he read and spoke French perfectly well, and then gave it to one of his knights, called sir Richard Credon, to carry to his oratory, and made me many acknowledgments for it.

It happened this same Sunday, after the king had received my book so handsomely, an English squire being in the king's chamber, called Henry Castide,* a man of prudence and character, and who spoke French well, made acquaintance with me, because he saw the king and lords give me so hearty a reception, and had likewise noticed the book I had presented to the king: he also imagined, from his first conversation, that I was an historian; indeed, he had been told so by sir Richard Sturry. He thus addressed me: "Sir John, have you as yet found any one to give you an account of the late expedition to Ireland, and how four kings of that country submitted themselves to the obedience of the king?" I replied, that I had not. "I will tell it you, then," said the squire, who might be about fifty years old, "in order that, when you are returned home, you may at your leisure insert it in your history, to be had in perpetual remembrance." I was delighted to hear this, and offered him my warmest thanks.

Henry Castide thus began: "It is not in the memory of man, that any king of England ever led so large an armament of men-at-arms and archers to make war on the Irish, as the present king. He remained upward of nine months in Ireland, at great expense, which, however, was cheerfully defrayed by his kingdom; for the principal cities and towns of England thought it was well laid out, when they saw their king return home with honor. Only gentlemen and archers had been employed on this expedition; and there were with the king four thousand knights and squires and thirty thousand archers, all regularly paid every week, and so well they were satisfied. To tell you the truth, Ireland is one of the worst countries to make war in, or to conquer; for there are such impenetrable and extensive forests, lakes, and bogs, there is no knowing how to pass them, and carry on war advantageously: it is so thinly inhabited, that, whenever the Irish please, they desert the towns, and take refuge in these forests, and live in huts made of boughs, like wild beasts; and whenever they perceive any parties advancing with hostile dispositions, and about to enter their country, they fly to such narrow passes, it is impossible to follow them. When they find a favorable opportunity to attack their enemies to advantage, which frequently happens, from their knowledge of the country, they fail not to seize it; and no man-at-arms, be he ever so well mounted, can overtake them, so light are they of foot. Sometimes they leap from the ground behind a horseman, and embrace the rider (for they are very strong in their arms) so tightly, that he can no way get rid of them. The Irish have pointed

* "Castide." The MSS. Cristeed. Stowe, Henry Cristall. Sauvage afterwards calls him Cristelle.

knives, with broad blades, sharp on both sides like a dart-head, with which they kill their enemies; but they never consider them as dead until they have cut their throats like sheep, opened their bellies and taken out their hearts, which they carry off with them, and some say, who are well acquainted with their manners, that they devour them as delicious morsels. They never accept of ransom for their prisoners; and when they find they have not the advantage in any skirmishes, they instantly separate, and hide themselves in hedges, bushes, or holes under the ground, so that they seem to disappear, no one knows whither.

IRISH CHIEFTAINS MAKING A CHARGE. Metrical History, Harleian MSS.

"Sir William Windsor, who has longer made war in Ireland than any other English knight, has never been able during his residence among them, to learn correctly their manners, nor the condition of the Irish people. They are a very hardy race, of great subtlety, and of various tempers, paying no attention to cleanliness, nor to any gentleman, although their country is governed by kings, of whom there are several, but seem desirous to remain in the savage state they have been brought up in. True it is, that four of the most potent kings in Ireland have submitted to the king of England, but more through love and good-humor, than by battle or force. The earl of Ormond, whose lands join their kingdoms, took great pains to induce them to go to Dublin, where the king our lord resided, and to submit themselves to him and to the crown of England. This was considered by every one as a great acquisition, and the object of the armament accomplished: for, during the whole of king Edward's reign of happy memory, he had never such success as king Richard. The honor is great, but the advantage is little, for with such savages nothing can be done. I will tell you an instance of their savageness, that it may serve as an example to other nations. You may depend on its truth; for I was an eye-witness of what I shall relate, as they were about a month under my care and governance at Dublin, to teach the usages of England, by orders of the king and council, because I knew their language as well as I did French and English, for in my youth I was educated among them; and earl Thomas, father of the present earl of Ormond, kept me with him, out of affection, for my good horsemanship.

"It happened that the earl above mentioned was sent with three hundred lances and one thousand archers to make war on the Irish; for the English had kept up a constant warfare against them in hopes of bringing them under their subjection. The earl of Ormond, whose lands bordered on his opponents, had that day mounted me on one of his best horses, and I rode by his side. The Irish having formed an ambuscade to surprise the English, advanced from it; but were so sharply attacked by the archers, whose arrows they could not withstand, for they are not armed against them, that they soon retreated. The earl pursued them, and I, who was well mounted, kept close by him: it chanced that in this pursuit my horse took fright, and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me; and, in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight, with both of his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife. He pressed my horse forward for more than two hours, and conducted him to a large bush, in a very retired spot, where he found his companions who had run thither to escape the English. He seemd much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with wood, palisades, and stagnant water: the name of this town was Herpelin.* The gentleman who had taken me was called Brin Costeret,† a very handsome man. I have frequently made inquiries after him, and hear that he is still alive, but very old. This Bryan Costeret kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls. I will tell you how I obtained my liberty. It happened in the seventh year of my captivity, that one of their kings, Arthur Macquemaire, king of Leinster, raised an army against Lionel duke of Clarence, son to king Edward of England, and both armies met very near the city of Leinster. In the battle that followed, many were slain and taken on both sides; but, the English gaining the day, the Irish were forced to fly, and the king of Leinster escaped. The father of my wife was made prisoner, under the banner of the duke of Clarence; and as Bryan Costeret was mounted on my horse, which was remembered to have belonged to the earl of Ormond, it was then first known that I was alive, and that he had honorably entertained me at his house in Herpelin, and given me his daughter in marriage. The duke of Clarence, sir William Windsor, and all our party, were well pleased to hear this news, and he was offered his liberty, on condition that he gave me mine, and sent me to the English army, with my wife and children. He at first refused these terms, from his love to me, his daughter, and our children; but, when he found no other terms would be accepted, he agreed to them, provided my eldest daughter remained with him. I returned to England with my wife and youngest daughter, and fixed my residence at Bristol. My two children are married: the one established in Ireland has three boys and two girls, and her sister four sons and two daughters.

"Because the Irish language is as familiar to me as English, for I have always spoken it in my family, and introduce it among my grandchildren as much as I can, I have been chosen by our lord and king to teach and accustom the four Irish kings, who have sworn obedience for ever to England, to the manners of the English. I must say, that these kings, who were under my management, were of coarse manners and understandings; and, in spite of all that I could do to soften their language and nature, very little progress has been made, for they would frequently return to their former coarse behavior.

"I will more particularly relate the charge that was given me over them, and how I managed it. The king of England intended these four kings should adopt the manners, appearance, and dress of the English, for he wanted to create them knights. He gave them first a very handsome house in the city of Dublin for themselves and attendants, where I was ordered to reside with them, and never to leave the house without an absolute necessity. I lived with them three or four days without any way interfering, that we might become accustomed to each other, and I allowed them to act just as they pleased. I observed, that as they sat at table, they made grimaces, that did not seem to me graceful nor becoming; and I resolved in my mind to make them drop that custom. When these kings were seated at table, and the first dish was served, they would make their minstrels and principal servants sit beside them, and eat from their plates and drink from their cups. They told me, this was a praiseworthy custom of their country, where everything was in common but the bed. I permitted this to be done for three days; but on the fourth I ordered the tables to be laid out and covered properly, placing the four kings at an upper table, the minstrels at another below, and the servants lower still. They looked at each other, and refused to eat, saying I had deprived them of their old custom in which they had been brought up. I replied with a smile, to appease them, that their custom was not decent nor suitable to their rank, nor would it be honorable for them to continue it; for that now they should conform to the manners of the English; and to instruct them in these particulars was the motive of my residence with them, having been so ordered by the king of England and his council. When they heard this, they made no further opposition to whatever I proposed, from having placed themselves under the obedience of England, and continued good-humoredly to persevere in it as long as I staid with them.

"They had another custom I knew to be common in the country, which was the not wearing breeches. I had, in consequence, plenty of breeches made of linen and cloth, which I gave to the kings and their attendants, and accustomed them to wear them. I took away many rude articles, as well in their dress as other things, and had

* "Herpelin." In MSS. Herpelepin.
† "Brin Costeret." Q. Bryan Costeret.

great difficulty, at the first, to induce them to wear robes of silken cloth, trimmed with squirrel-skin or minever, for the kings only wrapped themselves up in an Irish cloak. In riding, they neither used saddles nor stirrups, and I had some trouble to make them conform in this respect to the English manners.

"I once made inquiry concerning their faith; but they seemed so much displeased, I was forced to silence: they said they believed in God and the Trinity, without any difference from our creed. I asked which pope they were inclined to: they replied, without hesitation, 'To that at Rome.' I inquired, if they would like to receive the order of knighthood? for the king would willingly create them such, after the usual modes of France, England, and other countries. They said they were knights already, which ought to satisfy them. I asked when they were made; they answered, at seven years old; that in Ireland a king makes his son a knight, and should the child have lost his father, then the nearest relation; and the young knight begins to learn to tilt with a light lance against a shield fixed to a post in a field, and the more lances he breaks the more honor he acquires. 'By this method,' added they, 'are our young knights trained, more especially kings' sons.' Although I asked this, I was before well acquainted with the manner of educating their children to arms. I made no further reply than by saying, this kind of childish knighthood would not satisfy the king of England, and that he would create them in another mode. They asked, 'In what manner?' 'In church, with most solemn ceremonies;' and I believe they paid attention to what I said.

"About two days after, the king was desirous to create these kings knights; and the earl of Ormond, who understood and spoke Irish well, as his lands joined the territories of the kings, was sent to wait on them, that they might have more confidence in the message from the king and council. On his arrival, they showed him every respect, which he returned, as he knew well how to do, and they seemed happy at his coming. He began a most friendly conversation with them, and inquired if they were satisfied with my conduct and behavior. They replied, 'Perfectly well: he has prudently and wisely taught us the manners and usages of his country, for which we ought to be obliged, and do thank him.' This answer was agreeable to the earl of Ormond, for it showed sense; and then, by degrees, he began to talk of the order of knighthood they were to receive, explaining to them every article and ceremony of it, and how great a value should be set on it, and how those who were created knights behaved. The whole of the earl's conversation was very pleasing to the four kings, whom, however, as I have not named, I will now do: first, Aneel the great, king of Mecte;* secondly, Brund de Thomond, king of Thomond and of Aire;† the third, Arthur Macquemaire, king of Leinster; and the fourth, Contruo, king of Chenour and Erpe.‡ They were made knights by the hand of the king of England, on the feast of our Lady in March, which that year fell on a Thursday, in the cathedral of Dublin, that was founded by Saint John the Baptist. The four kings watched all the Wednesday-night in the cathedral; and on the morrow, after mass, they were created knights, with much solemnity. There were knighted at the same time sir Thomas Orphem,§ sir Joathas Pado, and his cousin sir John Pado. The four kings were very richly dressed, suitable to their rank, and that day dined at the table of king Richard, where they were much stared at by the lords and those present: not indeed without reason; for they were strange figures, and different countenanced to the English or other nations. We are naturally inclined to gaze at anything strange, and it was certainly, sir John, at that time, a great novelty to see four Irish kings."

"Sir Henry, I readily believe you, and would have given a good deal if I could have been there. Last year I had made arrangements for coming to England, and should have done so, had I not heard of the death of queen Anne, which made me postpone my journey. But I wish to ask you one thing, which has much surprised me: I should like to know how these four Irish kings have so readily submitted to king Richard, when his valiant grandfather, who was so much redoubted everywhere, could never reduce them to obedience, and was always at war with them. You have said it was brought about by a treaty and the grace of God: the grace of God is good, and of infinite value to those who can obtain it; but we see few now-a-days augment their territories otherwise than by force. When I shall be returned to my native country of Hainault, and speak of these matters, I shall be strictly examined concerning them; for our lord duke Albert of Bavaria, earl of Holland, Hainault, and Zealand, and his son William of Hainault, style themselves lords of Friesland, an extensive country, over which they claim the government, as their predecessors have done before them; but the Frieslanders refuse to acknowledge their right, and will not by any means submit themselves to their obedience."

To this Henry Castide answered: "In truth, sir John, I cannot more fully explain how it was brought about; but it is generally believed by most of our party, that the Irish were exceedingly frightened at the great force the king landed in Ireland, where it remained for nine months. Their coasts were so surrounded, that neither provision nor merchandise could be landed; but the inland natives were indifferent to this, as they are unacquainted with commerce, nor do they wish to know anything of it, but simply to live like wild beasts. Those who reside on the coast opposite to England are better informed, and accustomed to traffic. King Edward, of happy memory, had in his reign so many wars to provide for, in France, Brittany, Gascony, and Scotland, that his forces were dispersed in different quarters, and he was unable to send any great armament to Ireland. When the Irish found so large a force was now come against them, they considered it most advisable to submit themselves to the king of England. Formerly, when Saint Edward, who had been canonized, and was worshipped with much solemnity by the English, was their king, he thrice defeated the Danes on sea and land. This Saint Edward, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine,* the Irish loved and feared more than any other king of England before or since. It was for this reason, that when our king went thither last year, he laid aside the leopards and flowers de luce, and bore the arms of Saint Edward emblazoned on all his banners: these were a cross patencé or, on a field gules, with four doves argent on the shield or banner, as you please. This we heard was very pleasing to the Irish, and inclined them more to submission, for in truth the ancestors of these four kings had done homage and service to Saint Edward; they also considered king Richard as a prudent and conscientious man, and have therefore paid their homage in the like manner as was done to Saint Edward.

"Thus I have related to you how our king accomplished the object of his expedition to Ireland. Keep it in your memory, that when returned home you may insert it in your chronicle with other histories that are connected with it." "Henry," said I, "you have well spoken, and it shall be done." Upon this we separated; and meeting soon after, the herald March, I said, "March, tell me what are the arms of Henry Castide; for I have found him very agreeable, and he has kindly related to me the history of the king's expedition to Ireland, and of the four Irish kings, who, as he says, were under his governance upward of fifteen days." March replied, "He bears for arms a chevron gules on a field argent, with three besants gules, two above the chevron and one below."

All these things I retained in my memory, and put on paper, for I wished not to forget them.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS ORDERED BACK FROM AQUITAINE. KING RICHARD RECEIVES A FRIENDLY ANSWER TO THE PROPOSALS HIS EMBASSADORS HAD MADE TO THE KING OF FRANCE FOR A MARRIAGE BETWEEN HIM AND THE LADY ISABELLA, PRINCESS OF FRANCE.

I REMAINED in the household of the king of England as long as I pleased: but I was not always in the same place, for the king frequently changed his abode. He went to Eltham, Leeds-castle, Kingston, Shene, Chertsey, and Windsor; none very far from London. I was told for truth, that the king and his council had written to the duke of Lancaster to return to England, for those from Aquitaine had boldly declared they would not submit to any other lord but the king of England. This had been determined on by so large a majority of the council, that the duke of Gloucester, anxious as he was to keep his brother out of England, could not prevail that the gift the king had made him should be persevered in. The whole council were fearful of the consequences: they were perfectly aware of what the deputies from Gascony had meant by their speeches; for they declared, that should the duchy of Aquitaine be alienated from the crown of England, it would in times to come be very prejudicial to its interests. They were unwilling, therefore, to risk such a loss, as the towns of Bordeaux and Bayonne had always strongly supported the cause of England. This was not forgotten to be urged in the council during the absence of the duke of Gloucester; but when he was present none dared to declare their real sentiments. The affair, therefore, was not further pressed.

I will now say something of the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, and the other English embassadors, that had been sent to France to treat of a marriage between king Richard and the young daughter of the king of France, who was not then more than eight years old, and tell how they prospered. These embassadors continued their journey from Calais, through Amiens, Clermont in Beauvoisis, to Paris: wherever they passed, they were most honorably received, according to orders that had been given by the king of France and his council. They were lodged at Paris near the Croix du Tiroir, and their attendants and horses, to the amount of five hundred, in the adjacent streets. The king of France resided at the Louvre, the queen and her children at the hôtel de Saint Pol, the duke of Berry at the hôtel de Nesle, the duke of Burgundy at the hôtel d'Artois: the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Orleans, the count de Saint Pol, and the lord de Coucy, were at their own hôtels; for the king had summoned the whole of his council, that he might be the better advised what answer to make to the English lords. He had ordered that two hundred crowns of France should be paid during their stay in Paris, for the expenses of them and their horses.

* "Aneel the great, king of Mecte." Q. O'Neale the great, king of Meath.
† "Thomond and Aire." Q. Ulster.
‡ "Contruo, king of Chenour and Erpe." Q. O'Connor, king of Connaught.
§ "Sir Thomas Orphem." MSS. Ourghem and Gourghem.

* This must be a mistake, for Aquitaine was brought to the crown of England by the marriage of Eleanora, the divorced queen of Louis le Jeune, king of France, with Henry II.

The principal lords, such as the earl of Rutland and the earl marshal, were frequently with the king, and staid dinner: the king, his brother and uncles, showed them every attention, from respect to the king of England. The embassadors demanded an answer to their proposals, but were some time put off with excuses; for it was matter of great surprise to every one that the English should be so forward to offer such an alliance, after the bitter war that had been carried on between the two nations, for such a length of time. Some in the council said; "How will it be possible for the king, our lord, to give his daughter in marriage to his adversary the king of England? We think, that before such a measure can take place, there ought to be a solid peace established between France, England, and their allies." This and many other points were agitated in the privy council of France.

There was at this period a very wise chancellor of France, called sir Arnaud de Corbie: he saw far into events likely to happen, and knew well the different interests that swayed the kingdom. He said to the king and his uncles; "My lords, we ought to go straight forward in this business; for king Richard of England shows plainly that he wishes nothing but affection to France, since he is desirous to ally himself with us by marriage. We have had two conferences for peace at Amiens and at Leulinghen, but neither were brought to any better conclusion than a prolongation of the truce. We know for certain, that the duke of Gloucester is in opposition to the king of England and his two brothers of Lancaster and of York, in everything relative to a peace with France. Neither the king of England nor any others who wish for peace can make him change his sentiments, but in the end he will not be able to withstand the king. Let us therefore make the most of this overture, and give the embassadors such an answer that they may return satisfied." The king of France and his uncles agreed with the chancellor, more especially the duke of Burgundy, who was so tired of war that he was anxious for peace on almost any terms. He was principally induced to this from his territories of Flanders, which he held in right of his duchess, being opposite to the shores of England; and the hearts of the Flemings were more inclined to the English than the French, from the commerce that was carried on between the two countries. It was determined in the privy council, that the hearty welcome which had been made to the English should be continued: the king particularly willed it so: and it was advised (whether through dissimulation or not) that the embassadors from England should receive kind answers, and have hopes given them before their departure that the king of England's proposal would be complied with.

The queen of France resided at the hôtel of St. Pol, on the banks of the Seine; and, the better to please the English lords, their request was granted, to visit the queen and children, and especially the princess whom they were soliciting for their queen, as they were impatient to see her. This had been at first refused, for the council excused themselves, by saying that she was but a child; and that, at her age of eight years, nothing could be judged of what she might turn out. She had, however, been well educated, as she showed the English lords when they waited upon her; for, when the lord marshal had dropped on his knees, saying, "Madam, if it please God, you shall be our lady queen," she replied instantly, and without any one advising her, "Sir, if it please God, and my lord and father, that I be queen of England, I shall be well pleased thereat; for I have been told I shall then be a great lady." She made the earl marshal rise, and, taking him by the hand, led him to the queen, who was much pleased at her answer, as were all who heard it. The appearance and manners of this young princess were very agreeable to the English embassadors; and they thought among themselves that she would be a lady of high honor and great worth. When they had staid at Paris more than twenty days, having all their expenses defrayed by the king of France, they received favorable answers to their demands from the king and council, with great hopes that the object of their mission would be accomplished, but not immediately; for the princess was very young, and had likewise been betrothed to the son of the duke of Brittany. This obstacle they were told must be first got over, before anything further could be done in the matter: it must therefore remain in this state the ensuing winter: during Lent, the king of France would send information of what had been done to the king of England; and, when the days should be lengthened, the weather fine, and the sea calm, they might return, or any others whom the king of England should prefer to send, and they would be well received by the king and council of France.

This answer was satisfactory to the English embassadors. They took leave of the queen, her daughter the lady Isabella, the brother and uncles of the king, and of all whom it was necessary to take leave, and left Paris, following the same road they had come from Calais. The earl of Rutland and earl marshal, who were the principals in this embassy, hastened, before any of the attendants, to carry the news of what they had done to the king of England. They landed at Sandwich, and in less than a day and a half arrived at Windsor, where the king then was. He was much rejoiced at their arrival, and with the answers they had brought back. He did not neglect this business; for his mind was so much occupied with it, that his whole thoughts were employed on the means of obtaining the daughter of France for his queen. If the king of England was thus busily employed, the king and his council of France were not less so, in turning their thoughts how they could make the most of this marriage to the honor and advantage of their country.

Many spoke of it, saying, "If our advice were asked on the matter, and listened to, we would say, that the king of England should never have a princess of France until a firm peace were made between the two kingdoms and their allies. What good can be looked to from this connection to either country? for the moment the truces expire, and they have but three years to run, the war will recommence with as much inveteracy as before. These things ought to be well considered." The dukes of Berry and Orleans, with many of the great barons of France, were of this opinion, which was well known to the king, the duke of Burgundy, and to the chancellor, who were eager for any peace that should not be dishonorable to the crown of France.

CHAPTER LXVI.

A SQUIRE OF NORMANDY, CALLED ROBERT THE HERMIT, HAVING DECLARED HE HAD SEEN A VISION, WHILE AT SEA, ORDERING HIM TO INTERFERE IN MAKING A PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, IS SENT TO KING RICHARD AND HIS UNCLES TO THIS EFFECT.

At this period a valiant and prudent squire returned home to France: he had travelled much beyond sea, and his voyages and travels had gained him great renown, both at home and abroad, wherever they were known. This squire was from the country of Caux in Normandy, and his name was Robert Menuot,* but he was called Robert the Hermit. He was of a religious and holy life, of fair speech, and might be about fifty years old. He had attended the conferences at Leulinghen between the lords of France and England, where his discourses had been well listened to. When Robert left Syria to return home, he embarked at Baruth, but had when at sea a furious tempest, so that, for two days and a night, he and his companions were in such danger they thought they must be lost. Persons in such peril are generally very repentant and contrite, and have a greater fear of God. It happened, toward the end of the storm, when the weather and sea became somewhat calmer, that a figure as bright as crystal appeared to Robert, and said: "Robert, thou shalt escape from this peril, as well as thy companions for thy sake, for God has favorably heard thy prayers. He orders thee by me, to return to France as speedily as thou canst, and instantly on thy arrival to wait on the king, and relate what has befallen thee. Thou wilt tell him to listen to peace with his adversary the king of England, for their wars have lasted too long. Do thou interfere boldly, when conferences shall be holden to treat of peace between king Charles and king Richard, for thou shalt be heard; and all those who shall any way oppose or prevent peace from taking effect, shall dearly pay for their wickedness in their lifetime." Upon this, the voice ceased and the figure vanished, leaving Robert very pensive on what he had heard. He, however, believed that what he had seen came from Heaven: and from that moment they had wind and weather to their wishes, which brought them to Genoa.

Robert, on landing, took leave of his fellow-passengers, and made the best of his way to Avignon, where the first thing he did was to pay his devotions in the church of St. Peter. Finding there the grand penitentiary, he confessed himself duly and devoutly to him, relating the vision you have just read, and asked his advice how he should act on the occasion. The penitentiary strictly enjoined him, not to mention the vision to any one before he had told it to the king of France, according to the orders given him, and that whatever the king should command he must do. Robert followed this advice, and dressing himself in plain gray cloth, with very simple attendance, left Avignon, and continued his journey to Paris, where he heard that the king was at Abbeville, to be near the conference at Amiens between the French and English. He immediately went to the abbey of St. Peter, where the king was lodged at Abbeville, and was introduced to the presence by a Norman knight, his nearest relation, called sir William Martel, who was of the king's chamber. Robert minutely related everything that had happened to him, which the king listened to with great attention; but as the duke of Burgundy and sir Arnaud de Corbie, chancellor of France, the two most active commissioners for France, were absent at the conference, he said to Robert; "Our council are at Leulinghen: you will remain until they shall return, when I will talk with my uncle of Burgundy and the chancellor, and act according as they shall best advise." "God assist them!" answered Robert.

This same week, the commissioners returned to Abbeville from the conference, bringing with them a project for peace. The English had inserted articles of such importance as a preliminary, that they had refused to admit them without knowing first the king's will on the subject; and on their arrival, they laid them before his majesty. The king took his uncle of Burgundy and the chancellor aside, to inform them of what Robert the hermit had told him, and to know if it ought to be believed and acted upon. They, having looked at each other some time in silence, said they would examine this Robert themselves, and then would give him their opinion. Robert was sent for, and being not far from where these secret councils were held, soon arrived. On his admission, he paid the king and the duke of Burgundy much respect; and the king said, "Repeat once

* "Menuot." MSS. Mennot.

more, very minutely, all that you told me." "Willingly, sire," replied Robert. He then detailed all you have before heard of his adventures and vision, to which they attentively listened; and, when he had done, they desired him to leave the chamber, these three only remaining together. The king asked the duke of Burgundy what he thought of it: "My lord," said he, "the chancellor and myself will consider of it, and give you our answer to-morrow." "Very well," answered the king.

The duke and the chancellor consulted a long time by themselves on this matter, and on their mode of acting; for they saw the king believed the whole, and was desirous that Robert should be added to them as a commissioner; for he was so eloquent he converted the hearts of all who heard him. They at last resolved, that if Robert should publicly declare the orders he had received in his vision, it would be advisable for him to come to Leulinghen and explain it to the lords of England, and all who wished to hear it; that it was lawful so to act; and this was the answer they made to the king on the ensuing day. When the duke of Burgundy and the chancellor returned to the conference, they carried Robert the hermit with them, who was ready enough to speak what you have heard. On the lords of France and England being assembled, Robert came in the midst of them, and eloquently told the vision he had had at sea, and maintained, by a long harangue, that what it said was by divine inspiration, and that God had sent it to him, because he willed it should be so. Some of the English lords, such as the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Salisbury, sir Thomas Percy, sir William Clanvow, the bishops of Saint David's and London, were inclined to credit what Robert related; but the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel paid not any regard to it, and, when at their lodgings, in the absence of the French lords, said it was only a cheat, and a story made up to laugh at and deceive them. They unanimously resolved to write to king Richard every particular of what Robert the hermit had said and seen. This was done, and the letters given to a knight of the king's chamber, called sir Richard Credon, who found the king at a handsome place in Kent, called Leeds castle. He presented the king letters from his commissioners at Leulinghen, which gave him a full detail of everything relative to Robert the hermit. The king took much delight in perusing these letters at his leisure, and, when he came to the part that related to Robert the hermit, he said he should be glad to see and hear this Robert; for he was inclined to believe that what he said had happened to him might be true. He wrote back to the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Salisbury, to press them to exert themselves, that a firm peace should be established between him, the king of France and his allies; for as Robert the hermit had said, the wars had lasted too long, and it was full time to hit upon some means to procure peace.

I have before related the whole of this matter: and that as nothing was concluded, in regard to a peace, a truce had been agreed on by the commissioners on each side, before they separated, between the two kingdoms and their allies, to last for four years, while, in the mean time, they would study to promote a lasting peace. Such were the intentions of the English commissioners, with the exception of the duke of Gloucester; for he was resolved, on his return to England, to oppose any peace with France; but he dissembled then his real sentiments, to please the king and his brother of Lancaster. Thus did I become acquainted with what passed relative to Robert the hermit.

Shortly after the return of the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, the archbishop of Dublin, sir Hugh Despencer, sir Lewis Clifford, and those who had been attached to the embassy to France bringing with them friendly answers relative to the marriage, the parliament assembled at Westminster. These parliaments last usually four days, when all business relative to the country is settled.

At the meeting of this parliament the duke of Lancaster returned from Bordeaux, whither he had been sent as duke of Aquitaine, for the inhabitants had refused to receive him in that quality. But I have mentioned these things before, and shall therefore say no more on the subject. The duke of Lancaster, on his return to England, was well received by the king and lords, as was right, and they discoursed on various business together. As soon as it was known in France that the duke of Lancaster was in England, the king and his council resolved to send thither Robert the hermit, with credential letters to the king of England, who was desirous of seeing him; and that, when he should come back to France, the count de Saint Pol would go thither. Robert the hermit would be well received by the king and lords of England, who would cheerfully attend to all he should relate of the affairs of Syria, Tartary, of Bajazet and Turkey, where he had resided a long time; for of such matters the English lords are very curious. Robert was ordered to make his preparations for going to England, which much pleased him, saying he would willingly go thither, as it was a country he had never seen.

Credential letters were given him from the king of France to king Richard and to his uncles. Robert left Paris with his array of only seven horses, (but all his expenses, as was just, were to be paid by the king of France,) and travelled to Boulogne, where he embarked and crossed to Dover. He then went to Eltham, a palace of the king of England, seven miles from London, and met there the king, the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, and sir Thomas Percy, who showed him much attention, in honor to the king of France, as did their sovereign, from his desire to see him. He gave his letters to the king and the other lords, who perused them with pleasure; but the duke of Gloucester was, I believe, at this time, at a castle of his called Pleshy, in Essex. When Robert had remained at Eltham with the king and his court five days, he took his leave, and departed to visit the duke of Gloucester. With this intention he rode to London, and, on the next day, continued his journey, and lay at a town, fifteen miles from London, called Brehonde,* and on the morrow arrived at Pleshy, where he was handsomely received by the duke and duchess and their children. Robert delivered his letters from the king of France to the duke, who, on finding that they were credential letters, took Robert aside and demanded the cause of his coming. Robert replied, that he would tell him at his leisure, for that he was not come to make a short visit. "Well," said the duke, "you are very welcome." Robert the hermit was well acquainted with the double character of the duke, and that he was violent against a peace with France, and in strong opposition to the king and his brother of Lancaster, who were well inclined to put an end to the war. He knew not well how to begin on this business, nor what means to urge to make him change his opinion; for he had witnessed his violence at Leulinghen, and knew that a war with France was uppermost in his thoughts. This, however, did not prevent Robert from talking to the duke of Gloucester, respecting a peace; but he found the duke cold and reserved in his answers. He said, "that he had two elder brothers, of Lancaster and York, and that it was to them such affairs ought to be addressed in preference to him; besides, supposing he was willing to agree to a peace, perhaps the rest of the nation would not consent."

"My very dear lord," replied Robert, "for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ do not oppose a peace: you can do a great deal toward forming one; and you know how much your king and nephew is inclined to it, who, besides, is anxious to strengthen the love between the two kingdoms, by a marriage with the daughter of the king of France." To this the duke answered: "Robert, although you are at this moment in high favor, and well listened to by the kings and lords of both countries, the matter of peace is of so much consideration, that persons of greater weight than you must interfere in it. I repeat to you, what I have frequently said at different places and times, that I shall never be against a peace that is honorable to my country. All that in a former peace was agreed upon with the king my father, and my brother the prince of Wales, and confirmed by the oath of king John, for himself and successors, under penalty of excommunication by the pope, has not been kept, and their oaths are of no value. The French have fraudulently broken the articles of this peace, and have even taken possession, by treachery and force, of those lands, castles and towns, that were given up at the peace to our late king and father, and to his successors. Besides, of the three millions of francs, which were to be paid as the ransom of king John, six hundred thousand are yet unpaid. These matters, Robert, being so fresh in our memory, trouble us greatly, and make us cautious; and we wonder (I speak not only of myself, but of others who have a right to interfere in the government,) how our king should be so thoughtless, that he does not compare past times with the present; and how he can think of uniting himself with his enemies, and thereby disinheriting the crown of England of all future advantage."

"Dear lord," replied Robert, "our Lord Jesus Christ suffered on the cross for us sinners; but he forgave, at his death, those who crucified him. It is necessary, therefore, that we in like manner forgive our enemies, if we expect to be admitted to the glories of paradise. All hatred, malice and ill will were put an end to, and mutually pardoned, the day the peace was signed by your ancestor at Calais. War was afterwards renewed with bitterness betwen the two countries, through faults and deceptions on each side; for, when the prince of Wales returned from Castille to Aquitaine, a set of people called Companions, the greater part of whom were English, or Gascons dependent on the king of England or the prince, collected together and entered France, without the smallest title of reason, and carried thither a more disastrous war than the preceding one. They called the kingdom of France their manor, and were so determined on mischief there was no resisting them: for this reason, when the realm was so oppressed, and the evils daily multiplying, king Charles, son to king John, was advised by his vassals to provide a remedy, and oppose such conduct by open war or otherwise. Many great barons of Gascony at this time allied themselves with the king of France, whom the prince of Wales, who ought to have been their lord, wanted to oppress and bring more under his power, as they said and wanted to prove by various facts, but which they would not longer suffer. They made war on the prince, in conformity to their appeal to the king of France, who, by the advice of his council, joined them in order to rid himself of these free companies that ravaged France. Many lords, towns and castles turned to the king of France, from the oppressions they labored under from the prince or those employed by him. Thus was the war renewed with more inveteracy than before, to the destruction of the people and country, as well as of the weakening of the faith of God. This last is so sensibly felt in Christendom that the enemies of our faith, much emboldened, have already conquered great part of Greece, and the empire of Constantinople, through fault of not resisting a Turk called Basant, surnamed Amorabaquin.†

* "Brehonde." Q. Brentwood. Burntwood.

† This Amorabaquin, so much disfigured, was the sultan Bajazet, who ascended the throne 1391. He was surnamed, like his father, l'Amurath Bacquin, according to the MSS. in the British Museum.

He has conquered the whole kingdom of Armenia, with the exception of the single town of Courch, situated on the sea-shore, like Southampton or Bristol in this country. The Genoese and Venetians hold this against the the Turks; but they cannot long withstand the power of Bajazet, emperor of Constantinople, who is of your blood, for he is the son of Hugh de Lusignan, by the lady Mary de Bourbon, cousin-german to the queen your mother. But should there be peace (as there will, if it please God,) between France and England, all knights and squires desirous of glory, and of exalting their names, will hasten thither, and assist the king of Armenia to drive out the Turks from his kingdom. The war has continued too long between France and England, and all those who may any way oppose or delay the blessings of peace, will severely be punished in this life for so doing."

"How do you know that?" said the duke of Gloucester. "Dear lord," answered Robert, "all comes from divine inspiration, and was given to me in a vision, as I was returning by sea from Baruth in Syria toward the island of Rhodes." He then related fully all he had seen and heard in this vision, the more effectually to move the heart of the duke of Gloucester to listen to terms of peace. But the heart of the duke was hardened against peace, and he always returned to his former opinions, holding in contempt, by his words, the French in all things, notwithstanding what Robert had said to him: however, as he was a foreigner, and seemed eager to do good, and knowing besides that the king of England wanted to conclude a peace, he dissembled his real sentiments as much as he could, and turned the conversation to other subjects.

Robert the hermit staid two days and as many nights at Pleshy, with the duke and duchess of Gloucester and their children, who, in outward appearance, made him very welcome. On the third day he took leave of them, and departed for London; and went thence to Windsor, where the king then resided. He was handsomely entertained at Windsor, as well in honor of the king of France, who had sent him, as on account of his eloquence and good manners. It may be supposed, that the king of England inquired of him secretly how he had succeeded with his uncle of Gloucester, and Robert told him truly all that had passed. The king knew well that the duke of Gloucester would never willingly agree to a peace with France, from his preference to war: he therefore paid much greater court, and showed more affection to his other uncles of Lancaster and York, and to other prelates and barons of England, who he thought would serve him.

Robert the hermit having been a month or more in England, began to make preparations for his departure. When he took leave of the king and lords, the king made him very rich presents, out of love to the king of France, as did the duke of Lancaster and York, the earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, and sir Thomas Percy. The king had him escorted as far as Dover, where he embarked, and landed at Calais. He then journeyed on to Paris, where he found the king and queen of France, and his uncles, to whom he faithfully related the detail of his journey, and the good cheer the king of England had made him. Messengers were almost daily passing from one king to the other, with the most friendly letters from each. The king of England was very impatient to succeed in his marriage with the daughter of the king of France, who, on his side, had an affection for it, as he did not see how he could more nobly marry her.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE LORD DE LA RIVIERE AND SIR JOHN LE MERCIER ARE DELIVERED OUT OF PRISON.

The lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, after having been carried from prison to prison, and to different castles, were at last given up to the provost of the Châtelet, and in daily expectation of being put to death, through the hatred of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy and their advisers. They had been in this melancholy state for more than two years, without the king being able to assist them. He, however, would not consent to their execution; and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy perceived that the duke of Orleans strongly befriended them. The duchess of Berry was incessant in her entreaties with her lord in their favor, more particularly for the lord de la Riviere; but they could not condemn one without the other, for they were both implicated in the same accusation. The solicitations of many worthy persons, added to the justice of their cause, were of much weight; and several of the great barons of France thought they had now sufficiently suffered, and should be set at liberty; for that sir John le Mercier had wept so continually, when in prison, his sight was weakened so that he could scarcely see, and it was currently reported he was quite blind.

At length there was an end put to their sufferings; for the king, although he had consented to their imprisonment, for reasons which had been given him, granted them his pardon, deferring further inquiry into what had been laid to their charge until a future opportunity, and when he should be more fully informed. All his lands and castles were restored to the lord de la Riviere, and in the first instance, the beautiful castle of Auneau, near Chartres, on the borders of Beauce; but he was ordered thither, and never to recross the river Seine, unless recalled by the king's own mouth. Sir John le Mercier returned to his fine house of Noviant, of which he bore the title as lord, in the Laonnois; and he had similar orders not to repass the rivers Seine, Marne and Oise, unless specially commanded by the king. They also bound themselves to go to whatever prison they might hereafter be ordered by the king or by his commissioners. The two lords thankfully accepted this grace, and were rejoiced to be delivered from the Châtelet. On gaining their liberty, they thought they should be allowed to see the king, and thank him for his mercy, but it was not so: they were forced to quit Paris instantly, and set out for their different estates. They, however, obtained their liberty, to the great joy of all who were attached to them.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY AND SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON ARE RECONCILED. THE DOWAGER QUEEN OF SICILY INSTITUTES A LAW-SUIT IN THE COURTS OF PARIS AGAINST SIR PETER DE CRAON.

You have often heard of the feuds between the duke of Brittany and sir Oliver de Clisson; and that, whenever the two parties met, a deadly engagement ensued, without either side showing mercy. In this warfare, however, sir Oliver had the advantage, for two-thirds of the country were in his favor. The barons of Brittany dissembled between both; and the citizens of the chief towns told the duke, that this war no way concerned them, and they would not interfere in it, for that commerce was more essential to them than a war with the lord de Clisson. Sir Oliver held them excused in regard to him, as they would be mediators in a peace, which the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Léon, and the lord de Dignan, were pressing on the duke of Brittany, who had declared to these three lords, that if he could obtain a meeting with the lord de Clisson, he would comply with such terms as they should think honorable to propose.

These barons went to the castle where sir Oliver resided, and told him how far they had succeeded with the duke, who would at any time grant him and his company passports for coming and going; and that they imagined, if once they could meet, all their quarrels would be put an end to. The lord de Clisson replied: "You are all my friends and relations, and I put my whole confidence in you: I verily believe what you say from the duke, that he would willingly have me in his presence; but, as God and my lord St. Yves may help me, I will never on such words or promise quit my castle. Tell him, since he has deputed you here, to send me his eldest son, who shall remain as my pledge; and, when he shall be arrived, I will wait on him when and where he pleases. As my end shall be, so will be that of his son; if I return, he shall return; but, if I be detained, so shall he. Such are my conditions." The three barons, seeing they could obtain no other answer, were satisfied with it, and, taking their leave in a friendly manner, departed for Vannes, where the duke was waiting for them, and related to him the proposal from sir Oliver de Clisson. The duke could not obtain other terms; and the lord de Clisson had greatly the advantage in this war: the duke conquered nothing from him, while sir Oliver won several places from the duke, besides having twice captured all his gold and silver plate, with many precious jewels, all of which he turned to his own profit.

The end, however, of this quarrel was as follows: the duke of Brittany, as great a prince as he was, saw plainly he could no way bend the lord de Clisson to his will, for he had too many friends in Brittany. With the exception of the great barons in the duchy, all the knights, squires, and inhabitants of the principal towns, inclined to the lord de Clisson. The barons dissembled their sentiments, and told the duke they would not interfere in the matter unless it should be to mediate a peace, if any means could be found out for so doing. The duke of Orleans, in particular, supported sir Oliver underhanded in various ways, and he was well pleased whenever he received news of the good success of his enterprises. The duke of Brittany, who was of a subtle imagination, and had labored hard with many difficulties in his time, weighed all these circumstances; and also, that he was not beloved by his subjects, who would show it if they dared, without infringing their homage, as well as the children of sir Charles de Blois slain at the battle of Auray; namely, John of Brittany, count de Penthievre and Limoges, married to the daughter of the lord de Clisson; sir Henry of Brittany* his brother, and their sister the queen of Naples and Jerusalem. He felt, likewise, that he was growing old, that his children were young, and except the duke and duchess of Burgundy, he had not a friend in France who would take care of them, in case of his decease; for, by the mother's side, they came from the branch of Navarre, which was not a family well beloved in France, from the remembrance of the many wicked acts, in former times, of king Charles of Navarre, the duchess of Brittany's father. He was therefore afraid, should he die during the subsisting hatred of sir Oliver de Clisson and the count de Penthievre, his children would have too many enemies. He perceived also that the English, who had certainly raised him to the honors he now possessed, were

* Denys Suvage says in a marginal note, that he never heard of this personage before, and supposes that at that period the count de Penthievre had not any brother.

In Anderson's Royal Genealogies, the lord Charles de Blois had issue Guido count de Penthievre, died S. P.—John, married to Margaret de Clisson—N. N. married to Charles of Spain, constable of France, murdered by the king of Navarre—Mary, wife of Louis duke of Anjou, son of John king of France.

becoming indifferent to his welfare, and would probably increase in coolness, if the information he had received of the approaching connection between the kings of France and England were true. He had learnt that the treaty of marriage was far advanced between the king of England and the daughter of the king of France, who had been promised to his eldest son.

All these things alarmed the duke, but especially what had been last mentioned troubled him more than all the rest. Having fully considered them, he resolved to throw aside all dissembling, and openly and honestly make peace with sir Oliver de Clisson and John of Brittany; leaving them to say what amends, if any, he should make for the damages done them during the war, and for what had happened in former times, reserving to himself the duchy of Brittany, which was to descend after him to his children, according to the treaty that had been signed, with the approbation of all parties, by the children of sir Charles de Blois. This treaty he was not desirous to have broken: on the contrary, he would that every article should be observed, and that it should again be sworn to and loyally maintained in its whole extent. Should John of Blois, count de Penthievre, not be satisfied with his inheritance in Brittany, he would fairly leave it to the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Dignan, de Laval, de Léon, de Beaumont, and sir John de Harpedane, to settle the matter between them. The duke of Brittany, having maturely arranged this in his own mind, without asking advice from any one of his council, called a secretary, to whom, on entering his chamber, he gave a large sheet of paper, and said, "Write down as I shall dictate." The secretary being ready, the duke repeated to him every word he was to write. The letter was indited in the most friendly terms to sir Oliver de Clisson, desiring him to devise some means for them to have an interview, when everything should be settled in the most agreeable manner.

When the letter was folded up, in the presence only of the duke and his secretary, he sealed it with his signet, and, calling his most trusty varlet into the chamber, said: "Hasten to castle Josselin, and say boldly that I have sent thee to speak with my cousin sir Oliver de Clisson. Thou wilt be introduced to him: salute him from me: if he return the salute, give him this letter, and bring me back his answer; but on thy life tell no man, woman, or child whither thou art going, nor who has sent thee." The varlet, having promised obedience, set out, and on his arrival at Château-Josselin, the guard was greatly surprised when they heard that the duke of Brittany had sent him to speak with their lord. Nevertheless, they informed sir Oliver of his coming, who ordered him into his presence: on his entrance, he delivered his message and the letter. The lord de Clisson examined the private signet of the duke, which he knew well, opened the letter, and read it two or three times over, and was much astonished, during the perusal, at the affectionate and friendly terms it was written in. After musing some time, he told the varlet he would consider his answer, and ordered him to be conducted to an apartment by himself.

The attendants of the lord de Clisson were confounded at what they saw and heard; for never before had any one come from the duke of Brittany who had not been instantly put to death, or confined in the deepest dungeon. When sir Oliver had retired to his chamber, his thoughts were occupied with the contents of the letter, and his hatred to the duke was extinguished, from the submissive and affectionate manner in which he had written to him: he said to himself, that he would prove him, and see if he were really in earnest; for he could not venture to go to him merely on the faith of his letter, and, if any accident happened to him he would be pitied by none. He determined, therefore, that if the duke would send his son as an hostage, he would come to him when and where he pleased, but not otherwise. He wrote a very friendly answer, and the conclusion was, that if he wished to see him, he must send his son as his pledge, who would be taken the greatest care of until his return. This letter was sealed and given to the varlet, who hastened back to the duke at Vannes, where he was impatiently expecting him. On receiving the letter from sir Oliver, he instantly read it; having paused a moment, he said, "I will do it; for, since I mean to treat amicably with him, every cause of distrust must be removed." He wrote to the viscount de Rohan, who resided at his castle of Caire, in the neighborhood of Vannes, to come to him. The viscount, on the receipt of the duke's letter, waited on him, and he then explained his intentions, by saying, "Viscount, you and the lord de Monboucher shall carry my son to Château-Josselin, and bring back with you the lord de Clisson, for I am determined to make up our quarrel." The viscount replied, that with joy he would obey him.

It was not many days after, that the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Monboucher, and sir Yves de Tegre, carried the boy, who might be about seven years old, to Château-Josselin, where they were handsomely and honorably received by sir Oliver de Clisson. When he saw the boy, and this proof of confidence from the duke, he was much affected. The three knights also said, "You see, sir, how well inclined the duke is to you: he now bears you nothing but the sincerest affection." "I am at present convinced of it," replied sir Oliver; "and, since he makes such advances, I will not be behindhand, but put myself under his obedience. I know not if to you, who are so nearly related to him, and in whom he has such trust as to confide his son and heir, to bring and leave here as an hostage until my return, he has told the contents of the letter he sent me under his private signet." "Sir," answered the knights, "he has assured us of the earnest and sincere desire he has to make peace with you; and you may believe us, for we are your relations." "I firmly do believe you," said sir Oliver, as he went out to fetch the duke's letter. Having read it to them, they replied, "He certainly has spoken to us in the very same terms in which he has written to you, and in consequence has sent us hither." "So much the better," answered sir Oliver.

It was not long after the arrival of the three knights, with the heir of Brittany, before the lord de Clisson had made his preparations. They all set out together from Château-Josselin, carrying the boy with them; for sir Oliver said he would give him back to his father, as henceforward he should never distrust the duke, after the trial he had made of him. Such generosity was shown on both sides, that it was no wonder a firm peace was the consequence.

They continued their journey to Vannes, where, according to the duke's orders, sir Oliver dismounted at a convent of the Dominicans, which is situated without the town, where the duke had fixed the meeting to take place. When he heard that the lord de Clisson had brought back his son, he was highly delighted with his generosity and courtesy. The duke set out from his castle of la Motte, for the convent, where he and sir Oliver shut themselves up in a chamber: having conversed some time, they went privately into the garden, and thence to the banks of the river, and entered a small boat that conveyed them to a large vessel that lay at anchor at the mouth of the river, which they boarded, and, when at a distance from their people, continued for a long time in conference. I cannot pretend to say what passed between them. But I will relate the consequences. Their friends thought they were all the time in the convent, when they were on ship-board, arranging all things on the footing they wished them to remain. They were upward of two hours together, if not longer, according to what I heard, and made a firm peace, which they mutually swore to observe most religiously. When they were about to return, they called their boatman, who rowed them back to the place he had brought them from, and they entered the church by a private door, through the garden and cloisters of the convent, whence they soon departed for the castle of la Motte, the duke holding sir Oliver by the hand. All who thus saw them were pleased: indeed, the whole of Brittany was very happy when the news of this reconciliation was made public; but greatly were they surprised on hearing how it had been brought about.

John of Blois, count de Penthievre, was no loser by this peace: on the contrary, his revenue was augmented twenty thousand golden crowns of France, well and legally assigned to him and his heirs. To confirm and strengthen this peace, a marriage was concluded between the son of John of Blois, and a daughter of the duke of Brittany; so that those who looked for a continuance of war were disappointed. When intelligence of these transactions reached France and England, it caused very great surprise.*

You have before had it related how sir Peter de Craon incurred the indignation of the king of France and the duke of Touraine, for his attempt to murder the constable of France, sir Oliver de Clisson, as he was returning to his hôtel in the night time from the king's palace; and that, from the duke of Brittany having supported and given him an asylum, the king of France had declared war against him, which he would have carried into effect had he not been suddenly taken ill between Mans and Angers, when on his march to Brittany: but this melancholy event caused the expedition to be put an end to, the army disbanded, and every man to return to his own home. You have also heard how the dukes of Berry and Burgundy took up this business, and showed great hatred to those who had advised the king to this expedition against Brittany, such as the lord de Clisson, the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, Montagu, and others, whom they made suffer severely for it; for these two dukes had the sovereign government of the kingdom during the illness of the king. You have likewise heard of the inveterate war that was carried on between the duke of Brittany and sir Oliver de Clisson, and of their reconciliation; as well as of the deliverance of the lord de la Riviere, sir John le Mercier, and Montagu, from their confinements. Montagu had not so many difficulties to encounter as the other two; for, the instant the king recovered his health, he would have Montagu near his person, and assisted to make his excuses for several charges that had been laid against him. You must know, however, that this disorder of the king, and many of the like kind that followed, (for he had several relapses, to the great sor-

* When the duke of Brittany and the lord de Clisson were reconciled, they named commissioners to put their agreement into a legal form; and, according to the historian of Brittany often quoted, these lawyers met at Auclet, near Redon, the 13th October, 1395. The principal articles of the treaty were, that the duke should assign over to the count de Penthievre the lordships of Chateauneuf du Fose, Vhelgouet, Gommen, Duault, Châteaulin in Cornuaille, Lannion and Châteaulin sur Trieuc, for the yearly payment of eight thousand livres; that the duke might take back these lands when he pleased, on giving others of like value in Brittany or France; that the count should pay obedience to the duke, notwithstanding the demolition of the castle of Tonguedoc, the restoration of which he could never insist on; that the lord de Clisson would acknowledge the duke for his lord, but to have liberty, during four years, to appear personally or by proxy; that all lands that had been seized by each side during the war should be restored to their respective owners. This treaty was sealed and sworn to by the lord de Clisson, at Rieux, the 20th October. The count de Penthievre swore to it five days after at Guingamp, in the presence of the viscount de Fou and Henri de Juck, chamberlain to the duke.

row and alarm of France,) greatly weakened his power; and his will was so little attended to, that the three above-named persons, or two of them at least, very narrowly escaped death.

Sir Peter de Craon, hearing of the miserable state of the king and kingdom of France, far from being sorry, was much rejoiced, and made the strongest entreaties that he might be restored to the king's favor, and allowed to return to the court of France. His negotiators were the duke of Burgundy and sir Guy de la Trémouille, who would too easily have succeeded had not the duke of Orleans strenuously opposed it. He prevented any treaty being made in favor of sir Peter de Craon, as long as the war continued between the duke of Brittany and the lord de Clisson; but, when they were reconciled, his hatred against sir Peter was much softened. At this period, the queen of Naples and Jerusalem, widow of the late duke of Anjou, was prosecuting sir Peter de Craon, in the courts of justice at Paris, for the restitution of one hundred thousand francs, a sum she claimed as due to her late lord; and for that reason, and to attend the more to her affairs, she resided privately in Paris. Sir Peter found himself very disagreeably situated: he was fearful of the decision of the parliament, for the lady was of great personal weight, and had proved from whom, during the life of the duke of Anjou, he had received this sum, and for which as she maintained, he had never accounted. He was ill at ease on this account, and besides knew he had incurred the disgrace of the king and the duke of Orleans. The duke and duchess of Burgundy comforted him as well as they could; and he was allowed to come to Paris privately, where he remained, during the greater part of his residence, at the hôtel d'Artois, under the protection of the duchess of Burgundy.

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE KING OF HUNGARY WRITES TO THE KING OF FRANCE HIS SITUATION IN RESPECT TO THE SULTAN BAJAZET. JOHN OF BURGUNDY, ELDEST SON TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, MARCHES, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AN ARMY TO THE SUCCOR OF THE HUNGARIANS.

About this time, Sigismond king of Hungary wrote very affectionate letters to the king of France, which he sent by a bishop and two of his knights. The contents of these letters related to the threats of Bajazet, and his boastings to the king of Hungary, of carrying the war into the midst of his realm, and thence to Rome, where his horse should eat his oats on the altar of Saint Peter. He said he would establish that place for the seat of his imperial government, and be attended by the emperor of Constantinople and all the principal barons of Greece: each of whom should follow their own laws, for that he would only reserve to himself his authority as their lord paramount. The king of Hungary entreated the king of France to listen to his distress; and make it public throughout France and other countries, that all knights and squires might be moved to provide themselves with every necessary for a journey to Hungary, to oppose the sultan Bajazet, and prevent holy Christendom from being oppressed or violated by him, and that his vain boastings might be annihilated. Many affectionate expressions were contained in these letters, such as kings and cousins are accustomed to write to each other in cases of necessity. Those who brought them were men of rank and understanding, and acquitted themselves so well, that king Charles was much inclined to their request; and the propositions from king Richard for the marriage of his daughter prospered the more, and were sooner agreed to, than if this intelligence from Hungary had not arrived in France; for, as king of France and eldest son of the church, he was very desirous of providing a remedy for the evils that threatened it. The subject of these letters was soon made public, both at home and abroad, to move the hearts of gentlemen, knights, and squires, who were desirous to travel in search of glory.

At the time this news came to Paris, there were with the king the duke and duchess of Burgundy, their eldest son, John of Burgundy count de Nevers, who was not then a knight, sir Guy, and sir William de la Trémouille, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, with other great barons. It was proposed, therefore, at the hôtel of the duke of Burgundy, who was eager to send assistance to Hungary, that his son, the count de Nevers, should undertake an expedition thither, as commander-in-chief of the French and other chivalry. John of Burgundy was a courteous and amiable youth of twenty-two years old, greatly beloved by the knights and squires of Burgundy, and indeed by all who were acquainted with him. He had married a prudent lady, the daughter of duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, who had brought him two children, whom, in due season, he looked to ally nobly. It was hinted to him, to know what he would say, that perhaps the king of France might select him, to lead a body of men-at-arms to the assistance of the king of Hungary. He replied, "that if it were agreeable to his lord the king, and his lord and father, he would cheerfully accept of this command, which came very opportunely, as he had a great desire to gain renown." "Sir," answered those to whom he had addressed himself, "speak first to your father, and learn whether he be willing that you go, and if he will talk to the king on the subject; for without their consent nothing could be done."

It was not long after this, that John of Burgundy spoke to the duke his father, requesting humbly his consent to go on the expedition to Hungary, as he had a strong wish for it. When he made this request, there were with the duke sir Guy and sir William de la Trémouille, sir James de Vergy, and other knights, who, taking part in the conversation, said; "My lord, what John of Burgundy asks is very reasonable, for it is time he should receive the order of knighthood; and he cannot more honorably receive it, than when marching against the enemies of God and our faith. In case the king intend to send assistance to Hungary, whom can he so properly appoint as a leader, as his cousin-german, your son? and you will see that many knights will join his company to advance their name." The duke replied; "You speak to the purpose, and we have no inclination to check the ardor of our son; but we must first talk to the king, and hear what he shall say." The subject then dropped; but it was not long before the duke mentioned it to the king, who instantly complied, saying, he would do well to go thither; and, if he was in earnest, he not only gave his consent, but would appoint him commander-in-chief of the expedition.

It was published in Paris and elsewhere, that John of Burgundy was to lead a large body of men-at-arms into Hungary, to oppose the force of Bajazet;* that, when this was done, he was to advance to Constantinople, cross the Hellespont, enter Syria, gain the Holy Land, and deliver Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, and the bondage of the sultan. Knights and squires began now to collect together, with other gentlemen who were desirous of renown. The duke of Burgundy, on the appointment of his son to the chief command, paid greater attention than before to the Hungarian embassadors, who, perceiving the good-will of the king of France and the nation, were well pleased, and took leave of the king, the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, and constable of France, the count de la Marche, and the other barons, on their departure for their own country, where the king of Hungary was greatly delighted with the news they brought. In consequence of this, he gave orders for large stores of provision to be provided against the arrival of the French: and sent messengers to his brother, the king of Germany, and his cousin, the duke of Austria, for all the passes in their territories to be thrown open, as it would be necessary for them to march that way: he likewise ordered plenty of provision to be ready prepared, on the road they were to come. He sent also information of the expected assistance from France to the grand-master of the Teutonic order, and to the knights of Rhodes, that they might be ready to meet John of Burgundy, who, in the course of this summer, would lead a thousand knights and squires, all men of valor, into Hungary, on their way to Turkey, to oppose the menaces of the sultan Bajazet.

While the news of this expedition was the matter of conversation everywhere, the lord de Coucy returned from the frontiers of Genoa, where he had been upward of a year negotiating with the Genoese. Some of the leading men in that city had informed the duke of Orleans, that persons composing the government of Genoa were desirous of having for their duke one of the blood-royal of France, and, as he had married the daughter of the duke of Milan, it would be very suitable for him. In consequence of this, the lord de Coucy had passed through Savoy and Piedmont, with the consent of the count de Savoye and the Savoyards, accompanied by three hundred lances and five hundred cross-bows. Having obtained leave from the duke of Milan, he continued his journey from Asti in Piedmont to a town called Alexandria, and thence to the frontiers of Genoa, to enter into negotiations with the Genoese, and learn more plainly their intentions. By force he could do nothing, unless he were very superior to the Genoese, which was not the case. When the lord de Coucy had entered the territories of Genoa, which are not easy to conquer, if the inhabitants have any disposition to defend them; some of those lords who had sent the information to the duke of Orleans, and had been the cause of his coming, waited on him, and with many friendly expressions welcomed him to their country, and offered him their castles. But the lord de Coucy was as prudent as valiant, and being well acquainted with the character of the Lombards and Genoese, was unwilling to trust too much to their offers and promises. However, he received them kindly, and treated them fairly by words; for although there were many conferences between them, they were held in the open fields, and not in any house or castle; but the more he negotiated the less he gained. The Genoese showed him every token of affection, and invited him repeatedly to come to Genoa, or to Porto Venere, but the lord de Coucy would never put himself in their power. The issue of his negotiation was unsuccessful; and when it was found he could not do anything, having regularly written to the duke of Orleans respecting the state of affairs, he was remanded to Paris, at the time when the expedition to Hungary was in agitation.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy were happy at his return, and, sending for him to the hôtel d'Artois, addressed him in the most amiable manner as follows: "Lord de Coucy, we have the highest opinion of your understanding, valor, and prudence; and as we have made John our son and heir undertake the command of an expedition, which we hope will turn out to the honor of God and Christendom; knowing that you, of all the knights of France, are the best informed of warlike affairs, we beg and entreat most earnestly that you would be the counsellor and companion of our son in this expedition; for which we shall be so greatly obliged, that we will return it

* The Turks were already in possession of some parts of Greece.

by serving you or yours to the utmost of our power." The lord de Coucy replied: "My lord, and you madam, what you request is to me an order. I will surely be of this expedition, if it please God, for two reasons: first from devotion, and to defend the faith of Jesus Christ; secondly, from the honor you do me, by giving me the charge of advising my lord John your son. I shall therefore obey, and acquit myself in all respects to the best of my abilities. But, my dear lord, and you my very dear lady, you may readily excuse me from this weight, and lay it on the lord Philip d'Artois, constable of France, and on the count de la Marche; for they are nearly related to him, and intend to form a part of the expedition." The duke answered, "Lord de Coucy, you have seen much more than either of them, and know more of war than our cousins of Eu and de la Marche; and we entreat you to comply with our request." "My lord," said the lord de Coucy, "your words are commands; and I will do as you require, since it is your pleasure, with the aid of sir Guy de la Trémouille, his brother sir William, and sir John de Vienne admiral of France." The duke and duchess were well pleased with this answer.

The lords of France made vast preparations for their expedition to Hungary, and solicited the company and service of different barons, knights, and squires. Such as were not asked, and had a wish to go thither, made application to the count d'Eu, constable of France, the count de la Marche or the lord de Coucy, that they would take them in their company. Some were accepted: but those who were not, considering the great distance Hungary and Turkey were from France, greatly cooled in their ardor; for, as they were not retained, they were not sufficiently wealthy to perform the journey with credit to themselves. Nothing was spared in the preparations for the young John of Burgundy, with regard to horses, armor, emblazonments, dresses, silver and gold plate, and the duke's officers were fully employed in the business. Large sums of florins were given to the servants of John of Burgundy, who paid them to the different workmen as they finished and brought home their works. The barons, knights, and squires, to do him honor, exerted themselves to make their equipments as handsome as possible.

The lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, made magnificent preparations; for he was determined to march thither as constable of France; and the king, who much loved him, assisted him with money, and he acted in the same manner with respect to the lord Boucicaut, marshal of France. The duke of Burgundy, considering that this expedition would cost him very large sums, and that the state of his wife, himself, and his son Anthony, ought not to be any way diminished, bethought himself of a tax he had in reserve, in order to find a supply of money for these expenses. He had received from cities and towns in Burgundy, as the usual tax on his eldest son receiving the order of knighthood, six score thousand golden crowns: but his additional tax was laid on all knights who held fiefs from him, to attend his son into Hungary, or compound in money. Some were taxed at one thousand livres, others at two thousand; some at five hundred; each according to his wealth, or the value of the lands. Ladies and ancient knights, who were unfit or disabled to undertake such an expedition, paid compositions at the duke's pleasure. The young knights and squires were exempted paying, for they were told, "My lord does not want your money: you must accompany the lord John at your own cost and charges." Of this last tax, the duke of Burgundy received from the gentlemen of his duchy sixty thousand crowns, for none were exempted.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE COUNT D'OSTREVANT, BROTHER-IN-LAW TO JOHN OF BURGUNDY, BEING DESIROUS TO MARCH TO HUNGARY, IS ADVISED BY HIS FATHER TO ATTEMPT, IN PREFERENCE, THE RE-CONQUEST OF FRIESLAND, WHICH BELONGED TO THEM.

News of this expedition to Hungary was spread far and near. On its being announced in Hainault, knights and squires, eager for renown, assembled together, and said; "It would not be amiss if our lord of Hainault, who is young and promising, were to accompany his brother-in-law, the count de Nevers, in this expedition; and, should it take place, we must not fail to attend him." The count d'Ostrevant resided in Quesnoy at the time such conversations were held, and was informed what his knights and squires said. This made him the more willing to accompany his brother-in-law, having before had such intentions. Whenever the subject was mentioned in his presence, he dissembled his real thoughts, by saying little about it, meaning to consult his lord and father, duke Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault, how he would advise him to act.

It was not many days before he set out to visit the duke and duchess of Bavaria at the Hague, where they lived. He addressed his father: "My lord, it is currently reported that my brother-in-law of Nevers has undertaken an expedition to Hungary, and thence to Turkey, against the sultan Bajazet. There must be grand deeds of arms performed; and at this moment I am perfectly idle, knowing not whither to bear arms: I wish to learn your intentions, if it would be agreeable to you that I should accompany my brother-in-law on this honorable expedition, with one hundred of our chivalry. My lord and lady of Burgundy will thank me for so doing; and there are many knights and squires in Hainault who will eagerly go with me." Duke Albert replied, like one who had well weighed the subject; "William, since thou hast so great a desire to travel, and to seek for deeds of arms in Hungary and Turkey, against a people and country who have never done us any wrong, it must be caused by vain-glory alone, for thou hast not a shadow of reason to induce thee to go thither. Let John of Burgundy and our cousins of France perform their enterprise, and do thou undertake one that more nearly touches us. March to Friesland, and conquer back that country, which was our inheritance; for the Frieslanders have, by rebellion, withdrawn themselves from our obedience; and, if thou undertake this, I will assist thee." This speech from his father was very agreeable to the count d'Ostrevant, and raised his spirit: he answered, "My lord, you say well; and, if it be your opinion I should undertake such an expedition, I will do so heartily." By little and little, the matter was so long talked over between the father and son, that the invasion of Friesland was agreed upon; and a circumstance I shall relate greatly helped him in this matter.

The count d'Ostrevant had at that time, for his principal adviser, a squire of Hainault, called Fier-à-bras, or the bastard of Vertain. He was equal in prudence as in arms, so that when the count told him what his father had said, he replied, "Sir, my lord your father gives you excellent advice. It will be more for your honor to undertake this expedition than to join that to Hungary; and, when you begin your preparations for it, you will find plenty of knights and squires in Hainault and elsewhere, ready to accompany and assist you. But if you really are in earnest to undertake it, I would recommend that you first go to England, to make known your intentions to the knights and squires of that country; and to entreat the king of England, your cousin, that he would permit you to retain knights, squires, and archers, and allow them to accept of your pay, and to accompany you from England. The English are men of valor: if you succeed in obtaining their assistance, you will go far to be successful; and if you can prevail on your cousin, the earl of Derby, to take part and come with you, there will be still greater chances of success, and your enterprise will gain more renown." The count d'Ostrevant inclined to the council of Fier-à-bras de Vertain, for he thought it good; and, when he spoke of it to the lord de Gomegines, he likewise agreed to it, as did all who were friends to the count. News of this was whispered throughout Hainault, and a proclamation soon after issued, to prohibit all knights and squires from quitting the country, to form part of any expedition to Hungary or elsewhere, for that the count d'Ostrevant needed their services, and would, this summer, lead them against Friesland.

We will, for a while, leave this matter, and speak of others that were in greater forwardness.

CHAPTER LXXI.

JOHN OF BURGUNDY, COUNT OF NEVERS, LEADS AN ARMY INTO HUNGARY AGAINST THE TURKS. THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE MARRIAGE OF KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND WITH THE ELDEST PRINCESS OF FRANCE ARE CONTINUED.

The knights and squires in different countries were all alive at the wars that seemed likely to take place in opposite quarters: some made themselves ready for the expedition to Hungary; others for that to Friesland: and whenever they met they conversed on these subjects. The count de Nevers was prepared; and all those knights had been enrolled who were to be under his charges, and to accompany him. The purveyances were very considerable and well arranged; and, as the honor of the expedition was given to him, he made handsome presents to his knights and squires, and gave them many stores; for, as the journey was long and expensive, it was but proper the men-at-arms should be aided to support them. In like manner did other lords act; such as the constable of France, the count de la Marche, the lords Philip and Henry de Bar, the lord de Coucy, sir Guy de la Trémouille, sir John de Vienne admiral of France, Boucicaut marshal of France, sir Reginald de Roye, the lords de St. Pol, de Montmorel, de Saint Py, the haze de Flanders, sir Louis de Brézé, his brother, and the borgne de Monquel, with many more; for they amounted to one thousand knights and as many squires, all men of tried courage and enterprise.

They left their homes about the middle of March, and advanced in good array by companies. They found all the roads open to them, for the king of Germany had commanded that his country and Bohemia should afford them every friendly assistance to supply their wants, and that the prices of provision should on no account be raised. Thus did these lords of France march to the assistance of the king of Hungary, whose army was to have a pitched battle against that of Bajazet, on the 20th day of the ensuing month of May.* They passed Lorrain, the counties of Bar and Montbelliard, the duchy of Burgundy, and entering Aussais,† traversed that whole country, and, having crossed the Rhine in many places, marched through the county of Ferrette and entered Austria. This is an extensive and wild country, with difficult passes; but they advanced with so good an inclination, that they did not suffer from the labor and fatigue. The chief con-

* In the year 1396.—Ed.

† Alsace.—Ed.

versation of the French lords was concerning the power of the Turks, which they seemed to make very light of.

The duke of Austria gave the French lords a handsome reception; but he was particularly attentive to John of Burgundy, for the lord Otho, eldest son to the duke, had espoused Mary of Burgundy, his sister.* All these French lords were to assemble at a city called Buda, in Hungary. Let us return to the affairs of France.

You have before heard that the king of England had sent as embassadors to the king of France, to conclude a marriage between him and his daughter Isabella, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of St. David's, the earl marshal, the earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York, sir Henry Clifford, the lord Beaumont, the lord Despencer, sir John de Robesart, and several more. They had succeeded well in the business, and the French king made them welcome, as did his uncles and council. The embassadors returned to England in high spirits, and gave the king great hopes that his wishes would be gratified. King Richard was not idle in the business, but during the following winter, frequently reminded the king and council of France of it, who were far from being adverse, for they considered it as one of the surest means to put an end to the wars which had lasted so long between France and England. The treaty was carried on with eagerness and friendship on both sides; and the king of England promised, from the power he had over his subjects, that there should be peace between the two countries. To conclude the business, the earl of Rutland and the earl marshal, were again sent to Paris. They were lodged at the Croix du Tiroir, and, with their attendants, occupied the whole of that street, and part of another: they were full six hundred horse,† and remained in Paris upward of three weeks, supplied with everything from the king of France.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE QUEEN OF NAPLES, WIDOW TO THE LATE DUKE OF ANJOU, OBTAINS JUDGMENT IN PARLIAMENT AGAINST SIR PETER DE CRAON.

During the time these embassadors were at Paris negotiating the marriage of the king of England, the dowager queen of Naples was also there, busily employed in her own concerns, for she was a lady of great activity. Her business at that time was before the parliament, where she was pleading two causes: one for the inheritance of the county of Roussy against the count de Brianne; for the late duke of Anjou, her lord, had bought and paid for it to a lady who was countess de Roussy, some time wife to sir Louis de Namur, from whom she was divorced. The other was against sir Peter de Craon, from whom she claimed the sum of one hundred thousand francs, and which she proved he had received for and in the name of her late lord the king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, on condition to pay the same to him in la Puglia; but, when he was informed of the king of Naples' death, he no longer continued his journey but returned to France, making use of the above-mentioned sum to his own profit, without rendering any account of it to the queen of Naples, nor to her two children Lewis and Charles, but dissipating it in folly and extravagance. This was the cause, as the queen of Naples said, of the loss of that kingdom, which was regained by Margaret Durazzo and the heirs of sir Charles Durazzo; for the soldiers of her late lord, who were aiding her to continue the war in Calabria and la Puglia, deserted her for want of pay: many had turned to the count de St. Severino and to Margaret Durazzo, and others had retired from the war.

All these matters were pleaded in the courts of the parliament at Paris, for upward of three years; although sir Peter de Craon was absent, his advocates defended him well. They said, that in regard to the sum of one hundred thousand francs which he was charged with having received in the name of the king of Naples, that king was indebted to him as much, if not more, for the great and noble services he had rendered him. Notwithstanding the length of time this cause lasted, it was impossible to put off for ever its conclusion; and the lady was very urgent that judgment should be given by the parliament. The judges, having considered the matter well, declared they would give no judgment until both parties were personally before them. This was then difficult to accomplish, from the disgrace sir Peter de Craon was in with the king and the duke of Orleans, for his attempt to assassinate the constable. The lady, finding nothing would be done until sir Peter was before the court, perfectly free from every other charge except what she accused him of, and with full liberty to go anywhere in France, exerted herself greatly to obtain this for him, that an end might be put to her suit. Her solicitations with the king, the duke of Orleans, the count de Penthievre, sir John Harpedane and others, who had any complaints against him, were successful, and he was acquitted of all other charges. I know not whether it happened through dissimulation or otherwise, but he was shown great attention and kindness by the nobles and ladies of France until the time when judgment was to be given. He kept up as great state at Paris as ever he had done, and was appointed to receive the English embassadors, and to introduce them to the king, his brother, and uncles, for he was a knight perfectly well versed in all such ceremonies.

The day was fixed for the parliament to decide on the queen of Naples' complaints: the sentence had before been determined upon, and waited solely for the appearance of all parties concerned. A great number of the nobility attended, that it might have more authenticity; among whom were the queen of Sicily and Jerusalem, duchess of Anjou and countess of Provence, her son Charles, prince of Tarentum, and John of Blois, more commonly called John of Brittany, count de Penthievre and Limoges, the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the count de Brianne and the bishop of Laon, whom the queen had brought before the court on the subject of her claim on the county of Roussy. Sir Peter de Craon was likewise there, attended by many of his relations and friends.

The matter of the county of Roussy was first disposed of; and the judgment of the court was solemnly pronounced, that the county should belong to the count de Brianne, and to his heirs, who was to have immediate possession given him; but the queen of Naples was to be repaid in money the full amount of what her late lord, the duke of Anjou, had given to the countess of Roussy, lately deceased. The heirs of the countess of Roussy, to whom the lands belonged, thanked the court for the judgment they had given. The president, who was to declare the sentence in the second cause, now rose, and said, "the parliament had determined that sir Peter de Craon was indebted to the queen of Naples in the sum of one hundred thousand francs, which he must pay to her, or be committed to prison until it was done completely to her satisfaction." The queen thanked the court for their judgment, and, instantly, on her request, sir Peter de Craon was arrested, in the king's name, and carried to the prison of the Louvre, where he was confined and well guarded. Upon this, the parliament broke up, and every one returned to his home. Thus were these two sentences given, through the activity of the duchess of Anjou.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE MARRIAGE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND AND THE LADY ISABELLA, ELDEST DAUGHTER TO CHARLES VI. KING OF FRANCE. THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARRIES AGAIN. SIR PETER DE CRAON IS, AFTER SOME TIME, DELIVERED FROM PRISON, AT THE ENTREATY OF THE YOUNG QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

The earl marshal, the earl of Rutland, and the English embassadors remained for twenty-two days in Paris, where they were excellently well entertained by the king and his court; their negotiations were successful, and the marriage between the king of England and the princess Isabella was agreed on. She was betrothed and espoused by the earl marshal, as proxy for the king of England, and the lady, ever after, was styled queen of England. I was at the time told it was pleasant to see that, young as she was, she knew well how to act the queen. When this business was completed, and the different treaties signed and sealed, the embassadors took their leave of the king and his court, and departed from Paris to Calais, on their return to England, where they were joyfully received by the king, the duke of Lancaster, and the lords attached to the king's person and pleasures.

However much others might be pleased, it was not so with the duke of Gloucester; for he saw plainly that by this marriage peace would be established between the two kingdoms, which sorely displeased him, unless it should be such a peace as would redound to the honor of England, and everything were placed on the same footing as when the war broke out in Gascony. He frequently conversed on this subject with his brother the duke of York, and, whenever the occasion was favorable, endeavored to draw him over to his way of thinking, for he was but of weak understanding. He dared not speak so freely to his elder brother of Lancaster, who was of the king's party, and well satisfied with this marriage, on account of his two daughters the queens of Castille and Portugal. At this period, the duke of Lancaster married his third wife, the daughter of a Hainault knight, called sir Payen de Ruet: he had formerly been one of the knights to the good and noble queen Philippa of England, who much loved the Hainaulters, as she was herself of that country.

This lady whom the duke of Lancaster married was called Catherine,* and in her youth had been of the household of the duchess Blanche of Lancaster. Before the lady Blanche's death, and even when the duke was married to his second wife Constance, the daughter of don Pedro, he cohabited with the lady Catherine de Ruet who was then married to an English knight now dead.†

The duke of Lancaster had three children‡ by her, previous to his marriage, two sons and a daughter: the eldest son was named John lord Beaufort of Lancaster; the other Thomas, whom the duke kept at the schools in Oxford, and made a great churchman and civilian. He was afterwards bishop of Lincoln, which is the richest bishopric in the kingdom: from affection to these children, the duke married their mother, to the great astonishment of France and England, for

* There is a mistake here. *Leopold* IV. duke of Austria, married Catherine, not Mary, daughter of Philippe le Hardi, and sister of Jean sans-peur, the leader of this expedition.—Ed.

† The monk of St. Denis says that their numbers were more than twelve hundred. Six hundred horsemen, with their attendants on *foot*, (as was customary,) would amount to that number.—Ed.

* Catherine Swynford.—Ed. † Sir Hugh Swynford.

‡ Froissart mistakes in the number, and Thomas for Henry. According to Sandford, he had four children by Catherine Swynford. John Beaufort, earl of Somerset—Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and cardinal of Beaufort—Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter and earl of Dorset—Jean Beaufort countess of Westmoreland.

For further particulars, see Sandford and Dugdale.

Catherine Swynford was of base extraction in comparison to his two former duchesses Blanche and Constance. When this marriage was announced to the ladies of high rank in England, such as the duchess of Gloucester, the countess of Derby, the countess of Arundel, and others connected with the royal family, they were greatly shocked, and thought the duke much to blame. They said, "he had sadly disgraced himself by thus marrying his concubine;" and added, that, "since it was so, she would be the second lady in the kingdom, and the queen would be dishonorably accompanied by her; but that, for their parts, they would leave her to do the honors alone, for they would never enter any place where she was. They themselves would be disgraced if they suffered such a base-born duchess, who had been the duke's concubine a long time before and during his marriages, to take precedence, and their hearts would burst with grief were it to happen." Those who were the most outrageous on the subject were the duke and duchess of Gloucester. They considered the duke of Lancaster as a doating fool for thus marrying his concubine, and declared they would never honor his lady by calling her sister. The duke of York made light of the matter, for he lived chiefly with the king and his brother of Lancaster. The duke of Gloucester was of a different way of thinking: although the youngest of the three brothers, he yielded to no man's opinion, was naturally very proud and overbearing, and in opposition to the king's ministers, unless he could turn them as he willed. Catherine Ruet, however, remained duchess of Lancaster, and the second lady in England, as long as she lived. She was a lady accustomed to honors, for she had been brought up at court during her youth, and the duke fondly loved the children he had by her, as he showed during his life and at his death.

I must mention, that when the sentence of the court of parliament at Paris had been pronounced against sir Peter de Craon in favor of the queen of Naples, he was confounded. Finding that he must refund the one hundred thousand francs or remain his whole life in prison, he listened to the council that was given him from the duke and duchess of Burgundy. They advised him to solicit the young queen of England to intercede with the queen of Naples to obtain his liberty for fifteen days only, that he might seek out his friends in Paris to pay this money, or to become his sureties until he had procured it in Brittany or elsewhere, engaging to return with the sum he was condemned to pay. The queen of Naples complied with the request of the queen of England, but on condition that sir Peter de Craon should every night sleep in his prison at the Louvre. Sir Peter sought for aid among his relatives in vain; for the sum was too great for them to advance, and they refused being his sureties. At the end of the fifteen days, he was forced to return to his prison, where he was strictly guarded day and night, and at his own proper costs.

We will now speak of what actions and enterprises the count de Nevers and the lords of France performed this summer in Hungary; and then say something of the expedition the earl of Hainault and earl of Ostrevant made into Friesland.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

JOHN OF BURGUNDY, COUNT OF NEVERS, PASSES THE DANUBE WITH HIS ARMY. AFTER THE CAPTURE OF SEVERAL PLACES, THE TOWN OF NICOPOLI IS BESIEGED.*

On the arrival of the count de Nevers with his army, which was composed of numbers of valiant men from France and other countries, at Buda in Hungary, the king gave them a most hearty reception, as indeed he ought, for to serve him they were come. It was the intention of the king of Hungary, before he took the field, to obtain some certain intelligence of the movements of Bajazet, who had given him notice since last February to increase his forces, as he would in the course of the month of May lead an immense army to cross the Danube and offer combat to the Hungarians. Many wondered how this could be done; but others replied: "Nothing was impossible to man; that as Bajazet was of great valor and enterprise, and had said he would do so, he would surely accomplish it; but, if he failed in his threat, and did not cross the Danube, we ought to cross it, and enter his kingdom of Turkey. The king of Hungary could lead thither one hundred thousand men, including foreigners, which was sufficient to conquer all Turkey, and even to advance to the kingdom of Persia. If we gain a victory over Bajazet, we shall so far succeed that we may conquer Syria and the Holy Land, and deliver Jerusalem out of the hands of the Sultan and the enemies of our God. In the ensuing summer, the kings of France and England will jointly raise a large force of men-at-arms and archers; and, when they shall be united to us, nothing will be able to withstand so powerful an army."

Such were the conversations of the French in Hungary. When the month of May arrived, being disappointed in their expectations of hearing of the march of Bajazet, the king of Hungary sent scouts across the Danube to seek intelligence, and, at the same time, issued his summons for his power to assemble. The knights of Rhodes came thither in numbers during the month of May, looking for the arrival of the Saracens, but no news was heard of them. The king of Hungary, on this, sent some Hungarians who were used to arms, and well acquainted with the country, beyond the Danube, but they were as unsuccessful as his former scouts, in not meeting Bajazet: they heard that he was still in Asia, at Damascus, Antioch, or Alexandria. The king, on receiving this information, called a council of his lords, and those who were come from France, who were eager to signalize themselves, to consider how they should act in this emergency. The king told them that he had sent some expert men-at-arms to seek Bajazet, who had advanced far into Turkey; and that there was no appearance Bajazet would this summer put the menace into execution, of crossing the Danube to offer him battle. The king wished to have advice on this matter, more especially from the French lords. The lord de Coucy having consulted with the other barons, answered for them, that if Bajazet should have told lies, and deceived them by not keeping his word, they ought not for that to remain idle, but attempt some deeds of arms, since they were come thither to that effect; that all the French, Germans, and other foreigners, were willing to meet the Turks; and if under the command of Bajazet so much the better, as it would redound more to their honor. What the lord de Coucy said was approved of by the French, Germans, Bohemians, and others, as the most advantageous manner of employing the season.

Orders were, in consequence, issued by the king and marshals, that every one be prepared by a certain day, which was appointed on the octave of Saint John the Baptist, to march for Turkey. These orders were punctually obeyed; and you would have seen servants busily employed in preparing all things for their masters' wants. The lords of France were desirous of making a handsome figure, and examined well their armor and equipages, sparing no money to have them as complete as possible. Their appearance was grandly magnificent, when they took the field from Buda, the principal city of Hungary. The constable of Hungary had the command of the van division, because he knew the country well, and led with him a large body of Hungarians and Germans. Next to him marched the French lords, the constable of France, the count de la Marche, the lord de Coucy, the lords Henry and Philip de Bar, and many more.

With the king of Hungary rode the greatest barons of his realm, as was proper, and by his side John of Burgundy, who often conversed with him. They were full sixty thousand horse: the infantry were few in number, indeed none but the followers of the army. The array of the Christians was noble and handsome; and among the Hungarians were many cross-bow men on horseback. This army advanced until it came to the banks of the Danube, which it crossed in barges, boats, and pontoons, prepared some time since for this purpose. It was more than eight days before all had passed over; and as they landed on the opposite shore, they lodged themselves to wait for their companions. The Danube divides the kingdoms of Hungary and Turkey. When the whole army had crossed, they were delighted to find themselves on Turkish ground, for they were impatient to try the courage of the Turks. After a council they resolved to besiege a town in Turkey called Comecte,* and made preparations to invest it on all sides. This could easily be done; for it is situated in an open plain, with a river deep enough to bear vessels, called the Mecte,† which rises in Turkey, and falls into the Danube near the sea. This river Danube is very wide, and has more than four hundred leagues of course from its spring to the sea; it would be the most profitable of rivers to Hungary and the adjoining countries, if the vessels it carries could have a free passage to the sea, but that is impossible; for, right at its mouth, there is a mountain which divides it into two parts, and chokes the passage: the noise of the water is so tremendous, no vessel dares approach it, and it may be heard seven leagues off. On both sides of the river Mecte are fertile meads, to the great advantage of the inhabitants, and vineyards, which in favorable seasons produce good wines. The Turks vintage them, and, when made, they are put into goat-skins, and sold to the Christians, for, according to their religion, they are forbidden to taste wine under pain of death: at least when discovered so doing, they are punished; they make pleasant beverages of many other excellent fruits and spices, and are accustomed to drink much of goat's milk, during the hot weather, to refresh and cool them.

The king of Hungary encamped his army before this town without opposition, for no one made any attempt to prevent the siege; nor was there any person or army in the place, from Bajazet, to guard or defend it. On their arrival, they found the fruits ripe, which was a great comfort to them. Many attacks were made on the town, but they were valiantly opposed by the inhabitants, in the expectation of daily receiving reinforcements from Bajazet, their lord, to raise the siege. None, however, came, and the city was taken by storm, with great slaughter of men, women, and children; for the Christians on entering it spared none. When Comecte had thus been destroyed, the king of Hungary decamped with his army and advanced farther into Turkey toward the large city of Nicopoli; but, before he arrived there, he came to a town called Laquaire, where he encamped fifteen days, for it was so long before he could conquer it. This was also taken by storm, and destroyed. They then marched to another town and castle called Brehappe, governed by a Turkish knight, the lord of the place, who had with him a strong garrison.

The king of Hungary encamped his Hungarians about a league

* "Nicopoli"—on the Danube, in Bulgaria, sixty leagues N. W. from Adrianople. It is famous for the battle, in 1393, between Sigismond, king of Hungary, and Bajazet. Sigismond lost the battle and twenty thousand men, but it cost Bajazet sixty thousand, who were left dead on the field.

* "Comecte." Q. Nissa. † "Mecte." Q. Morava.

distant from it on account of water, for there was none nearer Brehappe; but the counts de Nevers, d'Eu, de la Marche, and the lords de Coucy, Boucicaut, de Saimpi, de Roye, Henry and Philip de Bar, with more than a thousand French knights and squires, made their approaches close to the town. The count de Nevers had been created a knight by the king of Hungary, on his entering Turkey; and, the day he displayed his banner, upward of three hundred were knighted. Those who had advanced to the town won it, within four days, by assault; but the castle was too strong, and resisted all their attacks. The lord of Brehappe, whose name was, I believe, Corbadas, a very valiant man, saved many of his people within the castle. He had three brothers, called Maladius, Balachius, and Ruffin. After the capture of the town, the Christians were seven days before the castle, and attacked it many times, but they lost more than they gained. These four brothers showed they were men of valor by the defence they made. The French lords having well considered the strength of the castle, and that they lost more than they won, saw plainly their attempts would be vain, and decamped, for they had heard the king of Hungary was desirous to lay siege to Nicopoli. Thus was the siege of Brehappe Castle broken up, and the garrison left in peace, but the town was burnt. The count de Nevers and the lords of France joined the king of Hungary, who instantly prepared to march to Nicopoli.

KING OF HUNGARY HOLDING A COUNCIL WITH THE FRENCH KNIGHTS. From MSS. of the 15th Century

Corbadas de Brehappe was well pleased to observe the Christians marching away, and said: "We shall now be undisturbed for some time: if my town be burnt, it will be rebuilt and recover itself: but I am surprised that we have no news from our sultan Bajazet; for he told me, the last time I spoke with him in the city of Nicopoli, that he would return to this country the beginning of May. His intentions were to cross the Hellespont, and Hungary. But this he has not done; and the Hungarians, greatly strengthened and emboldened by succors from France, have crossed the Danube and entered Turkey, where they will destroy all the possessions of Bajazet, for we have no force to oppose them. They will now for certain besiege Nicopoli, which, although sufficiently strong to hold out for some time, must be well defended. We are four brothers, knights, and relations to Bajazet: we ought, therefore, to attend to his concerns; and, in consequence, I propose the following plan: I and my brother Maladius will go to Nicopoli to assist in its defence; Balachius shall remain here to guard Brehappe, and Ruffin shall cross the sea and hasten to find Bajazet, and inform him of everything that has happened, and the great army that has invaded Turkey, that he may take instant measures to prevent the dishonorable loss of his possessions, and march such a force against the Christians as may conquer them; otherwise he will not only lose Armenia that he has won, but his own territories also; for, according to appearances, the king of Hungary and the Christians are determined to attempt his complete destruction." The three Turks approved of what their brother had said, and promised obedience. They made preparations accordingly; and, in the mean time, the siege was laid before Nicopoli by the Christian army, amounting to nearly one hundred thousand men. Corbadas de Brehappe and his brother Maladius gained admittance into the town, to the joy of the inhabitants. Balachius remained in the castle of Brehappe, and Ruffin took the first opportunity of setting out, passing the Christian army in the night, for he was well acquainted with the country, and crossed the Hellespont to learn intelligence where Bajazet was.

In truth, Bajazet was at Cairo with the sultan of Babylon, to solicit his aid, and there the Turk found him. When Bajazet saw him, he was much surprised, and imagined something extraordinary had happened. He called to him, and asked how things were going on in Turkey. "My lord," replied he, "they are very anxious to see you there, for the king of Hungary, with an immense force, has crossed the Danube, and invaded the country. They have committed great destruction, and burnt five or six of your inclosed towns: when I left Brehappe, they were marching to Nicopoli. My brothers Corbadas and Maladius have thrown themselves, with some men-at-arms, into the town to assist in the defence. You must know, that in this army of the king of Hungary, there is a body of Frenchmen, the most gallant and best appointed that can be seen. It behoves you, therefore, to summon your friends and vassals, and hasten to Turkey with an army powerful enough to drive these Christians across the Danube; but if your force is not very considerable, you will not be able to accomplish it."

"How many are they?" asked Bajazet. "Upward of one hundred thousand," said the Turk, "and all on horseback, armed in the best possible manner." Bajazet made no reply to this, but entered the chamber of the sultan of Babylon, leaving the Turk, who had brought this intelligence, among his people. He related what you have just heard to the sultan of Babylon, who answered, "You must provide yourself accordingly, and shall have men enough to oppose them, for we must, by all means, defend our religion and possessions." "That is true," replied Bajazet, "and my wishes are now accomplished; for I was desirous that the king of Hungary would cross the Danube with his army and enter Turkey. At present, I shall let him have full scope, but in the end he shall repay me fully for what he has done. It is four months since I heard of this expedition, from my good friend the duke of Milan, who at the same time sent me twelve hawks and gerfalcons, the finest I ever saw. With these presents, he wrote me the names and surnames of the barons of France who were coming to carry the war into Turkey; adding, that if I could capture those named in his letter, their ransoms would be worth to me more than a million of florins. Besides the barons he mentioned, there ought to be with them from France, or the neighboring countries, five hundred gallant squires. The duke of Milan advised me, if we had a battle, (which will infallibly be the case, for I shall march to meet them,) to draw up my men with prudence, and to take every advantage in the combat; for they were all men of such ability and resolution, that the meanest would not fly, to avoid death. They have undertaken this expedition, as the duke writes me, solely through valor, to do some deeds of arms that may gain them renown. For this I feel myself thankful to them; and their desire for arms shall be gratified within three months from this time, when, perhaps, they may have more than sufficient."

CHAPTER LXXV.

A DIGRESSION FROM THE PRINCIPAL HISTORY, TO EXPLAIN WHY JOHN GALEAS OF MILAN WAS MOVED TO GIVE THE TURK INFORMATION OF THE EXPEDITION INTENDED AGAINST HIM.

WHAT Bajazet had told the sultan of Babylon respecting the information he had received from the lord of Milan must surprise every one. It was supposed he had been baptized and was regenerated in our faith, and yet he had sought the friendship and alliance of an infidel king, an enemy to our religion, and had every year sent him presents of hounds and hawks, or the finest linen cloth that could be procured at Rheims, Cambray, or in Holland, which is very agreeable to the Saracens, who have none but what comes from our country. Bajazet, in return, made him rich gifts of cloth of gold and precious stones, of which they have abundance; and we cannot obtain them without great risk, unless by means of the Venetians or Genoese, who traffic with those parts. With regard to the count de Vertus, duke of Milan, and the lord Galeas, his father, who reigned over the Milanese as tyrants, it is marvellous to think of their fortunes, and how they first gained possession of that country.

There were three brothers of the house of Visconti, sir Matthew, sir Galeas, and sir Bernabo. These three brothers had an uncle* who was archbishop of Milan during the time the lord Charles de Luxembourg, king of Bohemia and Germany, was elected emperor in the room of Lewis of Bavaria, who had obtained that dignity by force. He was never acknowledged emperor by the church, but, on the contrary, was excommunicated by pope Innocent VI., who then reigned. The cause of his excommunication was, that after being crowned at Rome, by a pope and twelve cardinals of his creation, he gave liberty to his German soldiers to plunder Rome, to make them amends for the pay that was due. This was the recompense the Romans received for the reception they gave him; and for this cause he died under sentence of excommunication. The pope and cardinals whom he had made came of their free will to Avignon, and submitted themselves to pope Innocent, who absolved them of their error.

To return to the lords of Milan; I will say how they first obtained possession of the Milanese. This archbishop, their uncle, received in Milan the new emperor on his return from Aix-la-Chapelle (where he had performed the usual ceremonies for forty days) with so much magnificence and splendor that, in return for his good cheer and for a loan of one hundred thousand ducats, the emperor created him viscount of Milan, and gave to him the territory of the Milanese, and to his nephews after him, to hold during pleasure, and until the hundred thousand ducats were repaid in one sum. When the archbishop died, his nephew, sir Matthew, was acknowledged by the emperor as viscount of Milan. His two brothers, sir Galeas and sir Bernabo, who then were far from rich, took counsel together, and determined to seize the government and rule over Lombardy: to accomplish this, they resolved on their brother's death, by poison or otherwise,† and then to unite themselves so strongly by marriage that no one would dare to anger them. After the death of sir Matthew, they reigned with great power, and were on the best terms during their lives. They divided the country of Lombardy between them: sir Galeas had ten towns, being the eldest brother, and sir Bernabo nine; and Milan was governed alternately by them for one year. To maintain their government, and supply their expenses, they laid heavy taxes and gabelles on the people, and, by various means, extorted great wealth from their subjects. They had their towns garrisoned with foreign mercenaries, Germans, French, Bretons, English, and from every nation except Lombardy, for in the Lombards they had no confidence. These soldiers were regularly paid every month, and were much dreaded by the people, for none dared to oppose them. When any of the neighboring lords ventured to resist their encroachments, they took a severe revenge, and destroyed several, that others might take warning.

The inhabitants of their towns were under such awe, that they possessed nothing but through the good pleasure of sir Galeas and sir Bernabo, and those who were rich they taxed three or four times a year. They said the Lombards were too proud of their riches, and good for nothing unless kept under subjection. They were indeed so by them, for none dared murmur or say a word against any of their commands. The two brothers married nobly, but they bought their wives from the wealth of their people. Sir Galeas espoused Blanche, sister to the good count of Savoy: before he had his consent, he gave him one hundred thousand ducats. Sir Bernabo married in Germany a sister to the duke of Brunswick, and did not pay a less sum than his brother had done.‡ They had many children, whom they married to powerful families, to add to their strength. Sir Galeas had a son called John Galeas, and when he heard that king John of France had obtained his liberty from England, and that he was in great difficulty to procure the first payment of his ransom, of three millions of francs, he negotiated with the king and his council to have one of the daughters of France for wife to his son John Galeas. His proposals were listened to, because they knew he was rich, and the king was distressed for money. He bought, therefore, the daughter of king John for six hundred thousand francs, which being paid to the king of England, his son married her. She brought him as her dower the county of Vertus in Champagne. They had a son and daughter, and the last was married, by dint of money, to the second son of the late king Charles V. called Lewis, who is at this moment duke of Orleans, count of Blois and of Valois. This marriage cost the count de Vertus, father of the lady, one million of francs, with part of which was bought the county of Blois, as you have heard related in this history. The two brothers lived in great friendship with each other, which increased their power; and neither pope nor cardinal, who made war against them, could gain any advantage, nor any prince, except the Marquis of Montferrat, who succeeded through the aid of sir John Hawkwood and the English companies, whom he sought in Provence, and led into Lombardy.

After the death of Galeas, his son John Galeas, count de Vertus, reigned with great power, and at the beginning was much beloved in Lombardy for his prudent and wise conduct. He abolished the most oppressive taxes his father had imposed, and was so popular that all spoke well of him; but when he had so far succeeded, he showed his natural disposition, which he had long restrained. He laid an ambuscade for his uncle, sir Bernabo, who thought himself on the best terms with him; and, when he was taken, he was told that one lord was sufficient for Lombardy. He could not obtain any favor, for the power was against him, and, being carried to a castle, was put to death, but how I know not. Sir Bernabo had many fine children; and the queen of France is the daughter of one that was married to the duke of Austria and Bavaria. Sir Galeas seized all the children of his uncle he could lay hands on, as well as his possessions, which he annexed to his own, and reigned in great splendor and wealth. He shortly after renewed the taxes he had taken off, and extorted money from his subjects by every means of imposition, which made him more feared than loved. He followed the errors of his father, declaring and maintaining, that he would never believe in, nor adore God: in consequence, he deprived the monasteries of great part of their revenues, which he appropriated to himself, saying, the monks lived too delicately on rich food and choice wines; that such superfluities prevented them rising at midnight to perform their church duties, and that Saint Benedict had not thus framed his laws for their conduct, but he would bring them back to eggs and thin wine, that their voices might be louder and clearer to chaunt in the church.

Thus did sir Galeas, father, and son, and sir Bernabo, act like popes in their dominions as long as they lived: they did much injustice to churchmen, without fearing anything the popes might say or do against them; and when the schism happened, and the two popes of Rome and Avignon were excommunicating each other, these lords of Milan laughed at both, as indeed did many other great lords. The daughter of this sir John Galeas, duchess of Orleans, inherited more of the dispositions of her father than of her mother, who was a princess of France; for she was envious, and covetous of the pomp of this world, and would gladly have seen her lord king of France, no matter how. A scandalous report was very current, that the disorder of the king, which had so much distressed the kingdom, and baffled all the skill of the physicians, was owing to her. I will say what gave rise to these suspicions, and made them the more readily believed.

Valentina, duchess of Orleans, had a handsome son of the age of the dauphin of France, and while these two children were playing together in the chamber of the duchess, a poisoned apple was thrown on the floor, near the dauphin, in hopes he would take it, but, through God's providence, he did not. The son of the duchess, thinking no harm, ran and ate it, but he had no sooner put it into his mouth than death followed, in spite of every care to prevent it. Those who had the government of the dauphin carried him away, and never allowed him afterwards to enter the apartments of the duchess. This story caused great murmurings in Paris and elsewhere, and the people were so enraged against her, as to occasion the duke to hear of it: they publicly said in Paris, that if she was not prevented from being near the king, they would come and take her away by force and put her to death, for that she intended to poison the king and all his family, having already made him suffer by her enchantments. What gave additional weight to this, was the king's refusal, during his illness, to see the queen, whom he would not recollect, nor any other person than the duchess of Orleans. The duke of Orleans, to put an end to these scandalous reports, took her away from the hôtel de Saint Pol himself, and sent her to one of his castles called Asnieres, on the road to Beauvais, where she remained some time without ever passing the gates of the castle. She was removed thence to Neufchâtel on the Loire, and the duke hated her much for the accident which had happened to his son: his other fine children, however, softened his resentment to her.

Intelligence of this was carried to Milan, and sir Galeas heard with fear the great danger his daughter was in. He was very wroth with the king of France and his ministers, and sent sir James de la Berme,

* Giovanni Visconti.—Ed.

† Although they might have intended the crime, they had no necessity for its perpetration. Matthew died from the effects of his intemperance.—Ed.

‡ Galeas Visconti married Blanche of Savoy, 10th September, 1350

Bernabo Visconti married Beatrix Scaligera, through pride called Regina, 27th September, 1350.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies*

with other noble persons, embassadors to France, to excuse his daughter, and to say, that if any knight should accuse her of treason, he would provide a person to challenge him to mortal combat. At the time these embassadors came to Paris, the king was in tolerable health; but very little attention was paid them, or to the excuses they made for the duchess of Orleans, and they received a short answer. When they saw this, they returned to Milan to relate to the duke what they had seen and heard. The duke was more angered than before, and sent his defiance to the king and kingdom of France; but, when it was brought, the most gallant part of the French chivalry had already set out for Hungary, and were now entered into Turkey. From spite to the king of France, the duke of Milan had formed an alliance with Bajazet; and by his means was the sultan regularly informed of all that was passing in Christendom, and the secret history of France.

We will now leave this matter, and say how the sultan Bajazet and the Christian barons and knights in Turkey prospered.

Battle of Nicopoli. Designed from Contemporary MSS.; an oriental MS. Hist. of Tamerlane furnishing the Costume of the Turks.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

WHILE BAJAZET IS RAISING A GREAT ARMY TO OPPOSE THE HUNGARIANS AND FRENCH, THE LORD DE COUCY, DURING THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLI, DEFEATS A LARGE BODY OF TURKS WITH AN INFERIOR FORCE.

Bajazet made no long stay at Cairo with the sultan of Babylon, who promised to send a great army to his aid under the command of his best men-at-arms, that he might successfully oppose the barons and knights of France. They dispatched messengers on all sides to all who they imagined could assist, begging they would exert themselves in this affair, which was become of the greatest consequence; for, should the French conquer Turkey, all the surrounding kingdoms would tremble, their religion be destroyed, and themselves reduced to slavery under the Christians, and it were far better to die before such events should happen.

Many Saracen kings obeyed the summons which Bajazet and the sultan of Babylon had sent as far as Persia, Media, and Tartary, and to the north of the kingdom of Lecto,* beyond the frontiers of Prussia. The Saracen monarchs, having heard the army of the Christians was composed of the flower of their chivalry, selected from their own sect those of the greatest ability, and who had been longest trained to arms; so that their armament was not soon ready to march, nor their purveyances prepared. It was the intention of Bajazet to raise a force sufficient to withstand the Christians: he therefore began his march toward Turkey, followed by large companies from various parts. Tartary, Persia, and Media, sent him many valiant Saracens, who were impatient for the combat, and to try their force against the Christians.

We will now leave Bajazet, and return to the Christians, who were besieging the strong city of Nicopoli. The garrison was very numerous, and defended the place valiantly against the attacks of their enemies, but expressed themselves much surprised that they heard nothing of Bajazet. The emperor of Constantinople had indeed written to say, that he was still in the country about Alexandria. The besieging army lay before Nicopoli, having provision in abundance which came to them from Hungary and the surrounding countries. During the siege, the lord de Coucy and some other French knights took a fancy to make an expedition farther into Turkey, for they were tired of remaining so long inactive, while the king of Hungary should continue his approaches to the town. The lord de Coucy, as commander-in-chief, left the camp with about five hundred lances and as many cross-bows, on horseback, accompanied by the lords de Roye, de Saint Py, the governor of Beauvoir, the lord de Montcaurel, the borgne de Montquel, and several more. They selected as guides some of the best mounted Hungarian scouts, well acquainted with the country, to lead them where they thought was probable to meet the enemy. This same week, the Turks likewise took the field to the amount of twenty thousand men; for, having heard the Christians were destroying and burning their country, they determined to put an end to it. They collected in the force I have said, and advanced to a pass through which it was necessary the Christians should march to enter the open country, for there was no other entrance. Having remained there for two days without hearing anything of the enemy, they were on the point of returning the third day, when the Hungarian scouts came galloping* to the place where the Turks lay in ambush. When they thus saw them, they kept quiet to observe the Christians, without making any sally or throwing a lance. The Christians advanced near to the Turks, and, although they could not see the whole, found they were very numerous. After a short stay, they returned to inform the lord de Coucy and the other lords what they had seen. The Christians were rejoiced on hearing it, and the lord de Coucy said: "We must advance and see what kind of people they are; for, since we are come thus far, we must not return without offering them combat, otherwise we may be blamed." "You are in the right," answered such lords as heard him.

They then tightened their armor, regirthed their horses, and advanced at a gentle pace to where the Turks lay. There was a small wood between the two parties: when the French knights came to it, they halted, and the lord de Coucy said to sir Reginald de Roye and the lord de Saint Py: "I would advise, in order to draw the Turks out of their ambush, that you two advance with one hundred of our men, while we post the remainder in this wood. The Turks, seeing so small a party, will quit their ambush: do you suffer yourselves to be pursued, and, when past this wood, wheel round on them: we will instantly sally forth, and thus inclose and conquer them at our pleasure." This plan was adopted, and the two knights set off with about one hundred of the best mounted: the main body to the amount of eight hundred men of tried courage, entered the wood, where they hid themselves. The others galloped toward the Turks, who were much pleased, thinking what they saw was the whole force of the enemy: they quitted their ambuscade and advanced on the plain. The Christian lords, observing this, turned about, and suffered themselves to be pursued, but, as they were so well mounted, the Turks could not come up with them. Both parties passed the wood without the ambush being noticed, when the lord de Coucy sallied forth with his men, shouting, "Our Lady for the lord de Coucy!" and, falling on the rear of the Turks, struck down many.

* "Lecto." MS. Locco. Qy. Lithuania.

* It is in D. Sauvage "came to Brechaut;" but the MS. in the Museum has it as in the text, and my MS. "brochant" (spurring, instead of "courant."

The Turks halted, on finding themselves thus surrounded, and made the best defence they could; but it little availed, for, not suspecting any forces behind, they were thunderstruck when they were attacked on all sides. The French displayed great valor, and overthrew all that opposed them: they slew heaps on the field, and killed all they overtook in their flight like wild beasts. They showed mercy to none, and happy were they who could save themselves. After this defeat, the French returned in the evening to the camp before Nicopoli.

News was spread throughout the army that the lord de Coucy had, by his valor, overthrown more than fifteen thousand Turks. Very many were loud in his praise for this action, but not so the count d'Eu; for he said, "the expedition had been undertaken through vanity, and that he saw nothing praiseworthy in it, as it had put the detachment under his command in great risk, by attacking so superior a force. It was, besides, his duty (since he was so eager to perform some deeds of arms, and had met the Turks in the field) to have sent information of his intention to the commander-in-chief, the count de Nevers, who was anxious to gain renown." Thus, through envy as it may be supposed, did the count d'Eu speak of the lord de Coucy. During the whole expedition, he never had any friendship for him, notwithstanding he saw that he was beloved and respected by all the French and foreign knights, which, he imagined, should have been his due; for he was very nearly connected by blood with the king of France, and bore for arms the flower de luces with a bar, and was besides constable of France. Such was the beginning of the hatred of the count d'Eu to the gallant lord de Coucy, which at last broke out, and caused the destruction of the Christian army, as you will soon have related.

We will now leave this subject, and return to what was passing between the kings of France and England.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRES PREVENTS THE EARL OF DERBY JOINING THE COUNTS OF HAINAULT AND OF OSTREVANT IN THEIR EXPEDITION AGAINST FRIESLAND—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND ARE CONTINUED UNTIL KING RICHARD CROSSES OVER TO CALAIS, TO CONCLUDE THEM WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

You have before heard in this history that the marriage of the king of England with a princess of France was nearly approaching; that the two kings showed great affection to each other, as did the relatives on either side, excepting the duke of Gloucester. But he had no joy in it; for he knew that, by this connection, peace would be established between the two kingdoms, which he would unwillingly see, for he only wished for war, and excited all whom he thought so inclined, to throw every obstacle in the way. At that time, there was a knight in his service called sir John Baquigay,* a reserved man, who knew all the secrets of the duke, and who, by encouraging his warlike dispositions, followed the natural bent of his own inclinations.

At this period, the duke of Gueldres came to England to visit the king and his uncles, and to offer his loyal services, for he was so bounden by faith and homage. The duke would gladly have seen the king making preparations for war, for he disliked peace. The duke of Gueldres had many conversations with the duke of Lancaster respecting the intended expedition of the counts of Hainault and of Ostrevant against Friesland; for at this moment Fier-à-bras de Vertain was in England, having been sent thither by the count d'Ostrevant to seek men-at-arms and archers. The earl of Derby had been requested to accompany his cousins of Hainault and Ostrevant, to which he was well inclined, and had told Fier-à-bras that he should be well pleased to go to Friesland, if it met the approbation of the king and his father. When, therefore, the duke of Gueldres came to England, the duke of Lancaster spoke to him on this subject, and desired him to say what he thought of it. He replied, "that the expedition would be attended with much danger; that Friesland was not a country easily conquered, and that many counts of Holland and Hainault, who in former times claimed it as their inheritance, had marched thither with great force, to bring it under their subjection, but had never returned. The Frieslanders are a people void of honor and understanding, and show mercy to none who fall in their way. They pay no respect to any lord, however great his rank; and their country is very strong, surrounded by the sea, and full of bogs, islands, and marshes, so that no persons can find their way through it but the natives. I have been much pressed to join this expedition, but I will never enter such a country; and I would not advise that my cousin of Derby go thither, for it is not suitable to him. I am satisfied my brother-in-law d'Ostrevant will undertake the expedition, for he is very eager to do so, and will lead many Hainaulters with him, but there is a chance if any of them ever come home again."

This speech of the duke of Gueldres had such an effect on the duke of Lancaster, that he resolved in his own mind the earl of Derby should not go to Friesland. He signified to him secretly his intentions, for his son did not live with him, and that, notwithstanding the engagements he had entered into, he must break them off, for neither the king nor himself would consent that he should go on this expedition. Thus did the duke of Gueldres prevent the count of Hainault and his son from having the company of the earl of Derby, in which respect he was not well advised, nor was he thanked by either; but he was by nature all his life proud and envious.

Fier-à-bras de Vertain, notwithstanding this disappointment, was not the less diligent in collecting forces, and had engaged many knights and squires, with more than two hundred archers. But the earl of Derby excused himself, for the reasons above mentioned. His excuses were accepted, for they plainly saw, that had not the king forbidden his going, at the request of the duke of Lancaster, he would have been of the party. The king of England, to do honor to his cousin of Hainault, ordered vessels to be prepared in the Thames to carry, at his cost, such knights as went on this expedition to Encuse,* a seaport belonging to the earl of Hainault, at the extremity of Holland, and twelve leagues by water from Friesland.

About this time, the king of France sent Waleran count de Saint Pol to England to press forward the treaty for peace, and to urge secretly the king of England to its conclusion. Robert the hermit, who had been before in England on this subject, and willingly listened to by the king, accompanied the count de Saint Pol. On the count's arrival in England, he found the king at his palace of Eltham, with his brothers the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, and his uncle the duke of Lancaster. The king received him with pleasure and kindness, and, having patiently heard all he had to say, took him aside, and replied—"Fair brother of Saint Pol, with regard to this treaty of peace with my father-in-law the king of France, I am heartily inclined to it; but I cannot accomplish it alone, nor do everything myself. True it is, that my two brothers, and two uncles of Lancaster and York, are equally desirous for it as myself; but my other uncle of Gloucester is violently against it, and he leads the Londoners as he wills, and may attempt to stir up a rebellion in the country, and raise the people against me. Now, consider the danger I should run if there were a second rebellion, headed by the duke of Gloucester and other great barons and knights who are, as I know, of his way of thinking. I am puzzled how to act, for my uncle of Gloucester is of so reserved a nature, no one knows his real thoughts." "My lord," answered the count de Saint Pol, "you must gain him over by fair and kind speeches. Make him handsome presents, and, should he demand anything, however unreasonable, grant it him instantly. This is the only means to gain him; and, if you continue such conduct until your marriage be completed, your queen brought hither, and all affairs concluded, you may then follow a different method; for you will be powerful enough to crush all your enemies or rebellious subjects, as the king of France will at all times be ready to assist you, and this you may securely depend upon." "In God's name, brother-in-law," said the king, "you speak to the purpose, and it shall be as you advise."

The count de Saint Pol was lodged in London during his stay in England; but he had frequent conferences with the king at Eltham, and with the duke of Lancaster on the subject of the marriage. It had been ordered at Paris, as the count told the king, that the king of France and his uncles would come to Saint Omer, and bring the young princess with them who was to be queen of England. It was therefore their wish that the king of England should come to Calais, and that, between the towns of Saint Omer and Calais, an interview should take place between the two kings, who from personal knowledge would have their affections much strengthened; and then there might be some secret treaties made respecting a peace between them and their uncles, without employing too many persons in the business, before the king carried his queen to England. If a peace could not be concluded, the truce was then to be prolonged for the term of thirty or forty years, between France, England, and their allies. This proposal seemed so fair and honorable to the king of England and his council, that orders were instantly issued for purveyances of every kind to be made ready for the king's voyage and residence at Calais. Many lords did the same. The duke and duchess of Gloucester, with their children, were invited by the king to be of the party, as were the dukes and duchesses of York and Lancaster: this last lady, being with her lord at Eltham, had already been asked. The king and the count de Saint Pol travelled together through Canterbury to Dover, followed by all the lords who had been invited to accompany him. In truth, the count de Saint Pol, from his impatience to carry the news to the king of France, crossed the sea on his arrival at Dover to Boulogne, and hastened thence to Paris, and related to the king and his uncles everything which had passed with the king of England. This gave general satisfaction, and the king and court set out from Paris, and by short days' journeys came to Amiens.

In the meantime, the king of England, his uncles, and a large train of lords and ladies, had crossed the sea to Calais, where they were lodged. The duke of Burgundy came to St. Omer to press forward the treaties, which were carried on through the mediation of the count de St. Pol and Robert the hermit. The duke of Burgundy was conducted by the count de St. Pol to Calais on the Eve of Our Lady the middle of August, to wait on the king of England and his uncles. He was welcomed with joy by the king and his lords; and they con-

* "Baquigay."—Museum MS. Haccuingay.—Hatod MS. Laquingay.

* "Encuse." Q. Enchuysen. D. Sauvage, in a marginal note, calls it Neuse. My MS. has Emaise—"la ville d'Emaise."

ferred together for some time on the articles for a peace, to which the king inclined: indeed, to say the truth, he was indifferent what might be agreed on, provided he had his wife. When the duke of Burgundy had staid at Calais two days negotiating a peace, the king told him that he would lay all the articles on his return to England before the parliament; for that neither himself nor his lords could agree to anything conclusive without the assent of the people of England, and it must be deferred until their will were known. He added, that he himself would go over, and return, and so make one journey for the conclusion of all things. "That will be well done," replied the duke of Burgundy and the count de Saint Pol; who returned to St. Omer, and thence to Amiens, where they expected to meet the king and queen of France with their daughter, the future queen of England. The dukes of Berry and Brittany were also there; for the king of France had sent for the last-mentioned duke, who came thither in grand array.

The king of England and his lords returned to London; but their ladies remained until they should come back, which was speedily done. During this period, the expedition from Hainault against the Frieslanders took place, commanded by the earl of Hainault and his son the count d'Ostrevant. We will relate the arrangement of it, for it is now time.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE COUNTS OF HAINAULT AND OF OSTREVANT RAISE A LARGE ARMY OF MEN-AT-ARMS, KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES, TO INVADE FRIESLAND. THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THEM ASSISTANCE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF COUNT WALERAN DE ST. POL AND THE LORD CHARLES D'ALBRET.

You have before heard the great desire duke Albert of Bavaria and his son William count d'Ostrevant had to invade Friesland, and to employ their arms in the conquest of it. The knights and squires of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, were willing to second them, because they thought it was their lawful inheritance. To gain assistance, the count d'Ostrevant had sent one of his squires, a renowned man-at-arms, called Fier-à-bras de Vertain, to England, where he had been successful: king Richard, out of affection to his cousin, had sent him some men-at-arms, and two hundred archers, under the command of three English lords; one was named Cornewall, another Colleville, but the name of the third, who was a squire, I have forgotten. It was told me, and likewise that he was a gallant man-at-arms, and had long been used to war: a short time before, he had in a riot had his chin cut off, which was replaced by one of silver that was fastened by a silken cord tied round his head. This force arrived at Enchuysen in proper time. To be more particular in this matter, I must say that I was informed duke Albert held many consultations with his son, the count d'Ostrevant, and they called into their councils a noble and valiant squire, named William de Croembourg,* who earnestly exhorted them to the war, for he mortally hated the Frieslanders. He had done them some mischief, and did them much more, as you shall hear.

Duke Albert of Bavaria set out from the Hague in company with his son, the count d'Ostrevant, for Hainault, and convened the states of that country at Mons, who readily obeyed the summons of their lord. He laid before them his wish to invade Friesland, and remonstrated on his right to do so, and the lawful claim he had on it. In proof of this, he had read to them certain letters patent, apostolical and imperial, authentically sealed with lead and gold, which evidently showed his right over that country. The duke addressed the meeting: "My lords, and valiant men our subjects, you know that every one ought to guard and defend his inheritance, and that man, in the defence of himself or country, has a right to make war. You know also, that the Frieslanders ought to acknowledge themselves our subjects, but they are rebellious against us, and against our rights, like men without law or religion. Notwithstanding the justice of our claim, we cannot, my very dear lords, without your personal and pecunary aid, attempt to make these people listen to reason. We therefore entreat your assistance in this necessity, both personal and pecuniary, that we may subjugate these disobedient Frieslanders to our will."

To this remonstrance the three estates unanimously assented; and, as they were always inclined to comply with the desires of their lord, they presented duke Albert, from the country of Hainault, the sum of thirty thousand francs in ready money, without including the town of Valenciennes. This town performed equally well its duty, for duke Albert, attended by his son, went thither, and made a similar request, to what he had done so successfully at Mons. These two valiant princes were very joyful to see their subjects so forward to assist their war, as it assured them they were well-beloved by them. Since they had now a sufficiency of money, they resolved to inform the king of France of their intended expedition, and to request aid from him. Two prudent and valiant knights, the lord de Ligne and the lord de Jumont, were sent thither, and acquitted themselves well, for they were much in favor with the French, especially the lord de Ligne, whom the king, from his partiality to him, had made one of his chamberlains. He proposed to the king of France the request of his lord, duke Albert of Bavaria, so eloquently, that he and his council promised the assistance he required. The duke of Burgundy was urgent for its being granted, because his daughter having married the duke's son, he thought, if the expedition were successful, it would be for the advantage of the count d'Ostrevant.

Many of the great barons disapproved of it, and spoke against it, saying, "How can these Hainaulters come hither to solicit aid from our king, when they have already been to ask the same from the English? Have we not lately seen that the count d'Ostrevant has accepted of the order of the Garter, which is the English device? Has he shown, by so doing, any very great affection for France?" But others, who were better informed, replied, "My fair sirs, you are wrong to talk thus; if the count d'Ostrevant has accepted the Garter, it was not to ally himself with England; for he is too strongly connected with the French. Is it not true that he has married the lady Catherine, daughter to the duke of Burgundy? and is not this a better and more valuable alliance than the blue Garter? Never, therefore, say that he will not prefer doing services to the French rather than to the English. The king will honor himself and exalt the French name, if he give him the aid he has been wisely advised to afford." Thus did the French converse on these matters, which made a great noise in France, for nothing was talked of but the deeds of arms that were to be performed in Hungary or Turkey against Bajazet, and in Friesland against the Frieslanders. The king of France did not delay raising an army of five hundred lances, composed of Picards and French, and gave the command of them to the count Waleran de St. Pol and the lord Charles d'Albret, two knights that were well qualified for the business. They were to lead this body of men to the town of Enchuysen in lower Friesland, as that was the place of assembly for the whole army, and they were to embark there for upper Friesland, which they did.

When the two valiant knights, the lord de Ligne and the lord de Jumont, saw the good inclination of the king, and were assured that every order had been given, and the pay issued for the men-at-arms who were to be sent to assist the count of Hainault, they took leave of the king of France, and, thanking him for his friendship to their lords, returned to Hainault, to relate to the duke of Bavaria and the count d'Ostrevant how successful they had been. They were received with the honors they had deserved, and detailed the courteous answers they received from the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, who had feasted them grandly, and the rich presents that were given them, for which they thanked the duke and his son, as it was from affection to them they had been shown such courtesy. The whole would be too long to relate: we will therefore pass it over, and come to the principal matter.

Duke Albert on hearing that the king of France was to send to his assistance five hundred lances, assembled all his barons and vassals of Hainault. The assembly consisted of the lord de Vertain, séneschal of Hainault, a very valiant man and renowned in arms; the lords de Ligne and de Gomegines, whom he appointed marshals of his army; the lords de Havreth, Michelet de Ligne, de Lalain, de Hordaing, de Chin, de Cautain, du Quesnoy, de Fleron, his brother John, the lords de Bousset, de Jumont (who were knights always eager to meet their enemies, but at this time they had bleared eyes, red as crimson,) Robert le Roux; the lords de Monthiaux, de Fontaines, de Seulles, the lords James de Sars, William de Hermes, and Pinchart his brother; the lords de Lens, de Verlammont, Anseaux de Trasseigines, Octes de Seaussines and his brother Gerard; the lord de Ictre, his brother John: sir Anseaux de Sars, Bridaux de Montigny, Daniaux de la Poulle, Guy de la Poulle; the lord de Masting; sir Floridas de Villiers, who was a most valiant knight, and had gained great renown for his gallant deeds of arms against the Turks and Saracens in the Holy Land; sir Eustace de Vertain, sir Fier-à-bras de Vertain, who was but just returned from England, and rejoiced his lord with the success of his mission there; the lord de Osteven, sir Rasse de Montigny, Thuq de Merse; the lord de Rorsin, sir John d'Andregines, Persant his brother, and great numbers of other gentlemen and squires, whom, having assembled in his hall at Mons, he addressed, saying, "That he hoped they would all arm, and provide themselves with followers and every necessary, each according to his power, to assist him in his intended expedition against Friesland; and that, out of affection to him, and regard to their own honor and renown, they would accompany him to his town of Enchuysen, in lower Friesland, and to Meemelie,* and thence embark with him for upper Friesland, where he proposed being, if it pleased God, by the middle of August ensuing, and that he would wait for them in one or other of the two before-mentioned towns; that it was his intention to go thither beforehand to make the necessary preparations, and to receive his men-at-arms, and such Hollanders and Zealanders as would be induced to enter his service, and aid him to the accomplishment of his purposes." All the knights, squires and lords in Hainault instantly complied with his request, and promised him their services like loyal vassals. Duke Albert and the count d'Ostrevant found them punctual in the performance of their promises, and they made themselves speedily ready, so that about the beginning of August of the year 1396, they assembled and marched off in companies handsomely arrayed, toward Antwerp, where they were to embark for Enchuysen, the general rendezvous.

You may suppose, that when all these preparations were making for the departure of so many knights and squires, the ladies and dam-

* "Croembourg." In my MS. Croembourc. Museum MS. Curembourch.

* "Meemelie." British Museum MS. Metenench. Hafod MS. Metmelic. Q. If not Medendric, which is not far from Enchuysen.

sels were not in high spirits. We must allow they were very much cast down, for they saw their fathers, brothers, uncles, husbands and lovers, going on a dangerous expedition, not having forgotten how, in former times, the Hainaulters with count William had remained on the field of battle in Friesland. They were therefore fearful that what had happened to their predecessors might befal them, and loudly praised the duchess of Brabant for having forbidden any gentleman or others of her country to take part in this expedition. The ladies frequently pressed their lovers and friends to decline going, and many meetings were holden, but to little purpose. They were particularly angry with Fier-à-bras, bastard de Vertain, for they said he was the principal promoter of this expedition. Duke Albert and his son, on leaving Mons after the promise of the Hainaulters to assist them, returned to Zealand, and made similar requests to the Zealanders, who in like manner complied; and the lord de la Vere, sir Floris de Boessel, Floris d'Abel, the lord de Zenemberge, sir Clais de Boysel and Philip de Cortein, were very instrumental in forwarding the business. They, as well as many other gentlemen, instantly armed, and put themselves in handsome array, plainly showing they were desirous to gain renown.

William of Hainault on his Exedition against Friesland. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT LANDS WITH HIS ARMY IN FRIESLAND. HE DEFEATS THE FRIESLANDERS IN BATTLE, BUT IS NEVERTHELESS FORCED TO RETIRE TO HOLLAND, TO PASS THE WINTER, WITHOUT HAVING GAINED ANYTHING IN FRIESLAND.

The duke of Bavaria and his son, having been so successful in Hainault and Zealand, made the same requests to the Hollanders, especially to the barons and chief towns. To say the truth, the Hollanders were much pleased to hear war was about to be made on the Frieslanders: they hated them, particularly the knights and squires, for there was a continual warfare carried on, and they mutually plundered each other on the frontiers of the two countries. When the great lords in Holland, such as the lord d'Atrel, and other gallant knights and squires, heard the supplications of their princes, duke Albert and his son count William, they immediately offered their services, and promised them every assistance. They were speedily armed, and the principal towns supplied them with a large body of cross-bows, pikemen and men-at-arms. It was not long before they were all assembled at Enchuysen, where vessels had been provided to carry them to Friesland. They were so numerous, they were said to be thirty thousand sailors, and that the town of Haarlem alone had supplied twelve hundred. These vessels were amply freighted with warlike stores and other necessaries. You may imagine the grief of the ladies and damsels in Holland and Zealand was not less than those of Hainault, when they found their lovers and relations were engaged in this war. Their anger fell chiefly on the lord de Cruembourg, because they thought he had been the great adviser of duke Albert in the matter, and on the lord de Merebbede. This last was eager for revenge on the Frieslanders for the injuries they had done him: in the before-mentioned battle, when count William was unfortunately slain, he had lost three-and-thirty of his relations, bearing his arms on their coats, with sir Daniel de Merebbede their leader, none of whom would the Frieslanders ransom. These two lords, therefore, were afraid to appear before the princesses and ladies of duke Albert's court.

In a short time the whole army was assembled: the English came first, next the Hainaulters in very handsome array, under the command of the lord séneschal de Jumont, and the lord de Gomegines, who was marshal; then the Hollanders and Zealanders; but the French did not come so soon as expected, which delayed the embarkation eleven days. During this interval, there arose a quarrel between the English and Hollanders; and, had it not been for the count d'Ostrevant, the English would have been slain. The quarrel was made up; and the French arrived, to the joy of all, for they consisted of a well-appointed body of men-at-arms. Every one was now ordered instantly to embark, which being done, they hoisted sail, recommended themselves to God, and put to sea. The water was smooth, and seemed to take pleasure in bearing them. There were such numbers of vessels that, had they been arranged in a line from Enchuysen to Kuynder (which is in upper Friesland, and where they intended to land,) though twelve leagues distant, the whole sea would have been covered; but they sailed in one body.

We will for a while leave them, and speak of the Frieslanders, who, as I was informed, had been long acquainted with duke Albert's intention of marching against them with a powerful army. They held many councils on the subject, and determined to combat their enemies at the very moment of their landing; for they said they should prefer death with liberty, to being slaves; and would never quit the battle while alive. They also resolved not to accept of ransoms for any person, however high his rank, but to put their prisoners to death, or keep them in banishment from their own countries. Among these was a Frieslander of high birth and renown: he was of great strength and stature, for he was taller by a head than all his countrymen. His name was Yves Jouvere; but the Hollanders, Zealanders and Hainaulters called him "The great Frieslander." This valiant man had gained much reputation in Prussia, Hungary, Turkey, Rhodes and Cyprus, where he had performed such deeds of valor that he was much spoken of. When he heard his countrymen thus readily resolve on battle, he addressed them: "O ye noble men, and free Frieslanders, know that there is no fortune stable. If in former times you have, by your prowess, conquered the Hainaulters, Hollanders and Zealanders, those who are now about to invade us are men expert in war, and be assured they will act otherwise than their predecessors: you will see they will not fly, but fight with the utmost prudence. I would therefore advise that we suffer them to land and make what progress they can into the country: let us guard our towns and fortresses, and give up to them the plains, where they will waste themselves. Our country will not long support them. It is besides cut up with ditches and dykes, so that they cannot advance far into the interior, and they will be forced to return after having

burnt ten or twelve villages. This they will the more speedily do, for they cannot ride, nor indeed without difficulty march on foot, through the country, which will wear them out. The damage they can do will be trifling, and we can soon repair it; but, if we offer them battle, I very much fear we shall be overpowered, for I have been credibly informed they are one hundred thousand men under arms." He said truly, for they were at least as many, if not more.

Three valiant Friesland knights, sir Feu de Dorekerque, sir Gerard Cavin and sir Tiny de Walturg, seconded this proposal; but the people would not listen to it, and they were supported by several of those noble men called Elins, who are gentlemen and judges of causes. They opposed what the great Frieslander had offered with such success, as to occasion it to be determined that, as soon as they should hear of the enemy landing, they were to march and offer them combat. This being resolved on, the assembly broke up, that every one might make his preparations. To say the truth, they were in general very poorly armed: many had no other defensive covering than their waistcoats made of coarse thick cloth, scarcely better than horse-cloths. Some were armed in leather, others with rusty jackets of mail, which seemed unfit for service; but there were some perfectly well armed. When the Frieslanders were ready to march, they took from their churches the crosses and banners, and divided themselves into three battalions, each consisting of about ten thousand men: they halted, on arriving at a pass defended by a ditch, very near to where the Hainault army was to land, and plainly saw the Hainaulters, Hollanders and Zealanders, for they were close to the shore, and preparing to disembark. It was on Saint Bartholomew's day, which this year fell on a Sunday, that duke Albert and his army landed in Friesland.

The Frieslanders, noticing the movements of their enemies, sallied forth, to the amount of about six thousand, and mounted the dykes to see if they could any way prevent their landing. Among the Frieslanders, there was a sort of mad woman dressed in blue cloth, who, quitting her countrymen, rushed forward toward the Hainaulters and Hollanders, making ready for battle. When she had approached the army within bow-shot, she turned her back, and, raising up her petticoats and shift, showed her bare rump to all who wished to see it, bawling out some words in her own language, which meant, "Take this for your welcome." Those on ship-board, seeing the wickedness of this woman, let fly such a shower of arrows and bolts that her legs and thighs were larded with them; for it seemed a shower of snow, so many were the arrows shot at her. Several leaped into the water, and, pursuing this wretched woman with drawn swords, soon overtook her, and cut her into a thousand pieces. In the mean time, the debarkation was taking effect; and the Hainaulters marched to the enemy, who received them courageously, with long pikes, and staves shod with iron, and repulsed them vigorously. The landing was strongly contested, and numbers were killed and wounded; but from the advantage of their bows and cross bows, and by their superior mode of fighting, the Hainaulters gained the dyke, and remained victors on the field at this first attack. When they were all disembarked, they ranged themselves along the dyke, each under his banner, and, when thus drawn up, their line extended more than half a league. The Frieslanders, on their loss of the dyke, retreated to another pass, where they had cast up the earth in their front, and the ditch was very deep: they amounted to about thirty thousand, and as they were at no great distance, were plainly seen by the Hainaulters and their allies, from their position on the dyke. Each party remained on the ground: in the mean time, the whole army was landed, with their baggage, and some tents were pitched, under which they reposed themselves during the Sunday and Monday, observing the Frieslanders, with whom on these two days there were many skirmishes and deeds of arms.

Both armies were ready prepared for battle on the Tuesday morning: and many new knights were made of the Hainaulters, Hollanders and Zealanders, when it was resolved to attack the enemy. They drew up in handsome array, placing their archers in front, intermixed with the ranks, and, with trumpets sounding, marched to pass the ditch. The Frieslanders guarded themselves from the arrows by means of the mound of earth thrown from the ditch, which was as high as their heads; but the Hollanders leaped into the ditch, and made bridges of their pikes and lances. The enemy defended themselves valiantly, and gave such rude blows on those who attempted to mount the bank, that they drove them on their backs into the ditch. In short so many valorous deeds were done, it is impossible to recount them all; but the Hainaulters and their allies were too strongly armed, and the Frieslanders could not otherwise hurt them than by knocking them down. The new knights acquitted themselves honorably, but the enemy displayed great courage: they are a lusty race, though very badly armed, and some of them without shoes or stockings; notwithstanding which, they made an obstinate defence. During this skirmish, the lord de Ligne, the séneschal of Hainault and the lord de Jumont, with other Hainault knights, following the course of the ditch found a passage for their horses, and fell upon the rear of the Frieslanders, to their utter dismay. They quitted the defence of the ditch to repel this last attack; but the Hainaulters charged them so vigorously that the enemy were broken and dispersed, and the Hollanders and Zealanders crossed the ditch and joined in the fray. The battle was now very murderous; and the Frieslanders gave destructive blows with the axes they had armed themselves with, which served them to fell timber; but the great Frieslander, Yves Jouvere, lost his life. Not long after this, the Frieslanders yielded the field, and took to flight as fast as they could. The carnage in the pursuit was horrible, for none were spared: the Hollanders, in particular, killed all they could overtake; even such as had been made prisoners by the English, French and Hainaulters, they killed while in their hands.

The lord William de Cruembourg, and his two sons, John and Henry, who had that morning been knighted, acquitted themselves gallantly, and were the most active in slaying the Frieslanders, showing clearly they loved them not. To conclude, the Frieslanders were completely defeated and the greater part killed: some few were made prisoners, and about fifty carried to the Hague, where they remained a long time. The lord of Kuynder, who was the lord of the town where duke Albert had landed, had surrendered himself to the duke on the Monday, and himself and two sons were in the battle against the Frieslanders. They lived afterwards under the protection of duke Albert and his son count William.

After this defeat, the Hainaulters, Hollanders, Zealanders, French and English, quartered themselves about Kuynder, and took several towns and castles; but their captures were inconsiderable, for the Frieslanders did them much harm by ambuscades and skirmishes. If they made any prisoners, they had no ransom to offer; and it was seldom they would surrender, but fought until they were slain, saying they preferred death and liberty to being under the subjection of any lord whatever. Their friends or relations never brought any ransoms for those who were taken, but left them to die in prison. The Frieslanders offered their prisoners in exchange, man for man; but, when their enemies had none to give in return, they put them to death. When the Hainault army had been in the country about five weeks, and had destroyed and burnt many towns and villages, of little value indeed, the weather began to be very cold and to rain almost daily: there were also great tempests at sea. Duke Albert and his son, in consequence, proposed the return of the army to lower Friesland, whence they had come, and to march into Holland, the more comfortably to pass the winter, which had set in very hard. This was done; and, on their arrival at Enchuysen, the lords dismissed their men, particularly the strangers, with whom they were well contented, and paid them their full pay, thanking them at the same time for the services they had rendered. Thus was this great army disbanded, without having made any conquest; but, two years after, these noble princes, duke Albert and his son count William, returned thither a second time, and made great conquests by their excellent prowess, which, if it please God, shall be fully recounted. But for the moment we will not say more, and relate the magnificent marriage of the king of England with the princess Isabella of France.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE CEREMONY OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF ENGLAND WITH A PRINCESS OF FRANCE. THE KING OF FRANCE DELIVERS HER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, IN HIS TENT BETWEEN ARDRES AND CALAIS.

You have heard of the journey of the king of England to Calais, where he resided with his uncles, prelates, and barons of his council, during which time he had held a conference with the duke of Burgundy respecting the articles of peace. The king had returned to London to wait the meeting of his parliament at Michaelmas; but in the mean time great purveyances were made for him and for his barons, and sent to Calais and Guines. The larger part were forwarded down the river Thames, but a good deal was collected in Flanders, at Damme, Bruges, and Sluys, which were sent by sea to Calais. In like manner, great preparations were made for the king of France, the duke of Orleans, their uncles, and the barons and prelates of France, at Saint Omer, Aire, Therouenne, Ardres, la Montoire, Leulinghen, and in all the monasteries and houses round about. No expense was spared on either side; and the lords of each country were emulous to outshine one another. In the abbey of Saint Bertin,* great were the preparations to receive the royal visitors.

The session of parliament, which usually lasts forty days, and is held in the king's palace at Westminster, was now abridged, for the king attended it only five days: when the business of the nation, and what particularly interested the king, and had caused his return from Calais, was settled, he and his two uncles of Lancaster and Gloucester, and the members of his council, set out from London, and crossed the sea to Calais. The duke of York and the earl of Derby did not attend the king, but remained behind to guard England in his absence. Information was instantly sent to the French lords in Picardy of the king of England's return to Calais; and the duke and duchess of Burgundy came to Saint Omer, and fixed their residence in the abbey of Saint Bertin. The king of France sent the count de Saint Pol to king Richard, as soon as he heard of his arrival at Calais, to compliment him in his name, and to lay before him the orders which had been given for the ceremony of his mar-

* "Saint Bertin"—an abbey in the city of Saint Omer.

rage. The king of England eagerly listened to this, for he took much pleasure in the business. The count de Saint Pol, on his return to Saint Omer, was accompanied by the duke of Lancaster, his son Beaufort of Lancaster, the duke of Gloucester, with his son Humphrey, the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, the earl of Huntingdon, chamberlain of England, and many other barons and knights, who were handsomely received by the duke and duchess of Burgundy. The duke of Brittany came thither also, having left the king of France and the young queen of England at Aire.

You must know that every honor and respect that could be imagined were paid to the English lords. The duchess of Burgundy entertained them splendidly at dinner; at which was present the duchess of Lancaster, with her son and two daughters. There was an immense variety of different dishes and decorations on the tables, and very rich presents made of gold and silver plate: nothing, in short, was spared, so that the English were astonished where such riches could come from, and especially the duke of Gloucester, who told his friends that the kingdom of France was full of wealth and power. To soften the temper of the duke of Gloucester, whom the French lords knew to be proud, and their bitter enemy, they paid him the most flattering attentions. Notwithstanding this, and the handsome presents they offered, which he accepted, the same rancor remained in his breast, and, in spite of everything the French could say or do, whenever the subject of peace was mentioned, his answers were as harsh and severe as ever. The French are very subtle; but, with regard to him, they could never gain his affections; and his conversation was so reserved, it was not possible to discover his real sentiments. When the duke of Burgundy saw this, he said to his council: "We shall never succeed until we gain over this duke of Gloucester: as long as he lives, there will not be any solid peace with England, for he will ever find some cause of quarrel, and renew the hatred of the people of both countries: his whole thoughts are on this subject; and were it not for the amiable qualities of the king of England, which we hope may produce in time more favorable effects, in good truth, he should never have our cousin as his wife." After the duchess of Burgundy, the countess of Nevers, the countess of Saint Pol, and the lords and ladies of France, had, as you have heard, magnificently entertained the English lords and ladies (at which time it was determined when and where the two kings should meet, and the king of England receive his wife,) the company took leave of each other, and the two dukes, with their duchesses and children, returned with the other barons and knights to Calais, and related to king Richard how grandly they had been received, and the rich presents that had been made them. Their praises pleased the king; for he was delighted whenever he heard the king of France or the French well spoken of, so much was he already enamored with them, on account of the king's daughter whom he was to marry.

Shortly after this, the king of France, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, came to Saint Omer, and was lodged in the abbey of Saint Bertin: all who had before occupied it were forced to dislodge. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, having been ordered to confer with the king of England at Calais, set out from Saint Omer, and, on their arrival at Calais, were received with every honor and kindness by the king and his lords. They were entertained with splendor; and the three dukes concluded certain treaties with the king of England and his uncles. Many in France and England thought a peace had been concluded, for at that time the duke of Gloucester was well inclined to it, in consideration of the kind promises of the king, who had engaged, if a peace were made, to create his son Humphrey earl of Rochester, and make the annual revenue of it equal to two thousand pounds sterling, and to present the duke of Gloucester with fifty thousand nobles on his return to England. Thus, through his avaricious disposition, was the duke of Gloucester softened in his opinions respecting a peace with France. It was so visible, that the French dukes observed it, for they had never before found him so tractable or moderate in his conversation. When the French lords had concluded the business they had come upon, they took leave of the king, and returned to the king of France and the duke of Orleans at Saint Omer, who were impatient to hear the success of their journey. The king of France departed from St. Omer, and resided in the fort of Ardres: the duke of Burgundy went to la Montoire, the duke of Brittany to the town of Esque, and the duke of Berry to Tournehem. The plain was covered with tents and pavilions full of French and English. The king of England and the duke of Lancaster were lodged in Guines, and the duke of Gloucester at Hamme.

On the vigil of the feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude,* which fell on a Friday, in the year of grace 1396, the two kings left their lodgings on the point of ten o'clock, and accompanied by their attendants, went to the tents that had respectively been prepared for them. Thence they advanced on foot to a certain spot which had been fixed on for their meeting, and which was surrounded by four hundred French and as many English knights, brilliantly armed with swords in hand. These eight hundred knights were so drawn up, that the two kings passed between their ranks, conducted in the following order: the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester supported the king of France, as did the dukes of Berry and Burgundy the king of England, and thus they advanced slowly through the ranks of the knights; when the two kings were on the point of meeting, the eight hundred knights fell on their knees and wept for joy. The two kings met bareheaded, and having saluted, took each other by the hand, when the king of France led the king of England to his tent, which was handsome and richly adorned: the four dukes took each other by the hand, and followed them. The English and French knights remained at their post, looking at their opponents with good humor, and never stirred until the whole ceremony was over. The spot where the two kings had met was marked, and a chapel in honor of the Virgin Mary was proposed to be erected on it, but I know not if it were ever put into execution. On the entrance of the two kings holding each other by the hand into the tent, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon came forward and cast themselves on their knees: the kings stopped and made them rise. The six dukes then assembled in front and conversed together: the kings passed on, and had some conversation, while the wine and spices were preparing. The duke of Berry served the king of France with the comfit-box, and the duke of Burgundy with the cup of wine. In like manner was the king of England served by the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. After the kings had been served, the knights of France and England took the wine and spices, and served the prelates, dukes, princes, and counts; and, after them, squires and other officers of the household did the same to all within the tent, until every one had partaken of the spices and wine; during which time, the two kings freely conversed.

After a short space, the two monarchs took leave of each other, as did the different lords. The king of England and his uncles retired to their tents, while the horses were made ready: they then mounted, and took the road toward Calais; the king to Guines, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester to Hamme, and the others to their lodgings at Calais. In like manner did the king of France return to Ardres, accompanied by the duke of Orleans; the duke of Berry to Tournehem, and the duke of Burgundy to la Montoire; for nothing more was done that day, although the tents and pavilions of the king of France and other lords were left standing.

At eleven o'clock of the Saturday morning, the feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, the king of England, attended by his uncles and all the noblemen who had accompanied him from England, waited on the king of France in his tent. They were received by the king, his brother, and uncles, with great pomp and the most affectionate words. The dinner tables were there laid out: that for the kings was long and handsome, and the side-board covered with the most magnificent plate. The two kings were seated by themselves; the king of France at the top of the table, and the king of England below him, but at a good distance from each other. They were served by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon: the last entertained the two monarchs with many gay remarks, to make them laugh, and those about the table, for he had much drollery, and, addressing the king of England, said, "My lord king of England, you ought to make good cheer, for you have had all your wishes gratified. You have a wife, or shall have one, for she will be speedily delivered to you." "Bourbonnois," replied the king of France, "we wish our daughter were as old as our cousin of Saint Pol, though we were to double her dower, for then she would love our son of England much more." The king of England heard well these words, and replied, bowing to the king of France (for he did not address himself to the duke of Bourbon, since the king had compared his daughter with the countess of Saint Pol's,) "Good father-in-law, the age of our wife pleases us right well: we pay not so much attention concerning her age, as we value your love, and that of our subjects, for we shall now be so strongly united that no king in Christendom can any way hurt us."

When dinner was over, which lasted not long, the cloth was removed, the tables carried away, and wine and spices brought. After this, the young queen of England entered the tent, attended by a great number of ladies and damsels. The king led her by the hand, and gave her to the king of England, who instantly after took his leave. The queen was placed in a very rich litter which had been prepared for her; but, of all the French ladies who were there, only the lady of Coucy went with her, for there were many of the principal ladies of England, such as the duchesses of Lancaster, York, Gloucester, Ireland, the lady of Namur, the lady Poinings, and others of the nobility, who received queen Isabella with great joy. When the ladies were ready, the king of England and his lords departed, and, riding at a good pace, arrived at Calais. The king of France and his court returned to Saint Omer, where he had left the queen and duchess of Burgundy, and staid there the Sunday and Monday following. On the Tuesday, which was All-saints day, the king of England was married by the archbishop of Canterbury, in the church of Saint Nicholas at Calais, to the lady Isabella of France. Great were the feastings on the occasion, and the heralds and minstrels were so liberally paid they were satisfied.

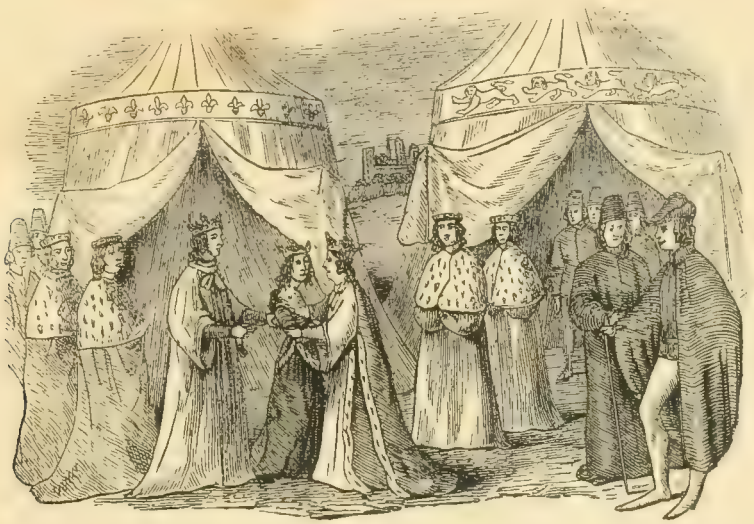
On the ensuing Thursday, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon came to Calais, to visit the king and queen of England: they staid that day, and on the following went back to dinner at St. Omer, where the king and queen of France waited for them. This same morning, the king and queen of England, having heard an early mass and drank some wine, embarked on board the vessels which had been

* The feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude is on the 28th October.

prepared for them, with a favorable wind. They weighed anchor, set their sails, and in less than three hours landed at Dover. The king dined at the castle, and lay the next night at Rochester: passing through Dartford, he arrived at the palace of Eltham, where the lords and ladies took leave of the king and queen, and went to their homes.

Fifteen days after, the queen made her entry into London, grandly attended by lords, ladies, and damsels. She lay one night in the Tower, seated on the banks of the Thames, and the next day was conducted in great pomp, through the streets, to Westminster, where the king was waiting in his palace to receive her. This day the Londoners made very rich presents to the queen, which were graciously accepted. During the time the court was at Westminster, a tournament was ordered to be held at Candlemas in Smithfield, between forty knights and as many squires; and notices of it were given to the heralds, that they might publish it beyond sea, and as far as Scotland.

When the king of France was returned to Paris after the marriage of his daughter, and his lords were gone to their residences, there were great rumors of war. It was said to have been settled that, at the beginning of March, the king was to lead a large army into Lombardy to destroy the duke of Milan; and that the king was so bent on this expedition, he would not listen to anything that was said against it. The king of England was to send his father-in-law six thousand archers; and the duke of Brittany, who had been constantly with the king, offered his services on the expedition, with two thousand Breton spears. Purveyances were already making for the king and lords in Dauphiny and in Savoy. When the duke of Brittany took leave of the king of France and his lords, to return to his duchy I believe the duke of Burgundy made such earnest intercession with the king, and those immediately concerned, that the duke of Brittany carried with him his cousin sir Peter de Craon, who was confined a prisoner at his own charges, in the tower of the Louvre, for the debt he had been sentenced to pay of one hundred thousand francs to the queen of Jerusalem. I imagine he engaged to pay the queen the above sum by instalments; but I will, for the present, leave speaking of these matters, and return to what was passing in Turkey.



Isabella and the King of England taking leave of the King of France, at the Camp between Ardres and Calais. From MSS. of the 15th Century

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE CHRISTIANS ARE FORCED TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLI, BY THE ARRIVAL OF BAJAZET IN TURKEY. THEY ARE DEFEATED AND THE HUNGARIANS PUT TO FLIGHT, THROUGH THE PRESUMPTUOUS FOLLY OF THE FRENCH.

You have before read in our history how the king of Hungary, and the lords from France who had gone to Hungary in search of deeds of arms, had valiantly crossed the Danube, and entered Turkey; where during the summer, from the month of July, they had conquered a large tract of country, having mercifully spared the inhabitants and many towns and castles, for none could withstand their power. They had besieged the city of Nicopoli, and so hardly pressed it by their attacks, that it was on the point of surrendering without hearing any intelligence of Bajazet. The king of Hungary had even addressed the French lords, such as the count de Nevers, the count d'Eu, the count de la Marche, the count de Soissons, the lord de Coucy, and the barons and knights of Burgundy, saying, "My fair sirs, thanks to God, we have made a successful campaign; for we have performed many brilliant deeds of arms, and have conquered Turkey. I look on the town of Nicopoli as our own, for it is so undermined it can hold out no longer than we please. I therefore would propose, that after we shall have gained and shown mercy to this town, we attempt nothing more this season, but recross the Danube, and return to Hungary, where I have many handsome towns and castles prepared to receive you, since you have so gallantly assisted me against the Turks, my bitter enemies. During the winter we will provide stores for the ensuing summer, each according to his pleasure, and send information of our situation, and what we have done, to the king of France, who, before that time, will send us large reinforcements; and I hope, when he shall know the success we have had, he may be inclined to come hither in person, for he is young and fond of arms. But whether he come or not, if it please God, we will next summer cross the Hellespont, regain Armenia, thence march to Syria, with the towns of Jaffa and Baruth, and conquer Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Should the sultan oppose us, we will offer him battle, and never return without having combated him." Such was the speech of the king of Hungary to the French lords: they considered Nicopoli as won, but it fell out otherwise.

During the whole summer, Bajazet had been busily employed in raising an army of Saracens and infidels: he had even sent to Persia for succor, and the great lords of his religion had joined him against Christendom. They had crossed the Hellespont to the amount of two hundred thousand; but the Christians were not only ignorant of their numbers, but of their approach; and they advanced so secretly, they were close to Nicopoli before the besiegers knew of their having begun their march. Bajazet was as well acquainted with the stratagems of war as most, and of great valor and enterprise. He considered maturely the power of the Christians, and said they were a valiant race. Bajazet marched to raise the siege of Nicopoli in the following order. His army was drawn up in the form of a harrow, and occupied about a league of ground; in front of this main body, and a league in advance, were eight thousand Turks, to mask the body of the army, which was divided into two wings. Bajazet was in the midst of his main body, who thus quietly advanced, with their vanguard of eight thousand in front: they were thus ordered, to make an appearance as if they were the whole army; but whenever they met the Christians, they were to fall back gently toward the main body, which was then to extend itself as much as possible, and endeavor to inclose the Christians, whom they should then conquer at pleasure. Such was the order of battle of Bajazet.

It happened, that on the Monday preceding Michaelmas-day, in the year 1396, about ten o'clock, as the king of Hungary and the lords, who were lying before Nicopoli, were seated at dinner, news was brought them that their enemies, the Turks, were near at hand; but, as I heard, the scouts did not inform them of the whole truth: they had not noticed the main body of the Turks, for the moment they saw the vanguard they dared not advance farther, as they were not men-at-arms fearless of such an enterprise. The Hungarians and French had each scouts of their own, and both parties arrived nearly at the same time with this intelligence. The greater part of the army were at dinner when the news was carried to the count de

Nevers and the other French lords, the messenger bawling out, "Come! quickly arm yourselves, that you be not surprised, for the Turks are on full march to meet you." This information was agreeable to many who were desirous of arms: they instantly arose, pushed the tables aside, and demanded their horses and armor. They were somewhat heated with wine, and hastened to the field as well as they could. Banners and pennons were displayed, under which every one ranged himself in his proper post. The banner of the Virgin Mary was unfurled, and the guard of it given to that valiant knight sir John de Vienne, admiral of France. The French were so eager to arm themselves that they were the first in the field, drawn up in handsome array, and seemingly fearless of the Turks; for they were ignorant of their immense numbers, and that Bajazet commanded in person. As the French lords were hastening from their tents to the field, the marshal of the king of Hungary, named sir Henry d'Ostenlemhalle,* mounted on a handsome courser, came to them with a few attendants. He was a valiant and experienced knight, and had borne before him a pennon of his arms, which were a cross anchored sable on a field argent, which in heraldry is called cross moline. He stopped when opposite the banner of Our Lady, where the principal lords were assembled, and said aloud, "I am sent hither by my lord, the king of Hungary, who entreats you by me, that you will not begin the battle before you shall again hear from him; for he much suspects and fears that the scouts have not brought exact intelligence of the numbers of the Turks. Within two hours you shall have more certain intelligence, for we have sent other scouts, who will advance farther than the former ones, and bring us better information. Be assured the Turks will never attack you, unless you force them to it, or until they have collected all their forces together. You will act as you shall think best, but such are my lord the king's orders. I must now return, for I cannot longer stay."

On saying this, the Hungarian marshal left them; and the lords assembled together to consider what was to be done. The lord de Coucy was asked his opinion, and replied, that the king of Hungary had a right to order them, and that what he had requested was perfectly just. It was mentioned to me that the count d'Eu, constable of France, was vexed that his opinion had not been first asked before the lord de Coucy's, and, through spite and malice, instantly opposed what he had said, adding: "Yes, yes, the king of Hungary wishes to gain all the honor of the day: he has given us the vanguard, and now wants to take it away, that he may have the first blow: let those who will believe what he sends to us, for my part I never will:" then addressing the knight who bore his banner, he said: "In the name of God and Saint George, you shall see me this day prove myself a good knight." The lord de Coucy thought this a very vain speech of the constable, and, turning to sir John de Vienne, who had the banner of Our Lady under his guard, and by whom all the others were to rally, asked what ought to be done. "Lord de Coucy," he replied, "when truth and reason are not heard, folly and presumption must reign; and, since the count d'Eu is determined to fight the enemy, we must follow him; but we should have greater advantage, if we waited the king of Hungary's orders, and were all united." While they thus conversed, the infidels were fast approaching: the wings of their army, which consisted of sixty thousand men each, were already closing round them. The Christians, observing this, would have retreated, but that was impossible, as they were completely surrounded. Many knights and squires, who had been used to arms, now knew the day must be lost; notwithstanding which they advanced, following the banner of Our Lady, that was borne by that gallant knight sir John de Vienne.

The lords of France were so richly dressed out, in their emblazoned surcoats, as to look like little kings; but, as I was told, when they met the Turks, they were not more than seven hundred, which sufficiently showed the folly of the measure; for, had they waited for the Hungarian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, they might, perhaps, have gained a victory, but, to their pride and presumption, was the whole loss owing; and it was so great, that never since the defeat at Roncesvalles, where the twelve peers of France were slain, did the French suffer so considerably. However, before they were overcome, they made great slaughter of the Turks; though several knights and squires saw they were marching to destruction, through their own folly. The French defeated the van battalion, and put it to flight, pursuing it into a valley where Bajazet was posted with the main army. The French would have returned, as they were mounted on barbed horses, but could not, for they were now inclosed on all sides. The battle, therefore, raged with fury, and lasted a considerable time. News was carried to the king of Hungary, that the French, English and Germans were engaged with the Turks, not having obeyed his orders sent them by the marshal. He was very wroth on hearing it, as indeed he had reason to be, and foresaw they would all be cut off. He said to the grand-master of Rhodes, who was beside him, "We shall lose the day, from the vanity of the French: if they had believed me, and waited for our joining, we should have had sufficient strength to cope with the enemy." As he thus spoke, looking behind him, he perceived that his men were flying panic-struck, and the Turks pursuing them. He then saw the day was irrecoverably lost, and those near his person cried out, "Sire, save yourself! for should you be killed or taken, Hungary will be completely ruined. We must be defeated, through French pride; and their valor will prove in vain, for every one of them will be taken or slain; not one can possibly escape. Fly, therefore, from the danger, before it be too late." The king of Hungary was in the utmost rage to be thus defeated through the arrogance of the French, and obliged to fly, if he would avoid captivity or death. It was a most unfortunate day for the Hungarians and French; whoever runs away from battle is pursued, and, as the Hungarians fled in the greatest confusion, the Turks followed, killing them or making them prisoners at pleasure. God, however, assisted the king of Hungary and the grand-master of Rhodes; for, on their arrival on the banks of the Danube, they found a small vessel belonging to the grand-master, into which they entered, with only five more, and crossed to the opposite shore. Had they delayed, they must have been killed or taken; for the Turks came to the river as they were passing it, and made a great slaughter of those who had followed the king thinking to escape.

We will return to the French and Germans, who were fighting most valiantly. The lord de Montcaurel, a gallant knight from Artois, seeing the defeat inevitable, and wishing to save his son, who was very young, said to his squire, "Carry off my son: thou mayest escape by that wing which is open: save my son, and I will abide the event with my companions." The youth, on hearing his father thus speak, declared he would not go nor leave him in such danger; but the father forced him away, and the squire brought him safely to the Danube: the youth, who was very melancholy at the situation of his father, was unfortunately drowned by falling between two barges, without a possibility of being saved. Sir William de la Trémouille and his son displayed great feats of valor before they were slain. Sir John de Vienne, who bore the banner of Our Lady, in spite of his deeds of arms was killed grasping the banner in his hands, and thus was he found after the battle. The whole of the French force that had been engaged at this battle of Nicopoli were defeated and slain, by the means I have related.

The lord John of Burgundy, count of Nevers, was wondrous richly arrayed, as were the lord Guy de la Riviere, and many barons and knights from Burgundy in compliment to him. Two squires from Picardy, William d'Eu and the borgne de Montquel, who had displayed their courage in many former battles, did the same at Nicopoli. These two squires, by their vigorous courage, twice forced through the Turkish army, and returned to the fight, but were at length slain. To say the truth, the whole of the French chivalry and those from other countries acquitted themselves most gallantly; and had they been assisted by the Hungarians with equal courage, the day would have turned out differently. But the whole of the mischief was caused by the French, and their presumption was their ruin. There was a knight from Picardy, called sir James de Helly, who had resided some time in Turkey, and had served in arms under Amurat, father of the sultan Bajazet, of whom we are now speaking, and who knew a little of the Turkish language. When he saw the day was lost, he thought of saving his life; and as he knew the Saracens to be a covetous race, he surrendered himself to them, on their granting him his life. Thus did he escape; and also another squire from the Tournaisis, called James du Fay, who had formerly served Tamerlane king of Tartary, but when he learnt that the French were marching to Turkey, he quitted Tamerlane, and joined his countrymen. He was at this battle, and saved by Tamerlane's men, who had been ordered thither in compliance with the request made to him for assistance by Bajazet. Tamerlane had sent him a considerable body of men, as Saracen and Pagan kings always do to the aid of each other.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE TURKS, AFTER THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLI, PUT TO DEATH ALL THEIR PRISONERS, EXCEPT THE COUNT DE NEVERS AND SOME OTHER GREAT LORDS.

At this battle of Nicopoli, which was so fatal to the French, very many were saved, from the extreme richness of their armor: they were dressed like kings; and the Saracens and Turks, who are avaricious, thought, by saving their lives, they should gain large ransoms; for they believed them much greater lords, from their appearance, than they really were. The count de Nevers was made prisoner, as were the counts d'Eu and de la Marche, the lord de Coucy, the lord Henry de Bar, sir Guy de la Tremouille, Boucicaut and others. The lord Philip de Bar, sir John de Vienne, sir William de la Tremouille and his son, were killed. This battle lasted for three hours; and the king of Hungary lost his whole baggage, his gold and silver plate, jewels, and everything else. He had escaped by fortunately finding a vessel from Rhodes on the Danube, that had brought provisions, in which he crossed the river with six others: had he not done so, he must have been slain or taken. There were more killed in the pursuit than in the battle, and numbers were drowned. Happy was he who could escape from such danger by any means.

When the business was over, and the Turks, Persians, and others sent thither by different infidel kings had retired to their lodgings, (that is to say, to the tents and pavilions they had conquered from

* Mss. Stadenchube

the Christians, in which they found wines, meats, and every other necessary) they enjoyed themselves, and made merry, like men who have gained a victory over their enemies. Bajazet dismounted, at the sound of many minstrels, according to their custom, at the principal tent that had belonged to the king of Hungary, which was very large, and richly adorned. Bajazet took pleasure in viewing it, and glorified himself internally for the victory he had obtained over the Christians, and thanked his God for it, according to the manner of their religion. When he was disarmed, to cool and refresh himself, he sat on a silken carpet in the middle of the tent, and sent for his principal friends, to chat and joke with them. He began the conversation, by saying he would now march a great force into Hungary, to conquer that country and the rest of Christendom, which he would put under his obedience, but that each kingdom might follow its own religion and laws, owning him for their lord: that he would reign like Alexander of Macedon, who for twelve years governed the whole world, as he was descended from his blood. All assented to what Bajazet said, and agreed to his proposal. He gave out three orders: the first, that every one who had made prisoners should produce them before him the next day; the second, that the dead should be carefully examined, and the nobles and great lords be set apart, and left untouched until he had seen them; the third, that exact inquiries should be made among the slain and prisoners after the king of Hungary, that he might know whether he was dead or alive. These orders were fulfilled, for none dared disobey them.

When Bajazet had refreshed himself, and changed his dress, he resolved to visit the dead on the field of battle; for he had been told the victory had cost him dear, and that he had lost great numbers of men. He was much surprised to hear this, and would not believe it. He mounted his horse, attended by his vizier, nobles and bashaws: some said his principal officers were his brothers, whom he would not acknowledge as such, declaring he had no brothers. On his coming to the field of battle, he found what had been told him was true; for where one Christian lay dead there were thirty of their enemies. The sight vexed him much, and he said aloud, "This has been a cruel battle for our people: the Christians have defended themselves desperately; but I will have this slaughter well revenged on those who are prisoners." He now left the field and returned to his tent, comforting himself for the loss he had suffered by the victory and defeat of the Christians; but, notwithstanding this, he passed the night in great fury. On the morrow, before he was risen or had shown himself, great numbers came before his tent, to learn his will respecting the prisoners; for it had been rumored that he intended having them all put to death without mercy. Bajazet, however, in spite of his rage against the Christians, had given orders that all the principal lords who had been made prisoners should be separated from the others, for he had been told they would pay him large ransoms, and on that account he was inclined to spare them. He had also learnt that many of the Tartars, Arabs, Bedouins and Syrians, had made prisoners, from whom they expected to gain large fortunes, as indeed they did, by concealing their prisoners from Bajazet. Sir James de Helly, whom I mentioned before, was, luckily for him, brought this Tuesday morning before the tent of the sultan, with many other prisoners, for he who had taken him was afraid of keeping him hid. As they were waiting the coming of Bajazet, some of the knights of his household, standing round the tent, recollected sir James, and delivered him from the hands of those who had taken him. He remained with the attendants of the sultan, who had been formerly acquainted with him; and fortunate it was for him, as you will hear related, for to the greater part of the Christians it was a disastrous day.

Before Bajazet appeared, inquiries had been made who were the greatest lords among the prisoners, and his interpreters had been very strict in their examinations, putting such aside not to be killed. The first was John of Burgundy commander-in-chief, then the count d'Eu, the count de la Marche, the lord de Coucy, lord Henry de Bar, sir Guy de la Tremouille, and two more, amounting in all to eight. Bajazet would see and talk with them. He eyed them long in silence, and these lords were conjured on their faith to avow if they were the persons who had been so named. He also resolved to send for sir James de Helly, that he might assure him of the truth. On his coming, he was remembered by the sultan whom he had served, and was now perfectly secure from danger. He was asked if he knew those French lords who were prisoners at the bottom of the tent. "I cannot say," he replied; "but, if I saw their faces, I should know them all." He was then ordered to go near and examine them, and report truly their names to the sultan, for that his determination would be according to what he should say. He went near the prisoners, and, bowing to them, knew them all. He told them his fortunate escape, and that he had been sent by the sultan to see if they were the persons answering to the names they had given themselves. "Ah, sir James," said they, "you are well acquainted with us all: you see how fortune has turned against us, and what great danger we are in when we depend on the mercy of this sultan. If it may any how save our lives, tell him we are of even greater rank than we have said, and able to pay him large sums for our ransoms. "My lords," replied sir James, "this I will most cheerfully do, for it is my duty." The knight then returned to Bajazet, and said, "Those lords who are prisoners, and with whom I have been talking, are of the noblest blood in France, nearly related to the king, and willing to pay for their liberty a great sum of money." This answer was very agreeable to the sultan, who would not listen to more, but said, "Let those alone be spared, and all the other prisoners put to death, to free the country from them, and that others may take example from their fate."

The sultan now made his appearance to his people before the tent, who, bowing down, made him their obeisance. The army was drawn up in two wings on each side; the sultan with his nobles, the count de Nevers and those who were to be spared, were in the centre; for he would they should witness the execution of their companions, which the Saracens were eager to perform. Many excellent knights and squires of France and other nations, who had been taken in battle or in pursuit, were now brought forth in their shirts, one after another, before Bajazet, who eyeing them a little, they were led on; and, as he made a signal, were instantly cut to pieces by those waiting for them with drawn swords. Such was the cruel justice of Bajazet this day, when upward of three hundred gentlemen of different nations were thus pitilessly murdered. It was a cruel case for them to suffer for the love of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and may he receive their souls!

Among the murdered of that day was the gallant knight sir Henry d'Antoing: may God show gracious mercy to his soul! The lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, was led naked like the others, before Bajazet, and would have suffered the same cruel death, had not the count de Nevers left his companions, who were motionless at the sad sight, and flung himself on his knees to the sultan, entreating him to spare the lord Boucicaut, who was much beloved by the king of France, and well able to pay a considerable ransom; and the count made signs, as paying from one hand to the other, that he would give a large sum of money, to soften the anger of the sultan. Bajazet consented to the request of the count de Nevers, and the lord Boucicaut was put aside with those who were not to be killed. Others were brought forward, until the number I have mentioned was completed; such was the cruel revenge the infidels had on the Christians. It seems, according to what I heard, that Bajazet took delight that the victory he had gained over the Christians, and the capture of the count de Nevers, should be known in France, and carried thither by a French knight. Three knights, of whom sir James de Helly was one, were brought before Bajazet and the count de Nevers, who was asked which of the three he wished to go to the king of France and to his father the duke of Burgundy. Sir James de Helly had the good fortune to be made choice of, because the count de Nevers was before acquainted with him: he therefore said to the sultan, "Sir, I wish that this person may go to France from you and from me." This was accepted by Bajazet, and sir James de Helly remained with him and the other French lords; but the two unsuccessful knights were delivered over to the soldiery, who massacred them without pity.

After all these things were done, everything was quiet. Bajazet, having learnt that the king of Hungary was escaped, resolved to march more into the interior of Turkey toward the city of Bursa, whither he would carry his prisoners, for he had done enough this campaign. He therefore disbanded his army, more especially that part of it which had come from distant countries. Thus was it done, and the army broke up, which had been composed of men from Tartary, Persia, Media, Syria, Alexandria and Egypt, and from other distant countries of infidels. Bajazet gave particular orders to sir James de Helly, that when he went to France, he should take his road through Lombardy, and salute from him the duke of Milan; and it was the sultan's intention that sir James should publish, wherever he passed, the great victory he had gained over the Christians. The count de Nevers wrote by him, as well for himself as for his fellow-prisoners, to the king of France, and to the duke and duchess of Burgundy. On receiving these letters and other verbal messages, the knight departed from the sultan and the lords of France; but before he set out, Bajazet made him promise, on oath, that as soon as he should have performed the journey, and delivered all he had been charged with to the king of France and the other lords, he would return, which the knight swore he would do, and kept his oath. We will now leave Bajazet, and the French lords who remained prisoners during his pleasure, and speak of other things

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

THE FRENCH AND OTHERS WHO HAD BEEN IN TURKEY SUFFER GREAT HARDSHIPS ON THEIR RETURN HOME, AFTER HAVING ESCAPED FROM THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLI. SIR JAMES DE HELLY BRINGS CERTAIN INTELLIGENCE OF THIS DEFEAT TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

After this memorable victory which the Turks and their allies gained over the Christians, as has been related in this history, such knights as could escape saved themselves. On the Monday morning, the day of the battle, more than three hundred knights and squires, being out foraging, were not present at it. When they heard from the runaways that a defeat was inevitable, they gave over all thoughts of returning to their camp, but took different roads, to make their escape from Turkey as speedily as they could. French, Germans, and others, made for a country adjoining to Hungary,

called Wallachia, which is well inhabited, and had been conquered from the Turks, and turned by force to the Christian faith. The guards of the passes and castles in Wallachia, allowed the Christians who came from Turkey free entrance, and gave them lodging; but, on the morrow, when they were about to depart, they took from the knights their armor and all they had, and gave them in return a miserable jacket, and some little money, just enough to bear the day's expenses. This favor was only shown to gentlemen; for those who were not of that rank, were stripped naked, and scourged villainously with rods. The French and their companions suffered most exceedingly in poverty and distress, during their passage through Wallachia and Hungary; and with difficulty could they meet with any, who, for the love of God, would give a morsel of bread, or lodge them for the night. They endured their misery until they came to Vienna in Austria, where they were kindly received by the good people, who clothed such as were naked, and shared with them their food. They were treated with the same kindness in Bohemia: had they found the Germans as hard-hearted as the Hungarians, they would never have been able to have returned home, but must have perished with cold and hunger on the road. Thus, wherever they came, whether alone or in companies, they brought most melancholy news, which excited pity for them in every breast that heard their sad tale.

Those of the French nation, who had fled from Turkey, arrived at Paris, and told the melancholy event of the battle of Nicopoli; but they were not believed nor listened to: the Parisians said it was a pity that such rascally liars were not hanged or drowned, for daily spreading abroad so many falsehoods. This news was, however, confirmed by others who arrived after them, and told the same tale, some one way, and others differently, but all agreeing as to the complete overthrow of the Hungarians and their allies. The king of France was very much vexed on hearing such melancholy news talked of, for there were too many of his own relations implicated in the loss, besides other excellent knights and squires of France. He therefore forbade anything to be said on the subject, until he should receive more positive information, to confirm the truth or falsehood of these reports; and those who had divulged such news, saying they were come from Turkey and Hungary, were arrested, and confined in the Châtelet of Paris. They consisted of great numbers, and were told, that if what they had said should be found false, orders had been given for all of them to be drowned; for the king was very wroth they should have published such disastrous news.

It happened that, on Christmas-day about noon, sir James de Helly arrived in Paris, and the moment he had dismounted at his inn, he inquired where the king was. They told him at the hôtel de Saint Pol, on the banks of the Seine, whither he went. There was with the king this day, as is usual on such solemn festivals, the duke of Orleans, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the count de Saint Pol, and many of the nobility. Sir James de Helly entered the hôtel in the same dress he had rode in, booted and spurred, so that he was not known; for he had, for a long time, been seeking adventures in foreign parts, in preference to living with his relations and friends. By fair speeches he got at last to the king's apartment, and made himself known, saying he was come immediately from Bajazet and Turkey, and that he had been present at the battle of Nicopoli, where the Christians had lost the day; and that he had brought certain intelligence from the count de Nevers, and from the other French lords with whom he had marched through Hungary. The knights of the king's chamber were pleased to hear this; for they knew the king, the duke of Burgundy, and many lords, were very anxious to learn true intelligence from those countries. They therefore made way for him to approach the king: when near, he fell on his knees, as was right, and told all he had been charged with, as well by Bajazet, as by the count de Nevers and the French lords his fellow-prisoners. The king and lords listened attentively to all he said, for they believed he was speaking the truth. Many questions were asked, in order to hear a more detailed account, to all of which he answered very pertinently, and to the satisfaction of the king, who was greatly affected at the loss the king of Hungary and his chivalry had suffered. He was somewhat comforted, that the king of Hungary had escaped death and prison; for he supposed that he would renew the war against Turkey with vigor, and have ample revenge on Bajazet.

The king of France and his lords were rejoiced that the count de Nevers, and his few companions, were free from danger of being murdered; and, as they were now prisoners, the lords debated on the means of paying their ransom. Sir James de Helly said that he hoped Bajazet would, within a year or two, sell them their liberty, for he was very avaricious. This he personally knew, having resided a long time in Turkey, and for three years served Amurat, father to the present sultan. The king made the knight rise, and treated him kindly, as he did the lords present. They said, he had been very fortunate to have had a friend in so great a monarch as this infidel Bajazet, after such a severe battle, and to be sent by him with his message to the king of France. He and his family ought to pride themselves on such good fortune. The king ordered all who had been confined in the Châtelet, for having first spread abroad this intelligence, to be set at liberty. They were happy to hear this, for many of them had repented they had talked so much.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

SIR JAMES DE HELLY, HAVING RECEIVED HIS DISPATCHES FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, ARRIVES IN HUNGARY, ON HIS WAY TO TURKEY. THE KING SENDS SIR JOHN DE CHASTELMORANT, WITH PRESENTS TO BAJAZET, AND HIS RECOMMENDATIONS IN FAVOR OF THE FRENCH PRISONERS. THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY ARE TREATED.

When the intelligence sir James de Helly had brought was made public, all who had lost husband, brother, father, or child, were in the utmost consternation, as may easily be supposed. The high nobility of France, such as the duchess of Burgundy and the lady Margaret of Hainault, were greatly afflicted on account of their son and husband the count de Nevers, for he was much beloved by them. The countess of Eu lamented her lord the constable, as did the countess de la Marche: the ladies of Coucy, of Bar, and Sully, in like manner bewailed the melancholy situation of their lords. They were fortunate in having only their lords' captivity to lament, and were somewhat comforted thereat; but the relations and friends of those who had been massacred were inconsolable, and the grief of France lasted a long time. The duke of Burgundy treated most kindly sir James de Helly, for having brought him intelligence of his son: he made him many rich gifts, and retained him for one of his knights, with a pension of two hundred livres a-year during his life. The king of France also, and the lords of the court, gave him handsome presents. He informed them he was bound to return to Bajazet, after he should have delivered his letters, as the sultan's prisoner; for he was sent solely with a view to publish Bajazet's victory, and to say what lords had perished or been made prisoners at the battle of Nicopoli. This seemed reasonable, and the king, the duke of Burgundy, and such lords as were at Paris, prepared to write to their friends and relations who were prisoners. It was determined in council, that the king should send some knight of renown, prudence, and valor to Bajazet, who, having delivered his message, was to return with more detailed accounts of the state of the prisoners, in case sir James de Helly were not permitted so to do by the sultan, whose prisoner he was. Sir John de Châteaumorant was selected for this embassy, as being every way qualified for it.

Sir James de Helly was asked what jewels or presents would be most acceptable to the sultan, that the count de Nevers and the other prisoners might fare the better. The knight said that Bajazet took great pleasure in viewing fine tapestry from Arras or Picardy, which represented ancient histories: he was also fond of gerfalcons: but he thought that fine linen from Rheims, and scarlet cloths, would be most acceptable to the sultan and his lords. There was plenty of cloths of gold and silks in Turkey, with which they were amply provided, and consequently would like things they could not get at home. The king and the duke of Burgundy, therefore, resolved what to send, for they were anxious to please Bajazet on account of the count of Nevers. Sir James de Helly remained at Paris, with the king and lords about twelve days, and was well listened to by all: for he entertained them with his adventures in Hungary and Turkey, and with descriptions of the manners of Bajazet. On his departure, he was told, "Sir James, you may now set out on your return to the sultan, at your leisure. We suppose you will go through Lombardy, to the duke of Milan; for he and Bajazet are great friends, although they have never seen each other: but, whatever road you take, we entreat and order you to wait in Hungary for sir John de Châteaumorant, who will be sent by the king with presents to the sultan, as it is our intent that he pursue his journey from Hungary in your company to Turkey, or until you shall meet the sultan, that he may behave the more kindly to the count de Nevers and his fellow-prisoners, who are now in his power." Sir James promised obedience, and, having received his dispatches, took leave of the king, the duke of Burgundy, and the other lords, and left Paris, following the same road by which he had come. He continued his journey, firmly resolved never to return to France until he had obtained his liberty. After his departure, the duke of Burgundy was constantly employed in preparing the presents for the sultan; and, by the time they were provided, sir John de Châteaumorant was ready to set out, for he had begun his preparations for the journey on his being first nominated to go thither. They made great haste to have the presents from the king to Bajazet in time for sir John de Châteaumorant to overtake sir James de Helly. These presents consisted of pieces of the best worked tapestry from Arras, representing the history of Alexander the Great and his conquests, which was a delightful sight for all men of honor, the finest linens from Rheims, and scarlet and crimson cloths, which were packed on six sumpter-horses. All these things were easily to be had for money; but there was great difficulty in procuring white gerfalcons. At last, however, they were got, either in Paris or from Germany; and sir John de Châteaumorant, having received his final instructions, left Paris, and began his journey fifteen days after sir James de Helly.

In the interval during which these knights were on their journey, the king of Hungary returned to his kingdom. On his arrival being known, his subjects were greatly rejoiced, and flocked to him, for he was much beloved. They comforted him by saying, that if in this campaign he had been unfortunate, in another he would be more successful. The king bore his misfortunes as well as he could. Im

mediately after the battle, Bajazet disbanded his army and marched to the city of Bursa, carrying with him his prisoners. They were put under strict confinement, and very little comfort allowed them. They suffered much from the change of diet, as they had always been accustomed to have their own cooks, and their tables served with every delicacy; but of all this they were deprived, and forced to live on coarse meat, and that badly or not thoroughly dressed. They had plenty of spices, and millet bread, which is disagreeable to a French palate. They had great difficulty in procuring wine: although they were great princes, there was not any attention paid them, for the Turks were indifferent whether they were sick or in health; and, if the advice of several had been adopted, they would all have been put to death.

These lords of France comforted each other, and thankfully received whatever was given them, for they could no way better themselves. At the beginning of their captivity, several of them were very unwell: the count de Nevers bore his misfortune the best, and kept up his spirits to comfort the others. He was assisted by the lord Boucicaut, the count de la Marche, and lord Henry de Bar, who said, that the honors and glories of arms could not be gained without meeting with unfortunate reverses; and that no man, however valiant or lucky, or accustomed to war, had everything according to his wish; and that they ought to thank God, for having had their lives saved from the furious rage of Bajazet and his followers, for it had been determined by the army to put every one to death. Boucicaut said, "I ought to be more thankful than any one to God for my life being spared, for I was brought out to be massacred as my companions had been, and should have lost my head, had not my lord of Nevers cast himself on his knees to Bajazet, who, at his request, granted me his pardon. I hold this a most fortunate escape; and since it was the good pleasure of our lord that I should live, I have no doubt but that God, who has delivered us from this peril, will continue his mercy to us, for we are his soldiers; and that we shall soon obtain our liberty, for we are now suffering in his cause. Besides, sir James de Helly is on his road to France, who will relate to the king and barons our distress; and I expect, within the year, we shall receive comfort and our liberty. Things will not remain long as they are. There is much good sense in the king and the duke of Burgundy, who will never forget us; and, by some means or other, we shall receive sufficient sums for our ransoms."

Thus the gallant knight, the lord Boucicaut, comforted himself, and bore his captivity with patience, as did likewise the young count de Nevers; but the lord de Coucy was sorely afflicted, which is not to be wondered at. Before this event, he had been a lord of such high spirit as nothing could cast down: this captivity in Turkey, however, preyed on his mind more than it did on the spirits of the others, and he became quite melancholy. He complained of great oppression at his heart, and said he should never return to France; that he had escaped many perils and dangerous adventures, but this would be his last. The lord Henry de Bar consoled him, and blamed him for being so disconsolate without cause; and told him it was folly to be thus cast down, when he ought to find more satisfaction in his own mind than any other. Notwitstanding the advice he was giving, he himself severely felt his own situation, and bitterly regretted his wife. The count d'Eu, constable of France, suffered from similar regrets. Sir Guy de la Tremouille and the count de la Marche kept up their spirits very tolerably. Bajazet was desirous they should have some amusements in their captivity, and at times visited and conversed with them most graciously: he was likewise anxious they should witness his state and power.

We will now leave them, and return to sir James de Helly and sir John de Châteaumorant, who were both journeying toward Hungary.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

SIR JAMES DE HELLY, ON HIS RETURN TO TURKEY, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY, AND CARRIES A PASSPORT FROM THE SULTAN TO SIR JOHN DE CHASTELMORANT IN HUNGARY. SIR JOHN DE CHASTELMORANT IS FORCED TO SEND A MESSENGER TO THE KING OF FRANCE, TO INFORM HIM THAT THE KING OF HUNGARY WILL NOT ALLOW THE PRESENTS TO BE CARRIED TO THE SULTAN.

Sir James de Helly waited about ten or twelve days at Buda, in Hungary, for sir John de Châteaumorant, who was continuing his road as expeditiously as he could. Sir James was rejoiced at his arrival; for he was impatient to return to Turkey to acquit himself of his promise, and to see and bring comfort to the count de Nevers and the other French lords who were prisoners. The king of Hungary made sir John de Châteaumorant a kind of welcome, in compliment to the king of France and his royal cousins. He learnt from his people that the knight was carrying magnificent presents, and rich jewels, to the sultan: this vexed him greatly, but he prudently dissembled any knowledge of it until sir James de Helly should have set out for Turkey. He declared, however, to his confidential friends, that the recreant dog, Bajazet, should never receive any presents from France or elsewhere, if he had the power to prevent it. When sir James had refreshed himself some time at Buda, he took leave of the king and Châteaumorant, to continue his journey to Turkey, that he might obtain from the sultan a passport for sir John to pursue his road to him. When sir James mentioned it, the king of Hungary replied he would do well. On this the knight, having procured guides, was conducted by them through Hungary and Wallachia to Bursa, but did not find there Bajazet, who was gone to another town in Turkey called Poly. Wherever he went he carried the prisoners with him, excepting the lord de Coucy, who was left at Bursa, unable to ride from sickness. There tarried with him his cousin, a valiant baron from Greece, and a descendant of the dukes of Austria, called the lord de Mathelin.

Sir James de Helly continued his journey to Poly, where he met Bajazet, who was glad to see him return from France, and keep his word. Sir James humbled himself much before him, and said, "Most dear and redoubted lord, here is your prisoner, who has delivered, to the best of his abilities, the message you have charged him with." Bajazet replied, "Thou art welcome, for thou hast loyally acquitted thyself; and, in consideration of it, I now give thee thy liberty." Sir James thanked him respectfully for this favor, and told him that the king of France, and the duke of Burgundy, father to the count de Nevers his prisoner, had sent him an honorable knight with credential letters as embassador, and likewise with such grand presents as he was sure would give him delight. The sultan asked if he had seen them. He replied, "I have not; but the knight charged with the commission has brought them as far as Hungary, and is now at Buda waiting my return, with passports for him to continue his journey: I came to announce this news to you, and to solicit passports, if it be agreeable to you to receive him." "We are very willing he should have passports, and you may have them made out in any form you choose." The knight thanked him for his gracious answer, when the sultan left him to attend to other affairs. About an hour afterwards, sir James requested the Sultan's permission to visit and converse with the French prisoners, as he had much to say to them from their friends and relations. Bajazet was some time silent before he gave him an answer, when he said, "Thou shalt see one of them, but no more." He then made a sign to his attendants for the count de Nevers to be brought to converse with sir James for a short space, and then to be carried back to his prison. The order was instantly obeyed; and the count de Nevers saw sir James de Helly with great joy. He made many inquiries after the king of France, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and what was passing in that country. The knight related to him everything he had seen or heard, and delivered him all the messages he had been charged with; but they were greatly interrupted by the officers of the sultan, who pressed them to finish their conversation, they had other business to attend to.

Sir James asked the count if all the other French lords were in good health. He replied, "All, except the lord de Coucy, who has remained sick at Bursa; and this favor, I understand, has been granted through the credit of the lord de Mathelin, who has pledged himself for him, and is much esteemed by the sultan." Sir James then told him that the king and duke of Burgundy had sent sir John Châteaumorant as embassador to Bajazet, with most magnificent presents to soften the sultan's anger; but that sir John had stopped at Buda in Hungary, until he should return with a passport for him and his attendants; that the sultan had promised him a passport, with which he intended returning to Buda in a very few days. The count de Nevers was exceedingly rejoiced on hearing this; but he dared not give way to his feelings, for the Turks were observing them. The last words the count said to him were, "Sir James, I understand that Bajazet has given you your liberty, and that you may return to France when you please. On your arrival there, tell my lord and father from me, that if he have any intention to ransom me and my companions, he must not delay to negotiate through the means of Venetians or Genoese merchants, and close with the first offer the sultan, or his ministers for him, may make; for we are lost for ever, if it be longer neglected. But I understand that the sultan is very loyal and courteous in his character, when applied to properly."

Thus ended their interview, and the count de Nevers was conducted back to prison. Sir James de Helly hastened the passport which had been promised him. When it had been drawn out in the usual form, and sealed by Bajazet, it was delivered to the knight, who took leave of the sultan and his court, and set off on his return to Buda. He instantly waited on sir John de Châteaumorant, who was impatiently expecting him, and said, "I bring you a passport for yourself and your attendants to go and return in safety from Turkey, which the sultan readily granted me." "That is well done," replied sir John: "let us go to the king of Hungary, and tell him the news. To-morrow morning I will begin my journey, for I have stayed here long enough." They went to the king's chamber, and related to him all you have just heard. The king replied, "Châteaumorant and Helly, I am glad to see you both, as well on your own account as for the affection I bear to the king and my cousins of France, and I shall at all times be happy to serve you. You may travel through any part of my kingdom, unmolested, or even into Turkey, if it be your pleasure; but with regard to your carrying any rich presents or jewels to the sultan, which you, Châteaumorant, are charged with from France, I will never consent that they pass through my kingdom, to be offered to the infidel Bajazet, for he shall never be enriched by them. I should be extremely

blamed and laughed at, if in future times he be enabled to boast, that to gain his love, and from fear, because he has gained a victory over me, and detains some great barons of France prisoners, the king of France and his princes have sent him rich presents. In respect to the gerfalcons, I am indifferent whether he have them or not; for birds fly anywhere, and are as soon lost as given; but with respect to fine tapestry, which would remain a proof of his boastings being true, I will not consent that he enjoy the pleasure of possessing it. Therefore Châteaumorant," continued the king of Hungary, "if you wish to make a journey into Turkey, to see Bajazet, and present him with the falcons, you may do so; but you shall not carry anything else."

Sir John de Châteaumorant replied, "Certainly, sire, it is not the intention of the king of France, nor to his honor more than to that of the lords who have sent me, that I fail in any particular in the accomplishment of the objects they have charged me with." "Very well," said the king: "you will not at present have any other answer from me than what you have heard." The two knights left the apartment, and consulted together how to act, for this refusal of the king of Hungary had disconcerted them. They thought their only expedient was to send off a messenger express, with the account of the king of Hungary's conduct to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, for them to provide a remedy, and to explain the causes of their delay. They wrote, in consequence, letters to the king and the duke of Burgundy, and engaged a trusty messenger to carry them, whom they supplied with a sufficiency of money for him frequently to change his horses on the road, that he might hasten his journey, while they waited his return at Buda.

The messenger journeyed with great diligence to Paris, and delivered his letters to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. Having read them, they were much surprised and vexed that the king of Hungary should prevent their embassador from continuing his journey with the presents to the sultan of Turkey, as they ordered him to do. The duke of Berry, however, excused the king of Hungary, saying he was no way to blame; for it was too debasing to a king of France to send presents and jewels to such a recreant pagan king. The duke of Burgundy was more nearly affected in the matter, and defended the measure as reasonable, since fortune had been so favorable, to give the sultan a victory, in which the whole force of the king of Hungary was slain or put to flight, and the greater part of the nobles made prisoners that had been in the battle. It therefore behooved their relations and friends to adopt every mode for their deliverance, if they were desirous of seeing them again. This speech of the duke of Burgundy was supported by the king and council. The king asked the duke of Berry, "Good uncle, if this sultan Bajazet, or any other pagan king, were to send you a rich and sparkling ruby, would you accept of it?" "My lord," replied the duke, "I should consider of it." The king reminded him, that it was not ten years since the sultan had sent him a ruby that had cost twenty thousand francs.

The king of Hungary was condemned by all for having prevented the presents from being carried to the sultan, which might have the effect of adding to the distressful state of the French lords that were prisoners. The king was therefore advised to write courteous letters to the king of Hungary, to request that he would no longer prevent his embassador from proceeding on his journey with the presents to the court of Turkey. When they had been fairly written out and sealed, they were given to the messenger from Hungary, who, leaving Paris, set out on his return to Buda.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS IS SUSPECTED OF CAUSING THE KING'S ILLNESS.

Every year the king of France had relapses of his frenzy, without any physician or surgeon being able to prevent it. Some indeed had boasted that they would restore him to sound health, but it was soon found they labored in vain. The king's disorder never ceased until it had run its course, in spite of prayers and medicines. Some of the physicians and sorcerers who attended the king, on finding their labor lost, declared the king must have been poisoned or enchanted by some pernicious herbs. This agitated greatly the minds of the nobility and people, for these sorcerers affirmed, the better to gain belief, that the king was under the power of sorcery, and that they knew it from the devil who had revealed it to them. Several of these conjurors had been burnt at Paris and Avignon, for having gone so far as to say that the duchess of Orleans, daughter to the duke of Milan, was the cause of this mischief, that she might succeed to the crown of France. This was so much believed, that common report said she had frequently practiced such arts, and that, so long as she was near the person of the king, he neither would nor could regain his health. It was therefore necessary, to put an end to this slander, that the duchess of Orleans should quit Paris. She went first to reside at Asnières, a very handsome castle near Pontoise, that belonged to the duke her lord, and then to Neufchâteau, on the Loire, which also belonged to him. The duke of Orleans was very melancholy on hearing such injurious reports against his duchess, which he dissembled as well as he could, and never on this account quitted the king or court, for he took pleasure in attending public business and the different councils on the affairs of the realm.

Galeas duke of Milan, was duly informed of the infamous crimes his daughter, the duchess of Orleans, was accused of. He deeply felt the injury, and had twice or thrice sent embassadors to France, to exculpate his daughter to the king of France and his council, offering, at the same time, a knight or knights that should engage in mortal combat any person who should dare to accuse his daughter of such iniquitous and treasonable practices. The duke of Milan threatened to make war on France; for he had learnt that the king, when he gave his daughter in marriage to the king of England, between Ardres and Calais, had declared, that on his return to Paris he would not attend to anything until he should march a large army into the Milanese; and that his son-in-law, king Richard, had, to his great satisfaction, offered him one thousand English spears and six thousand archers. Galeas had likewise heard that purveyances were making throughout Dauphiny and Savoy for the king of France, for it was by Piedmont he intended entering Lombardy. This expedition, however, was laid aside, and no more thought of, when the news arrived of the unfortunate issue of the battle of Nicopoli, and the death and captivity of the French nobles. The king and the duke of Burgundy were so afflicted at this event, that they could not attend to anything else; they besides knew that the duke of Milan was on the most friendly terms with Bajazet, which was an additional reason at this moment not to push any hostile attempts against him, and he was left unmolested.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY DILIGENTLY EXERT THEMSELVES TO FIND MEANS TO RANSOM THE COUNT DE NEVERS, THEIR SON, AND HIS FELLOW-PRISONERS IN TURKEY. THE KING OF HUNGARY, THROUGH THE PERSUASION OF THE GRAND-MASTER OF RHODES, PERMITS THE EMBASSADOR FROM THE KING OF FRANCE TO PASS THROUGH HIS KINGDOM WITH THE PRESENTS FOR THE SULTAN BAJAZET.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy considered every possible means of recovering their son. As they knew they must pay a very large sum for his ransom, they reduced their expenses as much as possible, to gather all the money they could; without this, they knew they could not succeed; and made many friends among the Venetian and Genoese merchants, for through their means the ransoms were to be negotiated. The duke of Burgundy resided with the king, who conversed with him frequently on affairs of state, and paid attention to what he said; for the duke had the principal share in the government, which made his own affairs prosper the more.

At this time there lived in Paris a Lombard, who was a great and rich merchant, and transacted business for the other Lombards: he was known and spoken of all over the world, wherever commerce was carried on: his name was Dinde Desponde, and by him all exchanges were made. If before the event of the battle of Nicopoli he was beloved by the king of France and the lords of his court, he was now much more so, and had frequent consultations with the duke of Burgundy on the surest means to recover his son, and the other lords who were prisoners in Turkey. Dinde Desponde said to the duke, "My lord, by degrees all things are brought about. The merchants of Genoa, and of the islands under their obedience, are well known everywhere, and traffic with Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Damietta, and Turkey, and in different countries of infidels; for trade, my lord, as you know, finds its way everywhere, and rules the world. Write, therefore, to the Genoese, and prevail on the king to do so likewise, in a friendly manner, promising them great rewards if they will undertake the business; for there is nothing but may be accomplished with money. The king of Cyprus, who is near to Turkey, and now at peace with the sultan, may also assist in the matter. You must suppose that, as for myself, I will exert my powers to the utmost, for I am bound to obey you in everything."

The duke and duchess of Burgundy neglected no means to free their son from his captivity, for they were sorely afflicted by it. He was the heir to their vast possessions; and this misfortune had happended to him on his first onset in arms. The ladies of France lamented the loss of their husbands and friends, especially the lady of Coucy, who refused all comfort, and bewailed him day and night. The duke of Lorrain and sir Ferri de Lorrain, her brothers, visited her at Saint Gobin,* where she resided, and consoled her as well as they could. They advised her to send into Turkey to gain some intelligence of him, for they had heard he had greater liberty allowed him than the other prisoners. The lady thanked her brothers for this advice, and instantly sent for sir Robert Desne,† a good and valiant knight of the Cambresis. She entreated him so sweetly, urging him, out of affection to her, to undertake a journey into Turkey, that the knight consented, and engaged to go thither and bring back full intelligence of the lord de Coucy.

Sir Robert soon made his preparations, and, accompanied by four others, set out for Hungary. In like manner did other ladies in

* "Saint Gobin," near La Fere in Picardy, now famous for its fine manufacture of looking-glasses.

† "Sir Robert Desne." Sir Robert de Seu, MSS. B. M. and Hafod.

France send to inquire after their husbands. The king of Hungary was very obstinate in his refusal to allow sir John de Châteaumorant to continue his journey to Turkey with the presents from the king of France to the sultan. Though this greatly displeased sir John and sir James de Helly, they could not prevail on him to alter his resolution. It happened that the grand-master of Rhodes came at this time to Buda. He was most kindly received by the king, as indeed he ought to have been, for on the day of the battle he had saved the king from death or captivity. He made acquaintance with the two knights from France, who related to him the conduct of the king of Hungary, and the circumstance of his detaining them at Buda. He was much surprised, and said, to soften their anger, he would speak to the king on the subject, and, as they should soon experience, with good effect. He managed the matter so prudently with the king, that they were permitted to continue their journey to Turkey with all their presents, which were restored to them. The embassador arrived in safety at the place where Bajazet resided, owing to the passports sir James de Helly had brought to him. The sultan received the knights, and their presents from the king of France, with much respect, and seemed very proud of what the king had sent him. The knights were only permitted to have one interview with the count de Nevers, but with none of the others: this, however, was of a sufficiently long continuance. On their taking leave, the count said: "Recommend me to my lord and father, the duke of Burgundy, to my lady-mother, to my lord the king, and to my lord of Berry, and salute in my name all my friends. Should there be any negotiation going forward with Bajazet, urge the speedy conclusion, for we suffer from every delay. We were originally eight prisoners, but are now increased, by sixteen more, to twenty-four:* let the ransom include all of us, for it will be as readily agreed to for the whole as for one. Bajazet has settled this in his own mind, and you may depend on his steadiness; and those who have sent you hither may rely on his word, for it is inviolable." Sir James de Helly and Sir John de Châteaumorant replied, they would say and do everything he had directed. They then took leave of the count de Nevers, and the sultan, and set out for Hungary and France. On their return, they met the messenger whom they had sent to Paris, as has been mentioned, bringing letters to the king of Hungary. They made him come back with them, as he had now no occasion to proceed farther, for they had been in Turkey; and they all returned together, to the king of France at Paris.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER PLOTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS NEPHEW, THE KING OF ENGLAND. THE KING, HAVING INFORMATION OF HIS PRACTICES, HAS HIM ARRESTED BY THE EARL MARSHAL.

I HAVE been some time without saying anything of the duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of the late king Edward of England, for I have not had any cause for so doing. But I will now speak of him, because his heart would no way incline to the French, and he was more pleased than hurt at the melancholy loss they had sustained in Turkey. He had with him a knight called sir John Lackingay, who was his most confidential adviser, and, as it was afterwards discovered, held with him such conversations as the following: "These vain-boasting French have been nearly annihilated in Turkey. Such knights and squires as join company with them know not what they are about, and are ill-advised when they do so, for they are so full of vanity and presumption, that they never can bring to a successful issue anything they undertake. This has often been apparent during the wars of my lord and father, and our brother the prince of Wales, for they never could obtain a victory over our men. I know not why we have any truces with them: if it were war with them, as we have good cause for quarrel, we would wage it now more successfully than ever, for the flower of the French chivalry is slain or in captivity. Our countrymen wish for war, for without it they cannot exist, and idleness to men-at-arms is death. I swear, therefore, by God, that if I be alive, and in health, two years hence, the war shall be renewed, for I will not keep any truce or peace. The French have shown how little they have regarded them in former times, and have, by whatever treacherous and underhand means they could devise, deprived us of the duchy of Aquitaine, which was given up to my late lord and father, in conformity to a sound treaty of peace. This I have more than once charged them with, in the conference on the other side of the sea; but they made such flourishing and complimentary speeches, they always lighted on their feet, and I was not attended to either by the king or by my brothers. If the king of England had a good head, and were as desirous as I am of war, and would take some pains to recover the inheritance they have shamefully stolen from him, he would find one hundred thousand archers and six thousand men-at-arms willing to cross the sea, and ready to serve him with their lives and fortunes. But things are not so. At this moment we have an unwarlike king, who is indifferent as to arms, otherwise he would show himself in France: for there never was so favorable an opportunity to carry the war thither as at this present moment, since they would be assured of a battle, and the people of this country, who are always eager to fight with those richer than themselves, for the sake of the spoil, would venture boldly, in the hope of having the like success with their ancestors under the king my father, of happy memory, and my brother the prince of Wales.

"I am the last of the royal family of England; but were I believed, I would be the first to renew the wars, to retaliate for the wrongs that have been done us, and which they are daily doing by the connivance and weakness of our rulers, more particularly of our head the king of England, who has allied himself by marriage with the daughter of his enemy the king of France. That is a sure proof he will have no war: certainly not: he is too heavy behind, and only wishes for the pleasures of the table and the amusements of ladies. That is not the life for men-at-arms, who are desirous of renown and profit. I have not forgotten my last expedition through France. I might have had with me about two thousand lances and eight thousand archers. When we crossed the sea, we entered France by way of Calais, and continued our march through the country, without meeting any one to oppose us or offer us battle. Such formerly was the success of sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Grandson, sir Philip Gifford; but they had not as may men as I had under their command, and yet they marched to the gates of Paris, and demanded battle from the king of France. No one, however, ventured out to answer their challenge, and they continued their route without interruption into Brittany. You might then have marched from Calais to Bordeaux, without any one daring to oppose you; but I am persuaded whoever should now attempt it would be combated; for he who at present signs himself king of France is young, active, and has a strong desire to achieve some gallant enterprise. He would therefore fight with us, whatever might be the consequences, and that is everything we could desire; for it has been by battle and victories over the French, who are so rich, that we are become wealthy: if peace continue, we shall languish and become more enervated than ever, since my nephew came to the throne of England. Things cannot long remain in this state, before the people will perceive and redress them. The king raises heavy taxes on the merchants, who are greatly discontented: he squanders the money no one knows how, and thus is the kingdom of England impoverished. True it is, that he gives largely to those about him, and in whom he confides, but the people pay for this, and it will shortly cause a rebellion; for they already begin to murmur, and to say publicly that such measures must not longer be suffered. The king gives out that as soon as the truces between France and England shall be signed, he will make a voyage to Ireland, and employ there his men-at-arms and archers. He has already been there, and gained but little, for Ireland is not worth conquering: the Irish are a poor and wicked people, with an impoverished country; and he who should conquer it one year, would lose it the next. Lackingay, Lackingay! all you have just heard me say consider as truth."

Such were the conversations, as it was afterwards known, between the duke of Gloucester and his knight. He had conceived a great hatred to his nephew, the king of England, and could no way speak well of him; and although he was, with his brother of Lancaster, the greatest personage in England, and one by whose advice the government ought to have been carried on, he paid not any attention to it. When the king sent for him, if it was his pleasure he would come, but more frequently he staid at home; and, when he obeyed, he was always the last to come and the first to depart. On giving his opinion, it must be implicitly followed, for he would not suffer it to be contradicted. He then took leave, mounted his horse, and set off for a handsome castle he had in Essex, thirty miles from London, called Pleshy, where he resided more constantly than anywhere else. This lord Thomas was a great lord, and could afford to expend annually, from his income, sixty thousand crowns. He was duke of Gloucester, earl of Essex and Buckingham, and constable of England; and, from his rough manner, was more dreaded by the king than any other of his uncles, for, in his speech, he never spared him. The king was always submissive to him, and whatever he asked was instantly granted. The duke of Gloucester had ordered many severe and hasty executions in England, and, without any title of reason or justice, had caused that prudent and gallant knight sir Simon Burley to be beheaded, with many others of the king's council. This duke likewise caused the banishment of the archbishop of York and the duke of Ireland from England, notwithstanding the confidence the king reposed in them, accusing them of giving evil counsel to the king, keeping him under their governance, and wasting the revenues of the kingdom on themselves. The duke of Gloucester's two brothers of Lancaster and York resided generally with the king: he was jealous of them, and said to several (such as Robert* bishop of London and others) who went to visit him at his castle of Pleshy, that his brothers were too expensive to the king, and that it would be more decent for them to live at their own houses. The duke gained, by every possible means, the love of the Londoners; for he thought, if he acquired popularity with them, the rest of England would follow their example. The duke had a nephew, son to his brother

* The MSS. say *nine* ——— -sioners.

* Robert Braybook, who succeeded Courtnay, on his translation to Canterbury, 1381, and died 1404, having been chancellor of England scarcely six months.—Gough's *Pleshy, note, p. 58.*

Lionel, duke of Clarence, who had married the daughter of Galeas, lord of Milan, and died at Asti in Piedmont. The duke of Gloucester would gladly have seen his nephew, called John earl of March,* on the throne of England, and king Richard deposed from it, saying he was neither worthy nor capable to hold the government of England; and this opinion he made secret of to those who were in his confidence. He invited this earl of March to come and see him; and when at Pleshy, he unbosomed himself to him of all the secrets of his heart, telling him that he had been selected for king of England; that king Richard and his queen were to be confined, but with ample provision for their maintenance, as long as they lived; and he earnestly besought his nephew to believe all he had said, for he should make it a point to put his plans into execution, and that he was already joined by the earl of Arundel, sir John Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and many prelates and barons of England.

The earl of March was thunderstruck on hearing this proposal from his uncle; but, young as he was, he dissembled his real sentiments, and prudently replied, to please his uncle and to get away, that he never thought of such things, and they were of such a magnitude as to require his deliberate consideration. The duke then, observing the manner of his nephew, desired that he would keep what he had said very secret. This he promised faithfully to do, and, taking his leave, hastened from him, and instantly went to his estates in Ireland: he would never listen nor send any answer to all the proposals his uncle made him, excusing himself honorably from taking part in them, as he foresaw they must end badly. The duke of Gloucester employed all possible means to stir up troubles in England, and excite the Londoners against the king. The year that a truce had been signed between England and France, to last for thirty years, king Richard and his queen came to London, on their return from France: the duke of Gloucester whispered the citizens to petition the king to abolish all taxes and subsidies which had been imposed for the last twenty years, as it was reasonable they should now cease, since a truce had been signed for so long a term, and they had been levied solely as war-taxes, to pay the men-at-arms and archers in support of the war. He told the merchants, "it was hard to pay thirteen florins out of every hundred as a tax on merchandise, which were spent in idle dances and feasts: you pay for them and are sorely oppressed. Add to your petition a remonstrance for the realm to be governed according to ancient custom and usages, and that whenever there shall be any necessity to raise money for the defence of the kingdom, you will tax yourselves with such sums as shall be satisfactory to the king and his council." This advice of the duke of Gloucester was followed by the Londoners, and many of the principal towns. They collected together, and went in a body to the king at Eltham, where they demanded redress of what they complained of, and that all taxes which had been raised for the support of the war should be instantly abolished. Only two of the king's uncles were present when the citizens presented their petition and remonstrance, namely, the dukes of Lancaster and York. The king desired they would answer the Londoners and the other citizens who had accompanied them, but particularly the duke of Lancaster; who said to them: "My fair sirs, you will now, each of you, return to your homes, and, within a month from this day, come to the palace of Westminster, when the king, his nobles and prelates of the council, shall be assembled, and your petition and remonstrance be taken into consideration. What shall then be thought right to maintain or abolish will be determined upon, and you may depend on having such redress as ought to satisfy you."

This answer contented some, but not all; for there were among them rebels attached to the duke of Gloucester, who wanted a more speedy decision of their demands; but the dukes of Lancaster and York appeased them by gentle words, and they all departed. The matter, however, did not rest here; but at the month's end they again went to the king at Westminster, who was surrounded by his nobles and prelates. The duke of Gloucester was now present, and leant much to the petitioners; but, in the answer which was made to them, he dissembled his real thoughts, in order that the king, his brothers, and the members of his council might not notice them. The duke of Lancaster replied for the king, and, addressing himself to the Londoners, as they composed the majority, said: "Ye citizens of London, it pleases my lord the king that I give an answer to your petition: in obedience to his command, I shall declare to you what the king and his council have determined upon. You know, that to provide against dangers to the kingdom, ye, as well as the other cities and towns within the realm, agreed, about six years ago, that a tax of thirteen per cent. should be laid on all merchandise that was sold, and for which the king granted to you many privileges such as he will not take from you, but on the contrary augment, if ye prove not undeserving of the favor. But since ye seem now to turn rebellious, and draw back from what ye had willingly before agreed to, he recals his former favors: and here are his nobles and prelates, who have sworn to support him in all his lawful measures to the utmost of their power, and are now willing to continue their aid in maintaining all legal grants. Consider, therefore, calmly, this matter, and that the state of the king demands great expense; if his revenue is augmented one way it is diminished another; besides, his receipts are not so considerable as they were in former times. The war has involved greater costs than were provided for. The expenses of the embassadors for the peace, on this and on the other side of the sea, have called for large sums; and those for the king's marriage have been very great. Although there is now a truce between England and France, the annual charges for the garrisons of the different towns and castles under the obedience of the king in Gascony, the Bourdelois, Bayonnois, and Bigorre, are very heavy. The fleet which must be maintained to guard our coasts and harbors, costs a great deal. The frontiers of Scotland, and of our possessions in Ireland, must not be left defenceless, and they demand large sums. All these articles, and several others relating to the state of the king and country of England, annually absorb great sums, which the nobles and prelates understand and know much better than you can, who attend only to your trades and the disposal of your wares. Give thanks to God that ye have peace, and consider that no one pays that is not liable so to do, and carries on a trade, and that foreigners pay this tax as well as yourselves. Ye are much better off than those of France, Lombardy, or other countries, where it is to be hoped your merchandise is carried; for they are taxed and taxed over again, three or four times a-year, while ye have only a moderate duty imposed on your wares." The duke of Lancaster addressed them so mildly and calmly, that although they came thither with the worst intentions, from the machinations of others, they were satisfied; and the assembly broke up without making any new demand, for the deputies from the majority of the principal towns were contented with the answer. There were some who would have rejoiced to have seen the meeting end differently, though they did not show it openly. The duke of Gloucester returned to his castle of Pleshy, perceiving that this time he was disappointed in his expectations, and was constantly devising means of exciting disturbances in England, and causing a rupture with France. In this attempt he was joined by the uncle of his duchess, the earl of Arundel, who was desirous of war above all things; and they had successfully practiced with the earl of Warwick, so that he obeyed their wills.

The king of England had two brothers by his mother's side; the eldest, Thomas earl of Kent; the youngest, a valiant knight, sir John Holland earl of Huntingdon, and chamberlain of England. The last was married to a daughter of the duke of Lancaster; and it was he who had killed the earl of Stafford's son, as has been mentioned in this history. The issue of the earl of Stafford was a young squire, who was under the protection and wardship of the duke of Gloucester. The earl of Huntingdon resided chiefly at the court of his brother the king of England, and was better acquainted than any other with the intrigues of the duke of Gloucester, from the private inquiries he made into his conduct. He was much afraid of the duke, for he knew him to be proud, cruel, and passionate: he nourished his enemy under his eye, for the crime he had committed on the earl of Stafford's son had never been forgiven. King Richard was naturally fond of his brother, and supported him against all: he saw with pain that his uncle of Gloucester was his enemy, and took much trouble to form a party against him to force him to leave the kingdom. He and the earl of Huntingdon conversed frequently on this subject; during which time, the count de Saint Pol arrived in England, whither he had been sent by the king of France to see his daughter, the young queen of England, how they were going on, and to cultivate affection between the two countries; for, since the truce had been signed, it was the intention of the two kings and their councils, that France and England should be on the most friendly terms with each other, in spite of what their ill-wishers might attempt to the contrary.

The king and the earl of Huntingdon made the count de Saint Pol a hearty welcome on his arrival, as well from love to the king of France as because he had married their sister. At this moment, neither the dukes of Lancaster nor of York were with the king; for they began to dissemble with him, and to suspect, from the great murmurings in many parts of England on the king's conduct, that affairs would not end well: they therefore wished not to be called upon by the king or people, but left the whole to the duke of Gloucester and his accomplices. The king of England discoursed very freely with the count de Saint Pol, as well on the state of the country as concerning his uncle the duke of Gloucester, whom he described as very rough in his manners and rebellious in his conduct, and he related to him various instances of his slights. The count de Saint Pol, on hearing them, was much surprised, and replied, "that such behavior ought not longer to be borne; for, my lord," added he, "if you suffer him to go on, he will be your ruin. It is currently reported in France, that his only object is to break the truce and renew the war between France and England: by little and little he will win the hearts of the more indigent men-at-arms of the country, who wish for war rather than peace; and if such persons unite together and hostilities commence, the more prudent part of the nation will not be listened to; for where wickedness and obstinacy govern, wisdom and common sense are not heard. Take your precautions

* "He was third son of Edward Mortimer earl of March, by Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, and was hanged 3rd Henry VI. Sandford, p. 224. Froissart means Roger, his elder brother, slain in Ireland, 22nd Richard II., whose death Richard went over to avenge, when Henry IV. plotted to dethrone him. Ib. p. 236. This Roger was declared heir to the crown by parliament, 9th Rich. II. Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 633. Froissart took the opportunity of the marriage of Lionel and Violanta to visit Italy, and dwells on the solemnities and festivals of the wedding."—Gough's *Pleshy*, p. 60.

beforehand; for it is better you make your enemies afraid of you, than that you should fear them." These words of the count made a deep impression on the king's mind; and, as he was continually thinking on them, he renewed the subject with the earl of Huntingdon, on the count de Saint Pol's return to France. The earl replied, "My lord, our brother-in-law Saint Pol has told you real truth, and I would advise you to take measures accordingly."

I was informed, that about a month after the departure of the count de Saint Pol from England, the king became exceedingly unpopular: it was rumored, that the count had come to treat with the king for the restoration of Calais to the French. Nothing could have agitated the English more than such reports; and the people were so uneasy, that the Londoners went even to Pleshy, to consult the duke of Gloucester on the occasion. The duke, instead of calming, excited them more by saying, "He could do nothing in the business; for he was sure the French would give all the daughters of their king, if they could recover Calais." This answer made the Londoners very melancholy; and they said they would see the king, and remonstrate with him on the agitation the whole country was in. "Do so," replied the duke of Gloucester: "remonstrate with him firmly, and make him fear you. Mark well the answer he shall give, so that you may repeat it to me the next time I see you; and, when I know his answer, I will then give you my advice how to act. It may be that some iniquitous treaties are on foot, for the earl marshal, who is governor of Calais, has been twice at Paris, where he remained some time, and he was the most active in concluding the marriage of the king with the lady Isabella. The French are a subtle race, and see far into consequences: they pursue their object by degrees, and are extravagant in their promises and presents to gain their ends."

The Londoners pursued the plan they had settled at Pleshy, and went to Eltham to speak with the king. At that time were with him his two brothers, the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, the earl of Salisbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of Dublin, his confessor, sir Thomas Percy, sir William Lisle, sir Richard Credon, sir John Golofre, and several more, all knights of the king's chamber. The citizens remonstrated temperately with the king: told him the cause of their coming, not in a haughty or harsh manner, but with courteous speech, and repeated to him the reports which were so current throughout England. The king was greatly astonished at hearing them, and was much affected, though he dissembled his feelings. He appeased the citizens, by declaring there was not one word of truth in all the rumors that were so industriously circulated: that the count de Saint Pol had come hither to amuse himself, and that the king of France had also sent him, out of his affection to the king and queen of England, to see them; but he swore, as God might help him, and on the faith he owed the crown of England, that no treaty of any sort had ever been mentioned, and he was astonished whence such scandalous reports could have arisen. When the king had done speaking, the earl of Salisbury addressed the citizens: "My good people of London, withdraw to your homes, and be assured that the king and his council wish for nothing more than the honor and profit of England. Those who have busily said the contrary have been ill-advised, and plainly show they would with pleasure see the country in trouble, and the people in rebellion against their king. This you ought particularly to dread, for you have before witnessed how near you were to destruction, when a few wicked rebels rebelled, but were severely punished for it: depend upon it, that when the people are wicked, neither justice nor truth will be attended to." These speeches appeased the citizens, who were tolerably contented with what they had heard. Having taken leave of the king, they departed, on their return to London.

The king remained at Eltham, very melancholy at the words he had heard. He retained near his person his two brothers, and such of his friends as he had the greatest confidence in; for he began to doubt the affection of his uncles, from observing they now chiefly resided at their country-seats. He was, in consequence, very suspicious of them, especially of the duke of Gloucester, whom he feared more than the dukes of Lancaster and York, and kept up a constant guard, night and day, of one thousand archers. The king of England had received positive information that the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel had plotted to seize his person, and that of the queen, and carry them to a strong castle, where they should be confined under proper guards, but allowed sufficiently for their table and other necessary expenses. That four regents should be appointed over the kingdom, of whom the dukes of Lancaster and York were to be the chief, and have under them the government of all the northern parts, from the Thames to the Tyne, and as far as the Tweed, that runs by Berwick, comprehending all Northumberland, and the borders of Scotland. The duke of Gloucester was to have for his government London, Essex, and that part of the country to the mouth of the Humber, and likewise all the coast from the Thames to the water of Southampton, and westward comprehending Cornwall. The earl of Arundel was to have Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Berkshire, and all the country from the Thames to Bristol, and the river Severn, that divides England from Wales, where there are very extensive lordships, with power of punishing by death all offenders. But their chief design was to find out some means of rekindling the war with France; and, if the king of France wished to have his daughter again, it might be done, for she was still very young, not more than eight years and a half old, and, perchance, when she was marriageable, she might repent of this connection, for she was innocently, and without her being able to judge for herself, married, and, besides, it was unjust to break off her match with the heir of Brittany; but should she wish to abide by her marriage, she would in justice remain queen of England, and enjoy her dower, but she should never be the companion of the king of England. Should the king die before she was of a proper age, she was to be sent back to France.

These were the plans that had been concerted by many of the English, particularly the Londoners, for they hated the king, and several now repented they had checked the mobs which attacked London from the different counties of England; for they had determined, according to their confessions when put to death, to murder the king, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Oxford, and the whole of the king's council. Had this been done, the kingdom would soon have found another head; and the citizens, with the consent of the country, and the aid of the duke of Gloucester (who took great pains to excite trouble and confusion,) would have selected a fit person to wear the crown, and placed the government and kingdom in a different state to what it then was. Such were the secret murmurings of the citizens, and others of their party, in their private meetings, the whole of which was told to the king by his spy; and greater blame was laid on the duke of Gloucester for all this business than on any other person.

It is not to be wondered, if the king was considerably alarmed at the discovery of so much hatred and malice lurking against him. He paid greater court than ever to the duke of Gloucester and the citizens when they came to see him, but all in vain. At times, the king mentioned the matter privately to the dukes of Lancaster and York, who resided more with him than his uncle of Gloucester, and consulted with them how he could avoid the machinations of the duke and his accomplices, all of which he was thoroughly acquainted with. He addressed his uncles, saying: "My good uncles, for the love of God, advise me how to act. I am daily informed that your brother, the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel, with others, are determined to seize and confine me in one of their castles, and that the Londoners will join them. Their plan is to allow me a sufficiency for my state, but to separate my queen from me, who is but a child, and daughter to the king of France, and send her to some other place of confinement. Now, my dear uncles, such cruel acts as these must not be suffered, if they can be prevented. You have paid me homage, and sworn obedience to me as your sovereign, in the presence of your lord and father, king Edward, and my grandfather of happy memory, at the same time with the other barons and prelates of the realm. It is now twenty years since this was done; and I entreat you, therefore, from the love you bear me, and on the oaths you have taken, that you assist me on this occasion; for everything assures me the duke of Gloucester only desires that war be renewed with France, in spite of the truces which you, with us and all England, have sworn to observe. In consideration of this was my marriage concluded with the daughter of the king of France, and we wish to observe every article of the treaty most punctually. You know also, that whoever attempts to infringe this truce will commit a crime, and be liable to corporal punishment, as well as confiscation of goods: you likewise know, that I have borne with your brother, my uncle of Gloucester, as much as I have been able, and made light of his menaces, but in the end they may cost me dear. You are bound, therefore, by every tie, to give your best advice, since I require it from you." When the dukes of Lancaster and of York heard their nephew thus address them, and saw that he was in great anguish of heart; knowing, at the same time, that the greater part of what he had said was strictly true; they replied: "My lord, have a little patience, and wait a short time before you make any rash resolutions. We know that our brother of Gloucester has the most passionate and wrong-headed temper of any man in England; but he cannot do more than man, and, if he work one way, we will counteract him another: you need not fear our brother so long as you shall follow our advice. He talks frequently of things he cannot execute; and neither he nor his abettors can break the truce which has been signed, nor confine you in any castle: we will never suffer it, nor that you be separated from the queen; for, if he imagine such things, he deceives himself. We therefore humbly beg you will be appeased, for, please God, everything shall end well. Many things may be said that cannot be executed, and all which a man thinketh doth not come to pass."

By such means, the dukes calmed the king's mind; but as they foresaw that public affairs would, from their bad management, cause troubles in the realm, and that the hatred between their nephew and brother was daily increasing, to avoid being called upon by either party, they left the king's household with their families, taking leave of the king for a considerable time, and retired to their different castles. The duke of Lancaster carried with him his duchess, who had been some time the companion of the young queen of England. They took this opportunity of hunting stags and deer, as is the custom in England, and the king remained with his attendants in and about London. They afterwards, however, greatly repented having left the king: for such things shortly happened as troubled the whole

kingdom, which would not have been done had they remained with the king, for they would have more prudently advised than such counsellors as he listened to.

There was not one of the king's servants that did not fear the duke of Gloucester, and wish his death, no matter by what means. That gallant and loyal knight, sir Thomas Percy, had been for a long time steward of the household, and all the accounts passed officially through his hands. He noticed with grief the hatred that subsisted between the king and the duke of Gloucester, and other great barons of England. Although he was beloved by all, he foresaw, like a

Visit of Richard II. to his Uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, in his Castle at Pleshy. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

man of understanding, that public affairs would end badly, and, in consequence, resigned his office into the king's hands in the most honorable manner he could, and requested permission to retire, which the king very unwillingly consented to. He gave such plausible reasons for his request, that another was established in his place, and sir Thomas Percy went to his own estate, where he resided. The king had about his person many young counsellors, who too much dreaded the duke of Gloucester: they frequently said to him, "Very dear sire, it is a dangerous office to serve you, for we have seen our predecessors, in whom you had great confidence, meet but a poor reward. That valiant knight, sir Simon Burley, so much beloved by your lord and father, whom God pardon! and who took such pains for the accomplishment of your first marriage; the duke of Gloucester, your uncle, put shamefully to death, by having him publicly beheaded like a traitor. He likewise, as you know, had many others arbitrarily executed without your being any way able to grant them your pardon, or to save them from their ignominious deaths. Dear sire, we expect nothing better; for whenever your uncle cometh hither to see you, which is not often, we dare not raise our eyes from the ground nor look at anybody. He eyes us from head to foot, and seems to think we take too much upon us, from being about your person; and be assured, dear sire, that as long as he lives, there will never be quiet in England, nor will any one attempt to do anything good. Besides, he publicly threatens to confine you and the queen, and keep you under subjection during his good pleasure. You will be an undone king, and destroyed as well as us, if you do not speedily take some strong measures. As for the queen, she need not care: she is young, and daughter to the king of France, whom they dare not anger, as too many evils would result from it to England. Your uncle of Gloucester, to make you more unpopular with your subjects, spreads abroad in London (we have heard it) that you are unworthy to bear a crown, and to possess so noble an inheritance as England and its dependencies; that, when you married again, you chose the daughter of your adversary the king of France, for which you were very blameworthy; and that you have debased the chivalry of England, and the courage of its knights, squires, and nobles, who had so valiantly carried on the war against France, and would have continued it, enfeebled as they are, if you had not prevented them: that you have placed the kingdom in a most perilous situation, with great risk of its destruction, and that it is a pity you are suffered, and have been suffered, to reign so long. The French say (as the common report runs,) that you intend to lay aside the arms of France from your arms, which causeth great hatred against you; and it is the more readily believed, from the great pains you took to have the truce signed, which was done more through force than love, for the nobles of this country who had served in these wars would not assent to it: that you have not carefully examined the treaties signed by king John of France and his children, which those of his blood, now living, have treacherously infringed; and that the French, by underhand means, caused a renewal of war, and seized by usurpation the rights of your predecessors, and possessed themselves of very many towns, cities, and castles in Aquitaine, to the great loss of the crown of England, and all through your negligence and want of courage: that you have been afraid of your enemies, and not followed up the advantages you had in the justice of this quarrel, which you still have as well as your ancestors, who immediately have preceded your lord and father the prince of Wales, and the good king Edward, who both took such pains to augment the glory of the crown. Dear sire, the Londoners say, as indeed do numbers of others, (which it behooves us not to conceal longer from you,) that a day shall come when you will be reminded of these things to your cost."

King Richard treasured up all these speeches in his mind, and pondered over them continually. Shortly after the departure of his two uncles of Lancaster and York, he summoned up more courage than usual, and said to himself, that it would be better he should destroy than be destroyed, and, that, within a short time, he would hold his uncle of Gloucester so securely, he should be incapable of injuring him. As he could not accomplish this alone, he opened himself to those most in his confidence. It was to the earl marshal, who was his cousin, and also earl of Nottingham, that he discovered his intention, and most minutely gave him his orders how he was to act. The earl marshal, from the favors he had received, loved the king in preference to the duke of Gloucester, and kept the secret he was intrusted with from all but such as he was forced to employ, as he could not do the whole himself. What I am about to say will explain the matter.

The king, under pretence of deer-hunting, went to a palace he had at Havering-at-the-Bower, in Essex: it is about twenty miles from London, and as many from Pleshy, where the duke of Gloucester generally resided. The king set out one afternoon from Havering, without any attendants, for he had left them behind with the queen at Eltham, and arrived at Pleshy about five o'clock: the weather was very hot; and he came so suddenly to the castle, that no one knew of it, until the porter cried out, "Here is the king!" The duke of Gloucester had already supped, for he was very temperate in his diet, and never sat long at dinner or supper. He immediately went out to meet the king in the court of the castle, and paid him all the respect due to his sovereign, as did the duchess and her children.

The king entered the hall and the apartment, where the table was again laid out for the king, who ate some little; but he had before told the duke, "Good uncle, have your horses saddled, not all, but five or six, for you must accompany me to London, as I am to have a meeting to-morrow with the citizens; and we shall surely meet my uncles of Lancaster and York, but I shall advise with you what answer to make to the Londoners' demands. Tell your house-steward to follow us with your servants to London, where they will find you." The duke, suspecting nothing evil intended against him, too easily consented; and the king, having soon supped, rose from the table. Everything being ready, the king took leave of the duchess and her children, mounted his horse, and the duke did the same, attended only by three squires and four varlets. They took their way to Bondelay, to avoid the high road to London and Brentwood, with the other towns through which it passes. They rode hard, for the king pretended impatience to get to London, and conversed all the way with the duke of Gloucester. On their arrival at Stratford, near the Thames, where an ambuscade had been laid, the king galloped forward, leaving his uncle behind, on which the earl marshal advanced to the rear of the duke, with a large body of men, and said, "I arrest you in the king's name." The duke was panic-struck, for he saw he had been betrayed, and cried aloud after the king. I know not if the king heard him, but he did not turn back, galloping on faster than before, and followed by his attendants.

We will now leave this matter for a short time.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

THE LORD DE COUCY AND THE COUNT D'EU, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, DIE IN TURKEY, BEFORE THE TREATY FOR THEIR DELIVERANCE IS ARRANGED. A RANSOM IS AGREED ON FOR THE OTHER PRISONERS WHO WERE TAKEN AT THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLI.

You have before heard how sir John de Châteaumorant and sir James de Helly were sent by the king of France and the duke of Burgundy as embassadors to Bajazet, in Turkey, and of the success of their mission. On their return to France they were well received by the king, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, from the certain intelligence they had brought from the count de Nevers and his fellow-prisoners. These knights told the king they thought the sultan would readily listen to terms for their ransom, for they had been so given to understand by some of his principal advisers, lest the prisoners might die while in captivity, which was likely enough to happen, from the difference of air and diet, and they would not in that case gain anything by them. These words encouraged the duke and duchess of Burgundy to exert themselves in procuring the ransom of their son and heir, and they were occupied day and night in devising means to open negotiations with the sultan. The duchess said this battle of Nicopoli had been very unfortunate to her, for she had lost by it three of her brothers, who were gallant knights in arms: the first, the haze de Flandres, the second, sir Louis de Brézé, and the third, sir John d'Ypres: there was another brother, the youngest of them, who had remained at home. To say the truth, the duchess had grief enough, and it was not surprising if she was melancholy, but the duke and his advisers calmed her by their earnestness in procuring her son's liberty: this was not, however, soon done, for the distance and difficulty of treating with such people forced them to go about the business leisurely.

About the time I am now speaking of, that gallant knight and excellent man the lord Enguerrand de Coucy, count de Soissons, and a potent lord in France, died at Bursa in Turkey. Sir Robert d'Esne, who had been sent to him by the lady de Coucy, had not advanced farther than Vienna, on his journey thither, when he was informed of his death. He returned with this news to France, and told it to the family of the lord de Coucy, though not to the widow, before whom he did not appear until the governor of the castle of Saint Gobin was sent to seek the body, have it embalmed, and brought to France. It was conveyed to the abbey of Nogent near to Coucy, and received by the duchess of Bar, the bishop of Laon, and many abbots: there the gentle knight was buried, and thus ended the year of grace 1397.

The king of France and the duke of Burgundy were very active in their endeavors to abridge the captivity of their friends in Turkey, and there passed not a day without their having some conversation on the subject. Sir Dinde de Desponde was of all their consultations, and said the Venetian or Genoese merchants could alone assist them; for by means of merchandise, which governs everything, and their connections with other merchants, they could pass everywhere, and learn the temper of the infidel sultans. They had great weight, particularly in Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, and Antioch, where they had factories, and the Saracens and Christians mutually interchanged their merchandises. The king and the duke, therefore, made as many friends among these merchants as they could, and gave up all intentions of making war on the duke of Milan from the friendship they learnt Bajazet bore him. On the other hand, king James of Cyprus knew well, that if he could any how soften the anger of the sultan, and prevail on him to accept of reasonable terms for the ransom of the French lords, he should greatly oblige the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the whole of the nation. To accomplish this, the king of Cyprus had a ship made of gold, curiously wrought, that might be worth ten thousand ducats, which he sent by his knights as a present to the sultan Bajazet. It was beautifully worked, and was graciously accepted by the sultan, who replied, he would return him double its value in courtesy and affection. This answer brought back by the Cypriote knights, was instantly made known to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy by some merchants, who wrote to sir Dinde that he might inform them of it. King James was wise in making this present: he dreaded the king of France, and all kings, for having murdered in the night-time his valiant brother, king Peter, who had fought so courageously against the Saracens, and had won from them the towns of Satalia and Alexandria; and they were more afraid of him than of all the other kings or emperors in Christendom.

King James had sorely repented having committed this crime, or being present when it was done; and, not daring to continue in Cyprus, for the Christians would have put him to a disgraceful death, could they have caught him, he embarked on board a galley belonging to some Genoese merchants which was in the port of Nicosia, where the murder had been done, and fled to Genoa. The Genoese kindly entertained him, and some say that this villainous murder had been instigated by them; for, shortly after, they entered the harbor of Famagousta with a large fleet of galleys and men-at-arms, which they took possession of, and have held by force ever since. True it is, that the late king of Cyprus had a very promising youth for his son, whom he brought with him, in company with a knight who had travelled through Lombardy to Rome, the last time he had crossed the sea: this youth the Cypriotes crowned their king on the assassination of his father, but he lived not long to enjoy it. On his death, the Genoese brought back James, whom they had crowned king, and he has reigned ever since in Cyprus, through the support the Genoese give him against all nations. They would never give up possession of the town or port of Famagousta, and are the masters of it at this present moment of my writing these chronicles. Indeed, had the Genoese not held it, the Turks and infidels would have conquered the whole of the island, as well as Rhodes and the other adjacent islands; but the Venetians and Genoese are their great opponents. When the last saw that the kingdom of Armenia was conquered by the Turks, they seized the town of Courch, that is situated on the sea-shore, which they have kept under their governance. The Turks, were they not fearful of Courch and Pera, near Constantinople, would do the greatest mischief to all who navigate those seas, as well as to Rhodes and the neighboring islands. It is by these means the frontiers of Christendom are defended; but let us return to king James of Cyprus. When he found, from the base crime he had been guilty of, he was fallen under the displeasure and hatred of every crowned head, he exerted himself to the utmost to recover their favor, and thought himself highly honored by the letter the king of France had written to him. He was afraid of him, and not without reason, for the duke of Bourbon, uncle to the king of France, was, by right of succession through the Lusignans, the true heir to the throne of Cyprus. This king James, although brother to the late king, was not so by lawful marriage, but a bastard, as was well known to the Genoese. When they gave him the crown they mutually entered into special treaties with each other; and the Genoese bound themselves to defend his and his descendants' rights to the government against all claimants: in consideration of which, they had many lordships and tracts of land yielded up to them in the island of Cyprus. Everything they did in the defence of king James was to strengthen themselves against the Venetians, and to open greater markets for their trade with the Saracens, for, as factors, they have many connections with them and others of their faith. King James, through the Genoese, took great pains to please the king of France and his subjects, and it was in consequence of this he had made Bajazet so very rich a present, which was highly pleasing to the sultan and his ministers, who valued it much. It was supposed by many, that sir Dinde Desponde had urged on the Genoese in this matter, as they were very warm in their endeavors to bring about a treaty for the deliverance of the count de Nevers and the other prisoners.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy heard, with infinite pleasure, that the sultan began to tire of his prisoners, and would readily enter into a treaty for their liberty. They selected a valiant knight from the country of Flanders, called sir Guissebreth de Linrenghen, who was regent of Flanders under the duke and duchess of Burgundy, to go to Turkey and treat with Bajazet for the ransom of the French lords. At the same time they sent for sir James de Helly, and entreated that he would accompany their embassador, because he was well acquainted with the countries he was to travel through, and with the court of the sultan, promising that his trouble and attention should be handsomely remunerated. Sir James, having promised to fulfil their commands, set out in company with the Flemish knight: on their arrival in Hungary, they waited on the king, to deliver the letters which were intrusted to them. The king received the letters and knights with joy, in compliment to the king of France: he was before acquainted with sir James de Helly. They informed the king, the object of their mission to Bajazet was to treat for the release of his prisoners, if he were inclined to listen to them. The king of Hungary replied, that it would be well done if they could obtain their liberty for money: and the attempt was worth trying, for nothing

could be lost by that. He offered them every assistance in his power, of money or men, for which the knights thanked him.

They had many difficulties to encounter, before they could enter into a personal treaty with Bajazet; for it was first necessary that sir James de Helly should wait on the sultan to obtain a passport for sir Guissebreth de Linrenghen to travel through Turkey, which having been properly made out he returned with it to Hungary. They journeyed to Turkey together; and Bajazet received the regent of Flanders with kindness, and listened to his proposals, which formed the basis for a treaty. At this time there lived a Genoese merchant called Bartholomeo Pelegrini, in the island of Scio, who was universally esteemed for his probity and knowledge in trade, even by Bajazet himself: to him sir Dinde de Desponde had written to interest himself in the business, that it might have a more speedy termination, for they were well known to each other, and promised him a handsome recompense, if successful in obtaining the French lords' liberty, from the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and other lords and ladies who had friends or husbands in the power of Bajazet. He entreated him to take upon himself the debt for their ransom, however large the sum, and to conduct the French lords to Venice, or to some part under the government of the Venetians; and that the moment he should be assured from him of their arrival thither, he would, without delay, hasten to Venice in person, with the amount of the sum to repay him what he had expended. The Genoese merchant complied with the request of sir Dinde, as well from personal regard to him, as for the profit and honor he should acquire by it, and for the esteem he should gain from the king of France; for, from such a king, it was worth having. From the information I had, I am inclined to believe that the king of Cyprus sent some of his ablest counsellors to push forward the negotiations with the sultan, in compliance with the solicitations of the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. The lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, two great barons of Greece, and much in favor with Bajazet, interfered also in the matter, according to the requests that had been made them from France, otherwise they would not have troubled themselves about it.

Turkey was an extensive country, and not convenient to travel through, to those unaccustomed to it: Bajazet, therefore, as soon as he had consented to a treaty, resolved that all the French prisoners should be conveyed to Bursa, where the whole business should be concluded. Those lords were brought thither, to the amount of twenty-five; but their conductors, the Turks, treated them scandalously on the road, by beating them forward, for they had purposely badly mounted them, and their horses would only go at a foot's pace: for this they were beaten by the Turks, who heard, very unwillingly, that they were to have their liberty. On their arrival at Bursa, where the negotiators from the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, the king of Cyprus, the Venetians and Genoese were waiting to receive them, they had more liberty than when in the prisons of the sultan: but, notwithstanding it was known they were to be ransomed, they were so closely guarded that they could not obtain a fourth part of their wishes. Among the different persons who were at Bursa on account of the treaty, Bajazet inclined more to sir Guissebreth de Linrenghen, for sir James de Helly had told him he was regent of Flanders and the most confidential counsellor of the duke of Burgundy. The sultan resided in a handsome castle near Bursa, and where the negotiators went to discuss matters with him: the ransom for the twenty-five prisoners was fixed at two hundred thousand ducats. The lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, with the Genoese merchant of Scio, pledged themselves to the sultan for the due payment of it. The count de Nevers gave his oath to the merchant, for himself and the rest, that on his arrival at Venice, he would never depart thence until the whole of this sum were paid to his satisfaction. Before the treaties were concluded, the count d'Eu was so much weakened by sickness, change of air, and diet he had not been accustomed to, that he departed this life at Haut-loge, where he had been confined with the other lords, who were much afflicted thereat, though they could not any way prevent it. The lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu and constable of France, was, when dead, opened and embalmed, and in this state put into a coffin and carried to France, where he lies buried in the church of Saint Laurence at Eu.

When the sultan Bajazet was completely satisfied as to the security of those who had pledged themselves for the payment of the two hundred thousand ducats as the ransom for the French lords, the two embassadors from the duke of Burgundy were impatient to return to France, and carry the joyful news of their success to the king and other lords so greatly interested in it. They took leave of Bajazet and those of his court they were the most intimate with; and, as the regent of Flanders was in his favor, the gallant sultan ordered, that twenty thousand ducats should be deducted from the two hundred thousand he was to receive, and given to the two knights, in consideration of the great pains they had taken to accomplish these treaties. The two knights gratefully thanked the sultan, as they had reason, for his magnificent gift, and, after taking leave of the Turkish court and the French lords, returned to Bursa. They there left the count de Nevers and his companions, waiting the lords de Mathelin* and d'Amine, who were to come for them in their galley, and embarked on board a small passage-galley for Mathelin. On quitting the harbor, the sea was calm and the weather temperate; but they had not advanced far before it changed, and at length became so tempestuous that sir Guissebreth, sorely tormented by sea-sickness, died before they could reach Mathelin. Sir James Helly was much grieved for his loss, and, engaging a Venetian galley, sailed to Rhodes. He published everywhere the deliverance and speedy arrival of the count de Nevers and his companions, to the great joy of the knights of Rhodes. On his arrival in France, he made the king, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and the nation, happy by the good news he had brought. Sir James spoke loudly in the praise of his companion, sir Guissebreth, and of the great pains he took to conclude the treaty.

The sultan Bajazet, having had everything respecting the ransom of his French prisoners settled to his satisfaction, resolved on allowing them more liberty, for indeed they were now no longer prisoners, and invited them to his presence before the departure of the embassadors, to show them the magnificence of his establishments. They were said to be very grand indeed; and immense numbers were daily attendant on his person. He sent some of his principal lords to invite the count de Nevers and his companions to the castle, where he received and entertained them handsomely: he ordered all things they might want to be delivered out to them by his officers, as was the usual custom of his court. The sultan conversed daily with the count de Nevers, by means of an interpreter, and paid him much respect, for he knew that he was, or would be, a very great lord in France, by the great exertions that were made, and the large sum paid for his ransom, which was enough to satisfy his avarice, having securities for the amount of one million of florins. The other French lords were equally astonished with the count de Nevers at the power and state of Bajazet. He was attended by such numbers, that they were always encamped, for no town could lodge them; and the expense must have been very great to supply so many with food. It was surprising where such quantities came from, notwithstanding the natives of warm climates are very temperate in their diet, eating but little meat, living on spices and sugar, of which they have abundance, as well as goats' milk, the common beverage of the Turks and Saracens, and they have plenty of bread made of millet.

The sultan had at this time seven thousand falconers, and as many huntsmen: you may suppose from this the grandeur of his establishments. One day, in the presence of the count de Nevers, he flew a falcon at some eagles; the flight did not please him; and he was so wroth, that, for this fault, he was on the point of beheading two thousand of his falconers, scolding them exceedingly for want of diligence in their care of his hawks, when the one he was fond of had behaved so ill. Another time, when the count de Nevers and the French barons were with the sultan, a poor woman come to him in tears, to demand justice against one of his servants, and said. "Sultan, I address myself to thee, as my sovereign, and complain of one of thy servants, who is, I understand, attached to thy person. He this morning entered my house, and seized by force the goat milk I had provided for myself and children, and drank it against my will. I told him that I should complain to thee of this outrage, but I had no sooner uttered the words, than he gave me two great cuffs, and would not leave me, though I ordered him in thy name. Sultan, do me justice, as thou hast sworn to thy people thou wouldest, that I may be satisfied, this injury be punished, and that every one may know thou wilt see the meanest of thy subjects righted."

The sultan was very rigidly determined that all crimes committed within his dominions should be severely punished: he therefore listened to her attentively, and said he would do her justice. He then ordered the varlet to be brought, and confronted with the woman, who repeated her complaint. The varlet, who dreaded Bajazet, began to make excuses, saying it was all false. The woman told a plain tale, and persisted in its truth. The sultan stopped her, and said, "Woman, consider well thy accusation; for, if I find thou hast told me a lie, thou shalt suffer death." "Sir," replied the woman, "I consent to it; for were it not true, I could have no reason to come before thee, and I only ask for justice." "I will do it," answered the sultan, "for I have so sworn, and indiscriminately to every man or woman within my dominions." He then ordered the varlet to be seized, and to have his belly opened, for otherwise he would not have known if he had drank the milk or not. It was there found, for it had not had time to be digested; and the sultan, on seeing it, said to the woman, "Thou hadst just cause of complaint: now go thy way, for the injury done thee has been punished." She was likewise paid for her loss. This judgment of Bajazet was witnessed by the French lords, who were at the time in his company.

* D. Sauvage supposes, in a marginal note, this must be the lord of the island of Mitelino, but confesses his ignorance of the other.

CHAPTER XC.

THE FRENCH LORDS WHO HAD BEEN PRISONERS IN TURKEY RETURN BY SEA TO VENICE.

When the count de Nevers and the lords of France who were made prisoners at the battle of Nicopoli (excepting the count d'Eu and the lord de Coucy, who had died) had been some time entertained by the sultan, and had seen great part of his state, he consented they should depart, which was told them by those who had

been ordered to attend to their personal wants. The count and his companions waited on the sultan in consequence, to thank him for his kindness and courtesy. On taking his leave, the sultan addressed him, by means of an interpreter, as follows: "John, I am well informed that in thy country thou art a great lord, and son to a powerful prince. Thou art young, and hast many years to look forward; and, as thou mayest be blamed for the ill success of thy first attempt in arms, thou mayest perchance, to shake off this imputation and regain thine honor, collect a powerful army to lead against me, and offer battle. If I feared thee, I would make the swear, and likewise thy companions, on thy faith and honor, that neither thou nor they would ever bear arms against me. But no: I will not demand such an oath: on the contrary, I shall be glad that when thou art returned to thy country, it please thee to assemble an army, and lead it hither. Thou wilt always find me prepared, and ready to meet thee in the field of battle. What I now say, do thou repeat to any person, to whom it may please thee to repeat it; for I am ever ready for, and desirous of, deeds of arms; as well as to extend my conquests."

These high words the count de Nevers and his companions understood well, and never forgot them so long as they lived. After this, when all things for their departure were ready, they were conducted by Ali bashaw and Soli bashaw, with a large escort, to the lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, and the others who had interested themselves for their liberty. Before they embarked on board the galleys destined to carry them, they paid every expense they had incurred at Bursa, or at other places, with so much punctuality that they were greatly praised. As they weighed anchor, their conductors returned to the sultan; and the galleys, having a favorable wind, soon arrived at the harbor, where the count and his friends were received with joy. The lady of the lord de Mathelin was of a certain age, but perfectly well bred, and as fully accomplished as any lady in Greece, for in her youth she had been brought up at the court of Constantinople with the lady Mary of Bourbon. She had from her learnt many things, for the lords and ladies of France are better educated than those in any other country. This lady thought herself highly honored when she saw the count de Nevers, sir Henry de Bar, Guy de la Tremouille, and the other lords under her roof, and welcomed them with every sign of pleasure. She first clothed them with fine new linen and cloth of Damascus made into gowns and vestments, according to the taste in Greece. After she had dressed the masters, she did the same to their servants in the handsomest manner, each according to his rank. The lords were very thankful for her kindness, and publicly declared their gratitude for her generous conduct, as well as that of the lords de Mathelin and d'Amine, who honored them by every mark of respect, and administered to their necessities.

News was soon carried to the island of Rhodes, that the sultan had accepted a ransom for the French lords, and that they were now at Mathelin. The intelligence gave much pleasure to the grand-master and to all his knights, who proposed to equip and arm two galleys, and send them to Mathelin to convey the count and his fellow-prisoners to Rhodes. This was executed; and, when ready, sir James de Brasemont,* a Burgundian, who was marshal of Rhodes, embarked on board, and had a favorable voyage to Mathelin, where he was made heartily welcome by the lord de Mathelin, his lady, and their guests. He remained there four days: on the fifth, the galleys having on board the purveyances of the French lords, the count and his companions took leave of the lord and lady de Mathelin, returning them their best thanks for all the kindness and friendship they had received, especially the count de Nevers, who, as the principal personage, said he was bound at all times hereafter to render them every service in his power. After many compliments on both sides, the French lords entered the galleys, and, as long as they were in sight, the lord de Mathelin remained on the shore, and after that went home. The galleys, having a favorable wind, arrived at Rhodes, and anchored in the haven, where vessels from Cyprus, Baruth, and other ports in the Levant, usually do. On their landing, they were received by many of the knights of Rhodes, who wear a white cross, in memory of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered to deliver others from the pains of hell. They are valiant knights, and give daily assaults by sea or land on the infidels, to support and defend the Christian faith.

The count de Nevers and the lords of France were received by the grand prior of Rhodes and the grand prior of Aquitaine, in their robes of ceremony, who offered to lend them any sum of money, as far as their abilities extended, to enable them to discharge their daily expenses, which the count and his friends thought a most courteous offer, and thanked them accordingly. In truth, they were in want of money, and the grand prior of Aquitaine, a right valiant knight, as his actions showed in the Holy Land, lent the count de Nevers thirty thousand francs, which were counted out by sir Regnier Pot, house-steward to the count, and the lord de Rochefort in Burgundy. I believe this sum was as much for his companions as for the count himself, and was divided among them, although the count de Nevers took on himself the whole debt. The French lords remained some time in the island of Rhodes, to recover and properly array themselves, for the climate was by far more temperate than in the countries where they had lately resided: during the time they tarried at Rhodes, waiting for the galleys from Venice, sir Guy de la Tremouille was seized with so dangerous an illness, that he there departed this life. He ordered his body to be buried on the spot where he died, and was, consequently, interred in the church of Saint John, in the island of Rhodes. His funeral was honorably attended by the French lords, who much regretted his loss, more especially the count de Nevers, who knew that his father, the duke of Burgundy, would be greatly affected by it, as he had always found him a wise and honest counsellor.

The galleys from Venice at length arrived, properly armed and equipped, to the great joy of the French lords. They were not long in making their preparations to depart, and took leave of the knights of Rhodes, who recommended their order to them, and to all devout souls who would be willing to assist it. The count de Nevers, the lords Henry de Bar, de Boucicaut, sir William de la Tremouille, the lord de Rochefort, sir Regnier Pot, and the rest, embarked on board the Venetian galleys, the captains of which resolved to touch at the different islands, that their passengers might sail more at their ease, and refresh themselves on shore, and show the count de Nevers the various islands which lay between Rhodes and Venice. They steered first for Modon,* which is five hundred miles from Rhodes, and tarried there some days, to amuse themselves, for the port and country belonged to the Venetians. From Modon they had a fine passage to Colefo,† as the sea was calm, where they refreshed themselves; and from Colefo they made for the island of Garre,‡ where they did the same: thence they sailed for the island of Chifolignie;§ and, having anchored, they landed, and were met by a large party of ladies and damsels, who have the government of the island. They received the French lords with joy, and led them to the interior part of the island, which is very beautiful, to amuse and enjoy themselves. Some say, who pretend to be acquainted with the state of this island, and insist upon it, that fairies and nymphs inhabit it, and that frequently merchants from Venice or Genoa, who have been forced by stress of weather to make some stay there, have seen the appearances of them, and have had the truth of these reports confirmed.

The count de Nevers and his friends were very happy with the dames of Cephalonia, for they entertained them gayly, telling them their arrival had been matter of joy to them, from their being knights of honor and renown, for in general they had no other visitors but merchants. I may be asked, if this island be solely inhabited by women. I answer no; but women have the sovereignty of it: they, however, employ themselves in needle and other works; and make such fine cloths of silk, that none others can be compared to them. The men of the island, being ignorant, are employed to carry abroad these works, wherever they shall think to have the greatest profit, but the women remain at home. The men honor the fair sex for their works, and because they have always a sufficiency of wealth. The state of the island is such, that no one dare approach it, to commit any injury, for whoever should attempt it would perish, as has been frequently seen. For this cause, these ladies live in peace, without fear of any one: they are amiable, good-tempered, and without pride, and certainly, when they please, converse with fairies, and keep them company.

After the count de Nevers and his companions had amused themselves at this island for five days, they took leave of the ladies: the count made them such handsome presents, for their courteous treatment of them, that they were contented, and thanked him gratefully on his departure. When the lords were embarked, they put to sea, and favorable winds carried them to a territory called Ragusa, when they refreshed themselves again, and thence made for Clarence,‖ which is one hundred miles distant from Venice. While the galleys were at anchor, and the lords in the town of Clarence, which belongs to the Venetians, they were known by a squire of honor and renown, from Hainault, called Bridoul de la Porte. He was a native of Mons, and had made, at his own expense, a pilgrimage, through devotion, to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and had visited Cairo and St. Catherine's Mount. The French lords had come to Clarence two days before him, and gave him a welcome reception, on hearing he was so good a man, and a native of Hainault, the country of the countess of Nevers, who was daughter to the earl of Hainault, and because they were all in countries distant from their own. They asked him what parts he was last come from, and also concerning the affairs of king James of Cyprus, and respecting Turkey. He made no difficulty, but instantly gave prudent and intelligent answers. The barons of France, having reposed themselves, reëmbarked, and made sail for Pareuse.¶ All large vessels and galleys which cannot, from want of water, land their cargoes at Venice, put into this port, for here the sea becomes shallow. The French knights made no long stay before they embarked in smaller vessels and arrived at Venice, where they were received with great joy. On their landing, they all returned thanks to God for their happy deliverance from the hands of the infidels, of which at one time they had despaired. The count de Nevers and his companions went to the

* "Sir James de Brasemont." The MSS. have de Bauffremont, which I should prefer

* "Modon," a town and port in the Morea.

† "Colefo." I should have imagined this to be Corfu, if Cephalonia were not seemingly intended afterwards.

‡ "Garre." Q. Zante.

§ "Chifolignie." Q. Cephalonia.

‖ "Clarence," or Chiarenza, is in the Morea, opposite to Cephalonia.

¶ "Pareuse." Q. Parenzo, a town on the coast of Istria, nearly opposite to Venice.

hotels which had been prepared for them; for, as their coming was known and expected for some time, their friends had sent servants and equipages to wait their arrival. The count found part of his attendants, whom the duke and duchess of Burgundy had sent thither, ready to receive him. Sir Dinde de Desponde had also been at Venice some time waiting for them with the amount of their ransom, for without his assistance, nothing could be done.

The French lords, on their arrival at Venice, instantly employed clerks and messengers to write and carry letters to France and elsewhere, to inform their friends of their happy deliverance. This was very soon publicly known, to the joy of all who heard it. The duke and duchess of Burgundy lost no time in preparing everything suitable to the rank of their son the count de Nevers, such as gold and silver plate, linen, tapestry, clothes of all sorts, which were packed up on sumpter-horses, and sent to Venice under the care of the lord de Hangiers* and sir James de Helly. In like manner did all the friends and relatives of the other lords send them every necessary suitable to their ranks. You may suppose all this was done at a great expense, for nothing was spared: their residence at Venice cost much, as it is one of the dearest towns in the world for strangers. It was proper these lords should keep up a state becoming their rank, which fell naturally most heavy on the count de Nevers, their commander-in-chief.

The duke and duchess of Burgundy were very active in procuring his ransom, that their son and heir might leave Venice with honor, and return to France and Flanders, where his presence was much wished for. The duke said, that were it not for the aid of his good subjects in Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders, the money would never have been raised, for their own and their son's other expenses were very great.

The different negotiations and embassies had called for large sums, and, though the ransom was but two hundred thousand florins to Bajazet, yet the other costs and expenses amounted to as much more, as was declared by those through whose hands the money passed; and without this sum their liberty would never have been obtained. It was matter of much consideration how this money was to be raised; for neither the duke nor duchess were inclined to abate anything of their state, which was very magnificent. It was resolved by his council to lay a tax on all the towns under his obedience, more especially those of Flanders; for they abounded in wealth, from their commerce, and therefore the greater load was laid on them, that the count de Nevers might be at liberty to quit Venice. When the matter was mentioned to the townsmen of Ghent, they readily declared their willingness to present their young lord fifty thousand florins to aid him in his ransom. Bruges, Mechlin, Antwerp, Ypres, Courtray, and the other towns in Flanders, expressed their readiness to assist in the ransom of the count de Nevers. The duke and duchess of Burgundy were well pleased at these answers, and returned their warm acknowledgments to the magistrates of the different towns in Flanders, and to those of Artois and Burgundy, who had testified equally good inclinations.

The king of France was also very desirous of aiding the French lords in their ransom, although he had already been at a heavy expense in sending his embassadors to Hungary and Turkey. These charges, however, he did not regret, since his cousins were now safe at Venice, and with them his own knight the lord de Boucicaut. The count de Nevers and his companions were still at Venice, for it was not his intention to depart thence until the discharge of the ransom should be completed. The merchants of Scio and the two Grecian lords had pledged themselves to the sultan for the payment, and such an immense sum was not readily raised. Sir Dinde de Desponde took great pains to accomplish the business from his regard to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, who had sent him to Venice for the purpose, and he was more subtle and conversant in such business than any other person whatever.

While others were diligently dispatching the business of their ransom, the lords spent their time most joyously at Venice; but, about this period, an infectious disorder afflicted that town and neighborhood, which began in the month of August, and never ceased until Saint Andrew's day. Great numbers fell victims to it, and among the rest (the more the pity!) the lord Henry de Bar, eldest son to the duke of Bar, and, in right of his wife, heir to all the estates of the late lord de Coucy, excepting the dower of his widow. Thus were the two ladies de Coucy made widows in one year, which was a great misfortune. The body of the lord Henry was embalmed and brought to France, and I believe buried at Paris, for his obsequies were there performed with much solemnity. On account of this epidemical distemper, and to avoid its danger, the count de Nevers left Venice, and fixed his residence at Treviso, where he and the other French lords remained, with their households, for upward of four months without stirring from it. During their stay at Treviso, the king of Hungary was informed by the knights of Rhodes, of their having made peace with Bajazet, and obtained their liberty by payment of two hundred thousand francs. He, in consequence, sent letters by a bishop and some of his knights to the count de Nevers, to mark his affection to him, with others to those who had the government of Venice. The bishop and knights were ordered by the king to address the count as follows, and of which they handsomely acquitted themselves:

"My lord, we are sent hither by our much-redoubted lord, and your cousin, the king of Hungary, who salutes you by us. Here are letters written by him to congratulate you on your deliverance from the sultan Bajazet, his enemy. He is sincerely rejoiced at your and your companions' escape, for, without the means you have pursued, it would never have been effected. Dear sir, our lord is well assured that your treaties with the sultan must have cost you immense sums of money, and, with the losses you all suffered at the disastrous battle of Nicopoli, will have made it difficult to you to procure a sufficiency for your ransom. Our sovereign, therefore, dear sir, orders us to make you his excuses for not offering you, on this occasion, his assistance: if it were in his power, he would most cheerfully do it, for he conceives and declares he is bound to aid you, from his connection with you by blood and other causes; were it not that he and his subjects have had such losses by the late defeat, that you, who are a person of great understanding, will readily believe, and know the impossibility of his giving any aid at this present moment. The revenues of Hungary are ruined for this and the ensuing year, but whenever they are recovered, and the usual payments made, that he may be enabled to show his offers are not mere empty words, he will assuredly come handsomely forward to your service. That you may believe our most redoubted sovereign and your cousin is in earnest, we must acquaint you that he has ordered us to offer for sale to the rulers of Venice, the rents he receives from this town, which amount to seven thousand ducats yearly; and that whatever these may produce you are to dispose of as if it were your own; and for which we will sign receipts to the Venetians, having full authority to do so."

The speech of the embassadors from the king of Hungary was very agreeable to the French lords. They answered by the lord de Rochefort, who, in the name of all, said "that they were very sensible of this mark of kindness from the king of Hungary, who, to oblige his cousin the count de Nevers, offered to sell his inheritance to aid them; that this was not an offer to be refused, nor the friendship and courtesy forgotten; that the count desired to have a little time to consider of his answer to the king." This was agreed to; and, within a few days, the embassadors were told by the count de Nevers, that "it would be very unbecoming him to pledge or sell the inheritance of another; but that, if it were agreeable to them who had such powers, to prevail on the Venetians to advance, on the security of these rents, a sufficient sum for the count de Nevers' daily expenses, and to enable him to acquit himself of the thirty thousand florins the grand prior of Aquitaine had lent him with so much generosity in the island of Rhodes, he should consider it as a great favor, and most kindly thank the king of Hungary and his council for so doing."

The embassadors cheerfully promised to make the proposal to the Venetians. When the Venetians heard it, they coldly replied they would deliberately consider of the matter, and demanded fifteen days to weigh their determination. When these were expired, they answered, (as I was told by one who heard it,) "That if the king of Hungary were disposed to sell his whole kingdom, the Venetians would willingly make the purchase, and pay the money down; but as for such a trifle as seven thousand ducats of yearly revenue which he possessed in the city of Venice, it was of so little value that they could not set a price on it either to buy or sell, and they would not trouble themselves about so small an object."

Such was the answer made by the Venetians to the embassadors of the king of Hungary. Some said, this reply was mere dissimulation, and that, though the Hungarians had made the offer to the count, they, in an underhand way, caused this answer to be given. Things, therefore, remained in the state they were in before, and the embassadors took leave of the count de Nevers and those of his countrymen then with him, who were, sir Regnier Pot, the lord de Rochefort, and sir William de la Tremouille. They left Venice, and returned to Hungary; but the French lords continued at Treviso on account of the great mortality that reigned in Venice.

CHAPTER XCI.

THE LORD LOUIS DE SANCERRE IS MADE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE IN THE ROOM OF THE COUNT D'EU, WHO HAD DIED IN TURKEY. BOUCICAUT, DURING HIS ABSENCE WITH THE COUNT DE NEVERS, IS APPOINTED MARSHAL OF FRANCE IN THE PLACE OF THE LORD LOUIS DE SANCERRE. THE FRENCH LORDS WHO HAD BEEN PRISONERS IN TURKEY RETURN TO FRANCE.

You have heard that the count d'Eu, constable of France, died in his bed at Bursa in Turkey, to the great regret of all his friends, more especially the king of France, who much loved him. The constableship became vacant by his death, and that office is of such weight that it must not long remain so. Councils were therefore held to appoint his successor, and the wiser among them nominated the lord Louis de Sancerre, in which they were confirmed by the majority in the kingdom. He had been a very long time marshal of France, and was so at the time of his election, residing in Languedoc. Being sent for by the king to Paris, he was invested with the office of constable, and by this vacated the charge of marshal; on which the king said, that he had already thought of a successor,

* "The lord de Hangiers." D. Sauvage supposes it ought to have been de Hangest, for a family of that name existed in his time in Picardy.

for that no one should have it but his knight the lord Boucicaut. All the lords agreed to the propriety of this choice, for indeed he was deserving of it, and when appointed was at Venice. He returned home shortly after this, for the ransoms were paid, and the whole of those who had been prisoners in Turkey came back to France, to the great joy of their friends and countrymen. The lord Boucicaut was made marshal of France; and the count de Nevers waited on the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and was well feasted by them and others, for he was returned from a long and dangerous expedition, wherein he and his companions had suffered many perils, but, through the grace of God, they had escaped, and were returned home. The count was seen with much pleasure by all in Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy, and other dependencies of his father, as he was their heir-apparent. After he had remained some time with the duke and duchess, and had visited the countries under their obedience, he determined to wait on the king of France and the duke of Orleans, both of whom received him honorably and kindly. He was made welcome by all the lords and ladies of the court. The king and the duke of Orleans were very glad to see him again, and eagerly listened to his relation of what he had suffered. They inquired news of Turkey, of the battle of Nicopoli, of the adventures he had met with, how he was made prisoner, and of the state of Bajazet.

The count satisfied them by his answers, for he was well spoken, and made no complaints, at least by speech, of the sultan, but said he had found him courteous and affable, even to those attached to his person; that he was very well treated; and he did not forget to tell the lords to whom he was speaking, that Bajazet, on his taking leave, to quit Turkey, had said, that he was born to bear arms, and make conquests in this world every year to a greater extent, and that he wished not to prevent his prisoners from again taking up arms against him, for he would with pleasure meet them in battle two, three, or four times if necessary; and that it was his intention to march to Rome, and feed his horse on the altar of Saint Peter. The count added, that the sultan thought our faith erroneous, and corrupted by those who ought to have kept its purity; and the Turks laughed and made their jokes at it. Many Saracens declare that Christianity, from the above cause, will be destroyed, and that the time is now come for its ruin; and that Bajazet was born to accomplish this, and be king over all the world. "Such was the language the interpreter translated to me; and, from what I saw and heard, I believe they are perfectly well acquainted in Turkey, Tartary, Persia, and throughout the whole of the infidels' country, with our schisms in the church, and how the Christians are at difference, one with another, respecting the two popes of France and Italy; and the Saracens are wonderfully surprised how the kings of the different countries suffer it."

This speech of the count de Nevers gave the king and lords of France enough to think on. Some said the Saracens were in the right to make their jokes and laugh, for priests were allowed to meddle too much in affairs that did not concern them; that it was time to lower their pomp, or force them to do it of themselves. The young clergy, who were studying the Scriptures at the university of Paris, could not obtain any benefices from this schism in the church, and were not displeased that the people murmured against the popes. They rejoiced at what the count de Nevers had related, and that the Turks and Saracens made derision of our faith. "In good truth," they added, "they are in the right to laugh at it, and, if the king of France and the emperor of Germany do not speedily attend to this schism, we foresee that church-affairs will daily become worse. All things considered, those who have been neuter between the two popes have acted wisely, and thus it behooves every one who wishes for union in the church."

It was secretly told the king, by those who loved him and were desirous he should regain his health, that it was the common opinion throughout France he would never be perfectly recovered until the church were properly regulated. They added, that his father, king Charles of happy memory, had, on his death-bed, charged his council with this matter; that he suspected he had been deceived by these popes, and had made his determination too soon, for which he felt his conscience was loaded. He excused himself, saying, "When our lord and father died, we were very young. We have followed the counsel of those who have hitherto governed, and if we have acted wrong or foolishly, it has been their fault, and not ours; but since we have had fuller information, we will soon attend to the business, and in such a manner that the effect shall be apparent." The king of France paid more attention to this matter than he had ever done before, and promised himself and his council that he would provide a remedy. He spoke of it to his brother, the duke of Orleans, who inclined instantly to his opinion, as did the duke of Burgundy, for, notwithstanding he had acknowledged the pope, who styled himself Clement, he had no great faith in him: the prelates of France, particularly Guy de Roye, archbishop of Rheims, the archbishops of Sens, of Rouen, and the bishop of Autun, had induced him to acknowledge Clement.

It was determined in a private council, that, if a union of the church were sought for, it was necessary to have the assent of Germany. Learned men were therefore sent as embassadors to the king of Bohemia and Germany, who styled himself king of the Romans. Master Philip des Playes was one of these embassadors, who had instructions to prevail on the king of Germany to meet the king of France in the city of Rheims; and that no prelates, cardinals, archbishops, or bishops, might any way interrupt this meeting, or interfere with the object, it was published that the cause for the two monarchs, with their councils, coming to Rheims, was to treat of a marriage between a son of the marquis of Brandenburgh, brother to the emperor, and a daughter of the duke of Orleans, and under cover of this they could treat of other matters.

During the time these negotiations were going forward, the lord Guy de Châtillon, count de Blois, departed this life in his hôtel at Avesnes, in Hainault. He was carried to Valenciennes and buried in the church of the Franciscans, in a chapel called the Chapel of Artois. True it is, that he had made a large inclosure for the Franciscans, and intended erecting his tomb within it; but he died so much in debt, that his countess, the lady Mary of Namur, was obliged to renounce all claim to his movables. She dared not act under his will, but retired to her dowry of the lands of Chimay and Beaumont, and the estates went to their right heirs. The duke of Orleans had the county of Blois, for which, during the late count's life, he had paid him two hundred thousand crowns of France. The lands in Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, went to duke Albert of Bavaria: those of Avesnes, Landrecies, and Louvion in Tierache, fell to John of Blois, more commonly called John of Brittany, to whom, if count Guy had not sold it, the county of Blois would have devolved as to its right heir. Observe what mischief a lord may do his heir by listening to bad advice.* [I make mention of it because the count Guy de Blois was very anxious, during his life, that I, sir John Froissart, should indite this history; and he was at great expenses to forward it, for so considerable an undertaking cannot be accomplished without heavy charges. May God receive his soul! He was my lord and patron, of high honor and great renown, and had no need to make the pitiful bargains he did in the sale of his estates; but he too readily believed those who advised him to dishonorable and profitless acts. The lord de Coucy, who died at Bursa, was very culpable in this business.] We will now return to the affairs of England.

CHAPTER XCII.

THE DEATHS OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE DUKES OF LANCASTER AND YORK, AND THE LONDONERS, TAKE THE MATTER.

You have before seen, in the course of this history, that king Richard of England would no longer conceal the hatred he bore his uncle of Gloucester, but had determined to have him cut off, according to the advice given him, setting it forth to be more advisable to destroy than be destroyed. You have likewise heard how the king had rode to the castle of Pleshy, thirty miles from London, and with fair words had jacoled the duke out of his castle, and was accompanied by him to a lane that led to the Thames, where they arrived between ten and eleven o'clock at night; and how the earl-marshal, who there lay in ambush, had arrested him in the king's name, and forced him toward the Thames, in spite of his cries to the king to deliver him. He was conscious, that from the moment of his being thus arrested, his end was resolved on, and it was confirmed to him by the king turning a deaf ear to his complaints, and riding on full gallop to London, where he lodged that night in the Tower. The duke of Gloucester had other lodgings; for, whether he would or not, he was forced into a boat that carried him to a vessel at anchor on the Thames, into which he was obliged to enter. The earl-marshal embarked also with his men, and, having a favorable wind and tide, they fell down the river, and arrived, late on the morrow evening, at Calais, without any one knowing of it except the king's officers. [The earl-marshal, as governor, could enter Calais at all hours, without any one thinking it extraordinary: he carried the duke to the castle, wherein he confined him.]

You may suppose, that when news was carried to Pleshy of the duke of Gloucester's arrest, the duchess and her children were greatly dismayed, and, since such a bold measure had been taken, were much afraid of the consequences. Suspecting the duke's life was in great danger, they consulted sir John Laquingay what would be best for them now to do. The knight advised them to send instantly to the dukes of Lancaster and York, the duke's brothers; for by their mediation, perhaps, the king's choler would be appeased. He saw no other means, as the king would not choose to make them his enemies. The duchess of Gloucester followed this advice of the knight, and instantly dispatched messengers to both, for they resided at a distance from each other. They were much enraged at hearing their brother was arrested, and returned answers to the duchess, not to be too much distressed at what had happened, for the king would not dare to treat him otherwise than by fair and legal measures, for it would not be suffered. This answer comforted the duchess and her children.

The king of England left the tower of London at a very early hour, and rode to Eltham, where he remained. The same day, toward evening, the earls of Arundel and Warwick were brought to the Tower by the king's officers, and there confined, to the great sur-

* All between the crotchets is from the MSS. in the B. Museum and at Hafod, but not in the printed copies.

prise of the citizens. Their imprisonment caused many to murmur, but they were afraid to act, or do anything against the king's pleasure, lest they might suffer for it. It was the common conversation of the knights, squires, and citizens of London, and in other towns: "It is useless for us to say more on this matter, for the dukes of Lancaster and of York, brothers to the duke of Gloucester, can provide a remedy for all this whenever they please: they assuredly would have prevented it from happening, if they had suspected the king had so much courage, or that he would have arrested their brother; but they will repent of their indolence: and, if they are not instantly active, it will end badly."

When the duke of Gloucester saw himself confined in the castle of Calais, abandoned by his brothers, and deprived of his attendants, he began to be much alarmed. He addressed himself to the earl-marhsal: "For what reason am I thus carried from England and confined here? It seems that you mean to imprison me. Let me go and view the castle, its garrison, and the people of the town." "My lord," replied the earl, "I dare not comply with your demands, for you are consigned to my guard, under pain of death. The king our lord is at this moment somewhat wroth with you; and it is his orders that you abide here a while, in banishment with us, which you must have patience to do, until we have other news, and God grant that it may be soon! for, as the Lord may help me, I am truly concerned for your disgrace, and would cheerfully aid you if I could, but you know the oath I have taken to the king, which I am bound in honor to obey." The duke of Gloucester could not obtain any other answer. He judged, from appearances of things around him, that he was in danger of his life, and asked a priest who had said mass, if he would confess him. This he did, with great calmness and resignation, and with a devout and contrite heart cried before the altar of God, the Creator of all things, for his mercy. He was repentant of all his sins, and lamented them greatly. He was in the right thus to exonerate his conscience, for his end was nearer than he imagined. I was informed, that on the point of his sitting down to dinner, when the tables were laid, and he was about to wash his hands, four men rushed out from an adjoining chamber, and, throwing a towel round his neck, strangled him, by two drawing one end and two the other.* When he was quite dead, they carried him to his chamber, undressed him, and placed the body between two sheets, with his head on a pillow, and covered him with furred mantles. They then reëntered the hall, properly instructed what to say and how to act, and declared the duke of Gloucester had been seized with a fit of apoplexy as he was washing his hands before dinner, and that they had great difficulty to carry him to bed. This was spoken of in the castle and town, where some believed it, but others not. Within two days after, it was published abroad that the duke of Gloucester had died in his bed at the castle of Calais; and, in consequence, the earl-marshal put on mourning, for he was nearly related to him, as did all the knights and squires in Calais.

News of this event was sooner known in France and Fanders than in England. The French rejoiced much at it; for it was commonly reported that there would never be any solid peace between France and England as long as the duke of Gloucester lived; and it was well remembered, that in the negotiations for peace he was more obstinate in his opinions than either of his brothers; and, for this reason, his death was no loss to France. In like manner, many knights and squires of the king of England's household, who were afraid of him, for his severe and rough manners, were pleased at his death. They recounted how he had driven the duke of Ireland to banishment, and had ignominiously beheaded that prudent and gallant knight sir Simon Burley, who had been so much beloved by the prince of Wales, and had done essential services to his country. The deaths of sir Robert Trevilian, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir John Standwich, and others, were not forgotten, so that the duke of Gloucester was but little lamented in England, except by those who were of his party and manner of thinking.

The duke's body was honorably embalmed at Calais, and put into a leaden coffin, with an outward one of wood, and transported in this State by sea to England. The vessel that carried the body landed at Hadleigh Castle on the Thames, and thence it was conveyed on a car, unattended, to his castle of Pleshy, and placed in the church which the duke had founded in honor of the Holy Trinity, with twelve canons to perform devoutly the divine service. In this church was the duke buried. The duchess of Gloucester, her son Humphrey, and her two daughters, were sorely grieved when the body of the duke arrived. The duchess had double cause of affliction, for the earl of Arundel, her uncle, had been publicly beheaded in Cheapside by orders of the king. No baron nor knight dared to interpose, nor advise the king to do otherwise, for he was himself present at the execution, which was performed by the earl's son-in-law, the earl-marshal, who bandaged his eyes.

The earl of Warwick ran great risk of suffering the same death, but the earl of Salisbury, who was in favor with the king, interceded for him, as did many other barons and prelates. The king listened to their solicitations, on condition he were sent to a place he could not leave, for he would never absolutely pardon him, as he was deserving death, for having joined the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel in their attempts to annul the truce which had been signed and sealed by the kings of France and England, for themselves and allies. This alone was a crime to be punished by an ignominious death: for the conditions of the treaties were, that whoever should break or infringe them was to be so punished.

The earl of Salisbury was very earnest in his supplications for the earl of Warwick. They had been brothers in arms ever since their youth; and he excused him on account of his great age, and of his being deceived by the fair speeches of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel: that what had been done was not from his instigation, but solely by that of others; and the house of Beauchamp, of which the earl of Warwick was the head, never imagined treason against the crown of England. The earl of Warwick was, therefore, through pity, respited from death, but banished to the Isle of Wight, which is a dependency on England. He was told: "Earl of Warwick, this sentence is very favorable, for you have deserved to die as much as the earl of Arundel, but the handsome services you have done in times past, to king Edward of happy memory, and the prince of Wales his son, as well on this as on the other side of the sea, have secured your life; but it is ordered that you banish yourself to the Isle of Wight, taking with you a sufficiency of wealth to support your state as long as you shall live, and that you never quit the island." The earl of Warwick was not displeased with this sentence, since his life was spared, and, having thanked the king and council for their lenity, made no delay in his preparations to surrender himself in the Isle of Wight on the appointed day, which he did with part of his household. The Isle of Wight is situated opposite the coast of Normandy, and has space enough for the residence of a great lord, but he must provide himself with all that he may want from the circumjacent countries, or he will be badly supplied with provision and other things.

Thus were affairs carried on in England, and daily going from bad to worse, as you will find it related. When the dukes of Lancaster and York heard of their brother's death at Calais, they instantly suspected the king their nephew was guilty of it. At the time, they were not together, but each at his country-seat, according to the custom in England. They wrote to each other to consult how they should act on the occasion, and hastened to London because they knew the citizens were very angry at the event. On their arrival, they had several meetings, and declared that the putting the duke of Gloucester to death for some foolish words ought not to be passed over in silence, nor borne; for, although he had warmly opposed the treaty with France, he had not acted upon it; that there was an essential difference between talking and acting, and that words alone did not deserve the severe punishment he had suffered, and that this matter must be inquired into and amended. The two brothers were in a situation to have thrown England into confusion, for there were enow who would have supported them, more especially all the kindred of the late earl of Arundel, which is a powerful family in England, and the family of the earl of Stafford.

The king at this time resided at Eltham, whither he had summoned all his vassals and dependants. He had collected round London, in the counties of Kent and Essex, upward of ten thousand archers, and had with him his brother sir John Holland, the earl-marshal, the earl of Salisbury, with many other great barons and knights. The king sent orders to the citizens of London not to admit the duke of Lancaster within their walls; but they replied, they knew of no reason why they should refuse him admittance, and the duke resided there with his son the earl of Derby, as did the duke of York with his son the earl of Rutland. The king loved the earl of Rutland and the earl-marshal beyond measure: the first dissembled his opinions concerning the death of the duke of Gloucester, and would willingly have seen peace restored on both sides. He said, that his late uncle had on several occasions treated the king very unbecomingly. The Londoners considered, also, that great mischiefs might befal England from these dissensions between the king, his uncles, and their supporters; that, since the duke of Gloucester was now dead, it could not be helped; and that he, in some measure, had been the cause of it, by his too great freedom of speech, and from his attempts to excite the people of England to break the truces that had been signed between France and England. The citizens, therefore, prudently dissembled their thoughts; and, as what was done could not now be undone, they feared, should matters be pushed to extremities, they might suffer very considerably in their commerce from the king of France.

The resentments of the citizens began to cool, and they offered to mediate between the king and the duke of Lancaster, who was mightily angered by the murder of his brother. He bethought himself, however, that as his nephew was married to the daughter of the king of France, should he wage war against king Richard, his two daughters married in Castille and Portugal might suffer for it, from the French carrying a war into those countries. The duke was beside forced to change his mind, whether he would or not, from the solicitations of the citizens of London and some of the English prelates, who had been the mediators between the king and his uncles. The king obtained peace, on promising from that day forward to be solely guided by the advice of the duke of Lancaster, engaging never to do anything without first consulting him. The promise, however, he paid not any regard to, but followed the counsels

* He was smothered with pillows, not strangled. Hall, one of the accomplices, made a particular confession of all the circumstances. See Parl. Place, vol. p. 454.—Ed.

of the rash and evil-minded, for which hereafter he severely suffered, as shall be related in this history. Thus did the king of England gain peace from his uncles for the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and now governed more fiercely than before. He went with his state to Pleshy in Essex, which had belonged to his uncle of Gloucester, and should have descended to his son Humphrey as heir to his father; but the king took posession of it, for it is the rule in England for the king to have the wardship of all children who have lost their fathers, and are under twenty-one years of age, at which period their estates are restored to them. King Richard took his cousin Humphrey of Gloucester in ward, appropriating all his possessions to his own profit. He made him live with him, and the duchess and her two daughters with the queen.

The late duke of Gloucester was by inheritance constable of England; but the king deprived his heir of it, and gave it to his cousin the earl of Rutland. The king now assumed a greater state than ever king of England had done before, nor had there been any one who had expended such large sums by one hundred thousand nobles. He also took the wardship of the heir of Arundel, son to the late earl whom he had beheaded in London, as has been related, and forced him to live with him. And because one of the knights of the late duke of Gloucester, named Cerbec,* had spoken too freely of the king and council, he was arrested and instantly beheaded. Sir John Lacquingay was likewise in some peril; but, when he saw the turn affairs had taken, he quitted the service of the duchess of Gloucester, and fixed his abode elsewhere. At this period there was no one, however great, in England, that dared speak his sentiments of what the king did or intended doing. He had formed a council of his own from the knights of his chamber, who encouraged him to act as they advised. The king had in his pay full two thousand archers, who were on guard day and night, for he did not think himself perfectly safe from his uncles or the Arundel family.†

CHAPTER XCIII.

A GREAT ASSEMBLY HOLDEN AT RHEIMS, BY THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY AND KING OF FRANCE, ON THE SCHISM IN THE CHURCH, AND ON THE MEANS OF UNITING THE TWO PARTIES.

At this period, there was a numerous assembly of great lords in the city of Rheims, as well from the empire of Germany as from France, whose object was to restore union to the church. At the solicitation of the king of France, the emperor‡ had come thither in person, attended by his ministers; but because they wished it not to be publicly known that this meeting was to consider of the rivalship of the two popes of Rome and of Avignon, they had it rumored, that the lords of the empire came to Rheims to treat of a marriage between a son of the marquis of Brandenburgh, brother to the emperor, and a daughter of the duke of Orleans. The king of France was lodged in the archbishop's palace, as were the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy, and count de Saint Pol, with other barons and prelates of France. When the emperor was about to make his entry into Rheims, all these lords and prelates, with Charles, king of Navarre, went to meet him: after receiving him most honorably, they conducted him first to the church of Our Lady, and then to the abbey of Saint Remy, where he was lodged with all his lords. His attendants, and the others who had accompanied him, were placed as near him as was possible; and the king of France had ordered, that all the expenses of the emperor and Germans, during their residence in Rheims, should be paid by his officers in the most ample manner. In consequence, there were daily delivered to the Germans ten tons of herrings, for it was Lent, and eight hundred carp, without counting different sorts of fish and other things, which cost the king immense sums.

When the emperor paid his first visit to the king of France, the great lords before-mentioned went to seek him at the abbey of Saint Remy, and conducted him in great state to the palace. On the two monarchs meeting, they paid many compliments to each other, as they knew well how to do, especially the king of France, for the Germans are a rude, unmannered race, except in what regards their personal advantage, and in this they are active and expert enough. The lords of both countries who were present made acquaintance together, with many outward signs of satisfaction: and the king of France entertained the whole at dinner, of which I will mention some particulars. At the top of the king's table was seated the patriarch of Jerusalem: next to him the emperor, then the king of France, and the king of Navarre: no more were at this table. At the others were seated the lords from Germany; and they were waited on by the lords of France, for none of them sat down. The dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and the count de St. Pol, with other great barons, placed the dishes, and served the king's table. The duke of Orleans supplied the company with such quantities of plates of gold and silver, as though they had been made of wood. The dinner was splendid, and abundantly well served, and deserving of remembrance. I was told that the king made a present to the emperor of all the gold and silver plate that was used, as well as what was on the side-board, with all the tapestry and ornaments of the apartment whither the emperor retired after dinner to partake of wine and spices. This gift was estimated at two hundred thousand florins; and the other Germans were presented with magnificent gifts of gold and silver plate. The Germans, and other strangers who had come thither to view the feast, greatly wondered at the wealth and power of France.

During the residence of these monarchs at Rheims, their ministers frequently met to consider of the marriage of the marquis of Brandenburgh, and the reformation of the church. The marriage was agreed on, and published in Rheims, but their consultations and resolutions, concerning the church, were kept secret: what I shall say on the subject came to my knowledge afterwards. It was determined that Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, should be sent an embassador from the emperor and king of France to the person who styled himself pope Boniface at Rome, and negotiate with him in their names with the view of inducing him to submit to a new election: should the choice again fall on him, he would be acknowledged by them as pope, but, if not, then he was to resign. The bishop was to declare the same to the pope of Avignon; adding that, if either of the popes refused to comply with this disposition of the two monarchs, they would be degraded, and every honor and profit of the church taken from them: that in this the kings of England, Scotland, Castille, Portugal, and Navarre, had joined. The emperor said he would answer for his brother the king of Hungary, and all Bohemia and Germany, as far as Prussia, being of the same sentiment. The monarchs likewise declared, that, on the bishop's return from his embassy, they would exert themselves, with their friends and allies, that what they had now agreed on should be executed without any variation. Thus ended this meeting: the two monarchs separated most amicably, and each returned to his usual place of residence. The duke of Burgundy refused to attend at Rheims; for he said it would not answer any purpose, and that whatever might be given to the Germans, they would never keep the engagements they should enter into. However, notwithstanding this speech of the duke, nothing was left undone, and matters were concluded as you have heard.

Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, was not long in making preparations for his journey, and set out on his embassy to Rome and Avignon, to declare the engagements the emperor and king of France had entered into. The king of France sent embassadors to his son-in-law, the king of England, to acquaint him with what had been done, that he might unite in the same opinion. King Richard received the embassadors with joy: and when he learnt the object of their mission, which was, to entreat he would remain neuter, if he could not prevail on his subjects to unite with France and Germany, in case the two popes refused compliance, replied he would so manage that his kingdom should act in the matter as he pleased. This he instantly promised, to the great joy of the embassadors. After they had stayed with the king and queen of England as long as they had chosen, they took leave and returned to Paris by Boulogne, and related all that had passed to the king and council. This was very agreeable to the king, and affairs remained in this state some time.

The king of Navarre came to Paris to visit the king of France, and thought he might perhaps recover his inheritance of Evreux in Normandy, which the king of France had seized from his father, as has been related in this history; but, in spite of every attempt, he was unsuccessful. The king of Navarre, seeing he labored in vain, took the matter in great displeasure, and abruptly left the court of France, discontented with the king and his ministers, and returned to Navarre. We will now leave the affairs of Germany, France, and Navarre, to speak of what befel England, whence sprung such melancholy events as have not been recorded in this history, and which my readers will allow when they come to the detail of them.

CHAPTER XCIV.

THE EARL-MARSHAL CHALLENGES THE EARL OF DERBY, SON TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND HIS COUNCIL.

King Richard of England was of a temper that, when he took a liking to any one, he instantly raised him to high honors, and had such confidence in him that no one dared to say anything to his prejudice. At the same time, there had not been a king of England in the memory of man who so easily believed all that was told him. His favorites, however, paid no attention to the miserable fate of many of their predecessors; how the duke of Ireland had been banished, sir Simon Burley, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Nicholas Bramber, and others had lost their lives, for counsels they had given the king, and for which the duke of Gloucester had taken great pains in their destruction. The duke was now dead, and the favorites of the moment, who continually counselled the king as they pleased, were not sorry, for they imagined no one would now pretend to oppose them. Some about the king's person could not disguise their pride and presumption, especially the earl-marshal, who was in the highest degree of favor. To flatter and please the king, and to show how true and loyal a servant he was, whenever he heard any reports he told them to the king, expecting from such means to rise still

* Cerbec. It is Cerber and Cerbel.

† For more ample particulars respecting the murder of the duke of Gloucester, I must refer the reader to Mr. Gough's History of Pleshy.

‡ Wenceslaus of Luxembourg

higher in favor; but many, thinking to advance, are repulsed. Thus it happened to the earl-marshal.

You must know that the earl of Derby and the late duke of Gloucester had married two sisters, daughters to the earl of Hereford and Northampton, constable of England: the children, therefore, of the earl of Derby and duke of Gloucester were cousins-german by their mother's side, and one degree removed by their fathers'. To say the truth, the death of the duke of Gloucester had displeased many of the great barons of England, who frequently murmured at it when together; but the king had now so greatly extended his power, none dared to speak of it openly, nor act upon the current rumors of the mode of his death. The king had caused it to be proclaimed, that whoever should say anything respecting the duke of Gloucester or the earl of Arundel, should be reckoned a false and wicked traitor and incur his indignation. This threat had caused many to be silent, afraid of what might befal them, who were, nevertheless, much dissatisfied.

At this time, a conversation passed between the earl of Derby and the earl-marshal, in which the state of the king and the counsellors whom he trusted became the subject of discussion. The earl-marshal caught at the following words the other had made use of, with a good intent, thinking they would never have been mentioned again, for they were neither arrogant nor traitorous: "Holy Mary! fair cousin, what does the king next intend to do? Will he drive all the nobles out of England? There will soon be none left; and he was arrived, and all the lords had retired after dinner with the king to his council-chamber, the earl-marshal, having settled in his own mind how to act and what to say, cast himself on his knees before the king, and thus addressed him:] "Very dear and renowned lord, I am of your kindred, your liege man and marshal of England; and I have besides sworn on my loyalty, my hand within yours, that I would never conceal from you anything I might hear or see to your prejudice, on pain of being accounted a disloyal traitor. This I am resolved never to be, but to acquit myself before you and all the world." The king, fixing his eyes on him, asked, "Earl-marshal, what is your meaning in saying thus? We will know it." "Very dear lord," replied the earl, "as I have declared, I will not keep any secret from you: order the earl of Derby to come to your presence, and I will speak out." The earl of Derby was called for, and the king made the earl-marshal rise, for he addressed him on his knees. On the earl of Derby's arrival, who thought no harm, the earl-marshal spoke as follows: "Earl of Derby, I charge you with having thought and spoken disrespectfully against your natural lord the king of England, when you said he was unworthy to hold his crown: that without law or justice, or consulting his council, he disturbed the realm; and that, without any shadow of reason, he banished those valiant men from his kingdom who ought to be its defenders, for all of which I present my glove, and shall prove, my body against yours, that you are a false and wicked traitor."

The earl of Derby was confounded at this address, and retired a

The Earl-Marshal challenging the Earl of Derby. From MSS. of the Fifteenth Century.

plainly shows he is not desirous to add to the honor of his realm." The earl-marshal made no reply, but treasured this speech in his mind, as he considered it very impertinent, in regard to the king, and thought within himself that the earl of Derby was well inclined to excite troubles in England, for he was marvellously beloved by the Londoners. He therefore determined (for the devil entered his brain, and what has been ordained to happen must soon come to pass,) to report this speech in the presence of the king and his nobility.

Soon after this conversation, the earl-marshal, to flatter and gain favor with the king, said: ["My lord, all your enemies and ill-wishers are not dead, nor out of the kingdom." The king changed color, and replied, "How, cousin, do you know this?" "I know it well," answered the earl-marshal: "for the moment, I will not say more; but, that you may provide a remedy in time, have it proclaimed that you will hold a solemn feast on this ensuing Palm Sunday, and invite all the princes of your blood, particularly the earl of Derby, when you shall hear something that will surprise you, and what you are not suspicious of, notwithstanding it so nearly concerns you." The king was very pensive on hearing this, and begged the earl-marshal to give him further information; that he might safely tell him all, for he would keep it secret. I know not if he did so; but the king, if he did, kept it to himself, and allowed the earl to act in the matter as he pleased; the consequences of which were as follows.

The king had it proclaimed that he would hold a solemn feast at his palace at Eltham on Palm Sunday, and sent particular invitations to the dukes of Lancaster and York and their children, who, not suspecting any mischief, came thither. When the day of the feast few paces, without demanding from the duke his father, or any of his friends, how he should act. Having mused a while, he advanced, with his hood in his hand, toward the king, and said, "Earl-marshal, I say that thou art a false and wicked traitor, which I will bodily prove on thee, and here is my glove." The earl-marshal, seeing his challenge was accepted, showed a good desire for the combat, by taking up the glove and saying, "I refer your answer to the good pleasure of the king and the lords now present. I will prove that what you have said is false, and that my words are true." Each of these lords then withdrew with his friends, and the time for serving wine and spices was passed by; for the king showed he was sore displeased, and retired to his chamber and shut himself within it. His two uncles remained without with their children, as did the earl of Salisbury and Huntingdon, the king's brother.

Soon afterwards, the king called to him his uncles, and demanded from them how he was to act on this occasion. "Sire, order your constable hither, and we will tell you." The earl of Rutland, constable of England, being sent for, came, and he was told: "Constable, go to the earl of Derby and the earl-marshal, and oblige them to promise not to quit the kingdom without the king's permission." The constable obeyed the order, and returned to the king's apartment. You may believe the whole court was greatly troubled by this event, and many barons and knights were much displeased, who blamed the earl-marshal for his conduct; but what he had said he could not now retract, and he showed by his manners that he made light of it, so arrogant and swollen with pride was his heart. The lords now separated, each for his own home. The duke of Lancaster, in spite of appearances, was much vexed at what had passed,

and his opinion was, that the king should not have listened to such a charge, but instantly have annihilated it; and in this he was joined by the more sensible barons of the country.

The earl of Derby resided in London, for he had his house there, and kept up his state. The duke of Lancaster, the duke of York, the earl of Northumberland, and many other great lords, for he was much beloved, were his securities to appear and answer the challenge. The earl-marshal was sent to the Tower of London, where he lived with his household. These two lords made ample provision of all things necessary for the combat; and the earl of Derby sent off messengers to Lombardy to have armor from sir Galeas, duke of Milan. The duke complied with joy, and gave the knight, called sir Francis, who had brought the message, the choice of all his armor for the earl of Derby. When he had selected what he wished for in plated and mail armor, the lord of Milan, out of his abundant love to the earl, ordered four of the best armorers in Milan to accompany the knight to England, that the earl of Derby might be more completely armed. The earl-marshal, on the other hand, sent into Germany, whence he thought he should be ably assisted by his friends. Each provided himself most magnificently, to outshine the other; but the greater splendor was shown by the earl of Derby, for I must say that, when the earl-marshal undertook this business, he expected to have been better supported than he was by the king. It was hinted to the king, by those near his person: "Sire, you have no occasion to interfere further in this matter: dissemble your thoughts, and leave them to themselves: they are fully capable of managing it. The earl of Derby is wondrous popular in the kingdom, but more especially in London; and, should the citizens perceive that you take part with the earl-marshal against the earl of Derby, you will irrecoverably lose their affection."

The king attended to this advice, for he knew it was true: in consequence, he dissembled his opinion, and suffered each to provide for himself. The news of this combat between the earl of Derby and the earl-marshal made a great noise in foreign parts: for it was to be for life or death, and before the king and great barons of England. It was spoken of differently: some said, particularly in France: "Let them fight it out: these English knights are too arrogant, and in a short time will cut each other's throats. They are the most perverse nation under the sun, and their island is inhabited by the proudest people." But others, more wise, said: "The king of England does not show great sense, nor that he is well advised, when for foolish words, undeserving serious notice, he permits two such valiant and noble lords, and of his kindred, thus to engage in mortal combat. He ought, according to the opinions of many wise men to have said, when he first heard this charge: 'You earl of Derby, and you earl-marshal, are my near relations: I command, therefore, that you harbor no hatred nor malevolence against each other, but live like friends and cousins as you are. Should your stay in this country become tiresome, travel into foreign parts, to Hungary or elsewhere, and seek for deeds of arms and adventures.'" If the king of England had done so, or come forward to prevent this combat, he would have acted wisely, according to the opinions of men of sense and prudence.

The duke of Lancaster was much vexed and melancholy at seeing the king of England, his nephew, thus badly conduct himself, but knew not to whom to open his thoughts. He, like a wise man, considered the consequences that might ensue, and at times said to those he most confided in: "Our nephew will ruin everything before he have done: he too readily listens to evil counsellors, who will destroy him and his kingdom. Should he live long, he will lose by little and little all it has cost his predecessors and us so much pains to gain. He encourages discord between his nobles and great lords, by whom he ought to be honored and served, and the country guarded. He has put my brother to death, for it is now notorious he ordered it, and likewise the earl of Arundel, because they told him the truth; but this he refuses to hear, and will not listen to any one who does not flatter his own imaginations. He cannot sooner ruin his country than by exciting hatreds among his nobility and principal towns. The French are too subtle a race, for one misfortune that befalls us they would wish ten, as they can never obtain their ends, or recover their domains, but through ourselves; and every day there are examples of the misery of kingdoms when divided. Such has been the unfortunate lot of France, Castille, Naples, and the Roman state; and the present schism is the ruin of the contending popes, as well as the church. Flanders is another example which we have seen of self-destruction. Friesland is at this moment in a similar state, oppressed by the war of the count of Hainault, and ruining themselves by domestic quarrels. We shall be in the same situation unless God prevent it, from the appearance of the present state of affairs. The king has consented that my son and heir, for I have none other by my first two marriages, should be challenged to mortal combat for a mere trifle; and I, his father, dare not say a word against it, in regard to my own and my son's honor; for my son has the feelings of a knight, and is of sufficient strength to encounter the earl-marshal. Howbeit, let the best be made of it, they will never again love each other as they did before." Such were the conversations of the duke of Lancaster.

The two earls, in the meantime, were making every preparation for their combat. The duke of Lancaster never went near the king, and as seldom saw his son, acting throughout with great good sense. He knew the earl of Derby was very popular with all ranks in England, but more particularly with the Londoners, who waited on him, and addressed him: "Earl of Derby, make your mind easy: whatever may be the event of this combat it will turn out to your honor, in spite of the king and all his minions. We know well how things are managed, and what will be the result of them: this accusation has been invented by envy, to cause your banishment out of the kingdom, where they are aware you are so greatly beloved by all ranks and sexes; and should you be forced to quit us in sorrow, you shall return in joy, for you are more worthy to rule than Richard of Bordeaux. Whoever may choose to search the matter to the bottom, to discover the real origin of you both, will soon see that you have a greater right to the crown of England than he who wears it, although we have paid him homage, and acknowledged him for king these twenty years; but that was obtained by the entreaties of your grandfather, king Edward of happy memory, who was suspicious of what we hint, and feared the consequences. There was once a serious dispute on this subject between king Edward and your grandfather by your mother's side, duke Henry of Lancaster, but the great lords interfered and made up matters between them. King Edward was valiant and successful in all his enterprises, and had gained the love of his subjects high and low. Your grandfather of Lancaster only required from the king what was just, and served him and his kingdom so loyally, that his conduct deserved the commendation of all. Every one who knew him called him their old father. These things are worthy of king Richard's consideration, and may make him repent, if anything can, at his leisure, that he has not more prudently governed." Such conversations did many of the nobles and citizens of London hold with the earl of Derby, who was pleased with their affection, and received them kindly. He did not, however, neglect any preparations for his combat, but sent to every one of his friends throughout England, to entreat their company at the appointed day and place.

King Richard, notwithstanding he had suffered this challenge and appeal to arms to be made in his presence, was uncertain how to act, and whether to allow the combat to take place or not. And although he was the king of England the most feared of any who had worn the crown, he was guarded day and night by two thousand archers, who were regularly paid weekly, and had confidence only in his brother earl of Huntingdon, and the earls of Salisbury and Rutland, his cousin, who were highly in his favor. He paid no regard to others, except a few of the knights of his chamber, who were his advisers. When the day for the combat was approaching, and the two lords had made their preparations, waiting only for the king's commands, king Richard's secret advisers asked, "Sire, what is your intention respecting this combat between your two cousins, the earl of Derby and the earl-marshal? Will you permit them to proceed?" "Yes," replied the king: "why not? I intend to be present myself and to see their prowess. We may perhaps learn, from the issue of this combat, what we are now ignorant of, although it may be very important for us to know, that we may provide accordingly: for there is no one so great in England, but, if he anger me, he shall dearly pay for it. Should I allow myself to be any way governed by my subjects, they would soon overpower me; I know for certain that some of my kinsmen have held secret meetings respecting my government; but the most dangerous among them was the duke of Gloucester, for in all England there was none more wrong-headed. He is now at peace, and henceforward we shall manage the rest well enough. But tell me, I pray you, why you ask the question?" "Sire," replied they, "we are bound to advise you to the best of our knowledge and abilities. We sometimes hear and observe what you cannot, for you are in your apartments, and we abroad in the fields, or in London, where many conversations are held that nearly touch you, as well as us. There is yet time to provide a remedy, and we earnestly advise you not to delay it." "What do you mean?" said the king: "speak out, and do not spare me; for I wish to act rightly and to maintain justice in my kingdom." "Sire, the common report throughout England, but especially in London, is, that you are the cause of this combat, and that you have induced the earl-marshal to challenge the earl of Derby. The Londoners in general, and many of the prelates and nobles, say, that you are in the direct road to destroy all your kindred and kingdom, but that they will not suffer it to be done. Now, were the citizens to rise and be joined by the nobility, who could oppose them? You have no power but from your vassals; and they are now more suspicious of you than ever, from your marriage with a princess of France; and you are less beloved by your subjects on this account. Know, that if you allow these two earls to meet in arms, you will not be lord of the field, but the Londoners, united with the earl of Derby's great connections by blood, who are all much attached to him. The earl-marshal is become very unpopular, particularly with the citizens of London, who would willingly put him to death. Three parts of the people of England say, that when you heard the charge of the earl-marshal, you should have acted otherwise than you did, and checked the quarrel by telling them, 'You are both my cousins and liege men, and I command that peace be henceforward between you;' and that you should have taken the earl of Derby by the hand, and led him to your chamber with every token of affection. Because you did not this, the

common report is, that you warmly take the part of the earl-marshal against the earl of Derby. Weigh well what we have said, for we have told you the truth, and you never had more occasion for good advice than at this moment."

The king, on hearing these words, changed color, (for they had boldly spoken out, and certainly what they had said could not be contradicted,) turned aside and leant on a window, where he mused a considerable time. He then turned to those who had addressed him, namely, the archbishop of York, the earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, and three other knights of his chamber, and said, "I have attentively heard everything you have advised, and should be blameworthy if I followed not your counsel: consider, therefore, how you would have me act." "Sire," replied their spokesman, "what we have been talking of is matter of great danger. You must dissemble your resentments, and put an end to this business, if you wish for peace and to preserve your honor. You ought to pay more respect to the general opinion of your realm than to the idle talk of two knights. It is believed throughout England that the lord marshal behaved himself very ill, and, by stirring up many things that were better forgotten, is desirous to pick a quarrel with the earl of Derby, raise the people, and throw all things into confusion. He must therefore suffer for so doing, and the earl of Derby be acquitted. We have considered the matter in every point of view, and advise that, before they arm or make further preparations, you send them your commands to appear before you, and to abide by whatever you determine between them. You will therefore give judgment, that, within fifteen days, the earl marshal quit England, without any hope of ever returning, and the earl of Derby be banished thence for the space of ten years. When the time for their departure arrives, you will, to please the people, abridge four years of the earl of Derby's sentence, so that his banishment will be only for six years, but that he must not expect further favor. Such is the advice we give you: be very careful to prevent their meeting in arms, or the greatest mischiefs may arise from it." The king was thoughtful a moment, and replied, "You have faithfully advised me, and it shall be done."

CHAPTER XCV.

KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND BANISHES THE EARL OF DERBY FROM ENGLAND FOR TEN YEARS, AND THE EARL-MARSHAL FOR HIS LIFE.

Not long after this, the king of England summoned a large council of the great nobles and prelates at Eltham. On their arrival, he placed his two uncles of Lancaster and York beside him, with the earls of Northumberland, Salisbury and Huntingdon. The earl of Derby and the earl-marshal were sent for, and put into separate chambers, for it had been ordered they were not to meet. The king showed he wished to mediate between them, notwithstanding their words had been very displeasing to him, and ought not to be lightly pardoned. He required therefore that they should submit themselves to his decision; and to this end sent the constable of England, with four great barons, to oblige them to promise punctually to obey it. The constable and the lords waited on the two earls, and explained the king's intentions. They both bound themselves, in their presence, to abide by whatever sentence the king should give. They having reported this, the king said: "Well then, I order that the earl-marshal, for having caused trouble in this kingdom, by uttering words which he could not prove otherwise than by common report, be banished the realm: he may seek any other land he pleases to dwell in, but he must give over all hope of returning hither, as I banish him for life. I also order, that the earl of Derby, our cousin, for having angered us, and because he has been, in some measure, the cause of the earl-marshal's crime and punishment, prepare to leave the kingdom within fifteen days, and be banished hence for the term of ten years, without daring to return unless recalled by us; but we shall reserve to ourself the power of abridging this term in part or altogether." The sentence was satisfactory to the lords present, who said: "The earl of Derby may readily go two or three years and amuse himself in foreign parts, for he is young enough; and, although he has already travelled to Prussia, the Holy Sepulchre, Cairo and Saint Catherine's,* he will find other places to visit. He has two sisters, queens of Castille and of Portugal, and may cheerfully pass his time with them. The lords, knights and squires of those countries, will make him welcome, for at this moment all warfare is at an end. On his arrival in Castille, as he is very active, he may put them in motion, and lead them against the infidels of Granada, which will employ his time better than remaining idle in England. Or he may go to Hainault, where his cousin, and brother in arms, the count d'Ostrevant, will be happy to see him, and gladly entertain him, that he may assist him in his war against the Frieslanders. If he go to Hainault, he can have frequent intelligence from his own country and children. He therefore cannot fail of doing well, whithersoever he goes; and the king may speedily recall him, through means of the good friends he will leave behind, for he is the finest feather in his cap; and he must not therefore suffer him to be too long absent, if he wish to gain the love of his subjects. The earl-marshal has had hard treatment, for he is banished without hope of ever being recalled; but, to say the truth, he has deserved it, for all this mischief has been caused by him and his foolish talking: he must therefore pay for it." Thus conversed many English knights with each other, the day the king passed sentence on the earl of Derby and the earl-marshal.

*The monastery on Mount Sinai.—ED

CHAPTER XCVI.

THE EARL OF DERBY, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS BANISHMENT, LEAVES ENGLAND FOR FRANCE. THE EARL-MARSHAL, IN OBEDIENCE TO HIS SENTENCE, GOES TO FLANDERS, AND THENCE INTO LOMBARDY.

When the two earls heard the sentence the king had passed on them, they were much cast down, and not without cause. The earl-marshal bitterly repented what he had said and done, but he could not foresee its consequences: he had firmly relied on being otherwise supported by the king than he was, or he would not have thought of it. It was, however, necessary to make his preparations for banishment. He settled the payments of his income through the Lombards of Bruges, and, quitting England, arrived at Calais, where he had been governor. He staid there a short time, to receive part of his equipage which had been left behind. On his departure he took leave of the townsmen of Calais, and having fixed his route, would not go to France nor Hainault, for he had not any business at these places, but went to Bruges, where he staid fifteen days. On leaving this town, he visited Ghent, Mechlin, Louvain, St. Tron, Utrecht, Aix and Cologne, where we will leave him, and speak of the earl of Derby, who in like manner made his preparations for obeying his sentence of banishment.

When the day of his exile drew near, he went to Eltham where the king resided. He found there his father, the duke of York his uncle, and with them the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry Percy his son, and a great many barons and knights of England, vexed that his ill fortune should force him out of England. The greater part of them accompanied him to the presence of the king, to learn his ultimate pleasure as to this banishment. The king pretended that he was very happy to see these lords: he entertained them well, and there was a full court on the occasion. The earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Huntingdon, who had married the duke of Lancaster's daughter, were present, and kept near to the earl of Derby, whether through dissimulation or not I am ignorant. When the time for the earl of Derby's taking leave arrived, the king addressed his cousin with great apparent humility, and said, "that as God might help him, the words which had passed between him and the lord marshal had much vexed him; and that he had judged the matter between them to the best of his understanding, and to satisfy the people, who had murmured greatly at this quarrel. Wherefore, cousin," he added, "to relieve you somewhat of your pain, I now remit four years of the term of your banishment, and reduce it to six years instead of ten. Make your preparations, and provide accordingly." "My lord," replied the earl, "I humbly thank you; and, when it shall be your good pleasure, you will extend your mercy." The lords present were satisfied with the answer, and for this time were well pleased with the king's behavior, for he received them kindly. Some of them returned with the earl of Derby to London. The earl's baggage had been sent forward to Dover, and he was advised by his father, on his arrival at Calais, to go straight to Paris, and wait on the king of France and his cousins the princes of France, for by their means he would be the sooner enabled to shorten his exile than by any other. Had not the duke of Lancaster earnestly pressed this matter, like a father anxious to console his son, he would have taken the direct road to the count d'Ostrevant in Hainault.

The day the earl of Derby mounted his horse to leave London, upward of forty thousand men were in the streets, bitterly lamenting his departure: "Ah, gentle earl! will you then quit us? This country will never be happy until your return, and the days until then will be insufferably long. Through envy, treachery and fear, are you driven out of a kingdom where you are more worthy to reside than those which caused it. You are of such high birth and gallantry, that none others can be compared to you. Why then will you leave us, gentle earl? You have never done wrong by thought or deed, and are incapable of so doing." Thus did men and women so piteously complain, that it was grievous to hear them. The earl of Derby was not accompanied by trumpets, nor the music of the town, but with tears and lamentations. Some of the knights who attended him whispered each other: "See the conduct of the people, how readily they complain for trifles! Whoever is inclined to stir up the Londoners against the king may soon effect it, and force the king to seek another country, and the earl of Derby to remain. but this is not the moment, for, since my lord of Lancaster suffers it, we must be patient."

The mayor of London and several of the principal citizens, accompanied the earl of Derby as far as Dartford: some even rode to Dover with him, and remained in his company until he embarked on board the vessel that was to convey him to Calais, when they returned to their homes. The earl of Derby, before his arrival at Calais, had sent a knight and herald to the king of France, and to the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, to know if it were agreeable to them that he should fix his residence in Paris, paying punctually for all that he or his people might want, and if the court would receive him.

The king of France, his brother and uncles, readily complied with his request, and apparently seemed very glad that he would come there; for, as they assured the knight, they very sincerely felt for the present disgrace of the earl. The knight and herald, on their return, met the earl of Calais; and the king of France had sent with them sir Charles de Hangiers, to have all the cities and towns opened to the English as they travelled to Paris. The earl of Derby set out in gallant array, becoming his rank, and took the road to Amiens, where, and in every other town, he was handsomely received.

CHAPTER XCVII.

THE COUNT D'OSTREVANT SENDS EMBASSADORS TO THE EARL OF DERBY. THE EARL ARRIVES AT PARIS.

The moment William earl of Ostrevant, who resided at Quesnoy, heard that his cousin the earl of Derby had crossed the sea, and was at Calais, he ordered sir Ancel de Trassaguies and sir Fier-à-bras de Vertain to ride thither and wait on the earl, and invite him to Hainault, whither, if he pleased to come and amuse himself, he would give him a hearty welcome, for it would be very agreeable to himself and his countess. The two knights obeyed the earl's orders, and rode to Cambray and Bapaumes; for they had heard the earl of Derby had left Calais, and taken the road toward Paris through Amiens. They determined, in consequence, to push forward, and overtook the earl of Derby on his road, to whom they punctually delivered their message. The earl thanked them, as well as his cousin of Hainault who had sent them, but excused himself for the present from accepting their invitation, as he was engaged to visit the king of France and his cousins, but that he did not renounce the affection and courtesy the count d'Ostrevant offered him. The two knights, having executed their commission, took leave, and returned to Hainault, to report all they had seen and heard, and the earl continued his journey to Paris. When news was brought to the king, and the dukes of Orleans, Berry and Burgundy, that the earl of Derby was approaching Paris, the principal French lords instantly made handsome preparations to go out and meet him. The apartments of the hôtel de Saint Pol were richly furnished; and the great barons then in town set out for Saint Denis. The king remained at the hôtel de Saint Pol: but the dukes of Orleans and Berry left Paris, and first met the earl of Derby: then came the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and the lord Charles d'Albret, with many great prelates and barons. The meeting was joyous on both sides, and they entered Paris in brilliant array.

An unfortunate accident happened on this occasion, which I will relate. A prudent and valiant squire, called Boniface, a native of Lombardy, was mounted on a strong courser that had not been well broken. When passing through the streets, he rose upon his hind legs, and the squire, checking by the bridle, pulled him so hard that he fell backward, and threw Boniface with such force on the pavement, that his skull was fractured. Thus died Boniface, to the great regret of many lords, particularly the duke of Orleans, by whom he was much esteemed. He had been a favorite with the late lord de Coucy, who had brought him from Lombardy to France.

The procession at length arrived at the hôtel de Saint Pol, where the king was waiting: he received very kindly his cousin the earl of Derby, who, having been well educated, behaved so agreeably to the king, that he was much liked, and, in token of his favor, the king gave him his order to wear. The earl accepted it with pleasure, and returned his thanks. I cannot pretend to say all that passed between them, but the meeting seemed to their mutual satisfaction. When wine and spices had been served, the earl took leave of the king, and waited on the queen, who resided in other apartments of the same palace. He staid there some time, for the queen entertained him handsomely. On taking leave, he went to the court and mounted his horse, and was escorted to his hôtel by the lords of France, where he supped that night with his own people. Such was his reception at Paris: there were many grand entertainments made to amuse him, and that he might think the less on his banishment from his own country, which was very displeasing to the French lords. [In spite of all their kind endeavors, he at times was very melancholy, and not without reason, on being thus separated from his family. He was impatient to return, and much vexed that for such a frivolous cause he should be banished from England, and from his four promising sons, and two daughters. The earl frequently dined with the king, the duke of Orleans, and other great barons, who did everything they could to make his time pass agreeably.]

We will now leave the earl of Derby, to speak of the affairs of the church, and of the two popes, Benedict of Avignon, and Boniface of Rome.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

THE EMPEROR AND THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUE THE PLANS THEY HAD SETTLED AT RHEIMS, FOR A UNION OF THE CHURCH. THE BISHOP OF CAMBRAY IS SENT BY THEM TO THE POPE AT ROME. THE ANSWER THAT IS MADE HIM.

You have before heard of the meeting which had taken place at Rheims between the emperor and the king of France, when many secret councils were held, on establishing the union of the church, for the present schism was disgraceful. In consequence of the plans then formed, Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, was sent embassador to pope Boniface at Rome. The bishop set out, and met the pope at Fondi, to whom he delivered his credential letters from the king and the emperor. The pope, having examined them, was satisfied of their validity, and received the bishop kindly, for he guessed the object of his mission. The embassador explained the cause of his coming, which the pope attentively listened to, and thus replied: "That the answer his propositions required did not only personally attach to him, but to all his brother-cardinals, who might aspire to the papacy. He would summon a consistory, and, when they had fully considered the matter, would give him an answer that should be satisfactory." This was, for the present, sufficient for the bishop of Cambray, who dined that day at the palace of the pope with some of his cardinals, and then, leaving Fondi, went to Rome.

Shortly after, pope Boniface held a convocation of cardinals at Rome; for he had quitted Fondi, and resided at the Vatican. No one was present at this consistory but the pope and cardinals, before whom he laid the proposition of the bishop of Cambray, and demanded advice what answer he should make to them. Much discussion ensued; for the cardinals were averse to undo what they had done, thinking it would turn out to their disgrace. They said to the pope: "Holy father, considering our situation, we think you should conceal your real sentiments on this matter: but to encourage the hopes of the king of France and those of his creed, you will in your answer declare your willingness to comply with whatever the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, and the king of England, shall advise you; that the person who resides at Avignon, and styles himself pope Benedict, whom the king of France and his nation have acknowledged, must first resign all claims to the papacy; and that then you will cheerfully attend a general council, wherever the above-named kings shall appoint, and bring your brother cardinals with you." This advice was very agreeable to Boniface, who replied, in conformity to it, but in more general terms, to the bishop of Cambray, who acquitted himself honorably in the business he had been sent upon.

When the Romans heard that the emperor and the king of France had written to the pope to resign his dignity, great were the murmurings throughout the city; for the Romans were fearful they should lose the holy see, which was of infinite consequence to them and profit, from the general pardons that were personally sought for, and which obliged such multitudes to visit Rome. The jubilee was soon to take place, for which they had made great preparations; and they were uneasy lest they might have incurred these expenses for nothing. The principal inhabitants of Rome waited on the pope, and showed him greater love than ever, saying: "Holy father, you are the true pope: remain in the inheritance and patrimony of the church, which belonged to St. Peter, and let no one advise you to do otherwise. Whoever may be against you, we will always continue your steady friends, and expend our lives and fortunes in the defence of your right." Pope Boniface replied: "My children, be comforted, for I will never resign the popedom; and, whatever the emperor or the king of France may do, I will not submit myself to their wills." The Romans were satisfied with this answer, and returned to their homes.

The bishop of Cambray took no notice of this, but proceeded in the business he had been charged with. I fancy pope Boniface kept steady in his answer, that when it should be publicly known pope Benedict had resigned the papacy, he would act in such manner as should be agreeable to those who had sent him. The bishop, not being able to obtain more, departed for Germany, and found the emperor at Constance, to whom he delivered the answer you have heard. The emperor said, "Bishop, you will carry this to the king of France, our brother and cousin; and, accordingly as he shall act, so will I and the empire; but, from what I see, he must begin first, and when he has deposed his pope, we will depose ours." The bishop took leave of the emperor, and set out for Paris, where the king and his lords were expecting him. He delivered the answer from the pope, and the message from the emperor, which was kept secret until the king should assemble a great council of his nobles to have their advice on the matter.

CHAPTER XCIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE, IN CONFORMITY TO THE ADVICE OF HIS NOBLES AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, SENDS THE BISHOP OF CAMBRAY TO POPE BENEDICT AT AVIGNON, ON THE SUBJECT OF A UNION OF THE CHURCH, AND ALSO HIS MARSHAL BOUCICAUT THITHER, TO CONSTRAIN THE POPE TO OBEDIENCE BY FORCE OF ARMS SHOULD THERE BE OCCASION.

The king of France, in consequence of the answer of pope Boniface, and the message of the emperor, that the pope at Avignon must be the first deposed, assembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom at Paris. Prior to this, some of the prelates of France, such as the archbishop of Rheims, sir Guy de Roye, the archbishops of Rouen and of Sens, the bishops of Paris, Beauvais, and Autun, had strongly supported the pope of Avignon, particularly Clement

who had promoted them to their benefices. These six prelates, therefore, by particular orders, were not summoned to this council, but others in their room, and the heads of the university of Paris. After the bishop of Cambray had fully explained to the assembly the object of his embassy to Rome, what he had done there, the pope's answer, and the message from the emperor, for he had returned through Germany, they began to discuss the matter, and it was resolved the university should have the preponderating voice. It was determined in this council, to the satisfaction of the king, the duke of Orleans, their uncles, and all the members of it, that the king of France should send his marshal, the lord Boucicaut, to Avignon, to prevail on pope Benedict, by negotiation or force, to resign the papacy, and submit himself to the determination of the king and his council; that the church in France should remain neuter as to the true pope, until union were restored to it, according to the decrees of a general council of prelates and churchmen which was to be instantly called.

This resolution seemed good to every one, and was adopted by the king of France, and all who had formed the council. The marshal of France and the bishop of Cambray were ordered to Avignon; and these two lords left Paris soon afterwards, travelling in company as far as Lyons, where they separated. The marshal was to remain at Lyons until he heard from the bishop, who continued his journey to Avignon, to learn what answer the person who styled himself pope at Avignon would make to the proposals from the king of France. On his arrival at Avignon, he fixed his lodgings in the great wood-market. Some of the cardinals suspected the cause of his coming, since he was sent by the king of France, but they dissembled their thoughts until they heard what he had to say, and observed how Benedict should answer and conduct himself. As soon as the bishop of Cambray had taken some refreshments and changed his dress, he waited on the pope in his palace. He made him, when in his presence, the proper obeisances, but not so reverently as if he and all the world acknowledged him for the true pope, although he had given him the bishopric of Cambray, through the recommendation of the lords in France. The bishop, being well versed in Latin and French, made an elegant harangue, to explain the object of his mission from the emperor and the king of France. When the pope heard that it was the intention of these two monarchs that he as well as pope Boniface should resign their dignities, he frequently changed color, and, raising his voice, said: "I have labored hard for the good of the church, and have been duly elected pope, yet now my resignation is sought: this I will never consent to as long as I live; and I wish the king of France to know that I shall not pay any attention to his regulations, but will keep my name and dignity until death."

"Sire," answered the bishop of Cambray, "I always thought you, under reverence, more prudent than I find you really are. Fix a day for the meeting of your cardinals, to consult with them on your answer; for, unless they agree with you, your opposition will be in vain against them and against the powers of Germany and France." Upon this, two cardinals of his creation, who foresaw that matters would end badly, stepped forward and said, "Holy father, the bishop of Cambray advises you well: follow what he says, we entreat you." The pope replied, he would do so willingly: the audience was put an end to, and the bishop returned to his lodgings, without waiting on any of the cardinals.

On the next morning, the consistory bell was rung, and a conclave holden of all the cardinals then at Avignon, at the pope's palace. The bishop of Cambray discoursed in Latin on the reasons why he was come thither, and on the object of those who had sent him. When he had finished speaking, he was told they would maturely consider the business, and give him an answer, but that at present he must withdraw. He went elsewhere to amuse himself, while Benedict and his cardinals debated his proposals. They were for a considerable time in council, and many thought it very hard to undo what had been regularly effected; but the cardinal of Amiens said: "My fair sirs, whether we will or not, we must obey the orders of the emperor of Germany and the king of France, since they are now united; for, without their good pleasure, we cannot exist. We might indeed withstand the emperor, if the king of France would support us, but, as that is no longer the case, we must submit, or he will exclude us from our benefices, and how then are we to live? In truth, holy father, we have elected you pope, on condition that you would exert yourself in the reform of abuses in the church, and promote a union, all of which you have strenuously promised to do until this day. Answer for yourself, therefore, in a temperate manner, that we may praise you, for you must be better acquainted with your own mind and courage than we are." Many of the cardinals spoke at once, and said: "Holy father, the cardinal of Amiens speaks well, and we beg of you to let us know your intentions." Upon this, Benedict replied, "I have always had an earnest desire for a union of the church, and have taken great pains to promote it; but since, through the grace of God, you have raised me to the papacy, I will never resign it, nor submit myself to any king, duke, or count, nor agree to any treaty that shall include my resignation of the popedom." The cardinals now all rose, and there was much murmuring: some said he had well spoken, and others the contrary. Thus was the conclave broken up in discord, and many of the cardinals departed to their hôtels without taking leave of the pope Those who were in his good graces remained with him.

When the bishop of Cambray observed the manner in which the cardinals left the palace, he knew there had been great disagreement, and entering the hall of the conclave, advanced up to Benedict, who was still on his throne, and, without much respect, said: "Sire, give me an answer; I cannot wait longer; for your council is dismissed. You must let me have your final determination on the proposals I made you, as I am now about to depart hence." Pope Benedict, still heated by anger at the speech of the cardinal of Amiens, replied: "Bishop, I have consulted my brother cardinals, who have elected me to this dignity, and they agree that every due solemnity has been used, such as is usual in such cases. Since, therefore, I am pope, and acknowledged as such by all my subjects, I will preserve it as long as I live, and will not, though it cost me my life, renounce it; for I have never done anything to forfeit the divine protection. You will tell our son of France that hitherto we have considered him as a good Catholic; but that, from the bad advice he has lately received, he is about to embrace errors which he will repent of. I entreat that you would beg of him, from me, not to follow any counsels, the result of which may trouble his conscience."

On saying this, Benedict rose from his throne, and retired to his chamber, attended by some of his cardinals. The bishop of Cambray went to his inn, dined soberly, and then, mounting his horse, crossed the Rhône, passed through Villeneuve, and lay at Bagnols,* which belongs to France. He there heard that the Lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, was at St. Andrieu, within nine leagues of Avignon, and thither the bishop went on the following day, and related to him all that had passed, with an answer he had received from Benedict who styled himself pope.

CHAPTER C.

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE ANSWER OF POPE BENEDICT, THE MARSHAL BOUCICAUT OBLIGES HIM BY FORCE OF ARMS TO SUBMIT HIMSELF TO THE WILL OF THE KING OF FRANCE RESPECTING A UNION OF THE CHURCH.

When the marshal of France had heard from the bishop of Cambray the pope's answer, and that he refused to submit himself to the king of France, he said to him, "Bishop, you may now return to France, for you have nothing more to do here; and I will execute what I have been charged with by the king, my lords his uncles, and the council." The bishop replied, "God's will be done." He remained that day in the village, and on the morrow departed, taking his road toward Puy in Auvergne. The marshal instantly set clerks and messengers to work in summoning the knights, squires, and men-at-arms in the Viverais, Auvergne, and from the countries as far as Montpellier; for he was commissioned so to do by the king of France. He ordered the sénéschal of Beaucaire to shut up all the passes to Avignon, as well on the Rhône as by land, that nothing might enter that place, nor be sent thither from the Pont du Saint Esprit; for he was particularly anxious that it should not be supplied with provisions or stores. The summons of the marshal was readily obeyed, by some through attachment, but by many in the expectation of plundering Avignon. Sir Raymond de Touraine came with pleasure to the marshal, who was ready to march, in company with the lords de la Both, de Tournon, de Monclau, and d'Uzes and others, so numerous, that the marshal sent a herald with his defiance to the pope in his palace, and to his cardinals in Avignon.

This was a severe blow to the cardinals and to the inhabitants; for they knew well they could not long effectually withstand the power of the king of France. They called a council of the cardinals and principal persons in the town, and, in consequence, waited on Benedict, and temperately remonstrated with him, that they were unable and unwilling to support a war against the king of France, for it was necessary they should carry on their commerce by land and water, to live. Benedict, like a madman, replied: "Your city is strong, and well provided with stores and provisions. I will send to Genoa and elsewhere for men-at-arms, and write to my son the king of Arragon, who is the standard-bearer of the church, to come to my assistance, which he will do, for he is bound to it by two reasons; I am his kinsman, and he owes obedience to the pope. Do you depart hence and guard your town, and I will defend my palace, for you are alarmed at trifles." This was all the answer they could obtain from the pope, and the cardinals and townsmen retired to their houses. The pope, whom I call Benedict, had, for a long time before laid up in his palace great quantities of wines, corn, salted meat, oil, and of every necessary store for a fortress. He himself was a bold and determined character, not easily dismayed.

The marshal Boucicaut marched from the town of St. Esprit, and, with the consent of the Prince of Orange, passed through Orange with his army, and entered the Comtat Venaissin, belonging to the Church, which was soon overrun. The men-at-arms crossed the bridge at Sorgues,† and were masters of each side of that river. The marshal left some men in the town to guard it and defend the passage,

* Bagnols—a town in lower Languedoc, three leagues from the Pont du Saint Esprit, and fifty-two from Lyons.

† The river Sorgues take its rise from the spring at Vaucluse

and oppose the garrison of Noues, that held out for the pope. He then fixed his head-quarters at Saint Verain, near Avignon, and his army was daily increasing. The city of Avignon was now so completely surrounded, that nothing could enter by land or water without leave. The séneschal of Beaucaire's quarters were at Villeneuve, close to Avignon, though belonging to France, and he, with five hundred combatants, guarded that side of the town. The marshal of France, with two thousand men-at-arms, was on the opposite side: he sent notice to the townsmen, that if they did not open their gates, and submit themselves to his will, he would burn and destroy all the houses and vineyards as far as the river Durance. This greatly dismayed the inhabitants of both sexes, who had their inheritances in that part of the country, and they called a council, to which they admitted the cardinals of Amiens, Poitiers, Neufchâteau, and Viviers, to have their advice. The townsmen, who were the most interested in the marshal's menace, informed the meeting of their fears lest he should execute it, saying it was made by orders from the king of France, whom they were not prepared to resist, nor could they do so with effect, for he was too near a neighbor; and that, considering all things, it would be much better to submit themselves to the king of France than remain obstinate in the support of Benedict, who was unable to afford them any assistance. They asked the cardinals if they would join them. The cardinals said they would. Provisions began to be scarce in Avignon; besides, their benefices were in France, which they would not lose; and they agreed with the townsmen in their treaty with the marshal. The terms of the treaty were, that he and his army should be admitted into Avignon, to besiege the palace, but that no violence should be done to the cardinals, their dependents, nor the townsmen. This the marshal, the French lords, and captains of the men-at-arms, swore faithfully to observe. When this was done the army entered the town, and lodged themselves at their ease, for it was large enough, and took off all obstructions on the Rhône and at the gates, to allow free liberty for the entrance of provisions.

Pope Benedict was much cast down, when he heard that his cardinals and the townsmen had concluded a treaty with the marshal of France, without consulting him. He said he would never surrender, so long as he had breath, and shut himself up in his palace, which is very strong and handsome, and easy to be defended, provided it be well stored with provisions. The pope sent off letters by messengers, before the marshal entered Avignon, to the king of Arragon, humbly entreating him to come and succor him in his distress, and to send him men-at-arms sufficient to oppose the marshal of France. He added, that if he could be extricated from the situation in which he was, and conveyed to Arragon, he would establish the holy see at Perpignan or at Barcelona. The king of Arragon carefully perused these letters, but paid little attention to their contents. He said to those near his person: "What! does this priest suppose that I am to involve myself in a war with the king of France to support his quarrel? I should indeed be blameworthy, were I to interfere." "Sire," replied his knights, "what you say is true: you have no business to meddle with such matters; for you must know that the king of France has been ably advised, and has just cause to act as he does. Leave the clergy to themselves; and if they wish for support, they must subject themselves to those lords from whose countries they receive the amount of their benefices. They have too long held them undisturbed, and they ought to feel and be sensible whence their wealth arises. The king of France has besides written to entreat that you would agree with him in a neutrality between the two popes. Accept his invitation, for the queen, who is his cousin-german, has done so; and the greater part of the kingdom and clergy are willing to do the same; for we hold, especially the Catalonians, that this opinion is the surest; otherwise, should the Christian princes not unite in the same, there will never be any union in the church, from the divisions of these two popes." Thus did the king of Arragon and his lords converse on the subject, while poor Benedict, shut up in his palace, was looking in vain for assistance being sent him from Arragon. The marshal of France was in Avignon, and the palace, so strictly invested, nothing could enter it, which forced those within to live on the provisions they had. Of food there was a sufficiency for two or three years; but, as there was a scarcity of fuel to dress their victuals, they began to be alarmed at the consequences.

The king of France held a weekly correspondence with the lord Boucicaut, on the state of Benedict; and the king ordered him not to depart until he had completed the business with the pope. He therefore increased the guard round the palace, to prevent him issuing forth. The conclusion was, that Benedict, finding himself thus constrained, that there was no fuel, and that their provisions were daily decreasing, without any assistance coming to his aid, begged for mercy, through the mediation of some of his cardinals. The terms of the treaty were, that he was not to leave the palace of Avignon until union should be restored to the church; that he should be put under the guard of proper persons; and that the cardinals and richest citizens of Avignon should be responsible for his appearance, dead or alive. This satisfied the marshal. Those cardinals who had benefices in France exerted themselves much to conclude this treaty, declaring unanimously they would comply with the orders of the king of France. Thus ended this business, and the men-at-arms marched away from Avignon, every one to his own home.

CHAPTER CI.

THE MARSHAL BOUCICAUT RETURNS TO HUNGARY AGAINST THE TURKS. THE EARL OF DERBY SENDS TO REQUEST PERMISSION OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER TO ACCOMPANY BOUCICAUT IN THIS EXPEDITION. THE KING OF ENGLAND IS SOLICITED BY THE KING OF FRANCE TO ENGAGE HIS SUBJECTS TO A NEUTRALITY BETWEEN THE TWO POPES, UNTIL A NEW ELECTION SHALL TAKE PLACE; BUT THEY REFUSE COMPLIANCE WITH THEIR MONARCH'S REQUEST.

After this exploit, the marshal Boucicaut returned to Paris, and shortly after made preparations to go to Hungary; for the king had written to the king of France, to his uncles, and to the knights and squires of France, that Bajazet was assembling a large army of Turks, Arabians, Persians, Tartars, Syrians, and others of his religion. The king of Hungary was in consequence desirous of collecting a numerous force to oppose him, and offer him battle with more advantage than the last.

The earl of Derby, who resided at Paris at the hôtel de Clisson, near the Temple, was very desirous to go on the expedition to Hungary, to avoid putting the king of France to further expense; for he received from the French treasury, every week, five hundred golden crowns for his expenses, which his people were most punctually paid. On the first mention of this expedition, the earl of Derby eagerly listened to it; for he felt himself under great obligations to the king of France, and was unwilling to be a charge on him longer. He likewise thought that he should gain honor by going to Hungary, and that it would make the time of his banishment the sooner pass away. He consulted his confidential servants, who advised him to undertake it, but first to solicit the consent of his father the duke of Lancaster. The earl, in consequence, sent to England the knight nearest his person, to learn the pleasure of his father, and how he would advise him to act. When the knight, whose name was Dinorth,* arrived at London, he heard the duke of Lancaster was at his castle of Hertford, about twenty miles from London, whither he went, and related to him the earl of Derby's wish to join the expedition to Hungary. When the duke had heard all he had to say, he was well contented with the state of his son, and bade him welcome, adding, that what he had said, and the letters he had brought, demanded consideration. You will rest yourself here while we deliberate on the subject; and, in the mean time, you must see my son's children, to give them news of their father, and carry intelligence of them to him, for that he will expect from you." "My lord," replied the knight, "what you say is true." Thus did he, by desire of the duke, stay some little time in England.

The king of France sent embassadors to Germany, to inform the emperor that he had laid hands on Benedict, who for a time had styled himself pope. These embassadors were the patriarch of Jerusalem, sir Charles de Hangiers, and others of his knights: they set out for Germany, and met the emperor at Strasbourg, to whom they satisfactorily delivered their message. The emperor and his council said they would deliberate on the matter, but would gladly first know the determination of the king of England, for which the king of France had taken on himself to answer. Upon this, the embassy returned to France, and reported what you have just read. The king of France, to hasten the business, sent a grand embassy to England to remonstrate with the king on the present distracted state of the church. The king of England would willingly have joined the king of France, but he had not his prelates nor his churchmen and subjects as much under his command as his father-in-law kept them in France. All this he told in confidence to the French embassadors, at the same time, promising them to do his utmost to comply with the king of France's request.

The French embassadors returned to Paris; and king Richard, in consequence of his wishes to please his father-in-law, summoned a meeting of the prelates and clergy of his realm, at his palace of Westminster, which is out of the city of London. When they met, he eloquently harangued them on the miserable schism in the church, and the plan the king of France had adopted, of remaining neuter between the two rival popes, according to the advice of the university of Paris, and other learned clerks. The kings of Scotland, Castille, Arragon, and Navarre had followed this example, and all Germany, Bohemia, and Italy intended doing the same. He therefore entreated that his kingdom would adopt the like measures. When the prelates, who were ignorant why they had been assembled, heard this speech, they were greatly astonished, and were silent. Several murmured, and said: "Our king is quite a Frenchman: his only wish is to disgrace and ruin us, but he shall not succeed. What! does he want us to change our creed? He may go so far that evil will befal him. We will do nothing in this matter, since the king of France proposes it. Let him keep to his neutrality, if he please, and we will keep our creed. We will never suffer any attempt to deprive us of it, unless better reasons can be shown than those we have just heard."

The king, seeing them thus murmur together, made the bishop of London, who had laid the proposals of neutrality before them, ask what determination were best to be taken. They replied, one by one, that the matter was so weighty, great deliberation was requisite

* "Dinorth" The MSS. have Du Roch. Q. if not Dymocke.

before any answer could be made. Upon this, the meeting broke up, and the clergy who had been assembled retired to their inns in the city of London. The citizens, learning from them the cause of the meeting, and the proposition that the king had made them, were greatly angered against him, for in England the belief in the pope of Rome was general. They said: "This Richard of Bordeaux will ruin everything, if he be suffered to go on. His head is so thoroughly French, he cannot disguise it; but a day may come when he shall pay for all without having time to repent, and so shall those who have been his advisers.

Things continued in this state; and all his solicitations and remonstrances with his clergy to remain neuter obtained not any attention. The king of France and his council were dissatisfied that king Richard had not instantly determined his country to be neuter, but in truth he could not prevail with his clergy to do so; and shortly after there fell out such horrible events that the like are not to be found in this whole history, nor in that of any other Christian king, except that noble prince Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, whom his brother and the Cypriots villainously murdered.

CHAPTER CII.

THE ANSWER THE DUKE OF LANCASTER GIVES THE KNIGHT WHO HAD BEEN SENT TO HIM BY THE EARL OF DERBY, TO REQUEST HIS PERMISSION TO JOIN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE TURKS. THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

When the chevalier Dinorth, who had been sent by the earl of Derby to the duke of Lancaster, had received answers to the letters he had brought, and had visited all the castles of the earl his lord, and waited on his four sons and two daughters, who had remained in England, he took leave and returned to France. The answer from the duke of Lancaster was, that he would not advise his son to go into Hungary, but, when tired of France, to visit Castille and Portugal, and amuse himself at the courts of his brothers-in-law and sisters. The earl of Derby read these letters twice over and mused some time on their contents. His knight told him in confidence that the duke of Lancaster's physicians and surgeons had assured him the duke labored under so dangerous a disease it must soon cause his death.

This information made the earl give over all thoughts of travelling farther. He remained in Paris, at the hôtel de Clisson, which had been prepared for him and his attendants. He frequently visited the king, and the duke of Orleans and their uncles, who entertained him handsomely. The earl was so sensible of their attentions, that he said to the king of France: "My lord, you pay me so much honor and courtesy, and give me proofs of such affection, that I know not how I shall ever be able to make you any return; but, if it please God that I go back to England, I will not forget them in my attachment to our queen, your daughter, whom God preserve!" "Many thanks, fair cousin," replied the king. It happened, that about Christmas-tide, duke John of Lancaster fell dangerously ill of a disorder which ended his life, to the great grief of all his friends. He had been some time very low spirited, on account of the banishment of his son, whom his nephew king Richard had forced out of England for a very trifling cause, and also for the manner in which the kingdom was governed, which, if persevered in, he foresaw must be its ruin. The king of England, as it seemed, was little affected by his uncle's death, and he was soon forgotten.

Many of the nobles, but not all, were uneasy the kingdom was so weakened by the deaths of the dukes of Lancaster, Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel, and that the earl of Derby was banished, who ought to be now duke of Lancaster by legal succession. Some said: "We shall see what the king will do. It is time that he recal his cousin the earl of Derby, and remit his further punishment, though there was scarcely any justice in it. It is proper that he return to take possession of his lands, and do homage as duke of Lancaster." Such speeches were common throughout England, but especially in London, where the earl of Derby was a hundred times more beloved than king Richard. Notwithstanding these murmurs, and that he was spoken to on the subject, as well as his ministers, nothing was done: on the contrary, the king showed he was more irritated against the earl. In this he was very badly advised; for if, on the death of his uncle, he had sent for the earl of Derby, and said to him: "Fair cousin, you are welcome. You are now duke of Lancaster, and, after us, the greatest personage in the realm: we will, therefore, that you remain with us; and we will be governed by your counsels, and do nothing without your approbation;" he would then have continued king of England, and avoided the unfortunate end that was awaiting him: the catastrophe was now so near at hand that he could no way avoid it, as you shall speedily hear.

CHAPTER CIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES THE KING OF FRANCE ACQUAINTED WITH THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, BUT DOES NOT NOTICE IT TO THE EARL OF DERBY, THOUGH SON TO THE LATE DUKE.

The news of the death of the duke of Lancaster was soon public in France. King Richard wrote an account of it to the king with a sort of joy, but did not notice it to the earl of Derby. The earl, however, knew it as soon, if not sooner than the king of France, from his people in England. He clothed himself and his attendants in deep mourning, as was right, and had his obsequies grandly performed; at which were present, the king of France, the duke of Orleans, their three uncles, and numbers of the prelates and great barons of France, for the earl was much liked by all. The French barons visited him often, and some were displeased at and took part in his misfortunes: he was an amiable knight, courteous and pleasant to every one, and it was currently said, the king of England was very ill advised not to recal him. To say the truth, if the king had wisely considered consequences, he would have done it: affairs would not have turned out so miserably as they did. The earl of Derby was now, by the death of his father, duke of Lancaster, and the most potent baron in England, second to none but the king, and by his advice the king should be governed.

The king and his ministers should not have forgotten that the people of England, more particularly the Londoners, had frequently risen against the government; that the king was not popular with any rank of men; and that, during the life of the duke of Gloucester, he had suffered many vexations, and even personal danger. When the citizens of London and the deputies from the great towns waited on the king at Eltham, to petition for the abolition of the war taxes, their plan was (by the secret advice of the duke of Gloucester and other lords,) to seize the king and queen, and choose another in his room. King Richard and his queen were to be confined and allowed a sufficiency for their maintenance during their lives. The duke of Gloucester had requested his nephew, son to the daughter of the duke of Clarence, called John earl of March, to take charge of the government of England; but he had excused himself from so doing, and the meeting was dismissed in tolerable good humor by the prudence and temper of the duke of Lancaster, and Richard reigned with greater prosperity than before. The king was not unacquainted with these designs against him; and by the wicked counsel of those about his person, who gave him to understand the duke of Gloucester was at the bottom of this plot, under pretence of great affection he had him arrested in the night, and carried over to Calais, where he was strangled. This caused a great noise in England, and proposals were made for dethroning the king; but the duke of Lancaster, with his usual prudence and wisdom, although the duke of Gloucester was his brother, and he was sorely afflicted by his death, considering he could not restore him to life and the consequences that might ensue, again appeased these discontents; and his nephew, king Richard, was more feared than ever.

The king ought to have remembered all these circumstances, and likewise that the earl of Derby was the most popular man in England with every description of men, and should therefore instantly, on the death of his father, have recalled him. But the king had no such inclination: on the contrary, he immediately sent his officers to take possession of his lands and seize their rents, declaring, that, during his banishment, neither the earl nor his family should receive any of his revenues in England. He also, to the great vexation of such as were attached to the earl or his children, disposed of several estates in the duchy of Lancaster to some of his knights, and to whoever asked for them. The English barons greatly blamed him for this, and said: "It is clear the king of England bears no goodwill to his cousin, the earl of Derby, when he refuses to recal him, and suffer him to take possession of his inheritance. He would, with his children, be a grand support to the crown, and a staff to lean on, but he acts quite contrary, by thus keeping him out of the kingdom, in a disagreeable state, and which he would make worse if he could. He has taken possession of his lands, and sent hither his officers, as if they were legally his own, who treat the tenants worse than any in England: should they complain, during the absence of their lord, they are not attended to. It is no sign of affection or justice toward the earl of Derby and his children, when he thus seizes the inheritance of Lancaster, that descends to them as the true heirs of the lady Blanche, daughter of Henry duke of Lancaster, and likewise that from their mother, the daughter of the earl of Hereford and Northampton, and constable of England, which he is daily distributing piece-meal to any person according to his pleasure. This conduct is contrary to reason and justice, and so greatly disliked by the good people of England, that things cannot longer remain in their present state."

Such conversations were general among the nobles, prelates, and commonalty of England. In like manner, the lords in France, who heard of this matter, and were acquainted with the earl of Derby, wondered at it, and said: "According to our opinion, this king of England has formed too great a hatred against the earl of Derby, who is his cousin-german. He is a graceful and courteous knight to all who address him. Either the king of England knows some things of him that we do not, or he is miserably advised: it is surprising the king of France, his brother the duke of Orleans, and their uncles of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, do not interfere in the business, for he is daily with some of them. They would have greater weight than any others, and the king of England would do more to please them from love to his queen, who is daughter to the king of France; but, as they have not taken any steps in the matter, it behooves us to hold our peace." In truth, the king of France and

his family were perfectly well disposed toward the earl of Derby, whom they greatly respected, and wished always for his company. It was considered that he was a widower, likely to marry again, and that the duke of Berry had a daughter, who though so young, was a widow of two husbands: she had been first married to Louis de Blois, who had died in his youth, and then to the lord Philip d'Artois, count d'Eu, who died in Turkey, as you have read in this history. Mary of Berry was not more than twenty-three years old, and a marriage between her and the earl of Derby was talked of and nearly concluded.

The duke of Berry knew well that the earl of Derby was the greatest heir-apparent in England, as did the king of France, who was anxious this match should take place, on account of his daughter being queen of England. It was natural to imagine that two such ladies, so nearly related, would be agreeable company to each other, and that the kingdoms of France and England would enjoy longer peace, and be more intimately connected. All this would probably have been true, if it could have been accomplished, but king Richard and his council broke off all these measures. Whatever misfortunes fate has decreed cannot be prevented; they must have their course; and those that befel king Richard are wonderful indeed to think on. He might indeed have avoided them, but what must be will be.

I, John Froissart, author of these chronicles, will literally say what, in my younger days, I heard at a mansion called Berkhampstead, distant from London thirty miles, and which, at the time I am speaking of, in the year of our Lord 1361, belonged to the prince of Wales, father to king Richard. As the prince and princess were about to leave England for Aquitaine, to hold their state, the king of England, queen Philippa, my mistress, the dukes of Clarence, Lancaster, the lord Edmund, who was afterwards earl of Cambridge and duke of York, with their children, came to this mansion to visit the prince and take leave of him. I was at that time twenty-four years old, and one of the clerks of the chamber to my lady the queen. During this visit, as I was seated on a bench, I heard the following conversation from a knight to some of the ladies of the queen. He said: "There was in that country a book called Brut, which many say contains the prophecies of Merlin. According to its contents, neither the prince of Wales nor duke of Clarence, though sons to king Edward, will wear the crown of England, but it will fall to the house of Lancaster." When the knight said this, the earl of Derby was not born: his birth was seven years after. This prophecy, however, was verified, for I have since seen Henry, earl of Derby, king of England.

CHAPTER CIV.

THE TREATY OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE EARL OF DERBY AND THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF BERRY IS BROKEN OFF BY THE KING OF ENGLAND, THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

The moment king Richard learnt that a treaty of marriage was going forward, with the approbation of all parties, between the earl of Derby and the lady Mary of Berry, he became very thoughtful and much displeased thereat. He said to the earl of Salisbury, in whom he had great confidence: "My lord, you must make yourself ready to go to Paris; I will give you credential letters to the king our father, and to our well-beloved brother and uncles. Tell them to beware of forming any alliance or marriage with such a traitor as the earl of Derby, who would have betrayed his sovereign: you are perfectly acquainted with the fact: and, with your good understanding, act in such wise that I shall be satisfied, and this marriage be put aside." The earl of Salisbury replied: "Sire, I shall punctually obey all your commands; but, if this marriage could be broken off by any other means than mine, I shall be very thankful to you." "Earl of Salisbury," answered the king, "make no excuses; for I will and entreat that you go thither, and whatever may be the consequences I will support you through them." "Well, sire," said the earl, "since you specially command me, and the matter seems to interest you so much, I will undertake it, but I go very unwillingly." "Hasten your preparation as much as you can," replied the king, "that the treaty of marriage be not too far advanced."

The earl of Salisbury was soon ready, and, having had his credential letters sealed, he departed from the king, who at the time resided with his queen at Leeds-castle. He carried with him private letters from the queen to the king and queen of France, and to her brother the duke of Orleans, and, hastening his journey, arrived at Dover, where, the wind being favorable, he embarked, and landed at Calais. He was received by the king's half-brother, the earl of Huntingdon, governor of Calais, to whom he told part of his business. He made no long stay at Calais, but continued his road through Amiens to Paris, and wherever he passed he was well entertained. On his arrival at Paris, he lodged at the White Horse, in the square of the Greve.* After he had dressed himself, he waited on the king and queen, and delivered his credential letters: when the king of France had perused them, he took the earl of Salisbury aside and demanded his business. The earl related to him very minutely everything he had been charged with by the king of England, and called the earl of Derby a traitor to his natural lord. The king, on hearing this expression, was angered (for he had taken so strong a liking to the earl of Derby, that he would not hear anything said in his dispraise,) and gave back the letters to the earl, saying: "Earl of Salisbury, we readily believe what you tell us; but our son of England bears too great a hatred to our cousin of Derby, and we wonder he has continued it so long, for we think that his court would be better adorned if he were near his person, and those who have the most weight in his council ought to advise him to recal his cousin." "Very dear sire," replied the earl of Salisbury, "I only act as I have been ordered." "That is true," said the king: "we are not angry with you, for perchance our son may know of these matters more than we can: execute the commission you have been charged with." The earl then waited on the duke of Berry, and delivered his message from king Richard. The duke made no answer, but went to the king at the hôtel de Saint Pol, and asked if he had received any news from England. The king told him all that had passed between him and the earl of Salisbury, and a privy council of the king's uncles and principal lords, was summoned on the occasion. They said: "The king of England must fear very much the earl of Derby, from circumstances that we are ignorant of, and that have not been made public. We ought to be more attached to him than the earl of Derby, from his connection with us by marriage; and, as we have been informed, he will be greatly displeased if we proceed in the marriage of the earl of Derby with the countess d'Eu, we must break it off. We have only to conceal what we have heard from England until the earl of Salisbury be returned."

The king and his council adopted this resolution. When the earl of Salisbury had completed the business he had been sent on to Paris, he took leave of the king and his lords, and departed. The king, however, showed he was more displeased than otherwise at the intelligence he had brought, and returned to the earl his credential letters, refusing to accept of them, from his partiality to the earl of Derby. This last knew of the earl of Salisbury being at Paris, but they never saw each other; and the earl of Salisbury returned to Calais without speaking to the earl of Derby, and thence to England to report the success of his mission.

The earl of Derby was much displeased that the earl of Salisbury should leave Paris without seeing him, and augured from it nothing favorable. His council were of the same opinion, and said to him: "My lord, you will soon perceive such things as you little dream of, although they are as yet hid from you. The French are a close and subtle people: perhaps the king of England and his minions are vexed that the king of France and his court show you such honor and affection; perhaps also it may be rumored in England that you propose marrying the lady Mary of Berry, and king Richard, to whom this intelligence will not be agreeable, has sent over to have it broken off: should that be the case, you will speedily hear of it." Thus, as the knights and council of the earl of Derby had supposed matters were, did they turn out. About a month after the departure of the earl of Salisbury, the commissioners from the earl of Derby renewed the matter of the marriage with the lady Mary of Berry: but those on the part of the duke replied: "Tell my lord of Derby, that when he is in the presence of the king and his brother the duke of Orleans, he may propose this business himself; for we cannot say more on the subject, since it is not agreeable to our employers that we longer interfere in it."

These words were repeated to the earl of Derby, who suspected nothing more was meant by it than to hasten the marriage; for the king of France and his lords had shown outwardly as much eagerness for the match as ever. He remembered what had been told him, and at a proper opportunity, when the king and his lords were together, renewed his proposal of marriage. The duke of Burgundy, having been charged with the answer, replied, "Cousin of Derby, we cannot think of marrying our cousin to a traitor." The earl instantly changed color on hearing this expression, and said: "Sir, I am in the presence of my lord the king, and must interrupt your speech, to answer the expression you have used. I never was nor never thought of being a traitor; and if any one dare to charge me with treason, I am ready to answer him now, or at whatever time it may please the king to appoint." "No, cousin," said the king, "I do not believe you will find any man in France that will challenge your honor. The expression my uncle has used comes from England." The earl of Derby cast himself on his knees, and replied, "My lord, I willingly believe you: may God preserve all my friends, and confound mine enemies!" The king made the earl rise, and said: "Earl, be appeased: all this matter will end well; and when you shall be on good terms with every one, we can then talk of marriage. But it will be first necessary that you have possession of your duchy of Lancaster; for it is the custom of France, and of many countries on this side the sea, that when a lord marries with the consent of his lord paramount, should he have one, he settles a dower on his wife." Upon this, wine and spices were brought: the conversation ended; and, when the king retired to his closet, every one went away.

The earl of Derby, on his return to the hôtel de Clisson, was bitterly enraged, and not without reason, to be accused of treason, when he thought himself one of the most loyal knights in the universe, and in the presence too of the king of France, who had shown him so

* The MSS. say, "at the château de Festus, in the rue du Tiroir."

much affection and courtesy, and that this accusation should have been brought from England by the earl of Salisbury. His knights pacified him as well as they could, by saying: "My lord, whoever wishes to live in this world, must sometimes suffer trouble. Comfort yourself for the present, and bear all things with patience: perhaps you will hereafter have it made up in joy and glory. Of all the lords on this side of the sea, the king of France loves you the most, and, from what we hear and see, he will instantly prevent any insult being offered you. You should be thankful to him and his uncles for having kept this matter secret during the stay of the earl of Salisbury, and until he was landed in England." "Indeed!" replied the earl: "I should have thought it more loyal to have made the charge while he was here, than to have waited so long. I could then have been enabled sufficiently to exculpate myself in the presence of the king and his lords, so that my innocency would have been apparent; but I must now submit to the disgrace until I shall wipe it off." "My lord," answered the knights, "all faults cannot be corrected at once: have patience, we hope things will turn out better in England than you think. The affection the whole country bear you will very soon, if it please God, deliver you from all dangers." Thus did his knights attempt to comfort the earl of Derby, who was more cast down than man ever was; and what they had uttered by chance, for consolation, turned out true, as I shall now relate.

It was known in England that the earl of Salisbury had been sent to France with credential letters, and that, on the strength of them, he had accused the earl of Derby to the king of France and his uncles, as a perjured, false, and wicked traitor, which words had greatly angered many of the prelates and barons of the kingdom. They said, when among themselves: "The earl of Salisbury has done very wrong to carry such a message to France, and make so heavy a charge against the most honorable man in the world. The day will come when he shall repent of this, and say, 'It weighs heavily on me that I ever carried a message to France against the earl of Derby.'" The Londoners were exceedingly enraged against the king and his ministers for their conduct, and said: "Ah, gallant and courteous earl of Derby, how great are the jealousies and hatreds against thee, when, to overwhelm thee with disgrace and vexation, they charge thee with treason! It was not enough for the king and his minions to force thee out of the kingdom, but they must add this charge also; but, by God, all things have an end, and their turn may come." "Alas!" cried the people, "what have his children done? when the king seizes their inheritance, which ought to be theirs by direct succession from grandfather and father. There must be some change in public measures, for we neither can nor will suffer them to go on longer."

CHAPTER CV.

KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND PROCLAIMS A TOURNAMENT, WHICH IS ATTENDED BY VERY FEW PERSONS. ON SETTING OUT FOR IRELAND HE BANISHES THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND HIS SON THE KINGDOM.

Soon after the return of the earl of Salisbury from France to England, king Richard had proclaimed throughout his realm and in Scotland, that a grand tournament would be held at Windsor, by forty knights and forty squires, clothed in green, with the device of a white falcon, against all comers, and that the queen of England, well attended by ladies and damsels, would be at this feast. The queen was indeed present at the tournament in magnificent array, but very few of the barons attended; the greater part of the knights and squires of England were disgusted with the king, for the banishment of the earl of Derby, the injuries he was doing the earl's children, the murder of the duke of Gloucester, that had been committed in the castle of Calais, the death of the earl of Arundel, whom he had beheaded in London, and the perpetual exile of the earl of Warwick. None of the kindred of these lords came to the feast, which was of course very poorly attended.

The king, after this tournament, made preparations to go to Ireland. He left his queen, Isabella, and her household at Windsor castle, and took the road to Bristol, where he laid in ample purveyances and stores. He had with him full two thousand lances, knights and squires, and ten thousand archers. When the Londoners heard he was set out, they began to murmur together and say: "Well! Richard of Bordeaux has taken the road to Bristol for Ireland. It will be his destruction: never will he return thence to joy, more than his ancestor, king Edward, who governed his realm so foolishly, through the counsels of the Despencers, and paid for it. This Richard of Bordeaux has confided so long in weak and wicked counsellors, that it cannot longer be borne."

You must know, that although many barons, knights, and squires accompanied the king in his expedition to Ireland, they were much discontented with him, and did not follow him with a good will. When they were together, they conversed, saying, "Our king governs very badly, and too readily believes weak counsel." This was so often and so loudly spoken of throughout the realm, particularly by the earl of Northumberland and his son Harry Percy, that the king's ministers heard of it and said to the king: "Sire, the earl of Northumberland and his son say things that must not be suffered, for they want to excite your subjects to rise against you. Every rebel must be punished, one after another, that the greatest barons may fear you, and take example." "That is true," replied the king: "how shall I act on this occasion?" "We will tell you, sire: they are to join this expedition, but not yet arrived. When they come, order them to your presence by the earl of Salisbury or any other you please, and then remonstrate with them on the injurious speeches they have uttered against you and your ministers. You will hear what answer they make, and, as that may be, consider how you shall punish them, by imprisonment or otherwise." The king replied, "You say well, and what you advise shall be done."

The earl of Northumberland and his son had good friends on this expedition, by whom great part of the secret councils of the king were revealed: they were strongly advised not to join the armament nor appear in the king's presence, for that he was so wroth with them, they would at least be severely reprimanded, if not imprisoned. On hearing this, they retarded their journey toward Bristol; for, according to the intelligence sent them, had they come, they would have run a risk of their lives. The king's ministers, perceiving the earl of Northumberland did not arrive, said to him, "See, sire, if we did not tell you the truth: neither the earl of Northumberland nor his son condescend to serve you, although ordered; and, if you send them a special summons, you will have a confirmation that what we have told you is true." The king said, it should be done. Letters were signed, sealed, and sent off by a special messenger, containing orders for the earl of Northumberland and sir Henry Percy instantly to join the king's forces, and perform their duties as they were bounden to do. The messenger continued his journey to a very handsome castle* of the earl of Northumberland, on the borders of Scotland, and delivered his letters. The earl read them attentively, and then gave them to his son.

They determined to entertain the messenger well, and to write to the king to excuse themselves, as they were no way prepared, nor could they leave their own country, as the king had a sufficiency of men for the business he was going upon. The messenger returned with his answers and gave them to the king; but they were not agreeable to him nor to his ministers, and for this and other charges, which were publicly made against the earl of Northumberland and his son, they were banished England, never to return until recalled by the king. This sentence was published in London, and in all the towns of England, to the great astonishment of the citizens, who could not conceive why they had thus been so severely punished; for they had always considered the earl of Northumberland and sir Henry Percy as two of the most loyal subjects in the realm. Some said, when conversing on this matter, that "the ministers of the king hated them, and would in the end cause their master's destruction. It may be that the earl and his son have talked too freely about the king's ministers, and his foolish government: and, as truth is not always agreeable, these gallant knights suffer for it; but those who have now judged them may hereafter have their turn."

Such were the conversations of the discontented Londoners, as well as of the majority of the English people. The earl and his son were connected by blood with the noblest and richest families, who were exasperated by their banishment; and among them his brother, sir Thomas Percy, who had done many very great services to the crown of England. When the earl heard of his banishment, he summoned all his friends and relations; but many were with the king and could not attend. On their assembling, he consulted them how he should act in the disgrace the king had so undeservedly heaped on him; and it was determined to send to Scotland, to request the king would afford the earl and his son an asylum in that country until affairs should mend, or the king's anger be pacified. This resolution was adopted, and a messenger sent to the king of Scotland to make the above request. King Robert, the earl Archibald of Douglas, and the barons of Scotland, cheerfully complied with it, and returned for answer, that the kingdom was ready to receive them; and, if they wanted five or six hundred lances, they would be instantly at their service, on hearing from them. This answer was highly pleasing to the earl of Northumberland and his kindred; and things remained in this state, the earl in his own country among his friends; for king Richard and his advisers had in a short time so much to do, that they had no leisure to attend to the earl of Northumberland, nor to say to him, "Quit the kingdom, or we will force you." They were obliged to give up all thoughts but for their own safety, as you will hear in the course of this history.

CHAPTER CVI.

THE ENGLISH, AND PARTICULARLY THE LONDONERS, RISE IN FAVOR OF THE EARL OF DERBY AGAINST KING RICHARD.

During the time king Richard was holding his court at Bristol and in that neighborhood, there was a general insurrection of the people of England. The courts of justice were closed; at which many of the prelates, barons and prudent part of the people, who only wanted for peace and to pay what was lawful, were much dejected. A stop was put to all traffic, for merchants dared not travel for fear of being robbed, and having no courts to apply to for redress. All these things

* Alnwick.

were very prejudicial, and contrary to the usual customs of the country; for in general all people, laborers and tradesmen, lived peaceably, and followed their occupations without hindrance, but it was now quite the contrary. When merchants went with their goods from one town to another, and had any money in their purses, it was taken from them. The farmers' houses were pillaged of grain, and their beeves, pigs and sheep carried away, without the owners daring to say a word. These enormities increased so much, there was nothing but complaints heard. The common people said, "Times are sadly changed for the worse since the days of king Edward of happy memory. Justice was then rigorous in punishing the wicked. Then there was no man in England daring enough to take a fowl or sheep without paying for them, but now they carry off all things, and we must not speak. This cannot go on without the country being ruined, and yet no one attempts to check it. We have a good-for-nothing king, who only attends to his idle pleasures; and, as it should seem, he cares not how public affairs are managed, so that his inclinations are gratified We must look for a remedy, or our enemies and ill-wishers will be rejoiced and laugh at us. King Richard has made his brother the earl of Huntingdon, governor of Calais, and perchance there may be some underhand treaties going forward to surrender it to the French, although it be so necessary and convenient to England: should this happen no nation will be ever more discomfited than the English, and with good reason, for they will lose the keys of the entrance to France." These murmurings and discontents multiplied; and the prelates and rich barons came to live in London, that they might avoid the troubles and dangers which were increasing throughout the kingdom. The families of those whom the king had put to death or banished, were rejoiced, and looked out for greater mischiefs as the consequence.

The citizens of London, who being rich from their trade, are enabled to live in state, and by whom the other parts of England are generally governed, foresaw that most dangerous consequences would ensue, unless they stepped forward, as they had wisely done formerly against king Edward and the Despencers, who had forced queen Isabella and the prince of Wales out of the kingdom, and wanted to destroy them. The king had no cause for so doing, but they were absent from England three years. When the Londoners perceived king Edward so besotted with the Despencers, they provided a remedy by sending secretly to queen Isabella information, that if she could collect a body of three hundred armed men, and land with them in England, she would find the citizens of London and the majority of the nobles and commonalty, ready to join her, and place her on the throne. The queen found a friend in sir John of Hainault, lord of Beaumont and Chimay, and brother to count William of Hainault, who undertook, through affection and pity, to carry her and her son back to England. He exerted himself so much in her service, with knights and squires, that he collected a body of four hundred, and landed them in England, to the great comfort of the Londoners. The citizens joined them, for, without their assistance they would never have accomplished their enterprise. King Edward was made prisoner at Bristol, and carried to Berkeley castle, where he died. His advisers were all put to death with much cruelty; and that same day king Edward III. was crowned king of England, in the palace of Westminster.

The Londoners remembered all these circumstances very well; for the children of those days, now become men, had often had them told by their fathers, and others read them in the chronicles of those times. They therefore said one to another privately: "Our ancestors, in former days, provided a remedy for the mischiefs that afflicted the country, which were not so alarming as at this moment: if this wicked king Richard be suffered to rule according to his pleasure, we must all be ruined, and the country destroyed. Ever since he began his reign the kingdom has not prospered to the degree in which it did before: he shows no signs of being the son of the prince of Wales; for, if he were his son, he would follow his manners, and take pleasure in imitating his prowess, instead of idly dallying with ladies, and spending his time among them, or putting his confidence in those who have neither weight nor sense, but in amassing treasures and destroying England. Have not the traitors near his person infamously murdered that valiant duke of Gloucester, because he saw clearly public affairs were badly governed, going on from bad to worse, and spoke boldly the truth concerning them? Have they not also put to death that gallant knight the earl of Arundel, and banished England, without reason, the gentle sir Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, by whom, and his four promising sons, the kingdom ought to be supported? This cruel conduct is much aggravated; for, while they make the earl suffer many disgusts beyond sea, they have disinherited his children of the estates that devolved to them from their grandmother, the lady Blanche of Lancaster, by dividing and distributing them daily to those who are unworthy to possess them. Because those two gallant knights, the earl of Northumberland and sir Henry Percy, have spoken their minds on this subject, king Richard has also banished them: it is clear there will not soon be any men of courage and honesty in the country, and hatreds and discontent are now increasing everywhere, so that if a remedy be not sought for, all things will fall to ruin. The remedy is in the earl of Derby, who is now losing his time in France: him we must send for, and on his arrival, appoint him regent of the kingdom, that he may reform all abuses, and punish those who have used him so ill. Richard of Bordeaux must be arrested and confined in the tower of London, when all his actions will be examined and put into writing, which are sufficiently numerous, and will prove clearly he is unworthy to govern a kingdom and wear a crown: his acts are so infamous, that they will condemn him."

CHAPTER CVII.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IS SENT TO FRANCE BY THE LONDONERS, AND OTHERS OF THEIR PARTY IN ENGLAND, TO BRING BACK THE EARL OF DERBY.

Such was the language of the Londoners, and of many others throughout England; but, although much was done to excite the people to insurrection, they would never have attempted what they did, if the Londoners had not set them the example. The citizens of London, who, from their power and wealth, lead the rest of England, held several secret councils, to which were admitted some prelates and knights, when they resolved to send in search of the earl of Derby, who was residing at Paris or thereabout, and bring him back to England. On his return they were to remonstrate with him on the weak government of wicked king Richard, and propose, if he would undertake it, to give him the crown, and elect him and his heirs kings for ever, on condition that he promised to govern according to ancient usages of the country. They next thought on the most proper person to send on this commission: he must be prudent and brave; for it would be a grand enterprise to seduce the earl from France, when the king and his uncles were showing him every token of love and courtesy; and he would not put any belief in the simple propositions of a low-born person, nor any letters that were sent him, but rather the contrary. In consequence, they entreated the archbishop of Canterbury,* a man of prudence and wisdom, to undertake it, who, for the good of his country, complied with the request. He made his preparations for the journey so privately, that none knew of his departure but those in the secret. He, with six more, embarked on board a vessel on the Thames, and landed at Sluys, thence he went to Ardembourg, Ghent, Oudenarde, Ath, Condé and Valenciennes, and stopped at the hôtel of the Swan, in the market-place. Having staid there three days to recover himself, he pursued his journey, not as archbishop of Canterbury, but like a simple monk on a pilgrimage, discovering to no one his rank, nor the business he was about. He departed from Valenciennes the fourth day, having hired a guide to conduct him to Paris, giving out that he was on a pilgrimage to Saint Maur des Fossés.† He arrived at length where the ear of Derby resided, which was, I believe, at the hôtel de Vinchester,‡ near Paris.

When the earl of Derby first saw the archbishop, his heart rejoiced and he recovered his spirits. Those about him were well pleased, for they concluded he had brought some important intelligence from England. The archbishop, however, did not discover the cause of his coming, and, to prevent any suspicions of it, said he was on a pilgrimage to Saint Maur des Fossés, which the earl's attendants believed and were satisfied. When the archbishop thought it was time to make the object of his journey known, he took the earl into a private chamber, and there informed him of the miserable state England was in; that violence and desolation ruled in many parts, and that, by the king's fault, there was neither law nor justice: that the Londoners, with some prelates and valiant men, had determined to remedy these evils, and that for this he had been sent by them to say, that if the earl would return to England (for he was wasting his time in France) they would make him king: Richard of Bordeaux had done, or consented to so many atrocious acts, that the people were indignant, and resolved to rise against him. "Now is the time or never," added the archbishop, "for you to seek your deliverance, and the advantage of yourself and children; for if you do not, no one else will for them, since this Richard of Bordeaux is giving away all their estates to his minions, or to whoever asks for them. The citizens of London, and many other gallant men, are greatly enraged at such conduct, and would amend it if they could, though hitherto they have been silent. He has filled up the measure of his crimes by the murder of the duke of Gloucester, the beheading of the earl of Arundel without cause, the exile of the earl of Warwick, and your banishment; clearly showing his intentions to deprive England of its nobles and the support she might have from them, for he has lately banished the earl of Northumberland and his son because they talked too freely of him and his ministers. The citizens of London and the greater part of the prelates and barons of England entreat you will not sleep over this business, but that you will take leave of the king of France and the French, and return home, where you will be joy-

* Thomas Fitz-alan, son to the earl of Arundel.

† Saint Maur des Fosses—a town in the Isle of France, diocese of Paris.

‡ Froissart has said before, the earl of Derby resided at the hotel de Clisson, near the Temple. This hotel de Vinchester was so called from having been built by John bishop of Winchester, 1204. It belonged, at the period we are now speaking of, to the duke of Berry.—Sauval, *Antiquités de Paris*.

There seems a mistake as to the name of the bishop of Winchester. Peter de Rupibus was bishop 1204, and died 1238.

This hotel de Vinchester is pronounced, by corruption, Bicêtre, and is now used as a prison, an hospital, and an asylum for lunatics: the buildings have been much extended in modern times.

fully received, and every promise I have made be punctually fulfilled, for the country desires none other than you for their king, so much are you beloved and respected."

When the earl of Derby had heard this speech of the archbishop, he did not immediately reply, but, leaning on a window that looked into the gardens, mused awhile, and having various thoughts in his mind, turned to the bishop, and said: "My lord, your speech requires much consideration. I would be unwilling to begin an enterprise and be forced to leave it unfinished, for I well know, that unless by the means you propose, it will be a long time before I return to England. I am loth to resort to this, for the king of France and his nobles have paid me every honor and attention, and will continue so to do, as long as I shall please to live among them. Should I accept of the offers and kind promises which you and my good friends the citizens of London make, I must subject myself to their will, arrest king Richard, and put him to death. For this I shall be universally blamed, and I would not willingly do so, if any other means could be adopted." "My lord," replied the archbishop, "I am sent hither with every good disposition toward you. Call in your council and lay before them the propositions I have made: I will also explain why I am deputed hither, and I do not think they will advise you to act otherwise than to accept them." "I consent," said the earl, "for such matters demand great consideration."

The earl of Derby sent for those knights and squires in whom he had the most confidence, and in their presence desired the archbishop to repeat what he had just told him; which being done, he asked their advice how he should act. They unanimously answered: "My lord, God has taken compassion on you: be careful how you refuse such offers, for you will never have more advantageous ones made you. Whoever will examine your blood, will find that it descends in a straight line from Saint Edward, king of England. Thank your good friends the Londoners for wishing to deliver you from exile, and for having pity on your children and the kingdom of England, which now is sorely troubled. Have you forgotten the many wrongs this Richard of Bordeaux has done you, and who does not dissemble his wishes to add to them daily. When your marriage with the lady Mary of Berry was on the point of being concluded, did he not send over the earl of Salisbury to break off the match, and to accuse you before the king and his whole court of being a false and wicked traitor? Such things are unpardonable, and you should rather seek for means of revenge. If you will not help yourself, no one will do it for you: consider well, therefore, all we have said."

Earl of Derby taking leave of the King and Lords of France at Paris. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

CHAPTER CVIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES LEAVE OF THE KING AND LORDS OF FRANCE TO VISIT HIS COUSIN THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

The earl of Derby's courage was raised on hearing his council thus boldly declare their opinion, and he said; "I will do whatever you advise, for I have called you together to have your counsel." They unanimously answered, "You say well; and we will advise you according to circumstances, to the best of our power." After this, they carried on their business so very secretly, that none of the household but those immediately concerned knew anything of what was going forward. They consulted how they could cross the sea before any news of their intention should reach England, and whether to travel through Hainault and Holland, and embark at Dordrecht, or to go to Brittany under pretence of visiting the duke, sail from one of his ports, and land at Plymouth or any other place whither God might please to send them. Everything considered, they thought the road through Brittany the easiest accomplished: and they advised the earl, saying, "My lord, you will take leave of the king of France, his brother, and uncles, and thank them warmly for the affection and courtesy they have shown you. After this, you will request the king to grant you an escort to Brittany, to visit the duke and stay some time with him."

The earl of Derby consented, and came to Paris, where all things were prepared for his departure: he waited on the king as usual whenever he pleased, for the doors of the palace were open to him at all hours. At this last visit, he talked to the king very ably, as he knew well how to do, as to his future plans, and said he would go and amuse himself in Brittany and visit the duke, whom he called his uncle, for he had married a sister to his father, daughter to king Edward. The king, not thinking he was plotting mischief, easily assented: and the earl, having requested an escort to Brittany, the king promised to give instant orders for one to be at his command.

To shorten the matter, the earl managed his affairs with much discretion, and took leave of all the lords who were then at court: on his departure, he made very handsome presents to the king's officers, for he was bounden so to do; and to the heralds and minstrels resident in Paris, and who attended the farewell supper he gave at the hotel de Clisson to such of the French knights as chose to partake of it.

These things done, on the next morning he and his attendants mounted their horses and left Paris by the gate of St. James, following the road to Estampes. A knight from Beauce, called sir Guy le Baveux, escorted them. They continued their journey to Blois, where they remained eight days; for the earl had sent forward one of his knights and a herald, to signify to the duke his intention of visiting him, and the circumstance of his being on the road. The duke of Brittany was very happy to learn that his nephew, the earl of Derby, was coming to see him; for he was attached to him, and had always loved the duke of Lancaster and his other brothers. "Why," said the duke to the knight, whose name was sir William de la Perriere, "has our nephew stopped on the road, since he intends to visit us, and has not come directly hither?" The knight excused him as well as he could; but the duke said, "It is foolish; for there is no knight whom for these last seven years I should more gladly see in Brittany than my fair nephew the earl of Derby. Let him come to us with a hearty welcome, and he shall find my country and towns open and ready to receive him." The knight was well contented with this answer, and set out on his return as speedily as possible. On his arrival at Blois, he told the earl and his council the words of the duke of Brittany. On the morrow they mounted their horses, and left Blois, with the good wishes of the inhabitants, who had been paid most liberally for everything they had wanted, and all were contented.

In company with the earl of Derby was sir Peter de Craon, who had been so much harassed by the parliament of Paris in his suit with the queen of Naples, that he was in a manner banished from France, and all his castles and estates sequestered for payment of the one hundred thousand francs he was indebted to the queen, and various other heavy sums incidental to the costs and expenses of this suit. The earl of Derby journeyed on until he came to Nantes, where he met the duke of Brittany, who received him and his company with much joy. Sir Guy le Baveux returned to France, and the earl staid with the duke, who entertained him in the best manner. The archbishop of Canterbury accompanied the earl, but did not open himself to any one on the cause of his coming, so that it was a perfect secret excepting to the earl and his council. The duke, to show his love, spared no expense in entertaining his nephew and his attendants, although he knew king Richard was very wroth against him, for which he pitied him.

The earl, noticing the great affection of the duke, by the advice of his council discovered some parts of his plan, by way of sounding him on the subject. He asked his advice how to act in respect to his inheritance of the duchy of Lancaster, and others which his father had held, and by right of succession had at his death devolved on him; but that the king, far from allowing him to have possession of them, had banished him from England, and was daily giving away the estates of his family to any who asked for them; that numbers of the nobles and prelates were exceedingly discontented with the king for this conduct, and that many parts of England were in a state of warfare against each other; that the good people of London

had compassion on him, and had given him to understand they would cheerfully receive him, if he would return, and bring about a reconciliation between him and the king, and recover for him his inheritances. When the duke of Brittany heard this, he replied: "Fair nephew, the straightest road is always the best and surest. You are in a distressing situation, and ask advice: I therefore recommend you to trust to the Londoners: they are powerful, and will force king Richard, who, I understand, has behaved to you very unjustly, to do as they shall please, in conjunction with the prelates and nobles who are attached to you in England. I will assist you with vessels, men-at-arms, and cross-bows, to convey you over the sea, and to defend you against any dangers you may meet with." The earl of Derby was very thankful to the duke of Brittany for this advice and offer.

CHAPTER CIX.

THE EARL OF DERBY SAILS FROM BRITTANY TO ENGLAND. HIS RECEPTION BY THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

Thus were all things settled most amicably between the duke of Brittany and the earl of Derby, who staid some time with the duke, and gave out that he would remain longer; but, in the mean time, his purveyances were preparing at a distant seaport, which I believe was Vannes, whither the duke and earl came when all things were ready. When the wind was favorable for England, the earl and his attendants embarked on board the vessel prepared for him. He was to be escorted by three ships full of men-at-arms and cross-bows, as far as the coasts of England. The fleet, having weighed anchor, put to sea, and the farther they advanced toward England, the more favorable was the wind, so that, within two days and as many nights, they arrived at Plymouth, where they landed, few at a time, and entered the town.* The bailiff of Plymouth, to whom the king had intrusted the guard of the town, was astonished to see so many men-at-arms and cross-bows; but the archbishop of Canterbury satisfied him, by saying they were men-at-arms whom the duke of Brittany had sent for the good of the realm, and to serve the king and country. The bailiff's suspicions were lulled; and the earl so disguised himself, that he was not discovered by any of the townsmen, and retired to a private chamber, where he remained shut up. The archbishop, on their arrival at Plymouth, instantly wrote letters, signed and sealed by him, which he dispatched by one of his servants to London, to inform the citizens of the earl's landing.

The messenger made such haste, by changing horses in the different towns he passed through, that he arrived at London by break of day on the following morning. He entered the city by London bridge gate, which was not shut, and went to the house of the mayor, who was in bed; but, on hearing a messenger was come from the archbishop, he leaped out of it, and ordered the man into his chamber, who gave him the letters from the archbishop. The mayor opened and read their contents with pleasure, and instantly dressing himself, sent off his servants with the intelligence of the earl of Derby's landing, to the houses of those who had been the most active in sending for him. All were rejoiced at the news; and about two hundred of the principal citizens assembled, who held no long council, for the case did not require it, but cried out: "Come, let us hasten to make ourselves ready, and go and meet our lord of Lancaster, since we have invited him hither. The archbishop of Canterbury has done well to bring him; and let the earl's arrival be made known to such gallant lords and knights as are desirous to see him, and have him for their sovereign." Many persons were then selected to publish this intelligence, and carry it to the barons, knights, and squires of their party. Upward of five hundred Londoners mounted their horses, and were so impatient to see the earl of Derby, that they would scarcely wait one for another.

The earl made no long stay at Plymouth, but on the morrow, when the horses were disembarked, mounted them and took the road to London. Sir Peter de Craon and the Bretons still accompanied the earl of Derby. The mayor of London and the chief citizens were the first who met the earl and the archbishop on the road. The meeting was very affectionate on both sides; and as they rode onward, they met more of the Londoners. They lay the first night at Guildford, twenty-eight miles from London. On the morrow, all the city of London knew that the earl of Derby was coming thither, and men, women, children, and clergy, dressed in their best clothes, went to meet him, so eager were they to see him. The moment he came in sight, they shouted out, "Welcome, long-wished-for earl of Derby and duke of Lancaster: may all joy and prosperity attend you!" They said: "that ever since he had left England nothing good had befallen it: by him all things would be restored, and put on a proper footing; for we have lived in a wretched state by the miserable councils of Richard of Bordeaux, but he is most blameable himself; for a king, to succeed in the good government of his kingdom, should have sense and discretion enough to distinguish between good and evil, otherwise he is unfit to wear a crown; but this Richard has, in many respects, acted wrong from design, as shall be proved against him." Such were the greetings the earl of Derby had on his approach to London. The mayor of London rode by the side of the earl, to the delight of the people, who were pleased to see how kindly they were received. The mayor said, "See, my lord, how much the people are rejoiced at your arrival." "It is very true," replied the earl. As he advanced, he bowed his head to the right and left, and noticed all comers with kindness.

In this state they arrived in London, when the earl was escorted to his house; and every one retired to his own until he had dined. Then the mayor, the chief magistrates of London, and many barons, knights, bishops, abbots, at the time in town, came to see the earl and congratulate him. The duchess of Gloucester and her two daughters, who were his cousins-german, waited likewise on him; but their brother Humphrey was with the king on his expedition to Ireland, more through constraint than love. With these ladies came the countess of Arundel and some of her children, as did the lady Warwick and many other ladies resident in London. The whole town was so rejoiced at the earl's return, that every shop was shut, and no more work done than if it had been Easter-day.

* This is a mistake he probably coasted England, and landed at Ravenspurn in Yorkshire, between Hull and Bridlington.

CHAPTER CX.

THE EARL OF DERBY, NOW DUKE OF LANCASTER, UNDERTAKES THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND, AND, BY THE AID OF THE LONDONERS, DETERMINES TO SEIZE THE THRONE. HE MARCHES IN ARMS AGAINST KING RICHARD AT BRISTOL.

To bring this matter to a conclusion, it was determined to march against the king, whom the citizens of London and other towns called by no other title than Richard of Bordeaux: and the lower classes had such a hatred to him, as not to be able to speak of him but in his dispraise. The Londoners already treated the earl of Derby as their king, and had formed resolutions accordingly. The earl of Derby engaged to undertake the government of England on condition the crown was settled on him and his heirs for ever, which the Londoners swore to observe, under their hands and seals, and promised that the rest of England should do the same in so solemn a manner that there never should be a question concerning it: they also promised him assistance in men and money. These obligations having been entered into on each side, which did not take much time, for they were in haste to free themselves, twelve hundred,* well armed and mounted, were ordered to accompany the earl of Derby toward Bristol, to make Richard of Bordeaux a prisoner, and conduct him to London. When there, he should be legally tried before the nobles, prelates, and commons of England, and judged according to the proof of the charges laid against him. It was also ordered, to avoid slanderous reports, that the men-at-arms and cross-bows, who had been lent by the duke of Brittany to the earl, as his escort, should be sent back, for they had men sufficient for the purpose they were about. The earl, in consequence, called the Bretons before him, thanked them warmly for the services they had rendered him, and on their departure, gave them so much money that they were contented. They returned to their vessels at Plymouth, and thence sailed to Brittany.

The earl of Derby was prepared to march to Bristol as commander-in-chief of these Londoners, for he was more interested in the matter than any one else, and set out in grand array. He pressed his march as much as he could, and was joined by all the countries he passed through. News was carried to the army of king Richard,† of the march of the earl of Derby and the Londoners; but it was known to many knights, squires, and archers, before the king; and several heard it who were afraid to tell him. When it became more public, there were many murmurings in the army; and those about the person of the king were exceedingly alarmed, for they now saw matters were ripe with every mischief and danger to the king and to themselves. They knew they had many enemies in the kingdom; and that such as had hitherto kept up fair appearances, now the earl of Derby was come back, would turn against them. Thus did it happen; for numbers of knights and squires who had served the king in this campaign, dissembled, and quitted him without taking leave, or saying they were going away. Some retired to their houses, and others went straight to the earl of Derby and joined his army. As soon as Humphrey of Gloucester, and Richard of Arundel, son to the late earl, knew for certain of the earl of Derby's approach, they left the king, and never stopped until they had joined him. The earl and his army had passed Oxford, and were then at a town called Cirencester: he had great joy in receiving his cousins, and asked the state of king Richard, where he was, and how they had managed to quit him. They replied, that they had not spoken to him of their departure: but the moment they had heard of his march, they had mounted their horses, and hastened to offer him their services, and to revenge the loss of their fathers, whom Richard of Bordeaux had put to death. The earl bade them welcome, and said: "We will mutually assist each other. Richard of Bordeaux must be carried to London, for so have I promised the Londoners, and will keep my word, and they are willing to aid me with all their power. We have men enough to fight with him; and, if he wish it, we will give him battle."

* "Twelve hundred."—the MSS. say twelve thousand, which is more probable.

† Richard was in Ireland when the news arrived.—Ed.

CHAPTER CXI.

KING RICHARD IS INFORMED THAT THE EARL OF DERBY IS MARCHING AGAINST HIM WITH A POWERFUL ARMY. HE RETIRES TO FLINT-CASTLE.*

When matters could not longer be concealed, it was told to king Richard: "Sire, take care of yourself: you must have good and speedy counsel, for the Londoners have risen with a mighty power, and intend to march against you. They have elected the earl of Derby, your cousin, their commander, and by his advice they act: you may be assured that some strong treaties have been entered into between them, since he has crossed the sea by their invitation." The king was thunderstruck at hearing this, and knew not what answer to make; for his courage forsook him, and he foresaw affairs would end badly unless proper steps were immediately taken. Having mused a while, he replied to the knights who had given him this information: "Instantly make ready our men-at-arms and archers, and issue a special summons throughout the kingdom for the assembling of all my vassals, as I will not fly before my subjects." "By God," answered the knights, "everything goes on badly, for your men are leaving you and running off. You have already lost half your army, and the remainder are panic-struck and wavering." "What can I do then?" asked the king. "We will tell you, sire: quit the field, for you cannot hold it longer, and make for one of your castles, where you can remain until your brother, Sir John Holland, who is enterprising and courageous, and must now have heard of the rebellion, come to you: he will, by force or negotiations, bring your affairs into a different state from that in which they are at present. When it is known that he has taken the field, many who have fled from you will join him." The king agreed to this advice. The earl of Salisbury was not then with him, but in another part of the country; and, when he heard that the earl of Derby was marching a large army against the king, he judged things would turn out badly for his master, and for all who had been his advisers. He therefore remained quiet, waiting for further intelligence.

The duke of York had not accompanied the king on this expedition: but his son, the earl of Rutland, had been induced to join him, for two reasons; one, in return for the great affection king Richard had shown him; the other, because he was constable of England. It was therefore necessary he should attend his king. Other news was brought the king, as he supped: they said, "Sire, you must determine how you will act; for your army is as nothing compared to the force marching against you, and a combat will be of no avail, and appease the malcontents as you have formerly done, by kind words and fair promises, and punish them afterward at your leisure. There is a castle twelve miles from hence, called Flint, that is tolerably strong: we therefore advise that you fly thither and remain shut up as long as you please, or until you hear other news from sir John Holland and your friends. We will send to Ireland for succor; and when the king of France, your father-in-law, shall hear of your distress, he will assist you."

King Richard listened to this advice, and thought it good: he selected such as he wished to accompany him, and ordered the earl of Rutland to remain at Bristol with the remnant of the army, ready prepared to advance when they should hear other news, or when they should be sufficiently strong to combat their enemies. These commands were obeyed; and the king, attended by his household only, departed on the ensuing morning for Flint-castle, which they entered without showing any appearance of making war on any one, but solely to defend themselves and the place, should they be attacked.†

CHAPTER CXII.

KING RICHARD SURRENDERS HIMSELF TO THE EARL OF DERBY, TO BE CONDUCTED TO LONDON.

The earl of Derby and the Londoners had spies who brought them daily accounts of the state of the king, which were confirmed by knights and squires, who had left his army to join the earl. The intelligence of the king having fled to Flint-castle was soon known to him; and that he had there shut himself up with a few men-at-arms, of his household, showing no symptoms of making war, but to get out of his difficulties, if possible, by a treaty. The earl was advised to march thither, and get possession of his person by force or othewise. This was followed; and, when the army was within two miles of Flint, they came to a village, where they halted, and the earl refreshed himself with meat and drink. He there resolved in his own mind, without consulting others, to march with only two hundred horse, leaving the rest behind, and, when near the castle wherein the king was, to endeavor, by fair speeches, to enter the castle, and cajole the king to come forth and trust to him, who would insure him against all perils on his road to London, engaging that he should not suffer any bodily harm, and promising to mediate between him and the Londoners, who were greatly enraged against him. This plan was approved of by those to whom he mentioned it; but he was told, "My lord, beware of any dissimulation in the business: Richard of Bordeaux must be taken dead or alive, with all the traitors who have been his advisers, and conducted to the Tower of London. Neither the Londoners nor we will hear anything to the contrary." The earl of Derby replied, "Do not fear: what I have proposed shall be executed. If I can by fair words get him out of the castle, I will do it; but if he refuse to listen to me, I shall instantly make you acquainted with it. You will advance the main army immediately, and we will besiege the castle, and by assault have him dead or alive, for the place is to be taken."

The Londoners were now satisfied, and the earl left the army with two hundred horse. They soon came before the castle, where the king was shut up in one of the chambers, much cast down. The earl and his men rode to the gate, which was closed, for the case required it, and knocked loudly. Those within asked, "Who is there?" The earl replied, "I am Henry of Lancaster, and am come to demand from the king my inheritance of the duchy of Lancaster. Tell him so from me." "My lord," answered those who heard him, "we will cheerfully do it," and instantly ascended to the hall, where the king was with those of his knights that had for a long time been his chief counsellors, and related the message, for he was eager to hear who had so rudely knocked at the gate: "Sire, it is your cousin the earl of Derby, who is come to demand his inheritance from you." The king looked at his knights, and asked how he should act. "Sire," replied they, "this request is no way improper: you may allow him to come into your presence, with only eleven others, and hear what he has to say. He is your cousin, and a great lord of the country, and can besides, if he please, make up all differences; for he is exceedingly beloved in England, more especially by the Londoners, who sent for him beyond sea, and are now in rebellion against you. You must dissemble until matters be appeased, and the earl of Huntingdon, your brother, arrived. It is unfortunate for him and you that he is at this moment at Calais; for there are many in England who now rebel against you, that, were he by your side, would remain quiet, and not dare take any part. He is married to the sister of the earl of Derby, and by his good sense and exertions, we hope and suppose he will make peace between you and your people."

The king consented to this proposal, and said, "Go to him: have the gates opened that he and eleven more may enter." Two knights then left the king, and, crossing the court of the castle, came to the gate, and had the wicket opened. Having passed it, they bowed to the earl of Derby and to his knights, addressing them in courteous language; for they felt they had no force to resist them, and that they were hated by the Londoners. They wished therefore to accommodate matters by fair speeches and outward appearances. They said to the earl, "My lord, what is your pleasure? The king is at mass, and has sent us hither to speak with you." "I will tell you," answered the earl. "You know that I ought to have possession of the duchy of Lancaster: I am come partly on that account, and on some other business I wish to speak of to the king." "My lord," replied they, "you are welcome: the king will see and hear you with pleasure, and has told us that you and eleven more may enter the castle." The earl said it pleased him; and he and eleven others passed the wicket, which was instantly shut on the others who remained without.

Consider the great risk and danger the earl of Derby ran, for they could as easily have slain him, when in the castle (which they should have done, right or wrong,) and his companions, as birds in a cage. He never thought of the peril he was in, but went straight forward and was conducted to the king. The king, on seeing him, changed color, as one who knew he had greatly misconducted himself. The earl spoke aloud, without paying any reverence or honor to the king, and asked him, "Have you broken your fast?" The king answered, "No: it is yet early morn: why do you ask?" "It is time you should breakfast," replied the earl, "for you have a long way to ride." "What road?" said the king. "You must come to London," answered the earl: "and I advise that you eat and drink heartily, to perform the journey more gayly." The king was now very melancholy, and frightened at these words: he said, "I am not as yet hungry, nor have I any desire to eat." The knights, desirous to flatter the earl of Derby (perceiving things were taking a serious turn,) said, "Sire, have confidence in my lord of Lancaster, your cousin, for he can but wish your good." "Well," said the king, "I am willing so to do: have the tables covered."

They hastened to obey these orders; and the king washed his hands, seated himself at table, and was served. They asked the earl if he would not be seated, and eat. He said, "no: for that he had breakfasted." During the time the king was eating (which was not long, for his heart was too much oppressed to eat,) the whole country was covered with men-at-arms and archers, who could be plainly seen from the windows of the castle. The king, on rising from table, perceived them, and asked his cousin the earl who they were. He replied, "For the most part Londoners." "And what do they want?" said the king. "They want to take you," answered the earl, "and carry you to the Tower of London, and there is not any means of pacifying them, unless you consent to go." "No!" replied the king, who was much frightened at hearing this, for he knew the Londoners hated him, and continued, "cannot you, cousin, prevent this? I would not willingly yield myself into their hands;

* It was Conway castle to which Richard retired.

† This account of Froissart is very incorrect, and I refer to the different English chronicles

for I am aware they hate me, and have done so for a long time, although I am their sovereign." The earl of Derby answered, "I see no other way to prevent it, but to surrender yourself to me, and, when they know you are my prisoner, they will not do you any harm. You must make preparations to be conducted and imprisoned in the Tower of London with your attendants." The king, not knowing how to act in his distress, and fearing the Londoners would put him to death, yielded himself prisoner to the earl of Derby, promising to do whatever he should advise. His knights, squires and officers, surrendered in like manner, to avoid greater danger. The earl, in the presence of those who had accompanied him, received the king and his attendants as his prisoners, and ordered the horses to be instantly saddled, brought to the court, and the gates of the castle to be thrown open, on which many men-at-arms and archers entered it.

The earl of Derby now issued a proclamation, that no one should dare to touch anything in the castle, or lay hands on any servant or officer of the king, under pain of being instantly hanged, for that every person and thing were under his special protection and guard. This was obeyed, for there was not one bold enough to act contrary. The earl conducted his cousin, king Richard, down stairs to the court of the castle, continuing in close conversation with him, where he had his usual state, without the smallest change having been made in it. While they were saddling the horses, and making ready, they talked on different subjects, and were much looked at by the Londoners.

I heard of a singular circumstance that happened, which I must mention. King Richard had a grayhound called Math,* beautiful beyond measure, who would not notice nor follow any one but the king. Whenever the king rode abroad, the grayhound was loosed by the person who had him in charge, and ran instantly to caress him, by placing his two fore-feet on his shoulders. It fell out, that as the king and the duke of Lancaster were conversing in the court of the castle, their horses being ready for them to mount, the grayhound was untied, but, instead of running as usual to the king, he left him, and leaped to the duke of Lancaster's shoulders, paying him every court, and caressing him as he was formerly used to caress the king. The duke, not acquainted with this grayhound, asked the king the meaning of this fondness, saying, "What does this mean?" 'Cousin," replied the king, "it means a great deal for you, and very little for me." "How?" said the duke: "pray explain it." "I understand it," answered the king, "that this grayhound fondles and pays his court to you this day as king of England, which you will surely be, and I shall be deposed, for the natural instinct of the dog shows it to him. Keep him, therefore, by your side, for he will now leave me, and follow you." The duke of Lancaster treasured up what the king had said, and paid attention to the grayhound, who would never more follow Richard of Bordeaux, but kept by the side of the duke of Lancaster, as was witnessed by thirty thousand men.

CHAPTER CXIII.

THE LADY DE COUCY IS TAKEN AWAY FROM THE YOUNG QUEEN OF ENGLAND, AND A NEW HOUSEHOLD APPOINTED FOR HER. KING RICHARD IS CONFINED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Having mounted their horses, they departed from Flint-castle,† and Henry duke of Lancaster, whom we shall no longer call earl of Derby, rode by the king's side, and at times conversed with him. They were surrounded by a large body of men-at-arms and archers. Those of the king's party advanced by themselves, and the first town they lay at was Oxford;‡ for the duke of Lancaster avoided all the large towns and castles, by keeping in the open country, for fear of insurrections of the people. The duke disbanded a great part of his army, saying, "he had enough for the completion of his business, as the king could not now fly nor escape from him. We will carry him and his advisers to London, and securely place them in the Tower. They are my prisoners, and I can take them anywhere: return, therefore, to your homes until you shall again hear from me." All assented to this proposal of the duke, who took the direct road to Windsor; and the Londoners, except those he had kept with him, went to their homes. The duke of Lancaster, on leaving Windsor, did not follow the road to Colnbrook, but that to Shene, and dined with the king at Chertsey. King Richard had earnestly requested his cousin not to carry him through London, which was the reason they had gone this road.

As soon as the Londoners were masters of the king, they sent some of the principal citizens to queen Isabella, who resided with the lady of Coucy at Leeds castle. She was next in rank to the queen; and they addressed her: "Lady, make preparations of departure, for you must no longer remain here. Take care on quitting the queen, that you show not any tokens of anger at being dismissed; but say, that your husband and daughter have sent for you. This we advise you to do, if you regard your life; for, should you act any way contrary, it will be forfeited. You have no need to ask questions, nor make inquiries: you shall be conducted to Dover, and embark on board a passage-boat to Boulogne." The lady of Coucy, afraid of these menaces, and knowing those who made them to be cruel and full of hatred, replied, "that in God's name, she would do as they wished." Preparations were soon made: palfreys and hackneys were provided for herself and attendants; and all the French of both sexes set off, escorted as far as Dover, where they were liberally paid, according to their degrees. The first tide they embarked on board a vessel, with a favorable wind to Boulogne. The household of the queen was broken up, and neither French nor English were left with her who were attached to king Richard. A new one was formed of ladies, damsels, officers, and varlets, who were strictly enjoined never to mention the name of king Richard in their conversations with her.

The duke of Lancaster and his company, on his departure from Chertsey, rode to Shene, and, during the night, conducted the king and such of his knights and others as they wished to confine, to the Tower of London. On the morrow, the Londoners heard the king was in the Tower, and were much rejoiced; but there were many murmurings that he had been brought thither privately, and the people were very angry with the duke of Lancaster because he had not carried him publicly through the streets in open day, not to do him honor, but that they might show their scorn, so much was he hated by them. Consider how serious a thing it is when the people rise up in arms against their sovereign, more especially such a people as the English. In such a case, there is no remedy; for they are the worst people in the world, the most obstinate and presumptuous; and of all England the Londoners are the leaders, for to say the truth, they are very powerful in men and in wealth. In the city and neighborhood, there are twenty-four thousand men, completely armed from head to foot, and full thirty thousand archers. This is a great force, and they are bold and courageous; and the more blood is spilt, the greater their courage.

CHAPTER CXIV.

THE EARL OF RUTLAND, CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND, HEARING THE KING HAS SURRENDERED, DISMISSES HIS MEN-AT-ARMS. FOUR KNIGHTS OF THE KING'S CHAMBER, HAVING BEEN PUT TO DEATH BY THE LONDONERS, HE IS ADVISED BY THOSE WHO WERE IMPRISONED WITH HIM TO RESIGN HIS CROWN TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

We will speak of the earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York, at this time constable of England, who had remained at Bristol with his brother-in-law the lord de Spencer, and their men. When they learnt that the castle the king had retired to was invested, and that the king, on his surrendering, was carried to London, they instantly foresaw the event, and that it must end badly for king Richard. They determined not to stay longer where they were, but dismissing their men-at-arms, except such as were attached to their persons, left Bristol, and rode to a very handsome seat* the lord de Spencer had in Wales, where they remained until they heard other intelligence. The duke of York resided at his own castle with his people, and interfered not in what was passing in the country, nor had done so for a long time, but taking all things as they happened, although he was very much vexed that there should be such great differences between his nephew, the king, and his relations.

We will now return to king Richard. When the duke of Lancaster had imprisoned him and those of his council in the Tower, and placed sure guards over them, the first thing he did was to recal the earl of Warwick from his banishment, and to give him his liberty. He next sent to summon the earl of Percy and his son sir Harry Percy to attend him, which they did. He then inquired how he could lay hands on those four companions who had strangled his uncle in the castle of Calais, and at length succeeded in arresting the whole four, and would not have taken twenty thousand nobles for their deliverance. He had them confined in separate prisons in London. The duke then consulted with his council and the citizens what should be done with Richard of Bordeaux, who was confined in the great tower of London, wherein king John of France was once imprisoned, during the campaign of king Edward in France. It was resolved that the king should be deprived of all his state and outward marks of royalty, if they wished to act prudently, for the news of his arrest would make a great noise throughout Christendom, as they

* The Museum MSS. call this grayhound Bleinach, mme Mach. The grayhound seems to have been a favorite prognosticator in these times; for, when the armies of the two rivals, John of Montford and Charles de Blois, were on the point of engaging, the lord Charles's grayhound left him and caressed John of Montford, who gained the battle.

† Conway castle.

‡ "After the king had been carried to the duke of Lancaster at Chester, on the third day the duke departed with his prisoner thence to Nantwich: the next day to Newcastle and there the earl of Warwick's son met them; and so journeying forth, the next day they came to Stafford, and after they departed to Lichfield, where the king thought to have escaped, slipping down into a garden, out of a window of a great tower; but he was espied, and brought into the tower again. From Lichfield, the duke went to Coventry; but, before they could come thither, the Welchmen did them much mischief, and slew many of them; and the Englishmen, when they by great chance could take any of them, they tied to their horses' tails, and drew them after them through ways full of stones, and caused them to die miserably.

'The duke passed from Coventry to Daventry, the next day to Northampton, from thence to Dunstable, and then to Saint Albans. Within five or six miles before his coming to London, the mayor and the companies in their liveries, with great noise of trumpets, met the duke, doing more reverence to him than to the king, rejoicing that God had sent them such a prince, that had conquered the realm within one month's space." &c.—*Stowe's Chronicle*, by Howe's, pp. 322, 323.

* D. Sauvage calls this seat Heulle. My MS. says only a very handsome manor, which I suppose must have been Caerphilly in Glamorganshire.

had acknowledged him twenty-two years as their king, and now held him a prisoner.

They examined the whole acts of his reign, and drew up twenty-eight articles against him, with which they came to the Tower, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster, and some knights and squires of his council. They entered the king's apartment without speaking to him, or paying any kind of respect, and read to him these charges. He did not deny them, for he knew they were true, but said that everything he had done was by the advice of his council. He was told to name those who had been his principal advisers, which he did, hoping to escape by throwing the blame on them, as he had formerly done, and they to receive the punishment; but this was not the intention of those Londoners who had confined him. At this time they said nothing further, but went away: the duke of Lancaster to his own house, leaving the mayor and men of law to act as they pleased.

The mayor went to the town-house of London, called the Guildhall, where justice is administered to the citizens, followed by crowds of people, expecting something effective to be done, as indeed there was. I will detail what passed. First, all the articles which had been drawn up against the king and read to him, were again read aloud, with comments by the person who read them, adding, that the king had not denied their truth, but confessed he had done them through the advice of four knights of his chamber, by whose counsels he had put to death the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Arundel, and sir Thomas Corbet, and that they had for a long time excited him to these acts. Such deeds were unpardonable, and must be punished; for by them and their fellows had the courts of Justice been shut at Westminster, and all the other royal courts throughout England, which had caused great mischiefs, and encouraged bands of robbers to pillage merchants travelling from town to town, and to plunder the houses of farmers. By these means the kingdom of England had been almost irrecoverably ruined; and it was to be supposed, from this wanton neglect of England, that Calais or Guisnes, or both, would have been given up to their enemies the French. Such speeches as the above made an impression on the minds of the people, so that many of the discontented said, "These things are deserving punishment, that others may take example; and Richard of Bordeaux has so much disgraced himself, that he is unworthy of wearing a crown, and ought to be deprived of all honors, and confined to pass his future life on bread and water, and subsist on that as he could." Some of the lower classes cried out, "Sir mayor, you and your companions, who are the distributors of justice, look that it be done; we insist upon it and spare no man. You see by what you have told us, that the case requires it, and immediately, for they have convicted themselves."

The mayor and the lawyers retired to the judgment-seat, and the four knights were condemned to death. They were sentenced to be brought before the apartment of the tower of London, in which king Richard was confined, that he might see them from the windows, and thence drawn on sledges by horses through the streets to Cheapside, each person separately, and there beheaded, their heads affixed to spikes on London-bridge, and their bodies hung on a gibbet, and there left. When this sentence was pronounced, they hastened to execute it. Everything being prepared, the mayor of London, and the lords who had assisted him in this judgment, set out from Guildhall with a large body of people, and came to the tower of London, where they seized the four knights of the king, sir Bernard Brocas, the lord Marclais, master John Derby, receiver of Lincoln, and the lord Stelle, steward of the king's household. They were brought into the court, and each tied to two horses, in the sight of all in the Tower, who were eye-witnesses of it as well as the king, who were much displeased, and in despair; for the remainder of the king's knights that were with him looked for similar treatment, so cruel and revengeful did they know the Londoners to be. Without saying a word, these four were dragged from the Tower, through the streets to Cheapside, and, on a fish-monger's stall, had their heads struck off, which were placed over the gate on London-bridge, and their bodies hung on a gibbet. After this execution every man retired to his home.

King Richard was much afflicted at finding himself in such danger from the citizens, and that his power was completely gone. He saw that all England was against him; and, if he had some few friends left, they could not assist him, for his enemies were too numerous. Those about him said: "Sire, we have not, as it seems, any great hope of saving our lives. When your cousin of Lancaster prevailed on you to yield yourself up to him, he promised that you and twelve of your knights should be his own prisoners, and no harm done to them; of these, four have just been put to a disgraceful death; we must expect the same, and will give you our reasons for it. The Londoners, who have urged him to do this deed, have made him enter into such engagements with them that he cannot act in any other manner. God will be merciful to us if we are suffered to die here a natural death, for to die a disgraceful one makes us shudder." King Richard, on hearing them thus talk wept bitterly, wrung his hands, and cursed the hour he had been born, when his end was so miserable. Those around him pitied his distress, and comforted him as well as they were able. One of his knights said: "Sire, you must not be too much cast down. We see, as well as you, that this world is nothing, and that the fickleness of fortune is wonderful, sparing neither princes nor poor persons. The king of France, whose daughter you have married, cannot at this moment assist you, for he is too far off. If you can, by dissembling, escape from this peril, and save your life and ours, you will act well; and within a year or two, your fortune may change."

"What would you have me to do?" replied the king, "for there is nothing I will not attempt to save us." "Sire, we tell you for a truth, that, from every appearance, the Londoners want to crown your cousin of Lancaster their king; and with this intent they sent for him from France, and have aided him in all his exploits. Now it is impossible, that so long as you shall be alive, this coronation can take place without your consent. Suppose, therefore, you were to offer your cousin terms, that we might escape the imminent danger we are in, and that you send to speak with him on business. On his coming, treat him affectionately, and say that you wish to resign the crown into his hands, and that he be king: by this means you will soften him and appease the citizens. You will earnestly beg that he allow you to finish your days here, or elsewhere; and for us to remain with you, or be separated, or banished abroad for our lives, at his pleasure; for he who loseth his life loseth everything." King Richard heard these words with comfort to his heart, and said he would act accordingly, for he saw his danger was very great. He gave his keepers to understand, he would willingly speak with the duke of Lancaster.

CHAPTER CXV.

KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND RESIGNS HIS CROWN AND KINGDOM INTO THE HANDS OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

Intelligence was carried to the duke of Lancaster, that Richard of Bordeaux had a great desire to speak with him. The duke left his house in the evening, entered his barge with his knights, and was rowed down the Thames to the Tower, which he entered by a postern gate, and went to the apartment of the king. The king received him with great kindness, and humbled himself exceedingly like to one who perceives he is in a dangerous state. He addressed him: "Cousin, I have been considering my situation, which is miserable enough, and I have no longer any thoughts of wearing my crown or governing my people. As God may have my soul, I wish I were at this moment dead of a natural death, and the king of France had his daughter again; for we have never enjoyed any great happiness together, nor, since I brought her hither, have I had the love my people bore me formerly. Cousin of Lancaster, when I look back, I am convinced I have behaved very ill to you, and to other nobles of my blood, for which I cannot expect peace nor pardon. All things, therefore, considered, I am willing freely to resign to you the crown of England; and I beg you will accept the resignation as a gift."

The duke replied, "that it would be necessary the three estates of the realm should hear this. I have issued summonses for the assembling the nobles, prelates, and deputies from the principal towns; and within three days a sufficiency will be collected for you to make your resignation in due form. By this act, you will greatly appease the hatred of the nation against you. To obviate the mischiefs that had arisen from the courts of justice being shut, and which had created an almost universal anarchy, was I sent for from beyond sea. The people wanted to crown me, for the common report in the country is, that I have a better right to the crown than you have. This was told to our grandfather, king Edward of happy memory, when he educated you, and had you acknowledged heir to the throne; but his love was so strong for his son, the prince of Wales, nothing could make him alter his purpose, but that you must be king. If you had followed the example of the prince, or attended to the advice of his counsellors, like a good son, who should be anxious to tread in the steps of a father, you might still have been king; but you have always acted so contrary, as to occasion the rumor to be generally believed throughout England and elsewhere, that you are not the son of the prince of Wales, but of a priest or canon.

"I have heard several knights, who were of the household of my uncle the prince, declare, that he was jealous of the princess's conduct. She was cousin-german to king Edward, who began to dislike her for not having children by his son, since he had, by her former marriage with sir Thomas Holland, stood godfather to two sons. She knew well how to keep the prince in her chains, having, through subtlety, enticed him to marry; but, fearful of being divorced by his father, for want of heirs, and that the prince would marry again, it was said she got connected with some one, by whom she had you and another son, who died in his infancy, and no judgment can be formed of his character: but you, from your manners and mode of acting, so contrary to the gallantry and prowess of the prince, are thought to be the son of a priest or canon; for, at the time of your birth, there were many young and handsome ones in the household of the prince at Bordeaux. Such is the report of this country, which your conduct has confirmed: for you have ever shown great affection to the French, and an inclination to live on good term with them, to the loss and dishonor of England. Because my uncle of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel wished you would loyally defend the honor of the kingdom, by following the steps of your ancestors, you have treacherously put them to death.

"With regard to me, I have taken you under my protection, and will guard and preserve your life, through compassion, as long as I shall be able. I will likewise entreat the Londoners in your behalf, and the heirs of those you have put to death." "Many thanks," answered the king: "I have greater confidence in you than in any other person in England." "You are in the right," replied the duke: "for, had I not stepped forward between you and the people, they would have seized you, and disgracefully killed you, in return for all your wicked acts, which are the cause of the dangerous state you are now in." King Richard heard all this patiently, for he saw

Richard II. resigning the Crown into the Hands of the Duke of Lancaster. From MSS. of the 15th Century.

that neither arguments nor force could avail, and that resignation and humility were his only arms. He therefore humbled himself exceedingly to the duke, earnestly begging that his life might be spared. The duke of Lancaster remained with the king upward of two hours, and continued in his conversation to reproach him for all the faults he was accused of. He then took leave, reëntered his barge, and returned to his house, and, on the morrow, renewed his orders for the assembly of the three estates of the realm.

The duke of York, and his son, the earl of Rutland, came to London, as did the earl of Northumberland and his brother, sir Thomas Percy, to whom the duke of Lancaster gave a hearty welcome, with numbers of prelates, bishops, and abbots. The duke of Lancaster, accompanied by a large body of dukes, prelates, earls, barons, knights, and principal citizens, rode to the Tower of London, and dismounted in the court. King Richard was released from his prison, and entered the hall which had been prepared for the occasion, royally dressed, the sceptre in his hand, and the crown on his head, but without supporters on either side. He addressed the company as follows: "I have reigned king of England, duke of Aquitaine, and lord of Ireland, about twenty-two years, which royalty, lordship, sceptre, and crown, I now freely and willingly resign to my cousin, Henry of Lancaster, and entreat of him, in the presence of you all, to accept this sceptre." He then tendered the sceptre to the duke of Lancaster, who took it and gave it to the archbishop of Canterbury. King Richard next raised the crown with his two hands from his head, and, placing it before him, said, "Henry, fair cousin, and duke of Lancaster, I present and give to you this crown, with which I was crowned king of England, and all the rights dependent on it."

The duke of Lancaster received it, and delivered it over to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was at hand to take it. These two things being done, and the resignation accepted, the duke of Lancaster called in a public notary, that an authentication should be drawn up of this proceeding, and witnessed by the lords and prelates then present. Soon after, the king was conducted to where he had come from, and the duke and other lords mounted their horses to return home. The two jewels were safely packed up, and given to proper guards, to place them in the treasury of Westminster abbey, until they should be called for when the parliament were assembled.

CHAPTER CXVI.

A PARLIAMENT MEETS AT WESTMINSTER, WHEN THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED KING OF ENGLAND. THE GREAT MAGNIFICENCE OF HIS CORONATION.

On a Wednesday, the last day of September 1399, Henry duke of Lancaster held a parliament at Westminster; at which were assembled the greater part of the clergy and nobility of England, and a sufficient number of deputies from the different towns, according to their extent and wealth. In this parliament, the duke of Lancaster challenged the crown of England, and claimed it as his own, for three reasons: first, by conquest; secondly, from being the right heir to it; and, thirdly, from the pure and free resignation of it to him, by king Richard, in the presence of the prelates, dukes and earls in the hall of the Tower of London. These three claims being made, he required the parliament to declare their opinion and will. Upon this, they unanimously replied, that it was their will he should be king, for they would have no other. He again asked, if they were positive in this declaration: and, when they said they were, he seated himself on the royal throne. The throne was elevated some feet from the floor, with a rich canopy of cloth and gold, so that he could be seen by all present. On the king's taking his seat, the people clapped their hands for joy, and held them up, promising him fealty and homage. The parliament was then dissolved, and the day of coronation appointed for the feast of Saint Edward, which fell on a Monday, the 13th of October.

On the Saturday before the coronation, the new king went from Westminster to the Tower of London, attended by great numbers, and those squires who were to be knighted watched their arms that night: they amounted to forty-six: each squire had his chamber and bath, in which he bathed. The ensuing day, the duke of Lancaster, after mass, created them knights, and presented them with long green coats, with straight sleeves lined with minever, after the manner of prelates. These knights had on their left shoulders a double cord of white silk, with white tufts hanging down. The duke of Lancaster left the Tower this Sunday after dinner, on his return to Westminster: he was bareheaded, and had round his neck the order of the king of France. The prince of Wales, six dukes, six earls, eighteen barons, accompanied him; and there were, of knights and other nobility, from eight to nine hundred horse in the procession. The duke was dressed in a jacket, after the German fashion, of cloth of gold, mounted on a white courser, with a blue garter on his left leg. He passed through the streets of London, which were all handsomely decorated with tapestries and other rich hangings: there were nine fountains in Cheapside, and other streets he passed through, which perpetually ran with white and red wines. He was escorted by prodigious numbers of gentlemen, with their servants in liveries and badges; and the different companies of London were led by their wardens clothed in their proper livery, and with ensigns of their trade. The whole cavalcade amounted to six thousand horse, which escorted the duke from the Tower to Westminster. That same night the duke bathed, and on the morrow confessed himself, as he had good need to do, and according to his custom heard three masses. The prelates and clergy who had been assembled then came in a large body in procession from Westminster abbey, to conduct the king thither, and returned in the same manner, the king and his lords following them. The dukes, earls, and barons, wore long scarlet robes, with mantles trimmed with ermine, and large hoods of the same. The dukes and earls had three bars of ermine on the left arm, a quarter of a yard long, or thereabout: the barons had but two. All the knights and squires had uniform cloaks of scarlet lined with minever. In the procession to the church, the duke had borne over his head a rich canopy of blue silk, supported on silver staves, with four golden bells that rang at the corners, by four burgesses of Dover, who claimed it as their right. On each side of him were the sword of mercy and the sword of justice: the first was borne by the prince of Wales, and the other by the earl of Northumberland, constable of England, for the earl of Rutland had been dismissed. The earl of Westmoreland, marshal of England, carried the sceptre.

The procession entered the church about nine o'clock; in the middle of which was a scaffold covered with crimson cloth, and in the centre a royal throne of cloth of gold. When the duke entered

the church, he seated himself on the throne, and was thus in regal state, except having the crown on his head. The archbishop of Canterbury proclaimed, from the four corners of the scaffold, how God had given them a man for their lord and sovereign, and then asked the people if they were consenting to his being consecrated and crowned king. They unanimously shouted out, "Ay!" and held up their hands, promising fealty and homage. After this, the duke descended from his throne, and advanced to the altar to be consecrated. This ceremony was performed by two archbishops and ten bishops: he was stripped of all his royal state before the altar, naked to his shirt, and was then anointed and consecrated at six places; that is to say, on the head, the breast, the two shoulders, before and behind, on the back and hands: they then placed a bonnet on his head; and, while this was doing, the clergy chanted the litany, or the service that is performed to hallow a font.

The king was now dressed in a churchman's clothes like a deacon; and they put on him shoes of crimson velvet, after the manner of a prelate. Then they added spurs with a point, but no rowel, and the sword of justice was drawn, blessed, and delivered to the king, who put it into the scabbard, when the archbishop of Canterbury girded it about him. The crown of Saint Edward, which is arched over like a cross, was next brought and blessed, and placed by the archbishop on the king's head. When mass was over, the king left the church, and returned to the palace in the same state as before. There was in the court-yard a fountain that constantly ran with white and red wine from various mouths. The king went first to his closet, and then returned to the hall to dinner.

At the first table sat the king, at the second the five great peers of England, at the third the principal citizens of London, at the fourth the new-created knights, at the fifth all knights and squires of honor. The king was served by the prince of Wales, who carried the sword of mercy, and on the opposite side by the constable, who bore the sword of justice. At the bottom of the table was the earl of Westmoreland with the sceptre. There were only at the king's table the two archbishops and seventeen bishops. When dinner was half over, a knight of the name of Dymock entered the hall completely armed, and mounted on a handsome steed, richly barbed with crimson housings. The knight was armed for wager of battle, and was preceded by another knight bearing his lance: he himself had his drawn sword in one hand, and his naked dagger by his side. The knight presented the king with a written paper, the contents of which were, that if any knight or gentleman should dare to maintain that king Henry was not a lawful sovereign, he was ready to offer him combat in the presence of the king, when and where he should be pleased to appoint. The king ordered this challenge to be proclaimed by heralds in six different parts of the town and the hall, to which no answer was made. After king Henry had dined, and partaken of wine and spices in the hall, he retired to his private apartments, and all the company went to their homes. Thus passed the coronation day of king Henry, who remained that and the ensuing day at the palace of Westminster. The earl of Salisbury could not attend these feasts, for he was in close confinement under secure guards; and the king's ministers, with many of the nobles and citizens of London, were anxious that he should be publicly beheaded in Cheapside. They said that he was deserving of every punishment, for having carried such a message from Richard of Bordeaux to the French king and his court, and publicly proclaiming king Henry a false and wicked traitor, and that these were unpardonable crimes. The king was naturally good-tempered, and, far from inclining to put him to death, took compassion on him, and listened to the excuses he made for what he had done, by throwing the blame on the four knights who had been beheaded, as he had only obeyed their orders. The council and Londoners would not hear his excuses, and would have him executed, for they said he had deserved it. The earl of Salisbury therefore continued in prison, in great danger of his life.

Sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, who was governor of Calais, had been duly informed of all that had passed; how his brother, king Richard, had been arrested and carried to the Tower of London, where he had been condemned to pass his life, after resigning his crown to Henry of Lancaster, who was acknowledged king of England. The earl of Huntingdon, notwithstanding the vexation the state of his brother, king Richard, gave him, weighed well the times and circumstances, and found that he alone could not pretend to withstand the whole power of England. His countess, sister-german to king Henry, told him, on his return from Calais to England, "My lord, you must prudently lay aside your anger, and not hastily do anything you may repent of, for my lord the king, my brother, can show you much kindness. You see the whole kingdom is in his favor, and should you commit yourself by any rash act, you are ruined. I advise and entreat you to dissemble your vexation, for king Henry is as much your brother as king Richard. Attach yourself to him, and you will find him a good and faithful friend; for there has not been any king of England so rich as he is, and he may be of the greatest service to you and to your children." The earl of Huntingdon listened to what the countess said, and followed her advice. He waited on his brother-in-law, king Henry, paid him many respects, and did his homage, promising fealty and service: the king received him with much pleasure. The earl, afterwards, with the support of other friends, pressed the king so strongly in favor of the earl of Salisbury, that his excuses were heard and accepted: his mission to France was pardoned, and he regained the favor of the king and people.

CORONATION OF HENRY IV From MSS. of 15th Century.

CHAPTER CXVII.

INTELLIGENCE OF THE IMPRISONMENT OF KING RICHARD IS CARRIED TO FRANCE BY THE LADY OF COUCY. KING CHARLES IS MUCH DISPLEASED THEREAT. THE DUKE OF BOURBON ATTEMPS IN VAIN TO REDUCE BORDEAUX, AND OTHER TOWNS IN AQUITAINE, TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.

THE lady of Coucy, on landing at Boulogne, hastened her affairs, that she might begin her journey to Paris; for there were already great murmurings in many parts of France at the events which were happening in England. Some imperfect intelligence had been carried of them thither by merchants of Bruges, but when the lady of Coucy, who had been attached to queen Isabella, returned, the whole truth was known. This lady, on her coming to Paris, went, as was natural, to the hotel of her lord, who had arrived the preceding night. News of it was instantly carried to the king of France, who sent directly for the lord de Coucy to come and bring him intelligence of king Richard and his queen Isabella. On his entering the king's chamber, he asked him the state of England. The knight, not daring to conceal anything, told him the full particulars he had learnt from his wife. The king was much affected at the melancholy account he heard, for he knew the English to be determined, and hard to appease; and, although he had been for a considerable time in a good state of health, the rage he got into, on learning the events passing in England, brought back his frenzy, to the grief of his brother, uncles, and barons of France, but they could not prevent it.

The duke of Burgundy said; "The marriage of king Richard with Isabella was ill advised: I spoke of it when in agitation, but was not attended to. The Londoners never sincerely liked king Richard, and all this misery has been hatched by the duke of Gloucester. We must learn how the English mean to proceed, and take our measures accordingly. Since they have imprisoned their king, they will put him to death, (for they never loved him, because he preferred peace to war,) and crown the duke of Lancaster. He will be forced to enter into such engagements from his obligations to them, that whether he will or not, he must act as they shall please. The duke of Burgundy added, "that it would be proper to know the inclinations of the inhabitants of Bordeaux; for king Richard, having been born there, was greatly beloved by them, as well as by those of Dax, Bayonne, and that whole country. It would not be amiss (he said,) that the constable, lord Louis de Sancerre, should have notice of what was proposed, and that he should advance toward the frontiers of Aquitaine, taking with him sir Reginald d'Espagne, Barrois des

Barres, and other barons and prelates, who knew how to negotiate; that his brother of Berry should go into Poitou, and hover over the borders of Saintes, Blaze, and Mirabel, in order that, if those of Bordeaux should be inclined to enter into any treaty, they might be received; for we must gain them now, or never." These propositions of the duke of Burgundy were heard attentively, and his advice followed. He understood the matter well, and what ensued proved it. The inhabitants of Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, were lost in astonishment when they heard that their lord, king Richard, had been arrested and was confined in the Tower of London, his principal counsellors executed, and duke Henry of Lancaster crowned king, and would not at first believe that such melancholy events had happened in England: but, as the reports were confirmed daily by fresh intelligence, they were constrained to think them true. The gates of the three cities were closed, and no person whatever suffered to go out, from the sorrow they were in, more particularly those of Bordeaux, for king Richard had been educated among them. They were sincerely attached to him, and he always received them kindly when they waited on him, inclining naturally to comply with every request they made him. On first hearing of his misfortune, they said, "Ah, Richard, gentle king! by God, you are the most honorable man in your realm. This mischief has been brewed for you by the Londoners, who never loved you, and their dislike was still increased by your alliance with France. This misfortune is too great for us to bear. Ah, king Richard! they have acknowledged you their sovereign two-and-twenty years, and now they imprison you, and will put you to death; for since they have crowned the duke of Lancaster king, that consequence must follow." Such were the lamentations of the townsmen of Bordeaux, and that whole country; and they continued so long that the séneschal of Bordeaux, a valiant and able English knight, determined to send home intelligence of these complaints in Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, and that they were on the point of surrendering themselves to the king of France. Having written and sealed his letters, he gave them to a trusty varlet, whom he embarked on board a vessel; and, having a favorable wind, he was landed in Cornwall, and thence pursued his journey to London, where king Henry at that time was holding his parliament. These letters were addressed generally to the king and citizens of London, and being opened and read, the king and his parliament consulted on them. The Londoners said, like men no way dismayed, "Those of Bordeaux and Bayonne will never turn to the French; they cannot bear them nor suffer their tricks. They are free under us; but, if the French govern them, they will be taxed and taxed over again two or three times a-year. This they have not been accustomed to, and will find it hard to endure. These three cities are besides surrounded by the lands of great barons, who are and always have been loyal to England, such as the lords de Pommiers, de Mucident, de Duras, de Landuras, de Copane, de Rosem, de Langurant, and many other barons and knights, who will instantly make war upon them: they cannot issue out of their gates without being made prisoners. Notwithstanding, therefore, what the séneschal of Bordeaux writes to us, we do not fear they will ever turn to the French: let us, however, send them some man of valor and prudence, whom they esteem, and who has governed them before; and we recommend sir Thomas Percy." What they had advised was done, and sir Thomas Percy was entreated by the king and citizens to undertake the voyage and the government of that country. Sir Thomas could not refuse, and made his preparations.

It was now about Christmas, when the winds are high, and the sea rough: he made, therefore his purveyances in Cornwall, at the port nearest to Bordeaux, and his equipment was two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers. Sir Thomas was accompanied by his nephew, Hugh de Hastings, Thomas Colleville, William Lisle, John de Grailly, bastard-son to the captal de Buch, William Drayton, John d'Ambreticourt, and several others. He had likewise with him Robert bishop of London,* and master Richard Rowhall. It was, however, the middle of March before they were able to embark.

Before these lords arrived at Bordeaux, the duke of Bourbon came to the city of Agen, to treat with those of Aquitaine, and made such progress that the magistrates of Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, were deputed to Agen. The duke received them most kindly, and was not sparing of fine words and fair promises: he gave them to understand, that if they would turn to the French, and submit themselves to the obedience of the king of France, they should have granted whatever they might ask, and that the engagements they entered into should be sealed and recorded to last for ever; that whenever they might call on France, they should be supported to the utmost of its power. He made them many other flattering promises; but they replied, they must return to their constituents, and lay before them his offers, and consider how to act. They then left Agen and the duke of Bourbon, on their return home, where, on their arrival, they related all the duke had said; but his offers came to nothing, for the inhabitants of these towns having considered their present situation, and that France was vexed by all sort of taxes, and every oppressive means to extort money, concluded they should suffer similar vexations if they submitted themselves to the French, "It will be, therefore, better for us," they said, "to remain steady to the English, who hold us frank and free. If the Londoners have deposed king Richard, and crowned king Henry, what is it to us? We have still a king; and we understand the bishop of London and sir Thomas Percy are on their way hither, who will fully inform us of the truth. We have more commerce with the English than the French, in wool, wines and cloth, and they are naturally more inclined to us. Let us, therefore, be cautious how we enter into any treaties of which we may hereafter repent."

Thus were the negotiations of Bordeaux, Dax and Bayonne, with the French broken off. Sir Thomas Percy and the bishop of London arrived safe in the harbor of Bordeaux with their charge of men-at-arms and archers, to the great joy of some, and grief of others, who were of the party of the king of France. These English lords lodged all together at the abbey of Saint Andrew, and, when they thought it was time, they remonstrated with the commonalty of Bordeaux on the state of England, and the cause of their coming, with such success as they were contented with: Dax and Bayonne were also satisfied. These cities and their dependencies remained steady to the English interest, and hard would it have been to have turned them to the French.

* Robert Braybrook, dean of Sarum and lord chancellor.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE, BY PERMISSION OF KING HENRY, SENDS OVER PERSONS TO VISIT ISABELLA, QUEEN TO RICHARD II.

The council of France, perceiving the king so greatly affected at what had befallen his son-in-law, king Richard, determined to send to England some lord of high rank to see and inquire into the situation of queen Isabella. The lord Charles d'Albreth and Charles de Hangiers were nominated on this embassay, and made their preparations accordingly. On leaving Paris, they rode to Boulogne, where they remained, and sent a herald to inform king Henry of their intention of coming to England; for, although there was a truce between the kingdoms, they would not venture thither without his assurance of safety. King Henry, who had not forgotten the kindness of the king of France when an exile, mentioned the matter to his council; and the herald was told, that it was very agreeable to the king and council, that his lords and their company should come to England, and by the direct road to London, not quitting it without license. The French herald returned to tell his lords at Boulogne what he had obtained. They were pleased with the answer, since they could not obtain more. They immediately embarked themselves and horses in two vessels, and, putting to sea, arrived at Dover. On disembarking and entering the town, they were met by one of the king's knights, who had been ordered thither to receive them. Having known him when he accompanied the king in his banishment to Paris, they were all soon well acquainted. The lord Charles d'Albreth and the lord de Hangiers were handsomely lodged in Dover, where they staid until their horses were landed. They continued their journey through Canterbury to Eltham, and they were splendidly entertained in compliment to the king of France, to whom king Henry felt himself under obligations.

The lord d'Albreth explained to the king the cause of his coming, who replied, "You will go to London, and within four days I will consult my council, and you shall have an answer to your demands." This satisfied them. They dined with the king, and, when it was over, remounted their horses and rode to London, attended by the knight, who lodged them conveniently in London, and never quitted them. The king of England came, as he had said, to his palace of Westminster, and the French lords were told of it, and to hold themselves in readiness to attend him, for they would be summoned. The king, having his council with him, and being prepared what answer to make, the French lords were introduced. They said, they had been sent by the king and queen of France to see the young queen of England their daughter. The king answered: "Gentlemen, we no way wish to prevent you seeing her; but you must promise, on your oaths, that neither yourselves, nor any of your company, speak to her on what has lately passed in England, nor about Richard of Bordeaux. Should you do otherwise, you will greatly offend us and the country, and put yourselves in peril of your lives."

The two knights replied, they would not infringe this regulation: all they wanted was to see and converse with her, and then they would set out on their return. Not long after this, the earl of Northumberland carried them to Havering-at-the Bower, where the young queen resided. She was attended by the duchess of Ireland, daughter to the lord de Coucy, the duchess of Gloucester, her two daughters, and other ladies and damsels, as companions. The earl introduced the two knights to the queen, who conversed some time with them, asking questions after her parents, the king and queen of France. They kept the promise they had made, by never mentioning the name of king Richard; and, when they had been with her a sufficient time, took leave and returned to London. They made no long stay there, but, having packed up their things, and had their expenses paid by the king's officers, they rode to Eltham, and dined with the king, who presented them with some rich jewels. On taking leave, the king parted with them amicably, and said: "Tell those who have sent you, that the queen shall never suffer the smallest harm or any disturbance, but keep up a state and dignity becoming her birth and rank, and enjoy all her rights; for, young as she is, she ought not to be made acquainted with the changes in this world."

The knights were very happy to hear the king speak thus, and then departed. They lay that night at Dartford, on the morrow at Ospringe, the next at Canterbury, and then at Dover, the king's officers paying every expense of their journey. Having embarked with a favorable wind, they were landed at Boulogne, and thence proceeded to the king and queen at Paris, to whom they related what you have read.

We will now leave them, and speak of the affairs of England.

CHAPTER CXIX.

THE EARLS OF HUNTINGDON AND SALISBURY, AND SOME OTHERS, HAVING FAILED TO MURDER TREACHEROUSLY KING HENRY OF LANCASTER, RISE IN ARMS AGAINST HIM. THEY ARE DEFEATED AND BEHEADED, AND THEIR HEADS SENT TO THE KING.

It was much disputed among the nobles, and in the principal towns, whether Richard of Bordeaux was put to death, and nothing more was said about him, which was but what he deserved. King Henry declared, that in regard to the charges made against him, he much pitied him, and would never consent to his death; that the prison wherein he was confined was sufficient punishment; and that he had engaged his word no other harm should be done him, which promise he was resolved to keep. The enemies of king Richard replied: "Sire, we see plainly that compassion alone moves you thus to say and act, but, in so doing, you are running great risks; for so long as he shall be alive, notwithstanding the outward good-humor and sincerity with which he resigned to you his crown, and that in general you have been acknowledged as king, and received the homage of all, there must remain many attached to him, who still preserve their affection, and will instantly rise against you whenever they perceive any hopes of delivering him from prison. The king of France also, whose daughter he married, is so exasperated at the late events, that he would willingly retaliate the first opportunity; and his power is great of itself, and must be increased by his connections in England." King Henry answered: "Until I shall observe anything contrary to the present state affairs, or that the king of France or other persons act against me, I will not change my resolution, but firmly keep the promise I have made." This was the answer of king Henry, for which he narrowly escaped suffering, as you shall presently hear.

The earl of Huntingdon, brother to king Richard, though married to the sister of king Henry, could not forget the treatment of the late king, any more than the earl of Salisbury. They had a secret meeting near to Oxford, on the means to deliver Richard of Bordeaux from the Tower of London, destroy king Henry, and throw the country into confusion. They resolved to proclaim a tournament to be holden at Oxford, of twenty knights and squires, and invite the king to witness it privately. During the time the king was sitting at dinner they were to slay him, (for they were to be provided with a sufficiency of men-at-arms for their purpose,) and to dress out in the royal robes a priest called Magdalen, who had been of king Richard's chapel, and was like him in countenance, and make the people to understand that he was delivered from prison, and had resumed his state. They were, instantly after the business was completed, to send information of it to the king of France, that he might send them large succors, under the command of the count de Saint Pol or any other.

They executed this plan, and proclaimed a grand tournament to be holden by twenty knights and as many squires at Oxford, who were to be accompanied by many ladies and damsels. They had gained to their party the young earl of Kent, nephew to the earl of Huntingdon, and the lord de Spencer, one of the most powerful barons in England. They expected the aid of the earl of Rutland, because king Henry had deprived him of the constableship, but he failed them, and some say, that by him their plot was discovered. When all things had been settled for this feast, the earl of Huntingdon came to Windsor, where the king held his state, and with much flattering, like one who, by soft words, thought to deceive, invited, with many marks of affection, the king to be present at it. Not supposing any treason was intended, he readily complied; and the earl of Huntingdon, much rejoiced, thanked and left the king. On going away, he said to the canon de Robersac,* Get thyself ready for our feast, and I promise thee if thou come, and we meet in the lists, there shall be a sharp conflict between us." Sir John de Robersac replied: "By my faith, my lord, if the king come to your feast it is necessary that I accompany him." Upon this the earl shook him by the hand, and said, "Many thanks," and passed on. Several knights and squires, hearing of this tournament, made preparations to attend it, and all the armorers in London were fully employed. The king's ministers were attentive to every circumstance that was agitated, and they told him," Sire, you have no business to go to this tournament, and must not think of it, for we have heard whispers of plots that are very displeasing to us, and in a few days we shall learn the whole." The king believed what they had said, and did not go to the tournament, nor any of his knights, and indeed very few of those who were marked for death.

When the earls of Salisbury, Huntingdon, Kent, and the lord de Spencer, found they had failed in their scheme of seizing the king, they held a council, and said, "We must go to Windsor and raise the country. We will dress Magdalen in royal robes, and make him ride with us, proclaiming that king Richard has escaped from prison. All who see him will believe it true, and the report will gain such credit that we shall destroy our enemies." This they executed by collecting their whole party, amounting in all to about five hundred men, and, placing Magdalen in the centre, dressed in royal state, they rode toward Windsor, where king Henry kept his court. God was very kind to the king, for he had early intelligence that the earls of Huntingdon, Salisbury, the young earl of Kent, and the lord de Spencer, were advancing toward Windsor, to seize and murder him; that they were in sufficient force to take the castle, and had with them Magdalen, one of the priests of the chapel royal to Richard of Bordeaux, dressed up as the late king; and that they gave it out everywhere that king Richard had escaped from prison. Many of the country people believed it, saying, "We have seen him," mistaking him for the king.

Those who brought the intelligence said to king Henry, "Sire, depart hence instantly, and ride to London, for they will be here in a short time." He followed this counsel, and mounting his horse, set off with his attendants from Windsor, taking the road to London. He had not been long departed, before those who intended to put him to death came to Windsor, and entered the castle gate, for there were none to oppose them. They searched the apartments of the castle, and the houses of the canons, in hopes of finding the king, but were disappointed. On their failure, they were much enraged, and rode away to Colnbrook, where they lay, and forced many to join them by fair or foul means, saying that king Richard was in their company, which some believed, but others not. King Henry, doubtful of the consequences of this conspiracy, hastened to London, and, by a roundabout road, entered the Tower. Some sharp words passed between him and Richard of Bordeaux; he told him, "I saved your life, and had great difficulty in doing it; and, in return, you want to have me murdered by your brother, and my brother-in-law, and by the earls of Salisbury and Kent, your nephew, with the lord de Spencer, but, if you have had any hand in this plot, it shall end badly for you." Richard denied any knowledge of it, saying, "As God may help me, and have compassion on my soul, I never before heard one word of this plot. I never looked for any change in my situation, for I am perfectly contented with my present state." Nothing more passed. The king sent for the mayor of London and his particular friends, to whom he related everything he knew or had heard of this conspiracy. They were greatly suprised on hearing it, and said, "Sire, you must summon your forces, and march instantly against them, before they increase more in numbers. We have made you king, and king you shall be, in spite of all that envy and discontent may do against you." The king lost no time in employing clerks and messengers to write and carry letters to the knights of his realm. He wrote himself to his constable, the earl of Northumberland, to his marshal, the earl of Westmoreland, and to other great barons in Essex and Lincoln, from whom he expected assistance. All who received them made haste to join the king.

The earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, and their party, determined to march to London, for they imagined there must be some of the citizens attached to king Richard, who would give them support. In consequence, they left Colnbrook, and advanced to Brentford, seven miles from London, where they lay. Not one of the Londoners joined them, but shut themselves up in their town. When they saw this, they marched away toward Saint Albans, a large town, and there staid one day. On the morrow, they went to Berkhampstead. They continued marching through different parts, publishing everywhere that Magdalen was king Richard, and came to a strong town called Soncestre,* which had a bailiff attached to king Henry for the guard of the town and defence of the adjacent parts. The three earls and lord de Spencer took up their lodgings in Cirencester, and were that night left quiet, for the bailiff, being a valiant and prudent man, did not think he was strong enough to combat them, and dissembled his thoughts as well as he could.

The next morning the earl of Salisbury and lord de Spencer left the earl of Huntingdon and his nephew, saying they would advance farther into the country to gain friends, and would visit the lord of Berkeley. They rode down Severn side, but were badly advised thus to separate for both parties were weakened by it. The earl of Huntingdon remained in Cirencester, and attempted to tamper with the bailiff and townsmen. He told them that the Londoners had delivered king Richard out of prison, and within two days he would be there. The bailiff having collected a large force, said that not one word was true; for that he had just heard the contrary from king Henry and the citizens of London to assure him of the truth, and that he should act conformably to the orders he had received. The earl of Huntingdon, hearing this, changed color from disappointment. Finding he could not gain his end, he returned to his lodgings, armed himself, and made his men do the same, determining to conquer these ale-drinkers by force, and set fire to their town as an example, and to terrify the country. The bailiff was not idle in collecting all the men he could; they amounted, archers and all, to two thousand men, which he drew up in the market-place, when the force of the earls of Huntingdon and Kent

* In the MSS. he is called Robessart and Robertstart.

* "Soncestre"—Cirencester, pronounced Cicester

were not three hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, they made ready to begin the battle, and the archers attacked each other, so that several were wounded. The bailiff and his men, who were very numerous, charged the rebels vigorously, without sparing any one, for he had the king's special orders to take the leaders, dead or alive. The earl's party were forced to retire within their lodgings; and the house wherein the two earls were, the bailiff's men surrounded and conquered.

Many were killed, and more wounded. The earl of Huntingdon defended himself gallantly, like a valiant men-at-arms as he was; but

FUNERAL PROCESSION OF RICHARD II. From MSS. of 15th century.

the numbers against him were too great to withstand; and he was slain fighting, as was the young earl of Kent, who was much lamented by several knights in England and other countries. He was young and handsome, and had very unwillingly taken part in this conspiracy: but his uncle and the earl of Salisbury had forced him into it. The men of Cirencester, who were wroth against them, cut off their heads, and sent them in two panniers, as fish is carried, by a varlet on horseback, to rejoice the king and the Londoners. A similar fate befel the earl of Salisbury and lord de Spencer; they were made prisoners by the knights and squires the king had sent against them, who had them beheaded, and sent their heads to London. Great numbers of their partisans, and knights and squires who had accompanied them, were executed, after which the country remained in peace.

The king of France, his brother, uncles, and council, learning that during Easter of the year 1400, the English had sent men-at-arms and archers to Calais, Guisnes, and the neighboring castles, and were providing these places with many stores, issued a summons for all knights and squires to prepare themselves to march whithersoever they might be ordered, and specially provided for the frontier of Boulogne and the sea-shore.

CHAPTER CXX.

ON THE DEATH OF JOHN OF MONTFORT, DUKE OF BRITTANY, THE BRETONS UNDERTAKE THE WARDSHIP OF THE YOUNG DUKE, AND TO BE FRIENDLY TO FRANCE. THE FRENCH KING, DISTRUSTING THE SENTIMENTS OF THE NEW REIGN IN ENGLAND, MAKES PROVISION AGAINST ANY SUDDEN CHANGE.

AT this period, John duke of Brittany departed this life, leaving issue two sons and a daughter. The eldest son had been betrothed to the second daughter of the king of France: he could not have the eldest, as she was married to the king of England, as has been related. She had indeed been promised him, and treaties entered into on the subject at Tours in Touraine; but the king was advised to break it off, to marry her more nobly and richly in England. Many of the French lords, however, said, that it would never turn out well thus to break through solemn engagements. On the death of the duke of Brittany, it was determined in the council, that the duke of Orleans should advance to the borders of Brittany with a body of men-at-arms, to confer with the nobles and chiefs of the principal towns of the duchy, to learn their intentions respecting the young duke, and to demand he should be delivered up to him to carry to the court of France.

The duke of Orleans, in consequence of this resolution, summoned a considerable number of men-at-arms, and marched them to Pontorson, where he halted, and signified his arrival to the barons o Brittany. The prelates, nobles, and chief magistrates of the great towns, assembled at Pontorson, when the duke of Orleans made them the above request. They were prepared with an answer, and replied they would be guardians to their young duke [and educate him in their own country until he should be of a proper age; that then they would bring him to France, that he might do his homage to the king, as was his duty; that for the due performance of this, they were willing to enter into bonds, subjecting themselves to the loss of their, lands should they break the engagement.] The duke of Orleans finding that he could not gain more, took an obligation from the principal barons, who had their duke in ward, to deliver him up to the king of France when he should be of a proper age. These obligations being written and sealed, the duke of Orleans had them in charge, and taking leave of the barons departed from Pontorson, on his return to Paris, and related to the king, his brother, all that had passed

+ It was known in England, that the French, by their king's command, had strongly reinforced, and re-victualled all the towns, castles, and forts in Picardy, and on the borders of the Boulonois, and had closed the river Somme, so that no merchandise nor corn could come to England, nor pass Abbeville. The merchants of the two countries, who were used freely to visit each, were now afraid of doing so; and those on the borders of Calais and Guisnes were ruined, although there were not any hostilities commenced, for orders to that effect had not been given. The king of England was advised by his council to be on his guard; for the French, they said, were making great preparations of ships at Harfleur, and plainly showed they were inclined for war. The count de Saint Pol and the lord Charles d'Albreth were appointed commanders; and it was to be supposed, that if the earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury were alive, they would have crossed the sea, for they had many connections in England. They added, "Sire, so long as Richard of Bordeaux lives, the country will never have peace." "I believe what you say may be true," replied the king; "but, with regard to me, I will never put him to death. I have given him my word, that no bodily harm shall befal him; and I will keep my promise, until it shall appear that he enters into any plots against me." "Sire," answered the knights, "his death would be more to your advantage than his life; for, so long as the French know he is alive, they will exert themselves to make war against you, in the hope of replacing him on the throne, on account of his having married the daughter of their king." The king of England made no reply, but leaving them in conversation, went to his falconers, and, placing a falcon on his wrist, forgot all in feeding him.

CHAPTER CXXI.

THE DEATH OF KING RICHARD. THE TRUCES ARE RENEWED AND KEPT BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. THE EARL-MARSHAL, WHO HAD BEEN BANISHED ENGLAND, DIES AT VENICE.

IT was not long after this that a true report was current in London of the death of Richard of Bordeaux. I could not learn the particulars of it, nor how it happened, the day I wrote these chronicles.* Richard of Bordeaux, when dead, was placed on a litter covered with black, and a canopy of the same. Four black horses were harnessed to it, and two varlets in mourning conducted the litter, followed by four knights dressed also in mourning. Thus they left the Tower of London, where he had died, and paraded the streets at a foot's pace until they came to Cheapside, which is the greatest thoroughfare in the city, and there they halted for upward of two hours. More than twenty thousand persons, of both sexes, came to see the king, who lay in the litter, his head on a black cushion, and his face uncovered.

Some pitied him, when they saw him in this state, but others did not, saying he had for a long time deserved death. Now consider, ye kings, lords, dukes, prelates, and earls, how very changeable the fortunes of this world are. This king Richard reigned twenty-two years in great prosperity, and with much splendor; for there never was a king of England who expended such sums, by more than one hundred thousand florins, as king Richard did in keeping up his state, and his household establishments. I, John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, know it well, for I witnessed and examined it, during my residence with him, for a quarter of a year. He made me good cheer, because in my youth I had been secretary to king Edward his grandfather, and the lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England. When I took my leave of him at Windsor, he presented me, by one of his knights called sir John Golofre, a silver gilt goblet, weigh-

* It is not to this day certain whether he died by voluntary or compulsory starvation, or was murdered by Piers Exton.—ED.

ing full two marcs, filled with one hundred nobles, which were then of service to me, and will be so as long as I live. I am bound to pray to God for him, and sorry am I to write of his death ; but, as I have dictated and augmented this history to the utmost of my power, it became necessary to mention it, that what became of him might be known.

I saw two strange things in my time, though widely different. I was sitting at dinner in the city of Bordeaux when king Richard was born : it was on a Wednesday, on the point of ten o'clock. At that hour sir Richard de Pontchardon, then marshal of Aquitaine, came to me and said : "Froissart, write, that it may be remembered, my lady the princess is brought to bed of a fine son : he is born on Twelfth-day, the son of a king's son, and shall be king himself." The gallant knight foretold the truth, for he was king of England twenty-two years ; but he did not foresee what was to be the conclusion of his life. When king Richard was born, his father was in Galicia, which don Pedro had given him to conquer : a curious thing happened, on my first going to England, which I have much thought on since. I was in the service of queen Philippa, and, when she accompanied king Edward and the royal family, to take leave of the prince and princess of Wales, at Berkhampstead, on their departure for Aquitaine, I heard an ancient knight, in conversation with some ladies, say, "We have a book called Brut,* that declares neither the prince of Wales, dukes of Clarence, York, nor Gloucester, will be kings of England, but the descendants of the duke of Lancaster. Now I, the author of this history, say that, considering all things, these two knights, sir Richard de Pontchardon, and sir Bartholomew Burghersh, in what they said, were both in the right, for all the world saw Richard reign for twenty-two years in England, and saw the crown then fall to the house of Lancaster. King Henry would never have been king, on the conditions you have heard, if his cousin, Richard, had treated him in the friendly manner he ought to have done. The Londoners took his part for the wrongs the king had done him and his children, whom they much compassionated.

When the funeral car of king Richard had remained in Cheapside two hours, it was conducted forward, in the same order as before, out of the town. The four knights then mounted their horses, which were waiting for them, and continued their journey with the body until they came to a village, where there is a royal mansion, called Langley, thirty miles from London. There king Richard was interred : God pardon his sins, and have mercy on his soul !

News was spread abroad that king Richard was dead. This had been expected some time ; for it was well known he would never come out of the Tower alive. His death was concealed from his queen, as orders had been given for that purpose, which were prudently obeyed for a considerable time. All these transactions were perfectly well known in France ; and such knights and squires as wished for war, looked every moment for orders to attack the frontiers. The councils, however, of both kingdoms, thought it would be for the advantage of the two countries that the truces should be renewed, and for this end different negotiators went to the neighbourhood of Calais. The king of France was not in good health, nor ever had been since he heard of the misfortunes of his son-in-law, Richard ; and his disorder was greatly increased when he was told of his death.

The duke of Burgundy took the chief government of the realm ; he came to Saint Omer and Bourbourg, where were the duke of Bourbon, the lord Charles d'Albreth, sir Charles de Hangiers, sir John de Châteaumorant, and such prelates as the patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishops of Paris and Beauvais. On the part of England were the earls of Northumberland, Rutland and Devonshire, Sir Henry Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland, sir Evan Fitzwarren, and the bishops of Winchester and Ely. The French proposed having the queen of England delivered to them, but the English would not listen to it, saying they would gladly have her reside in England on her dower, and that if she had lost her husband, they would provide her another, who should be young and handsome, and whom she would love. Richard of Bordeaux was too old for her, and the person they should offer was suitable in every respect, being no other than the prince of Wales, eldest son to king Henry. The French would not agree to this, for they dared not come to any final conclusion in this matter without the consent of the king her father. He was now in a very bad state, and much weakened in his constitution, for there had not been found any physician who could conquer his disorder. The treaty was therefore laid aside, and the subject of the truce canvassed. It was so well conducted, that it was resolved to continue it to the original term of thirty years, four of which were already gone, and it was now to last for twenty-six years. This was put into writing, and signed and sealed by those who had full powers so to do from the two kings. When this was done, they separated, and each party returned home.

I have not mentioned what became of the earl-marshal, by whom all these late misfortunes originated, but I will now tell you. He was residing in Venice when he first heard that Henry of Lancaster was king of England, and king Richard dead, and took this news so grievously to heart that he fell sick, was put to bed, became frantic, and died. Such were the misfortunes that befel the greatest lords in England.

* The romance of Brut by Robert Wall.—Ed.

CHAPTER CXXII.

FRANCE PRESERVES A NEUTRALITY BETWEEN THE POPES OF ROME AND AVIGNON. THE ELECTION OF THE EMPEROR ROBERT.

In the year of grace 1399, pope Benedict, whom the French had formerly supported, was deposed, as well likewise the emperor of Germany* for his wicked deeds. The electors of the empire, and all the great barons of Germany rose against him, and sent him to Bohemia, of which country he was king. They elected emperor in his stead a valiant and prudent man, called Robert, duke of Heidelberg, who came to Cologne, and was there crowned with the crown of Germany ; for those of Aix would not admit him within their town, nor the duke of Gueldres submit himself to his obedience, which angered him much. The new emperor promised to restore union to the church. In the mean time, the king of France negotiated with the Liege men, who were determined for the Roman pope, and managed so well, through sir Baldwin de Mont-jardin (who governed in part the bishopric of Liege, and was a knight of the king's chamber,) that the whole country complied with the desire of the French king, and became neuter.

The Liege men sent orders to those of their clergy who were at Rome, that if they did not return home by a fixed day, they should be deprived of their benefices. On hearing this, they all came back to Liege ; and pope Boniface, who lost much by this order, sent a legate to Germany to preach to the Liege men, and endeavor to make them return to their former creed. The legate dared not advance farther than Cologne, but sent his instructions and letters to Liege. They read them and told the messenger, "Do not return hither again on the business thou art now come upon, unless thou shalt wish to be drowned ; for as many messengers as shall be sent us, so many will we throw into the Meuse."

† Wenceslaus.—Ed.

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* It may not be improper to observe here, once for all, upon a circumstance which doubtless excites the surprise of the reader, that in this instance, as well as several others in different parts of the Index, events are inserted subsequently to the account of the death of the agent. This has arisen unavoidably from the manner in which Froissart composed his history, and from new and additional information communicated to him many years after he had completed the former part of his work, and had mentioned the death of the person to whom such information related. But it was considered that it would have been a vain and fruitless attempt to rectify this imperfection; it has, therefore, been deemed advisable to leave things as they were found, and to insert the events selected for the Index in the order and rotation in which they appear noticed by the author himself.

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Berkeley, Thomas, lord of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Berley, the town of, taken by the forces of the king of Navarre, 117.

Berry, John duke of, returns to France from England, where he had been a hostage for king John, 177; collects his vassals to make war on the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, 179; invades Limousin, 197; takes the town of Limoges, 199; takes the town of St. Severe, in Saintonge, 211; appointed governor of Languedoc, 270; betrothes his daughter to the son of the count de Blois, 342; besieges the castle of Ventadour, 460; endeavors to win over the duke of Brittany to the French interest, 465; proposes to marry the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, 468; having failed, he sends to the count de Foix, to demand his ward, the daughter of the count de Boulogne, in marriage, 489; is married to her, 493; accompanies the king of France in his visit to the pope at Avignon, 498; claims the liberation of his agent Bethisac, who was under prosecution for mal-administration, 502.

Berry, John of, son of the duke of Berry, marries the lady Mary of France, sister of Charles the Sixth, 465.

Berry, the duchess of, petitions her husband in behalf of the lord de la Riviere, 554; supports the lord de la Riviere, in opposition to the duchess of Burgundy, 558.

Bersat, the town of, taken by the English, 242.

Berwick, the castle of, taken by Edward the Third, 27; taken by the Scots, 232; retaken by the earl of Northumberland, 233.

Bessenghen, the fort of, in Gascony, taken by the English under sir Thomas Trivet, 243.

Bete, sir Symon, a citizen of Ghent, put to death for having endeavored to make peace between that town and the earl of Flanders, 292.

Bethisac, John, the confidential agent of the duke of Berry in Toulouse, tried at Beziers for mal-administration, 502, having confessed himself guilty of heresy, &c., he is burnt to death, 503.

Bethune, sir Robert de, takes the fort of La Roche Vandais, 530.

Blanchetaque, the battle of, between the king of England and sir Godemar du Fay, 79.

Blancquefort, Henry de, brother of the emperor of Germany, forcibly marries Margaret of Hungary, who had been betrothed to Louis de Valois, 350.

Blayes, the town of, besieged by the earl of Derby, 71.

Blois, the earl of, slain at the battle of Cressy, 82.

Blois, lord Charles of, claims the duchy of Brittany, 51; declared the lawful duke of Brittany by the parliament of Paris, 51; enters Brittany with a large force, assisted by the king of France, 52, conquers several towns in the duchy, 52; takes his adversary, the earl of Montfort, prisoner, 53; takes the town of Rennes 56; besieges the countess of Montfort in Hennebon, 56; takes the castle of Auray, 58; takes the town of Vannes by storm, 58; takes the town of Carhaix, 59; obtains possession of the town of Jugon by treachery, 60; enters into a truce with the countess of Montfort, 60; besieges La Roche d'Errien, 88; taken prisoner by the forces of the countess, 88; sent to England, 92; returns to France, 111; raises an army to oppose lord John de Montfort, 148; killed at the battle of Auray, 151; canonized by Urban the Fifth, 151.

Blois, Guy, count de, returns from England, where he had been hostage for king John, 177; joins the king of France against England, 196; sells the reversion of the county of Blois to the duke of Touraine, 541; dies at Avennes, in Hainault, 601.

Blois, John of, marries the widow of William, count of Juliers, 455; his death, 455.

Blois, lord Lewis of, marries the lady Mary of Berry, 465; dies in Hainault, 536.

Blois, the county of, the reversion of it sold to the duke of Touraine, 541.

Blondeau, sir John, surrenders the castle of Roche-sur-Yon to the duke of Cambridge, 186; put to death in consequence, 186.

Bodenay, sir Theobold de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Bohemia, Charles of Luxumbourg, king of, slain at the battle of Crecy, 82.

Bois, Peter du, a citizen of Ghent, chosen one of the commanders of the Whitehoods in that city, 255; narrowly escapes being put to death, 280; besieges Courtray, 280; obtains the appointment of Philip von Artaveld to be governor of Ghent, 281; defends the pass of Commines against the army of the king of France, 314; defeated, with great slaughter, 316; prevents the town of Bruges from surrendering to the king of France, 319; retreats to Ghent after the defeat of Philip von Artaveld, 322; encourages the men of Ghent to withstand the army of the king of France, 323; after a peace being concluded between the duke of Burgundy, as heir of Flanders, and the men of Ghent, he retires to England, 338.

Boniface IX. elected pope by the cardinals of Rome, 506; sends a learned friar to the king of France to endeavor to gain him over to his interest, 545.

Bonneval, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, 67.

Bordeaux, the town of, besieged by the French under the earl of Lisle, 44.

Bordeaux, the archbishop of, imprisoned at Barcelona, 415; liberated, 416.

Bordes, sir William de, captured by the garrison of Cherbourg, 248.

Boteler, sir John, of Warrington, captured at Roche Perion, 59; narrowly escapes being put to death, 60.

Boucicault, the lord of, taken prisoner at Romorantin by the prince of Wales, 101; appointed to the command of an expedition against the king of Navarre, 142; takes the town of Mantes by stratagem, 142; takes the town of Meulan, ib.

Boucicaut, sir, the younger, with two other French knights, holds a tournament near Calais against all comers, 509.

Boucicaut, the lord, taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Nicopoli, 588; obtains his ransom, 599; arrives at Venice, 600; appointed marshal of France, 601; obliges pope Benedict to submit to the emperor of Germany and the king of France, 609; sent to Hungary against the Turks, ib.

Boule, John, a citizen of Ghent, appointed one of the captains of the Whitehoods in that city, 255; put to death by the men of Ghent, 277.

Bourbon, lord John de, earl of March, appointed to the command of an army, to go into Spain against Don Pedro, 154.

Bourbon, sir James de, captured by the English at the battle of Poitiers, 105; sent by the king of France to oppose the free companies, 135; completely defeated by them at the battle of Brignais, 136; his death, ib.

Bourbon, duke Peter de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Bourbon, duke Louis de, takes the castle of Belleperche, 196; heads an army into Poitou and Limousin, 344; takes Montlieu in Saintonge, ib.; besieges Taillebourg, ib.; takes Verteuil and returns to Paris, 350; appointed to the command of an army to assist the king of Castille against the duke of Lancaster, 418; arrives at Burgos, 451; returns to France, ib.; magnificiently entertained by the count de Foix, 452; appointed commander-in-chief of an expedition against Barbary, 514; embarks at Genoa, ib.; lands with his army before the town of Africa, which he besieges, 523; his army suffers from the heat and insalubrity of the climate, 525; abandons the siege and returns to France, 529; makes an ineffectual attempt to gain over the towns of Aquitaine, during the imprisonment of king Richard the Second, in the tower, 621.

Bourchier, sir John, appointed governor of Ghent, 340; retires to England, 358.

Bourdelles, the town of, taken by the English under the duke of Cambridge, 185.

Bournezel, sir Peter, lord de, sent on an embassy from the king of France to the king of Scotland, 246; arrested at Sluys by order of the earl of Flanders, ib.; returns to Paris, 247.

Boutville, the town of, taken by the French, 245.

Brabant, the duke of, joins the English forces before Cambray, 34; purchases three castles belonging to the duke of Gueldres, 456; appointed chief of the Languefride, ib.; invades the country of Juliers, 457; defeated and taken prisoner by the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, 457, obtains his liberty, 457; his death, 458.

Brabant, the duchess of, forms a marriage between the children of Burgundy and those of Hainault, 341; causes the daughter of duke Stephen of Bavaria to be brought to France to be married to Charles the Sixth, 347; applies to the emperor to interest himself to obtain the liberation of her husband from the duke of Juliers, 457; sends embassadors to solicit the assistance of France against the duke of Gueldres, 458; beseges Grave, 468; makes peace with the duke of Gueldres, 488.

Brabanters, the, besiege Grave, 468; defeated with great slaughter at the bridge of Ravestein, 476; abandon the siege of Grave, 476; refuse to permit the king of France and his army to march through their country, 477.

Bramber, sir Nicholas, beheaded by order of the duke of Gloucester, &c., 446.

Brantome, the town of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 201.

Brest, the castle of, taken by the earl of Montfort as duke of Brittany, 49; besieged by the French under sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 217; succored by the earl of Salisbury, 217; besieged by sir Oliver de Clisson, 237; be sieged a second time by him, 384.

Breteuil, the castle of, taken by the king of France, 100

Breuse, the viscount de, captured by the prince of Wales at the battle of Poitiers, 101.

Brian, sir Guy, defeats a Flemish fleet off the isle of Bas, on the coast of Brittany, 205.

Brignais, the battle of, between lord James of Bourbon and the freebooters, 135.

Brignais, the castle of, taken by the freebooting companies, 135.

Brimeu, the lord de, taken prisoner by the English near Arras, 264.

Brioude, the town of, taken by sir Seguin Batefol, 137; surrenders to the French, 375.

Bristol, besieged by Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, to obtain possession of her husband and the two sir Hugh Spencers, 17; surrenders to her forces, 18.

Brittany, John duke of, his death, 48.

Brittany, duke of. Vide Montfort, John de.

Brittany, John of, son of the lord Charles of Blois, obtains his ransom, after having been long imprisoned in England, 451; marries the daughter of Sir Oliver de Clisson, ib.

Brittany, the lords of, undertake the wardship of their young duke, on the death of his father John de Montfort, 423.

Brittany, the duchy of, adjudged to the lord Charles of Blois by the parliament of Paris, 51.

Bruce, Robert, king of Scotland, defeats the English under Edward the Second, at the battle of Bannockburn, 15; sends a defiance to Edward the Third, 19; invades England, 20; his dying request to lord James Douglas, 24; his death, ib.

Bruce, David, king of Scotland, dies at Edinburgh, 216.

Bruges, the town of, enters into an alliance with the men of Ghent, 255; taken by the men of Ghent, 304; its gates and walls demolished, 306; submits to the mercy of the king of France, after the defeat of the men of Ghent under Philip von Artaveld, 322.

Brunes, lord Bartholomew de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Brux, the town of, taken by the English under sir James Audley, 183.

Buch, the captal of, defeats the infamous Jacquerie of Beauvoisis, with great slaughter, 113; takes the town of Clermont, in Beauvoisis, 117; joins the king of Navarre, 142; captured at the battle of Cocherel, in Normandy, 143; makes peace between the kings of and Navarre, and obtains his liberty, 153; prevents the town of Linde from being given up to the French, 197; taken by the French at Soubise, 212; imprisoned in the Temple at Paris, 213; his death, 225.

Buckingham, the earl of, appointed to the command of an army to go to the assistance of the duke of Brittany 262; arrives at Calais, and marches into France, 263; burns and despoils the country of Champagne, 265; overruns the countries of Gatinois and Beauce, 267; crosses the Sarthe with great difficulty, 268; arrives at Vannes, in Brittany, greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of the duke of Brittany, 270; besieges Nantes, 271; remonstrates with the duke of Brittany for not having joined him, 272; raises the siege of Nantes, 273; arrives at Vannes, 273: returns to England in disgust, 275: suspected of favoring the rebellion of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, 284; created duke of Gloucester, 414. (For the remaining particulars of this prince, see GLOUCESTER, DUKE OF.)

Bucq, sir John de, admiral of Flanders, defeated and captured by the English fleet under the earl of Arundel, 419; dies in London, 420.

Budes, Silvester, makes war on the Romans on the behalf of pope Clement, 249; beheaded at Mascon, 250.

Buffiere, the lord Pierre de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Burghersh, sir Bartholomew, takes the castle of Cormicy in Champagne, 128.

Burgundy, Philip duke of, enters into a composition with Edward the Third to spare his duchy, in his march through France, 129: his death, 137.

Burgundy, Philip (son of king John of France) duke of, his creation, 146; sent against the free companies into Caux, &c., 146; takes the castle of Marcheville, and several other places in Beauce, 147, et seq.; invades great part of the country of Montbellhard, 148; takes the town of La Charité, ib.; marries the daughter of the earl of Flanders, 183; appointed to the command of an armament against England, 186; ordered to march against the duke of Lancaster at Calais, 187; takes the towns of Ardres and Ardvick, 225; makes peace between the earl of Flanders and the men of Ghent, 257; appointed governor of Picardy, 270; instigates the king of France to make war on Flanders, 307, sends succors to the earl of Flanders to oppose

the bishop of Norwich, 330; obtains the towns of Sluys in exchange for the country of Bethune, 348; makes peace with the men of Ghent, 356; sends forces to the assistance of the duchess of Brabant, against the duke of Gueldres, 460; goes to Blois to meet the duke of Brittany, 471; accompanies the king of France in his visit to the pope, at Avignon, 498; ordered to return, to his great dissatisfaction, 499; appointed regent of France during the derangement of Charles the Sixth, 551; treats sir Oliver de Clisson, the constable of France, harshly, 553; arrests several of the king's council, 553.

Burgundy, John of, son of the duke of Burgundy, appointed commander-in-chief of an expedition against the Turks, 575; crosses the Danube with a large force, in company with the king of Hungary, 578; takes by storm the town of Comecte, 578; besieges Nicopoli, 581; defeated by the Turkish army under the sultan Bajazet, 588; taken prisoner, 589; obtains his ransom, 590; returns to France, 601.

Burley, sir Simon, taken by the French, 180; sent to negotiate a marriage between Richard the Second and the daughter of Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, 258; advises the removal of the shrine of St. Thomas from Canterbury to Dover castle, by which he gives great offence, 412; committed to the Tower by order of the commissioners of accounts, appointed to examine into his conduct during his administration, 441; beheaded, 441.

Burley, sir Richard, son of the above, dies in Castille, 442, 450.

C.

Cadillac, the town of, taken by storm, 231

Cadsant, the island of, taken by the English, 31.

Caen, the battle of, 77.

Caen, the town of, taken by Edward the Third, 77.

Cahors, the town of, turns to the French interest, 181.

Cahours, Raoul de, defeats the English under sir Thomas Daggeworth in Brittany, 97.

Calais, the battle of, between the English and French forces, 93.

Calais, the town of, besieged by Edward the Third, 83; surrenders to him, 90.

Calverly, sir Hugh, joins the prince of Wales in Acquitaine with a large body of the free companies, 180; endeavors to dissuade the bishop of Norwich from entering Flanders with the forces under his command, 337.

Cambray, the city of, besieged by Edward the Third, 34.

Cambridge, the earl of, sent to the assistance of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, 179; makes war in Perigord, &c. 180; takes the town of Bourdeilles, 185; leads a body of troops to the relief of Belleperche, 195; returns to England, 202; appointed to the command of an army to go to the assistance of the king of Portugal against the king of Castille, 282; arrives at Lisbon. 290; returns with his army, dissatisfied with the conduct of the king of Portugal, 300, 359; created duke of York, 414. [For the remaining particulars of this prince see York, the duke of.

Camerolles, the castle of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, 147.

Campreny, the lord of, captured by the captal of Buch, 130.

Candorier, John, mayor of La Rochelle, obtains possession of the castle from the English, by stratagem, 212.

Canterbury, the archbishop of, sent to Bristol by the duke of Gloucester and the Londoners, on an embassy to Richard the Second, 446; conducts him to London, 446; sent to France with an application from the Londoners to the earl of Derby to return to England, 613; conducts the earl to London, 615.

Caponnal, Caponnel de, liberated by exchange, 194.

Captal, the title explained, 101, *note*.

Carcilhart, the fort of, taken by the English under sir Thomas Trivet, 243.

Carentan, the town of, taken by Edward the Third, 76; retaken by the French under the lord de Coucy, 237.

Carhaix, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, 59.

Carogne, sir John de, kills James le Gris in a mortal combat, 415.

Carquefou, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, 52.

Cassel, the battle of, 25.

Casseres, the town of, taken by the count de Foix, 362.

Cassuriel, the castle of, in Auvergne, taken by Amerigot Marcel, 248.

Castillon, the town of, taken by the duke of Anjou, 230.

Cervole, Arnauld de, the archpriest, collects a body of armed men and pillages Provence, 111; captured at the battle of Brignais, 176.

Chalons, the town of, unsuccessfully attacked by sir Peter Audley, 119.

Chalons, the bishop of, slain at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Chandos, sir John, receives the lands of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte as a gift from the king of England, 133; appointed regent over all the possessions of the king of England in France, 134; appointed constable of Guienne, 138; sent to the assistance of the lord John de Montfort in Brittany, 148; prevents a peace being concluded between John de Montfort and the lord Charles of Blois, 150; defeats the army of lord Charles at the battle of Auray, 151; advises the prince of Wales not to persevere in his design of enforcing the fouage or hearth-tax, and failing to succeed retires to his country seat, 171; recalled by the prince, and sent to make war on the French and Gascon lords, 175; takes the town of Terrieres, and several others in the Toulousain, 180, et seq; appointed seneschal of Poitou, 187, invades and pillages the territories of Anjou and Rochechouart, 187; killed in a skirmish at the bridge of Lussac, 194.

Chargny, the lord de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, 106.

Chargny, sir Geoffry de, endeavors to gain possession of Calais by bribing the governor, sir Amery de Pavie, 93; defeated by the king of England, 94; embarks for Scotland to offer his assistance against England, 338; returns, and is in great danger from the Zealanders, 340.

Chargny-en-Dormois, the castle of, taken by sir John Chandos, 127.

Charité, La, the town of, in the Nivernois, taken by the lord Lewis of Navarre, 147; taken by the duke of Burgundy, 148; taken a second time by the French, 373.

Charles, emperor of Germany, his death, 258.

Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, collects a large army to make war on the duke of Gueldres in the cause of the duchess of Brabant, 457; receives his submission, 457.

Charles the Fourth, king of France, takes measures to assist his sister Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, against her husband and the Spencers, 15; is prevailed upon by sir Hugh Spencer to break up the expedition which he had encouraged his sister to raise in France, 16; commands her to quit the kingdom, 16; his death, 23.

Charles the Fifth, king of France, crowned at Rheims, 147; makes peace with the lord John de Montfort, and acknowledges him lawful duke of Brittany, 153; makes peace with the king of Navarre, ib.; raises an army to make war on Don Pedro, king of Castille, 153; is advised to declare himself lord paramount of Guienne, and to renew the war with England, 174, 175; summonses the prince of Wales to appear before the parliament of Paris to answer the complaints of some Gascon lords, 176; makes preparations to renew the war against the English, 177; gains over several captains of the free companies, 178; sends his challenge to the king of England, 178; prepares an armament for the invasion of England, 186; breaks up the expedition in consequence of the arrival of the duke of Lancaster at Calais, ib.; assembles a large force, to make war on Aquitaine, 196; makes peace with the king of Navarre, 197; enters into an alliance with don Henry, king of Castille, 206; makes peace with the king of Navarre, 216; sends an army to invade the duchy of Brittany, 216; enters into a truce with the English, 222; fits out a fleet for the invasion of England, which does considerable mischief, 225; declares war against the king of Navarre, 225; instigates the king of Scotland to make war on England, 232; seizes the possessions of the king of Navarre in Normandy, 236; sends an embassador to the king of Scotland, 246; his embassador detained by the earl of Flanders, 246; orders the earl of Flanders to send the duke of Brittany out of his dominions, 247; puts himself under obedience to Clement as the lawful pope, 249; afflicted with a singular disorder, 267; his last words and advice on his death-bed, 268; dies at Paris, 268.

Charles the Sixth, of France, crowned at Rheims, 270; sends an army to the assistance of the king of Castille, 294; determines to make war on Flanders in behalf of the earl, 307; on account of a dream, he chooses a flying hart for his device, 308; endeavors to treat with the Flemings, 310; collects a large force to reduce them to obedience, 312; defeats the Flemish army at the bridge of Commines, 317; receives the submission of Ypres and several other places, 318, *et seq.*; defeats the Flemings, under Philip von Artaveld, with great slaughter, 321; enters Courtray, 322; receives the submission of Bruges, ib.; returns to France, 323; makes his entrance into Paris, 324; assembles a large army to oppose the bishop of Norwich in Flanders, 330; takes Cassel, 332; and Bourbourg, 335; returns to France, ib.; enters into a truce with England, 336; prepares to renew the war, 341; marries the lady Isabella, of Bavaria, 348; makes great preparations to invade England, 402; promises to assist the king of Castille, 404; joins his armament at Sluys, 412; puts of his design, and disbands his army, 414; makes preparations to assist the king of Castille, 418; prepares another armament against England, under sir Oliver de Clisson, 428; his designs frustrated by the arrest of sir Oliver by the duke of Brittany, 430; receives an insulting defiance from the duke of Gueldres, 433; commands the duke of Brittany to restore to sir Oliver de Clisson the places which he had unjustly taken from him for his ransom, 438; receives a haughty answer from him, 438; promises to assist the duchess of Brabant against the duke of Juliers, 459; invites the duke of Ireland (who had been banished England by the duke of Gloucester and his party) to reside in France, 467; prepares an army to invade Guelderland, 476; sends embassadors to explain his intentions to the emperor of Germany, 477; receives favorable answers, 478; enters the duchy of Juliers, 487; receives the submission of the duke of Gueldres, 488; returns to France, ib.; takes upon himself the government of France on coming of age, 489; sends embassadors to the king of Castille, to remonstrate with him on the marriage of his son, the infanta of Spain, with the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, 489; enters into a truce with the king of England, 493; orders the duke of Ireland to quit France, 498; visits the pope at Avignon, ib.; visits Montpelier, &c., 499. *et seq.*; receives the homage of the count de Foix at Toulouse, 505; travels with great speed from Montpelier to Paris, for a wager against the duke of Touraine, ib.; reproves the count d'Ostrevant for accepting the order of the Garter from the king of England, 528; proposes to march to Italy to restore the union of the church 539; receives embassadors from the king of England with propositions for a peace, 530, on the death of the count de Foix, sends embassadors to Orthes, to make some arrangements respecting the country, 537; meets the duke of Brittany at Tours, to make an amicable settlement of the differences between them, 539; acknowledges the viscount de Chateaubon heir and successor to the count de Foix, 540, agrees to marry his daughter to the son of the duke of Brittany, 541; receives the commissioners from the king of England at Amiens, 542; not being able to conduct a peace, he enters into a truce for a year, 544; commands the duke of Brittany to deliver up sir Peter de Craon, who had fled to Brittany, after attempting to assassinate sir Oliver de Clisson, 547; after receiving the duke's refusal, he leads an army against him toward Brittany, 548; arrives at Mans, ib.; is accosted by a madman in the forest of Mans, who orders him to return, 550; becomes deranged, ib.; his expedition is in consequence broken up, ib.; removed to Creil for the benefit of his health, 551; recovers his senses, 556; returns to Paris, 557; in great danger of losing his life at a masqued dance, ib.; appoints commissioners to negotiate a peace with the king of England at Leulinghen, 560; prolongs the truce with him, 562; relapses into his former malady, ib.; sends Robert the hermit to England, to assist in bringing about a peace between the two countries, 571; liberates the lord de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier, who had been imprisoned by his uncles, during his derangement, 573; appoints John, son of the duke of Burgundy, commander in chief of an expedition against the Turks in Hungary, 575; betroths his daughter, the lady Isabella, to Richard the Second of England, 577; sets out for St. Omer, to meet the king of England, 582; has an interview with him at Ardres, 586; delivers up his daughter to him, ib.; proposes to lead an army into Lombardy against the duke of Milan, 587; meets the emperor of Germany at Rheims, to confer upon the measures to restore the reunion of the church, 603; sends embassadors to pope Boniface, to acquaint him with the resolutions of the assembly 607; sends the same to pope Benedict at Avignon, ib.; informed of the imprisonment of Richard the Second in the Tower of London, 620; relapses again into his derangement, ib.; his council send persons over to visit his daughter, queen Isabella, during the confinement of the king, 621.

Charles, lord of Navarre, causes the constable of France to be murdered, 97; obtains the king's pardon, 98.

Charles, son of the king of Navarre, marries the daughter of Henry of Castille, 245.

Charles, of Spain, earl of Angoulême, appointed constable of France, 97; murdered by order of Charles of Navarre, 98.

Charter of peace, between the king of England and the duke of Normandy, 130.

Chateau-ceaux, the castle of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, 52.

Chatel-bon, the viscount de, claims the succession of Foix, 538; his claim acknowledged by the king of France, 540; takes possession of the country as his inheritance, 542; does homage to the king of France, 556.

Chatelheraut, the town of, taken by the French, 195.

Chatelmorant, sir John de, carries over from England truces for three years, signed by king Richard and his allies, 497; sent to Turkey, to treat for the ransom of the duke of Burgundy and the other officers taken at the battle of Nicopoli, 590.

Chatillon, sir Hugh de, conquers Ponthieu from the English, 179; captured at Abbeville, 192; escapes from England, 221.

Chaumont, the hermit, taken prisoner at Romorantin by the prince of Wales, 101.

Chauvigny, the lord of, taken prisoner by the prince of Wales, 101; quits the party of the prince of Wales for that of the king of France, 183.

Chauvigny, the town of, in Poitou, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 210.

Cherbourg, the town of, burnt and pillaged by Edward the Third, 76; besieged by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 226.

Chimay, the town of, pillaged by the French, 37.

Civray, the town of, in Poitou, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 215.

Civray, the battle of, 415

Clement the Sixth, pope, dies at Avignon, 97.

Clement the Seventh, pope, elected during the lifetime of Urban the Sixth, which causes a schism in the church, 249; is acknowledged by the king of France, &c., ib.; goes to Avignon, ib.; presents the duke of Anjou with the territories of the queen of Naples, which she had given up to his disposal, 250; dies at Avignon, ib.

Clermont, the town of, in Beauvoisis, taken by the captal of Buch, 117.

Clermont, the cardinal of, elected pope, under the name of Innocent the Sixth, 97.

Clermont, lord John, slain at the battle of Poitiers, 104.

Clisson, the lord of, captured at Vannes, 63; exchanged for lord Stafford, 64; beheaded at Paris, 64.

Clisson, sir Oliver de, besieges the town of Becherel, 215; besieges la Roche-sur-Yon, 217; takes the town of Dinant, 259; appointed constable of France, 270; besieges Brest, 384; his fleet dispersed by a storm on his voyage to Sluys, to join the armament of the king of France, 413; obtains the liberation of John of Brittany from England and marries him to his daughter, 418; makes preparations to invade England, 428, 429; arrested by the duke of Brittany at the castle of Ermine, 430; obtains his liberty, 431; complains to the king of France of the conduct of the duke of Brittany, and offers to resign his office of constable, 433; retires to Montlehery, 433; takes the towns of St. Malo and St.

Matthieu de Fine Pôterne, 468; his castles restored to him by the duke of Brittany, 470; waylaid and severely wounded by sir Peter de Craon, 645; on account of his wealth, he incurs the suspicions and hatred of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, 548; treated with great harshness by the duke of Burgundy, 553; retires from Paris; is summoned to appear before the parliament of Paris, 555; not answering the summons, he is banished the kingdom, ib.; wages a violent warfare against the duke of Brittany, 569, makes peace with him, 573.
Cisso..., sir Walter de, slain at Brest, 50.
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Hainault, sir John of, offers his assistance to Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, 17; escorts her to England, 17; assists her at the siege of Bristol, 18; assists the king of England in the expedition against the Scots, 19, his territories invaded by the king of France, 37; appointed governor of Hainault during the absence of the earl in England, 38; quits the allegiance of England for that of France, 73.
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Hainault, William earl of, son of the above, sends his defiance to the king of France, 38; takes the town of Aubenton, &c., ib.; visits England, 38; Germany, 41; returns to Hainault, 42; assembles a large army to raise the siege of Thin-l'Evêque, ib.; burns the town of Seclin, &c. 44; takes the town of St. Amand, 47; Utrecht, 73; slain in Friesland, ib.
Hainault, the count of, raises an army to invade Friesland, 583; overruns the country, and disbands his forces, 585.
Harcourt, the earl of, beheaded at Rouen, 99.
Harcourt, the young earl of, makes peace with the duke of Normandy, 120.
Harcourt, sir Godfrey de, banished from France, 72; accompanies the king of England in an expedition into Normandy, 76; created one of the marshals of his army, 76; defeats a body of men from Amiens on their march to join the king of France, 79; carries on the war in Normandy for the king of England, 109; defeated and slain at the battle of Coutantin, 110.
Harcourt, sir John, returns to France from England, where he had been as a hostage for king John, 177.
Harlestone, sir William, appointed governor of Cherbourg, 226; defeats a body of French troops under sir William de Bourdes, whom he captures, 227.
Harsley, William de, a physician of France, cures king Charles the Sixth of France of his first derangement, 556; dies at Laon, 556.
Harzelle, Rasse de, chosen one of the commanders of the Whitehoods of Ghent, 255; takes several towns in Flanders, 278; killed in an engagement with the earl of Flanders, 279.
Harzelles, the lord de, killed at Ghent, 340.
Haspres, the town of, burnt by the French, 38.
Hawkwood, sir John, an English commander, enters into the service of Urban the Sixth in Italy, 250.
Helly, sir James de, taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Nicopoli, 588; sent to France with information of the defeat of the army of John of Burgundy, 589, obtains his liberty, 591; returns to France, 593.
Hennebon, the town of, in Brittany, taken by the earl of Montford, as the duke of Brittany, 50; besieged by the

lord Charles of Blois, 56, 59; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 217.
Henry the Fourth, of England, crowned during the lifetime of Richard the Second, 619.
Henry de Trastamare, enters Castille with a large army to dethrone his brother don Pedro, 154; acknowledged and crowned king of Castille by the Spaniards, 155; takes measures to oppose don Pedro and the prince of Wales, 157; defeated at the battle of Navarretta, 167; escapes to Arragon, 169; makes war on the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, 181; makes war on don Pedro, assisted by the king of Arragon, 173; defeats don Pedro near Montiel, 174; puts him to death, 174; obtains the submission of Castille, 174; enters into alliance with the king of France, 206; makes war on the king of Navarre, 225; concludes a peace with him, 245; his death, ib.
Henry, the infant of Spain, marries the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, 492; crowned king of Castille, 531.
Henriette, the castle of, taken by the king of Navarre, 116.
Holland, sir John, kills lord Ralph Stafford, 351.
Hostages, sent to England for king John of France, 450.
Huet, sir Walter, killed in a skirmish in Brittany, 219.
Hungary, the king of, applies to the court of France for assistance against the sultan Bajazet, 575; crosses the Danube with a large army, accompanied by John of Burgundy and his forces, 578; takes the town of Comecte by storm, 579; besieges Nicopoli, 581; his army defeated by Bajazet, 588.
Huntingdon, the earl of, proclaims a tournament at Oxford with the view of murdering king Henry, 623; slain at Cirencester, 623.

I.

St. Iago de Compostella, the town of, in Galicia, taken by the duke of Lancaster, 401.
Innocent the Sixth, pope, elected at Avignon, 97, endeavors to make peace between the kings of France and England, and the kings of France and Navarre, 101; orders a croisade to be preached against the free companies, 136; his death, 137.
Insurrection in Paris against Charles the Sixth, 296.
Insurrection at Rouen, 293.
Insurrection, a general, in England, in favor of the earl of Derby against Richard the Second, 612.
Interview between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, 407.
Interview between the kings of France and England at Ardres, 586.
Ireland, the earl of Oxford created duke of, 414; incurs the hatred of the people of England, 439; obtains a divorce from his wife, the lady Philippa, ib., 442; endeavors to counteract the measures of the commissioners of accounts and the new council of state, 442; marches from Bristol toward London as lieutenant for the king, 444; defeated near Oxford by the Londoners, under the duke of Gloucester, 445; flies the kingdom, 445, invited to France, 467; ordered thence, 498.
Irish, their manners and mode of warfare, 569.
Isabella, queen of Edward the Second, declared ineligible to the crown of France, 15; incurs the hatred of sir Hugh Spencer, 15; lays her grievances before her brother, Charles the Fourth of France, and solicits his advice and assistance, ib.; commanded to quit France, 16; lands in England with a considerable force, and is joined by the English barons, 17; takes her husband prisoner at Bristol, 17; confines him in Berkeley castle, 18, enters London amid great rejoicings, 18; obtains the coronation of her son Edward the Third, 19; suspected of being pregnant by sir Roger Mortimer, 25; committed to prison by order of the council, ib.; dies in London, 138.
Isabella, daughter of Edward the Third of England, betrothed to Lewis earl of Flanders, 87.
Isabella, the lady, of Bavaria, married to Charles the Sixth of France, 348; makes her public entry into Paris, 494.
Isabella, daughter of Charles the Sixth, betrothed to Richard the Second of England, 577; delivered to him by king Charles at Ardres, 586, married to him at Calais, 586.

J.

Jacquerie, the rise of an infamous body of men in Beauvoisis under this appellation, 112; their atrocities, ib.; a large number of them destroyed by the king of Navarre, 113; thousands of them slain at Meaux by the earl of Foix and the captal of Buch, 113.
James, king of Cyprus, interests himself to obtain the liberation of John of Burgundy and his companions, who were prisoners in Turkey, 597.
St. Jean d'Angely, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 84; surrenders to the French, 97, 212.
Jews, the, persecuted through Europe, 96.
John, son of Philip of Valois, crowned king of France, 97; makes his public entry into Paris, ib.; prevents a combat between the duke of Lancaster and the duke of Brunswick, 97; takes possession of the lands of the king of Navarre in Normandy, 98; coins florins of gold, which were called *lamb florins*, ib.; marches an army against the king of England, 99, gives the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son, the dauphin of Vienne, ib.; arrests the king of Navarre, 99, marches an army against the duke of Lancaster, 100; collects an army to oppose the prince of Wales, 100, defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, 105; surrenders to the prince of Wales, 106; embarked for England, 110; rides through London, ib.; confined in Windsor castle, ib.; enters into a treaty with the king of England and the prince of Wales, 122; the French council refuse to ratify it, ib.; sent to the Tower of London, 124; obtains his liberty, and returns to France, 133; magnificently entertained at Paris, 134; quarrels with the king of Navarre, 137; visits the pope at Avignon, 137, puts on the cross, 138; returns to England, 140; his death, 141; buried at St. Denis, 143, and *note*.
John, don, son of Henry de Trastamare, crowned king of Castille, 245; makes war on Portugal, 283; takes the field against the king of Portugal and the earl of Cambridge, 299; makes peace with the king of Portugal, 309; marries his daughter, 300; sends his defiance to the new king of Portugal, and raises an army to make war on him, 360, 393; besieges Lisbon, 360, 395; applies to the king of France for assistance, 360; abandons the siege of Lisbon, 377; takes the field against the king of Portugal, 378; defeated, with great slaughter, at the battle of Aljubarota, 380, 397; enters into a truce with the king of Portugal, 382; applies to France for assistance against the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, 404; grants permission to the duke of Lancaster to send his men into Castille to recruit their health, 449; regains possession of Galicia after the departure of the duke of Lancaster, 466; sends embassadors to the duke of Lancaster, to demand his daughter for the infant of Spain, 471; makes peace with the duke, 491; marries his son to the lady Catherine of Lancaster, 492; his death, 531.
John, don, grand master of Avis, declared king of Portugal, 300, 360, 393; crowned, 360, 395; sends embassadors to England to solicit the alliance of Richard the Second, 360, 375; raises an army to make war on the king of Castille, 378; defeats him at the battle of Aljubarota, 380, 397; enters into a truce with him, 382; sends embassadors to solicit the assistance of the duke of Lancaster, 392; receives favorable answers, 398; writes friendly letters to the duke of Lancaster on his arrival in Galicia, 404; has an interview with him, 407; marries the lady Philippa, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, 421; takes the field against the king of Castille, 434; burns the town of Santarem, 435; takes Ferrol, 435; forms a junction with the duke of Lancaster at Orense, 447; dismisses his army, 450.
John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, created duke of Lancaster, 138.
John, friar, de la Rochtaillade, delivers an apologue before the cardinals concerning the papacy, 390.
Joigny, the earl of, captured by the prince of Wales, 101; taken prisoner at the battle of Auray, 151.
Joigny, the lord Raoul de, taken prisoner by the prince of Wales, 101.
Joinville, the fort of, taken by the free-booting companies, 134.
Jouel, sir John, joins the king of Navarre, 142; slain at the battle of Cocherel in Normandy, 146.
Jouy, the count de, burnt to death at a masked dance at Paris, 557.
Jugon, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois through treachery, 60; retaken by the lord John de Montfort, 152; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216.
St. Julien, Louis de, takes the town of Chatelheraut, 195.
Juliers, William count de, made duke of Gueldres, 455.
Juliers, the duke of, promises assistance to the king of England against France, 181; defeats the duke of Brabant with great slaughter, 457; makes his peace with the emperor, 457; makes his submission to the king of France, 486; makes peace between the duke of Gueldres and the king of France, 488.

K.

Kent, the earl of, beheaded through the jealousy of sir Robert Mortimer, 85.
Knights Bachelors, the signification of their title, 47; *note*.
Knights Bannerets, an account of their title and rank, 23; *note*.
Knights of the Garter, the order instituted at Windsor by Edward the Third, 64; the names of the first knights, 65; *note*.
Knights of the Hare, the origin of their title, 36.
Knights of the Star, the first of that order, 97.
Knolles, sir Robert, commands a troop of free companies in Normandy, 132; makes an incursion into Berry and Auvergne, 133; goes to the assistance of the prince of Wales, 183, appointed captain of the prince of Wales's companies, 183; summoned to England by king Edward, 196; leads an army into Picardy, 198; enters into a composition to save the country from being pillaged, 198; defeated at Pont Valin by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 202; he retreats into Brittany, ib.; incurs the displeasure of the king of England, 205; some account of his life, ib. *note*; reinstated in his favor, ib.; appointed governor of Brittany, 16; captures the lord de Mauvoisin 268.

L.

Lac, Le, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 67.
Lamb florins, first coined, 98.
Lambe, John, assassinates Evan of Wales at Mortmain-sur-mer, 238.
Lancaster, Thomas, earl of, beheaded through the enmity of sir Hugh Spencer, 15.
Lancaster, Henry, earl of, brother of the former, joins the party of queen Isabella against Edward the Second and the Spencers, 17.
Lancaster, the duke of, son of earl Henry, lands in Contantin to assist Philip of Navarre against the king of France, 100, takes the town of Vernueil, ib. besieges Rennes, 111, leads a large army into Picardy, 123 persuades the king of England to make peace with the duke of Normandy, 130; dies of the plague, 137
Lancaster, John of Gaunt, duke of, his creation, 138; embarks with a large army for Aquitaine, 160; leads a large army into France, 186; returns to England, 193; embarks with a large force for Aquitaine, 197, appointed governor of Aquitaine, 203; takes Mont Paon, 204; Marries the lady Constance, daughter of Don Pedro of Castille, 206; returns to England, ib.; leads an army through France to Bordeaux, 218, *et seq.*; enters into a truce with the French, and returns to England, 222; made regent of England, during the minority of Richard the Second, 224; heads an army into Brittany, 225; besieges St. Malo, 238; abandons the siege, 241; informed of the death of Don Henry, king of Castille, 246; sent to treat with the Scots, 282; makes a truce with them, 288, refused admission into Berwick castle, ib.; returns to Scotland with the earl of Douglass, 289; sent for by king Richard, ib.; offended with the earl of Northumberland, 290; appeased by the king, ib.; obtains an army to make war on Castille, 339; embarks for Portugal, ib.; forces the French to raise the blockade of Brest, 400; arrives at Corunna, ib.; takes the town of St. Iago de Compostella and several others in Galicia, 401, *et seq.*; makes war on Arragon, 416; marries his daughter, the lady Philippa, to the king of Portugal, 421; takes the towns of Entença, &c., 423, *et seq.*; suffers greatly from the heat of the climate, 447; forms a junction with the king of Portugal, ib.; passes the Duero, ib.; dispirited by the sickness of himself and army, 448; disbands his men, 448; obtains permission from king of Castille for them to recruit their health in his towns, 449; quits Galicia and returns to Bayonne, 452, 466; applies to England for fresh assistance, 466; betrothes his daughter Catharine to the infant of Spain, 488; makes peace with the king of Castille, 491; marries his daughter to the infant, 492; receives the duchy of Aquitaine as a gift from king Richard and his council, 564; embarks for Aquitaine, 565; ordered to return in consequence of the remonstrances of the towns of Aquitaine against the king's gift, 570; marries his concubine, 577; offended with king Richard for the murder of the duke of Gloucester, 602; makes peace with him, ib.; his death, 610.
Lancaster, the duchess of, takes her daughter to Castille, and marries her to the infant, 492; finds the bones of her father, don Pedro, and has them buried at Seville, ib.
Langon, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 67; surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 221.
Langurant, the lord de, captured by the duke of Anjou, 228; turns to the French interest, 239; slain near Cardillac, 245.
Launoy, John de, one of the commanders of the men of Ghent, slain at the church of Nevele, 279.
Lauton, sir John, slain before La Rochelle, 209.
Le Clerc, Arnold, one of the commanders of the men of Ghent, defeats a party of the Flemish nobility at Oudenarde, 289, defeated and slain at Berchem, ib.
Leon, king of Armenia, arrives in France, after losing his dominions, 387; relieved by the king of France, 389; his death, 390, *note*; endeavors to negotiate a peace between the kings of France and England 412.
Leon, sir Hervé de, captured before Vannes, 63; liberated by king Edward, 65; dies at Paris, ib.
Letter, from Edward the Black Prince, to the bishop of Worcester, after the battle of Poitiers, 108, *note*.
Letter, sent by the king of England to Aquitaine, 194.
Lewis, the lord of Spain, raises the siege of Hennebon, 57; takes the town of Dinant, &c., 58; defeated at Quimperle by sir Walter Manny, ib.; engages sir Robert d'Artois at sea, 61.
Libourne, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby 67
Liége, the bishop of, endeavors to make peace between the earl of Flanders and the bishop of Norwich, 305.
Lieux, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 67.
Lignac, sir Helion de, sent to treat with the duke of Lancaster for the marriage of his daughter to the duke of Berry, 469.
Lignac, sir William de, seneschal of Saintonge, takes the castle of Aigle, 344; accompanies the duke of Bourbon to the assistance of the king of Castille, 418; arrives at Burgos, 426.
Limoges, the town of, surrenders to the duke of Berry, 194; taken by storm by the prince of Wales, 200.
Linde, the town of, besieged by the duke of Anjou, 197; delivered by the captal of Buch, ib.
Linieres, sir Maubrun de, dies at Noya, 133.
Lionel, earl of Ulster, created duke of Clarence, 138; marries the daughter of the lord Galeas of Milan, 171; his death, 174.
Lisbon, the city of, besieged by the king of Castille, 360, 395.
Lisle, the earl of, makes war in Gascony for the king of France, 44; besieges Auberoche, 67; taken prisoner by the earl of Derby, 68.
St. Lo, the town of, taken by the English under king Edward, 77,
London, the bishop of, appointed to accompany the duke of Lancaster in an expedition against Spain, 326.
Londoners, the, dissatisfied with king Richard and his council, apply to the duke of Gloucester to take upon him the government of the realm, 439; wait upon the king at Windsor to lay their grievances before him, and to demand redress, 440, prevail upon the king to fix a day to examine into the conduct of those who had had the management of the finances, ib.; defeat the duke of Ireland and the king's forces, near Oxford, 445; wait upon the king, at the instigation of the duke of Gloucester, to demand the repeal of the taxes which had been imposed to carry on the war with France, 594; take part with the earl of Derby in his quarrel with the earl-marshal, 605, rise in favor of the earl of

Derby against Richard the Second, 613; send the archbishop of Canterbury to France to bring back the earl of Derby, ib.
Longueval, sir William de, takes the castle of Mont Paon, 203, surrenders it to the duke of Lancaster, 204
Lorraine, the duke of, slain at the battle of Crecy, 82
Lorris, sir Launcelot de, mortally wounded at Cherbourg, 248.
Louis, de Valois, marries, by procuration, Margaret of Hungary, 340.
Lourde, the garrison of, take several places in France, 261, *et seq.*
Louvaine, sir Nicholas, governor of Abbeville, taken prisoner by sir Hugh de Chatillon, 179.
Louvier, the town of, taken by the English, under Edward the Third, 78.
Luna, the cardinal de, elected pope at Avignon, under the title of Benedict the Eleventh, 563.
Lusignan, the town of, in Poitou, taken by the earl of Derby, 84, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 215.
Lusignan, Peter de, king of Cyprus, arrives at Avignon, 138; visits Germany to exhort the emperor to join the croisade against the Saracens, 139; visits the king of Navarre, ib.; endeavors to prevail on the king of England to put on the cross, ib.; goes to Aquitaine to solicit the prince of Wales to do the same, 140, returns to Paris, 143; put to death, 387.
Lussac, the town and castle of, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 210.
Luxembourg, sir Peter de, his body said to show miraculous powers, 459.
Luzumont, the castle of, in Brittany, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216.
Lyon, John, a citizen of Ghent, revives the custom of the Whitehoods, 252; instigates the men of Ghent to demand from the earl of Flanders the preservation of their franchises, 253; burns and pillages the castle of Andreghien, belonging to the earl, 254; dies at Ardembourg, 255.
Lyon, sir Espaing du, accompanies Froissart to Bearn, and relates to him many particulars relative to the wars in Guienne, &c., 361.

M.

St. Mahe, the town of, in Brittany, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216.
Maillart, John, a citizen of Paris, prevents the city being betrayed by the provost merchants, 115.
Majorca, James, king of, applies to the prince of Wales for his assistance against the king of Arragon, 159; accompanies the prince and don Pedro into Spain, 162; taken prisoner at Valladolid, by king Henry of Castille, 171; ransomed by his wife, the queen of Naples, 206; makes war on the king of Arragon, ib.; dies at Val di Soria, ib.
St. Maixant, the town of, in Poitou, taken by the duke of Berry, 213.
Maleval, sir Louis de, turns to the French interest, 194.
St. Malo, the town of, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216; besieged by the duke of Lancaster, 238.
Malvoisin, the castle of, taken by the duke of Anjou, 364.
Mandarant, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, 67.
Manners of the English and Gascons in the time of Froissart, 386.
Manny, sir Courageous, left for dead at the battle of Nogent-sur-Seine, 121.
Manny, sir Giles, killed before Cambray, 37.
Manny, sir Walter, makes an invasion into France, 33; sent with an English force into Brittany, to the assistance of the countess of Montfort, 56; arrives at Hennebon, 57; takes the castle of Conquet, 58; defeats the lord Lewis of Spain, at Quimperlé, ib.; takes the castle of Goy la Foret, 59; accompanies the earl of Derby into Gascony, 66; finds the sepulchre of his father at La Reole, 70; defeats the French under sir Geoffrey de Chargny, before Calais, 93; dies in London, 206.
Mantes, the town of, taken by the French under the lord de Boucicaut, 142.
Marans, the town of, in the Rochellois, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 33.
Marcel, Amerigot, takes the castle of Cassuriel and other places in Auvergne, 248, *et seq.*; takes by surprise the castle of Marquel, 334; fortifies himself in La Roche Vandais, 516; besieged by the viscount de Meaux, 517; sends to England to solicit the duke of Lancaster for assistance, ib.; during his absence at Perigord, his fort surrenders, 520; betrayed by a relative, to whom he applied for an asylum, 521; beheaded at Paris, 522.
Marcel, Etienne, provost of the merchants of Paris, kills three knights in the apartment of the regent, 429; builds a wall round Paris, 113; killed by John Maillart, while attempting to betray the city to the English and Navarrois, 115.
March, the earl of, taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Nevil's Cross, 86; appointed constable of the English army under Edward the Third, 124.
Marchiennes, the Monastery of, taken by the Hainaulters, 47.
Marcheville, the castle of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, 147.
Marêt, John de, unjustly executed at Paris, 325.
Margaret, countess of Hainault, takes possession of the country, as her inheritance, after the death of earl William, 73.
Margaret of Hungary, married by procuration to Louis de Valois, 346; forcibly married by Henry de Blanequefort, brother to the emperor of Germany, 350.
Marmeil, sir Raymond de, turns to the French interest, 194; taken prisoner by the English, 202, makes his escape, 203.
Marquel, the castle of, in Auvergne, taken by Amerigot Marcel, 334.
Marriage, concluded between the children of Burgundy and those of Hainault, 342.
Marshal, the earl, of England, challenges the earl of Derby in the presence of king Richard, 603; banished the kingdom, 606; dies at Venice, 624.
St. Maubert, the fort of, taken by the English under the lord Neville, 241.
Maubué, lord, beheaded at Rouen, 99.
Mauconseil, the castle of, taken by the king of Navarre, 116; besieged by the duke of Normandy, 116; razed to the ground, 121.
Maudurant, Geronnet de, captured by sir John de Bonnelance, 461; taken to Montferrant, ib.; ransomed, 462; gains possession of the town of Montferrant for Peter le Bearnois, 463.
Mauléon, le Bastot de, relates his adventures to Froissart, at Orthes, 372.
Mauny, sir Oliver de, makes the king of Navarre prisoner, 163.
St. Maur, the abbey of, on the Loire, taken by the English under the earl of Pembroke, 191.
Mauvoisin, lord de, captured by sir Robert Knolles, 268.
Maxwell, sir John, captures sir Ralph Percy at the battle of Otterbourn, 482.
Meaux, the battle of, 113.
St. Mecaire, the town of, surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 230.
Melrose, the abbey of, destroyed by Richard the Second, 352.
Melval, lord Louis de, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, 422.
Melun, the town of, on the Seine, besieged by the duke of Normandy, 437.
Menstreworth, sir John, with his followers, quits the army of sir Robert Knolles, 518; executed in London, 522.
Mercier, sir John le, one of the ministers of Charles the Sixth of France, committed to prison during the regency of the duke of Burgundy, 553; his property confiscated, 554; released from prison, 573.
Mesclin, the little, captain of some free companies, put to death at Luxembourg, 445.
Meulan, the town of, taken by the French under the lord de Boucicaut, 142.
Milhaud, the castle of, in Rouergue, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 205.
Mirabeau, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 84.
Miraculous appearances, said to have been seen by the Saracens during the siege of Africa, 524.
Miramont, the castle of, taken by the duke of Normandy, 73.
Moissac, the town of, in Quercy, taken by the English under sir John Chandos, 184; surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 197.
Moncontour, the castle of, in Poitou, taken by the English under lord Thomas Percy, 204; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 210.
Monmorillon, the castle of, in Poitou, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 210.
Monsac, the town of, taken by the duke of Anjou, 220.
Monstier, lord Peter de, appointed chief of the croisade against the free companies in France, 136.
Montacute, sir William, created earl of Salisbury, 28.
Montagu, lord William de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, 105.
Montauban, battle of, between sir Guy d'Asai and the free companies, 159.
Montbeliard, the earl of, invades the duchy of Burgundy, 148.
Montebourg, the town of, burnt and pillaged by the English under king Edward the Third, 76.
Montendre, the lord of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 106.
Montferrant, the town of, taken by stratagem by Perrot le Bearnois, 463.
Montferrant, the marquis de, leads the free companies into Lombardy, 137; conquers several places from the lord of Milan, ib.
Montfort, the earl of, takes measures to secure to himself the duchy of Brittany, after the death of his brother, 48; takes the town of Brest and several others, 50, *et seq.*; does homage to the king of England for the duchy of Brittany, 51; summoned before the parliament of Paris, at the suit of the lord Charles of Blois, ib.; captured by the French at Nantes, 52; dies in the Louvre at Paris, ib.; [See this account corrected, ib., *note.*]
Montfort, the lord John de, defeats the forces of the lord Charles of Blois, at the battle of Auray, 150; his behavior on seeing the body of his adversary, who had been slain in the battle, 151; takes Auray and other places, 152, *et seq.*; makes peace with the king of France, and is acknowledged duke of Brittany, 153; marries the daughter of the princess of Wales, ib.; applies to England for assistance against the king of France, 214; retakes several places in Brittany, 222; besieges Quimperle, ib.; disbands his army, and retires to England, ib.; returns to Brittany, 258; solicits king Richard for succors, 262; excuses himself to the earl of Buckingham, who had come to his assistance, for not meeting him on his march, 269; makes peace with the king of France, 275; arrests sir Oliver de Clisson in the castle of Ermine, and causes the expedition against England to be given up, 430, liberates sir Oliver, 432; required by the king of France to explain his conduct toward the constable, and to deliver up to him the castle he had taken from him as his ransom, 438; his answer, 438; disregards the overtures made by the duke of Berry to gain him over to the French interest, 466; enters into an alliance with England, 467; with Navarre, ib.; restores the castles of sir Oliver de Clisson, 470; goes to Paris at the entreaty of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, 471; makes his peace with the king of France, 472; returns to Brittany, 477; meets the king of France at Tours to make an amicable settlement of the differences existing between them, 539; agrees to marry his son to the daughter of the king of France, and his daughter to John of Brittany, 541; grants an asylum to sir Peter de Craon after his attempt to murder sir Oliver de Clisson, 547; involves himself in a war with the king of France, ib.; wages a destructive war against sir Oliver de Clisson, 560; makes peace with him, 573; grants assistance to the earl of Derby to embark for England, 615; his death, 625.
Montfort, the countess de, carries on the war against the lord Charles of Blois, after the capture of her husband, 52; solicits assistance from England, 56; besieged by the lord Charles of Blois, in Hennebon, ib.; displays great courage in the defence of the town, 56; enters into a truce with the lord Charles of Blois, and goes to England, 60; returns to Brittany with reinforcements, under sir Robert d'Artois, 61; her forces take the lord Charles of Blois prisoner at La Roche d'Errien, 89.
Montgis, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, 66.
Montiel, the battle of, 173.
Montheu, the castle of, taken by the duke of Bourbon, 344.
Montmorency, sir Charles de, taken prisoner at Pont-à-Tressin, 47.
Mont-paon, the castle, surrenders to the French under sir William de Longueval, 203; retaken by the duke of Lancaster, 204.
Montpellier, the towns and lordships of, belonging to the king of Navarre, seized by the French, 236.
Montpezat, the village of, taken by the duke of Anjou, 197.
Montpin, the fort of, taken by sir Thomas Trivet, 243.
Montpouillant, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 71.
Montreuil Bonin, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 84.
Monsegur, the village of, surrenders to the earl of Derby, 69; taken by the duke of Anjou, 230.
Moray, Randolph, earl of, his death, 24.
Moray, the earl of, taken prisoner by the English before Newcastle upon Tyne, 54; exchanged for the earl of Salisbury, 56.
Morbeque, Denys de, captures king John at the battle of Poitiers, 106.
Moron, Castel, taken by the earl of Derby, 71.
Mortain, the town of, in Normandy, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 226.
Mortain-sur-Mer, the town of, in Poitou, taken by the earl of Derby, 84; besieged by Evan of Wales, 231; the siege raised by the English, 241.
Mortemer, the castle of, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 215.
Mortimer, sir Roger, ignominiously put to death, 25.
Mouton, a French coin so called, the origin of its appellation, 109, *note.*
Mucident, the lord of, killed before Chargny in Dormois, 126.
Mucident, the lord of, taken prisoner by the duke of Anjou, 229; turns to the French interest, ib.; returns to the English party, 245.
Muros, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the duke of Lancaster, 421.
Murray, the earl of, captured by the English at the battle of Nevil's Cross, 86.
Musgrave, sir Thomas, defeated and captured by the Scots at Melrose, 234.

N.

Navarra, the town of, taken by the prince of Wales, 187.
Namur, sir Philip de, slain at Dendremonde, 278.
Namur, sir Robert de, does homage to the king of England, before Calais, 88; promises to assist him against France, 186; joins the English forces, under the duke of Lancaster, before Tournehem, 187; defeats a party of the French in a skirmish, 190.
Namur, sir William de, gives the town of Sluys to the duke of Burgundy, in exchange for the county of Bethune, 348.
Nantes, the town of, taken by the lord Charles of Blois, 52, besieged by Edward the Third, 63, surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 217; besieged by the earl of Buckingham, 271.
Naples, Joan, queen of, surrenders her dominions to pope Clement, 250.
Narbonne, the viscount de, captured by the free companies before Montauban, 159.
Naval engagement, before Sluys, between the navies of France and England, 42; between the Spaniards and the English under king Edward the Third, 95; off the island of Bas in Brittany, between the English and Flemings, 235; before La Rochelle, between the earl of Pembroke and the Spaniards, 207.
Navarretta, the battle of, between the prince of Wales and don Henry of Castille, 165.
Navarre, Charles, king of, lands with a large army at Cherbourg, 98; arrested by the king of France, 99; escapes from the castle of Alleres, 112; makes peace with the duke of Normandy, ib.; harangues the Parisians, ib.; destroys many of the infamous Jacquerie, of Beauvoisis, 113; declares war against France, 116; takes several towns and fortresses in France, ib.; makes peace with the duke of Normandy, 120; declares war against him, 127; makes war on France, 139; makes peace with the king of France, 152; enters into alliance with don Pedro of Castille, 156; conducts the prince of Wales and don Pedro to Pampeluna, 159; enters into an alliance with the king of England, 182.

makes peace with the king of France, 196, 216; applies to king Richard of England for assistance against the king of France, 237; enters into an alliance with him in England, ib.; solicits aid from the English at Bordeaux, to raise the siege of Pampeluna, 242; concludes a peace with the king of Spain, 245; his extraordinary death, 459.
Navarre, the young king of, goes to Paris, to endeavor to gain back his inheritance of Evreux, 603.
Navarre, the lord Lewis of, takes the town of La Charité, 147; marries the queen of Naples, 153.
Navarre, Philip of, defends the possessions of his brother in Normandy against the king of France, 100; raises an army to raise the siege of St. Valery, 118; refuses to accept the peace which had been concluded between his brother and the duke of Normandy, 120.
Necromancer, a, offers to deliver up the castel del Ovo to the duke of Anjou by enchantment, 247, beheaded by order of the earl of Savoy, 297.
Negotiations, carried on at Billinges respecting a peace between the English and the French, 18.
Nesle, Guy de, defeated and taken prisoner by the English in Saintonge, 97; slain, ib.
Nesle, lord William de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, 105.
Nevele, the church of, burnt by the earl of Flanders, with several hundreds of the men of Ghent in it, 279.
Nevil's Cross, the battle of, 86.
Neville, the lord, raises the siege of Mortain, 240, takes St. Maubert, 241; dismissed from his command in Northumberland, 279.
Newtoun, sir John, sent on an embassy to Richard the Second from the rebels of Kent, 284.
Nicopoli, the town of, in Turkey, besieged by the king of Hungary and John of Burgundy, 575; the siege raised by the sultan Bajazet, 587.
Niort, the town of, stormed by the English, 211; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 215.
Nogent-sur-Seine, the town of, sold to the bishop of Troyes, 121; the battle of, ib.
Normandy, the duchy of, invaded by Edward the Third, 76.
Normandy, the duke of, invades Hainault, 39; besieges Thin-l'Evêque, 41; enters Brittany with the lord Charles of Blois, 52; leads a large army to oppose the king of England in Brittany, 64; enters into a truce with him, ib.; leads an army into Gascony to oppose the earl of Derby, 73; takes the town of Miraumont and others, ib., *et seq.*; marries Jane, countess of Boulogne, 94; appointed regent of France during the imprisonment of king John in England, 110; besieges Paris, 114; makes peace with the king of Navarre, ib.; enters Paris, 115; lays siege to Melun, 120; collects a force to drive the English out of Champagne, 121; refuses to ratify the peace concluded between king John and the English, 122; declines to accept the challenge of the king of England, 129; endeavors to make peace with him, 130; appointed regent on the departure of king John for England, 140; crowned king of France at Rheims, under the title of Charles the Fifth, 146.
Northumberland, the earl of, takes Berwick castle, 232; enters Scotland with a large army, 233; appointed lieutenant of Northumberland, &c., 282; enters Scotland with a large force, 338; banished by Richard the Second, 612; recalled by the earl of Derby, 617.
Norwich, the bishop of, appointed commander-in chief of a croisade against the Clementists, 326; enters Flanders contrary to the advice of sir Hugh Calverley, 327; takes the town of Gravelines and other places, ib., *et seq.*; besieges Ypres, 330, abandons the siege, and returns to England, 331; badly received on his return, 335.
Noyon, the bishop of, taken prisoner at Mauconseil, 116.

O.

Oliverne, Agadinquor, an African chief, his conduct at the siege of Africa, 524.
Orchies, the town of, burnt by the earl of Hainault, 44.
Orenze, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the forces of the duke of Lancaster, 434.
Oriflamme, the 'sacred' banner so called, displayed by the king of France at the battle of Rosebecque in Flanders, 321.
Orleans, the duchess of, suspected of causing the illness of the king of France, 562.
Orthon, a familiar spirit, serves the lord of Corasse, 382.
Ortingas, the town of, taken by Peter d'Anchin, 363.
Ostrate, Waustre, takes the castle of Roulebois-sur-Seine, 127.
Ostrevant, the country of, burnt by the garrison of Douay, 41.
Ostrevant, the count of, created a knight of the garter, 538; gives offence to the king of France, ib.; does homage to the king of France for the county of Ostrevant, 528; raises an army to invade Friesland, 583; invades Friesland, 584; disbands his army, 585; invites the earl of Derby to Hainault after he had been banished from England, 607.
Otho, sir, of Brunswick, demands his pay from pope Clement at Avignon, 390.
Otterbourne, the battle of, 481. [see also 484, *note.*]
Oudenarde, the town of, besieged by the men of Ghent, 256, 597; taken by Francis Atremen, 333; retaken by the lord Destournay, 340.
Oxford, the earl of, taken prisoner in Gascony, 67; endeavors to dissuade the king of England from assisting his uncles in their pretensions to the crown of Castille, 359; created duke of Ireland, 414.

P.

Pampeluna, the town of, besieged by the king of Castille, 238.
Paris, the city of, besieged by the duke of Normandy, 114.
Parisians, the, rebel against Charles the Sixth, 293; appeased by the lord de Coucy, ib.; fined by the king, 325.
Partenay, the lord de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 106.
Passac, sir Walter de, takes St. Forget, and several other places in the Toulousain, 384; accompanies the duke of Bourbon in an expedition into Castille, 419; arrives at Burgos, 426.
St. Patrick's Hole, in Ireland, its singular properties, 565, and *note.*
Paive, sir Amery de, governor of Calais, enters into a treaty with sir Geoffry de Chargny to deliver the town up to him, 93; prevented by the king of England, ib.; taken prisoner by sir Geoffry de Chargny, and beheaded, 96.
Peace, concluded between France and England, 130; at Leulinghen, 562.
Pedro the Fourth, don, king of Castille, summoned to appear before pope Urban the Fifth at Avignon, 154; excommunicated, ib.; endeavors to raise a force to oppose his brother don Henry, and the duke of Burgundy, 154; flies to Corunna, ib.; goes to Aquitaine to solicit the assistance of the prince of Wales, 155; enters Spain, accompanied by the prince and a large force, 161; defeats the army of don Henry, 165; obtains the submission of Castille, 168; incurs the displeasure of the prince of Wales, 169; defeated by don Henry at Montiel, 173; taken prisoner, 173; killed by his brother, 174.
Pembroke, the earl of, sent to the assistance of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, 180; makes war in Perigord, &c., 180; invades the territories of Anjou, 187; returns to England, 203; appointed governor of Aquitaine, 207; defeated and taken prisoner by the Spaniards before La Rochelle, 209; insulted by Evan of Wales at St. Andero, 209, obtains his ransom, 220; dies at Arras, ib.
Pennon, the nature of the military ensign so called, explained, 102, *note.*
Percy, sir Henry, dies in Castille, 450.
Percy, sir Henry, appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Northumberland, 479.
Percy, sir Ralph, captured at the battle of Otterbourne, 482.
Percy, sir Thomas, appointed seneschal of Poitou, 194; takes the castle of Montcontour, 204; captured by the French at Soubise, 212; resigns his office of steward of the household to king Richard the Second, 596; appointed governor of Aquitaine, 621.
Perigord, the cardinal de, endeavors to make peace between the king of France and the prince of Wales previous to the battle of Poitiers, 102; makes peace between the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre, 120.
Perigord, the earl of, defeats the high steward of Rouergue, 177, besieges Realville, 181.
Perth, the town of, destroyed by Richard the Second, 352.
Peterson, John, admiral of the Flemish fleet, defeated and captured by the English off the island of Bas, 205.
St. Phagon, the town of, in Spain, pillaged by some Breton soldiers, 452.
Philip, lord of Burgundy, killed before Aiguillon, 83.
Philip of Valois, chosen king of France, to the exclusion of Isabella, queen of England, 15, 23; makes war on the Flemings, ib.; banishes Robert d'Artois from France, 27; puts on the cross, 29; enters into an alliance with the king of Scotland, 32; receives a defiance from the king of England, 33; leads an army to oppose his forces, 35; destroys the territories of sir John of Hainault, 37; invades Flanders, 39; sends forces into Scotland to assist the Scots against the English, 45; assembles a large army to raise the siege of Tournay, ib.; enters into a truce with the king of England, 48; assists the lord Charles of Blois to recover the duchy of Brittany from the earl of Montfort, 51; assembles an army to oppose the earl of Derby in Gascony, 73; collects another army to oppose king Edward in Normandy, 76; defeated at the battle of Crecy, 82; collects a large army to raise the siege of Calais, 89; enters into a truce with the king of England, 91; marries the lady Blanche, daughter of Philip, king of Navarre, 94; dies at Nogent-le-Roi, 97.
Philip, son of king John of France, created duke of Burgundy, 146.
Philippa, daughter of the earl William of Hainault, married to Edward the Third, 24; in the absence of the king raises an army to oppose the Scots, 84; defeats them at the battle of Nevil's Cross, 85; receives the king of Scotland as her prisoner at York, 87; her three last requests to king Edward, 190; her death, ib.
Philippa, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, married to the king of Portugal, 421.
Picardy, the country of, invaded by king Edward the Third, 78.
Pierrepont, the town of, taken by sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, 129.
Piquigny, sir John de, delivers the king of Navarre from the castle of Alleres, 112; forces the duke of Normandy to raise the siege of Mauconseil, 116; endeavors to take the town of Amiens, 117; dies at La Herrielle, 121.
Plague, the, desolates all Europe, 96, and *note.*
Plaisac, Heliot de, governor of Boutville, taken by the French, 246.
Poinings, lord, dies in Castille, 450.
Poitiers, the city of, taken by the earl of Derby, 84; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 211.
Poitiers, the battle of, between the king of France and the prince of Wales, 103.
Poitiers, sir Charles de, burnt to death at a masked dance at Paris, 557.
Poix, the town of, destroyed by the English under Edward the Third, 79.
St. Pol, the count de, captured by the English at Lique, and sent to England, 221; marries the lady Maude, daughter of the princess of Wales, 247; leads an army into Friesland, 584.
St. Pol, the earl of, slain at the battle of Crecy, 82.
St. Pol, the town of, besieged by the duke of Lancaster, 191.
Pommiers, the lord de, beheaded at Bordeaux for treason, 227.
Pampadour, the lord of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 106.
Pondaire, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 66.
Pons, the lord de, slain at the battle of Poitiers, 105; turns to the French interest, 204.
Pont-au-Demer, the town of, in Normandy, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 226.
Pont du St. Esprit, the town of, taken by the free companies, 136.
Pontevedra, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the army of the duke of Lancaster, 409.
Ponthieu, the country of, conquered by the forces under sir Hugh de Chatillon, 179.
Ponthieu, the earl of, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105.
Populace, of England, rebel against king Richard and the nobility, 284; enter London and do much mischief, 285; dispersed by the king, 286.
Porcien, the earl of, ransomed, 179.
Porkers of la Respaille, a set of pillagers so called, commit several depredations in Flanders, 343.
Port St. Marie, taken by the duke of Anjou, 197.
Portboeuf, Peter, governor of Dinant, taken prisoner, 63.
Portelet, don Juan Ferdinando de, informs Froissart of many particulars relative to the affairs of Portugal, 391.
Poulat, the castle of, in Gascony, taken by the English under sir Thomas Trivet, 243.
Poursuivant d'Amour, the meaning of the title explained, 179, *note.*
Pressigny, sir Reginald de, put to death, 98.
Preux, the castle of, taken by the duke of Burgundy, 147.
Prie, the lord of, captured at the battle of Auray, 151.
Pruniaux, John, a citizen of Ghent, appointed one of the commanders of the Whitehoods in that city, 255; destroys the walls of Oudenarde, 260; banished from Flanders, 261; delivered up to the earl, and beheaded, ib.
Pulpiron, the castle of, taken by the French under sir Walter de Passac, 385.
Punach, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 67.

Q.

Quarrel, between the houses of Brabant and Gueldres the cause of, explained, 454.
Queens, three, besieged in the town of Melun-sur Seine, 120.
Quimpercorentin, the town of, in Brittany, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216.
Quimperlé, the town of, in Brittany, taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216; besieged by the duke of Brittany, 222

R.

Raimbaut, Lewis, a captain of the free companies, beheaded, 375.
Ramsay, Alexander, takes the castle of Berwick, 232; captured in the castle by the earl of Northumberland, 233.
Ravenal, lord Raouel de, captured at Mauconseil. 116.
Realville, the town of, taken by storm by the earl of Perigord, 183.
Reginald, count of Gueldres, his extravagance, 454; marries the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin, 455; afterward marries Isabella, daughter of Edward the Second of England, ib.
Rennes, the town of, taken by the earl of Montfort, or duke of Brittany, 50; surrenders to the lord Charles of Blois, 56; besieged by the duke of Lancaster, 111; taken by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216.
Reole, La, the town of, taken by the earl of Derby, 71; surrenders to the duke of Anjou, 221.
Reyneval, lord Raoul de, defeated by the English and Navarrois, under sir Godfrey de Harcourt, 109.
Rheims, the town of, besieged by Edward the Third, 126.
Ribadavia, the town of, taken by storm by the duke of Lancaster, 421.
Ribadeo, count, of Spain, one of the ministers of Charles the Fourth of France, arrested by the duke of Burgundy while regent, 553.
Ribeaumont, sir Eustace de, captured near Calais, 94; receives a chaplet of pearls from the king of England, in reward for his prowess, 94; slain at the battle of Poitiers, 105.
Ribemmont, sir Galahaut de, mortally wounded in a skirmish with the English, 126.
Richard, son of the prince of Wales, declared presumptive heir to the throne of England, 224 crowned king of England, 234.
Richard the Second, placed under the tuition of sir Guiscard d'Angle, 224; enters into an alliance with the king of Navarre, 237; sends an army to the assistance of the duke of Brittany, 258; quells the rebellion of the populace under Wat Tyler, &c., 286; makes a tour through several parts of England to punish the insurgents, 289; marries the lady Anne of Bohemia, 295; enters into a truce with France, 336; heads an army to oppose the Scots and the admiral of France, 351; destroys the abbey of Melrose, and several places in Scotland, 352, *et seq.*; quarrels with his uncles of York and Gloucester, 428 excites the discontent of the peo-

ple of England, ib.; retires to Wales, 429; constrained by the people to appoint commissioners to examine into accounts of his confidential ministers, 440; retires to Bristol, 442; takes measures to counteract the proceedings of the new council, which had been appointed for him by the commissioners of accounts, 443; sends the duke of Ireland, as his lieutenant, with a large army toward London, 444; his troops defeated near Oxford, 445; returns to London under the conduct of the archbishop of Canterbury, 446; assembles a parliament to receive the homage of his subjects, ib.; enters into a truce with the king of France, 493; holds a grand tournament at London, 527; endeavors to make a peace with France, 530; concludes a peace with king Charles, 561; presents the duke of Lancaster with the duchy of Aquitaine, 564; leads an army into Ireland, 564; obtains the submission of four Irish kings, 569; seeks to marry the lady Isabella, daughter of the king of France, 571; recals the duke of Lancaster from Aquitaine, ib.; has an interview with the king of France at Ardres, 585; receives the lady Isabella from king Charles in his tent at Ardres, 586; marries her at Calais, 586; becomes unpopular in England, 594; orders the duke of Gloucester to be arrested, 597; invests the earl of Rutland with the constableship of England, 603; proclaims a feast to be held at Eltham, 603; banishes the earl-marshal for life, and the earl of Derby for six years, 606; seizes the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster on the death of the duke, 610; breaks off a marriage which was in contemplation between the earl of Derby and the daughter of the duke of Berry, 611; holds a tournament at Windsor, which is but thinly attended, 612; banishes the earl of Northumberland and his son, 612; the people of England rise in rebellion against him, and in favor of the earl of Derby, 613; retires to Flint [Conway] castle, 616; surrenders to the earl of Derby, 616; imprisoned in the Tower of London, 617; resigns the crown in favor of the earl of Derby, 618; his death, 623; his funeral, ib.

Rigault, Giles, de Rouffy, presented with the red hat in the presence of king John at Paris, 97.

Riviere, the lord de la, takes the castle of Aquigni, 147; imprisoned by the dukes of Burgundy and Berry during the regency, 554; his estates confiscated, ib.; delivered from prison, 573.

Robert, duke of Heidelberg, elected emperor of Germany, 624.

Robert, king of Sicily, endeavors to make peace between the kings of France and England, 43.

Robert, the Hermit, ordered by a vision to interfere in bringing about a peace between France and England, 573; attends the conferences at Leulinghen, ib.; sent to England, 573.

Robesart, the canon de, defeats the Navarrois near Creil, 118; turns to the English interest, 179.

Roche, La, sur-Yon, the castle of, taken by the duke of Cambridge, 186; surrenders to the French under sir Oliver de Clisson, 217.

Roche, La, d'Errien, the town of, taken by sir Thomas Daggeworth, 88; besieged by the lord Charles of Blois, ib.; surrenders to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 216.

Rochechouart, the viscount de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105; imprisoned by the prince of Wales, 183; liberated, 187; his lands invaded by sir John Chandos, 188.

Rochelle, the town of, blockaded by the Spaniards and French under Evan of Wales, 212; turns to the French interest, ib.

Rochemilon, the castle of, taken by the earl of Derby, 69.

Roche-posay, la, the town of, taken by the French under sir John de Buel, 183.

Rochetaillade, John de, a fanatical cordelier friar, prophecies, 129; delivers an apologue to the cardinals respecting the papacy, 390.

Romorantin, the town of, taken by the prince of Wales, 101.

Roquemadour, the town of, taken by sir John Chandos, 184.

Rosebecque, the battle of, between the king of France and the men of Ghent, 321.

Rosem, the lord de, captured by the duke of Anjou, 229.

Roucy, the town of, in Picardy, taken by Robin Scott, 118; retaken by the archbishop of Rheims, 122.

Rouelles, the town of, in Galicia, surrenders to the duke of Lancaster, 405.

Rouen, the inhabitants of, rebel against Charles the Sixth, 293.

Rouelleboise-sur-Seine, the castle of, taken by Wanstre Ostrate, 127; delivered up to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, 159.

Routes, a band of armed men so called, make war on Arragon, 416; defeated by Raymond de Bachez, 417.

Roye, the lord of, defeats and captures the lord of Gomegines, 127.

Roye, sir Reginald de, with two other knights, holds a tournament near Calais against all comers, 509.

Rue, James de la, executed at Paris for treason, 225.

S.

Saimpi, the lord de, with two other knights, hold a tournament near Calais against all comers, 509.

Saintes, the town of, surrenders to the French forces, 212.

Saintonge, the lord de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Saintré, lord John de, captured at the battle of Poitiers, 105.

Salisbury, the earl of, taken prisoner by the garrison of Lille, 39; exchanged for the earl of Moray, 58; heads an expedition into Brittany, 216; sent on an embassy to France, 293; unites with the earl of Huntingdon in his plan to murder king Henry, 305; beheaded, 306.

Salisbury, the countess of, defends Wark Castle against the Scots, 54; resists with great spirit the dishonorable overtures of king Edward, 55.

Salisbury, sir John, beheaded at Oxford, 446.

Salle, sir Robert, governor of Norwich, killed by the insurgents in the reign of Richard the Second, 287.

Salvatierra, the town of, surrenders to the army of don Pedro and the prince of Wales, 163.

St. Salvin, the abbey of, besieged by the French, 191.

Sancerre, the lord Lewis de, appointed marshal of France, 186; defeats the earl of Pembroke at Puirenon, 189; visits the count de Foix at Orthes, 491; made constable, 600.

Santarem, the town of, rebels against the king of Castille, 376; returns to obedience, 379; burnt by the king of Portugal, 435.

Sauveterre, the town of, taken by the duke of Anjou, 230.

St. Sauveur le Vicomte, the castle of, taken by the French, 223.

Saxony, the duke of, sent by the emperor of Germany into England to see the country previous to the marriage of the lady Anne, of Bohemia, to Richard the Second, 264.

Scarcity, a great one in France, 97.

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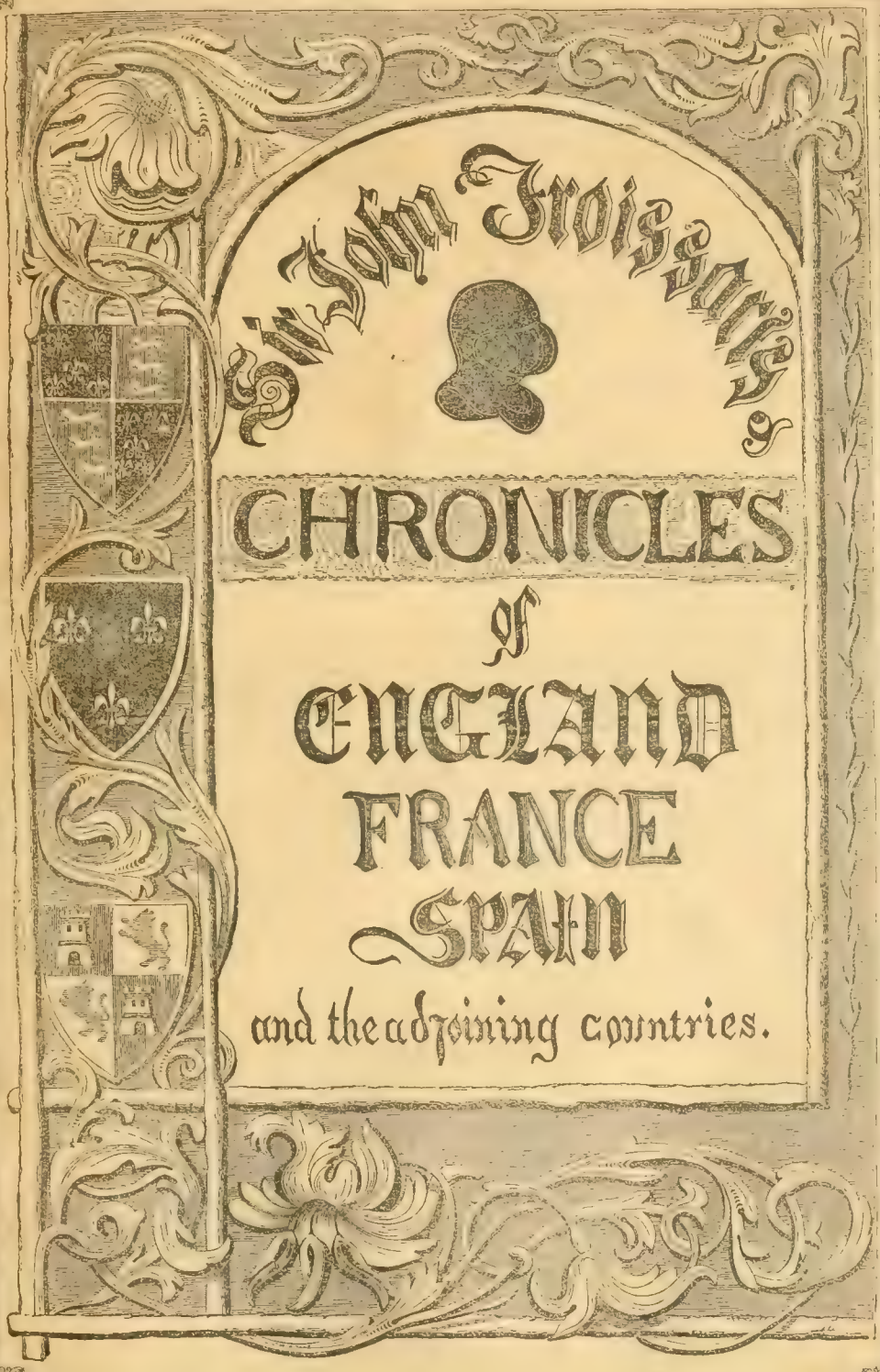

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of a portion of the celebrated work of Eugene Sue, under this name, has been issued by Harper & Brothers. The work is one of the most bald and wretched imaginable—the dialogue is such as no teacher in the most indifferent academy would tolerate a school-boy. But this is not all: the edition alluded to is SHAMEFULLY MUTILATED. In an examination of one hundred and twenty pages of their first publication, we find FIFTY-NINE ENTIRE PAGES OMITTED, and upon FIFTY-TWO PAGES TWO HUNDRED LINES of the original! A more INFAMOUS OPERATION was never attempted to be practised upon the public by any house pretending to respectability! And yet they have the hardihood to insert "entered according to Act of Congress" upon the title-page. It is probable, from the frequent occurrence of stars in the remainder of the work, that at least ONE-THIRD of the original has been omitted in this copy—and all this, because time to bring the work into as many pages as the Harper & Brothers' edition. The above statement is given by one who is a gentleman, who has talents and good taste to appreciate a work, and ability to judge of its merits, else none, delicacy, and kindness to conceal the spot upon which his pen is employed. The Public, who are desirous to obtain a correct copy of Eugene Sue's celebrated work, will therefore be careful to call for the New World edition of "The Mysteries of Paris."

CARD, BY THE TRANSLATOR.

In consequence of the Translator's personal friends having supposed that he would be discouraged from prosecuting his labors by the publication of another translation of the "Mysteries of Paris," he takes this method of informing them and the public, that he was not induced by the publication to which he has alluded, from attempting to give a faithful version of Eugene Sue's romance.

He hopes it will not be construed into an attempt to disparage a rival work, when he says that the gentleman who has presented it to the public, has deemed it his duty to expurgate much of the narrative portion, and nearly all the reflections in the original, upon law, government, and social evils. The Translator of this edition believes that he owes a higher duty to a gentleman who writes evidently with an earnest, elevated, and conscientious aim, than to venture to make such omissions. He hopes that there are a few left in the commonwealth of letters, who turn to the pages of a work of such a character, with some higher purpose than to trace the thread of the story. And, as he is convinced that this remarkable production of Sue is worthy of more than an ephemeral existence, and will be frequently resorted to after the mere curiosity in the narrative has been in some measure gratified, the Translator of this edition has been induced to be more severe in his effort to cast with fidelity in interpreting his author. He has had, during the whole of his labors, the assistance of Professor Bordenave in all the difficult and idiomatic portions of the work, to whom the language of the original is familiar, and whose name is an additional guaranty of the accuracy of this translation.

NEW-YORK, October 27th, 1843.

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